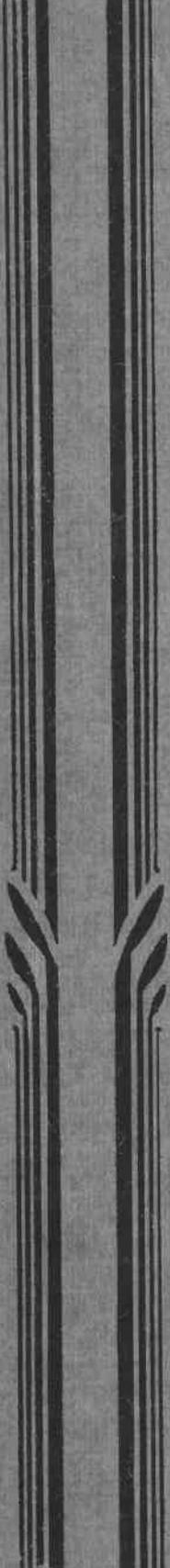


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*Readings in*  
PACIFIC NORTHWEST HISTORY  
WASHINGTON  
1790-1895

*Readings in*  
**PACIFIC NORTHWEST HISTORY**

**WASHINGTON**

1790-1895

Edited by

**CHARLES MARVIN GATES**

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## PREFACE

Contemporary records are the stuff from which history is written; they are likewise the materials in which history can be read. Interpretations of the past, whether they be those of historians, or novelists, or poets, are at best imaginative writings. Only in original documents do historical personages speak for themselves.

Washington is rich in materials of this sort. Explorers who made voyages to the north Pacific wrote books about their experiences when they returned home. Fur traders kept daily journals in which their journeys through the Indian country and their activities at individual posts were recorded in detail. Missionaries wrote diaries and letters. Army officers compiled the data gathered during extensive inspection trips. Leaders of government expeditions submitted elaborate reports.

Historical sources for the period subsequent to settlement include other types of records—diaries and letters of pioneers, and early newspapers. "Promotion" literature is at hand, and books and magazine articles written by tourists and correspondents are accessible. Legislative proceedings are available, as well as executive documents which were prepared for the territorial assembly or for the Secretary of the Interior.

Such materials as these may be found without difficulty in the larger reference libraries, but copies are comparatively rare, and many interested readers do not have the opportunity of enjoying them. It is for such persons, and particularly for students of Pacific Northwest history, that the present volume is intended.

This book necessarily includes only a limited selection of significant materials. The choice of items has been somewhat arbitrary; many alternative passages might have been substituted without changing substantially the character of the collection. Each selection should be read as a document which *illuminates* but does not completely *explain* the event or the historical movement to which it refers. Some passages are valuable for their factual content, while others are interesting chiefly for their point of view. Many of them, naturally, betray a lack of insight and historical perspective by reason of their contemporary character. For that reason they are accompanied by explanatory notes which indicate their setting and refer the reader to recent research.

The great majority of selections are copied directly from the primary sources—whether books, magazine articles, or manuscripts. In these cases care has been taken to reproduce literally the original text. Misprints and misspellings have been preserved, and bracketed corrections are supplied only where needed to make the meaning clear. Certain primary sources have not been available for examination (e.g., the Work journal and the

diaries of the Walkers). Such materials have been reprinted from the place in which they first appeared in print, and in these cases the bracketed notations provided by the original editors have generally been retained.

Several persons have offered valuable counsel and assistance in the preparation of this publication, and the editor gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to them. Jesse S. Douglas of The National Archives, Ronald Todd of the University of Washington Library, Vernon Carstensen of the Central Washington College of Education, Oscar O. Winther of Indiana University, and Obert Haavik of Grand Coulee High School contributed helpful suggestions concerning selections to be included. Mr. Douglas prepared the Fort Townsend inspection report for publication and supplied the notes therefor. Mr. Todd rendered countless services during the editor's preparation of the other notes that appear in the book, creating a debt which can hardly be repaid. Miss Ruth West of the Lewis and Clark High School in Spokane examined a part of the manuscript and called it to the attention of her workshop group conducted in the College of Education, University of Washington, during the summer session, 1941. The members of the group considered the materials from the viewpoint of the secondary school teacher and gave kindly encouragement to the enterprise.

To Charles W. Smith of the University of Washington Library, to Henry F. Wagner, and to the American Philosophical Society thanks are due for permission to include particular selections, as indicated in the body of the book. Finally, the editor wishes to express his gratitude to Everett I. Rolff of the University of Washington Press for his attention to details of format, to Milton Raoul Mills, also of the Press, who offered numerous editorial suggestions, and to those who gave assistance in preparing the manuscript for publication.

CHARLES MARVIN GATES

University of Washington  
September, 1941

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**READINGS IN PACIFIC NORTHWEST HISTORY**

**WASHINGTON 1790 - 1895**

## CHAPTER I.

### EARLY EXPLORERS VISIT THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

#### *Don Manuel Quimper Formally Extends the Spanish Empire to Washington.<sup>1</sup>*

The first reliable report of the Straits of Juan de Fuca was made by Captain Charles William Barkley, a British fur trader, during the latter part of the eighteenth century. After 1774 Spanish explorers, notably Juan Perez, Bruno de Hezeta, and Juan Francisco Bodega y Quadra, were engaged in reconnoitering along the north Pacific coast. In 1789 the Spaniards took steps to establish a permanent post at Nootka. Their action was taken mainly to forestall Russian occupation of the place, but it was disputed by the British. The Nootka Sound crisis, occasioned by the Spanish seizure of a British sloop, brought the two countries to the verge of war. While the matter was being considered by diplomats in Europe, Francisco Eliza and Manuel Quimper were sent to Nootka from Mexico with such military supplies as were available. During the spring and summer of 1790 Quimper undertook the exploration of the straits of Juan de Fuca and charted both shores as far east as the San Juan archipelago. Both the Haro and Rosario channels were then given their present names. Quimper took "ceremonial possession" at several points, among them the Bay of Nuñez Gaona, or the present Neah Bay. The following excerpt from his diary describes the ceremony, which, while not of great political importance, was characteristic of the pageantry of exploration. See Wagner, *Spanish Exploration*, pp. 1-25.

#### THE ACT OF POSSESSION

In the name of the most Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, three persons and one true God, the first maker and creator of all things and without whom nothing good can be done, commenced or preserved, and because the good beginning of anything must be in and by God, it is therefore advisable to commence it for His glory and honor. In His most holy name may it be known to all those to whom the present testimonial, instrument or letter of possession comes, that today, Sunday, August 1, 1790, this sloop the *Princesa Real*, of the very illustrious and pious Catholic Señor Don Carlos IV [then follow his titles] by order of his Excellency Señor Don Juan Vicente de Güemez, Pacheco de Padilla, Orcasitas y Aguayo, Conde de Revilla Gigedo [then follow his titles], which departed from the Puerto de San Blas, one of those in the South Sea in the jurisdiction of the said viceroyalty, February 3 of the current year, on a voyage of discovery following the coast from Monterey to the

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<sup>1</sup> From Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca* (Santa Ana, Calif., 1933), pp. 132-4. Reprinted by courtesy of the author.

north and commanded by Don Manuel Quimper, *alferez de navio* of the royal navy, at anchor in this now newly named "Nuñez Gaona," the said commander and the greater part of the seamen and soldiers having disembarked took ashore a cross which they adored on their knees and everybody in a loud voice devotedly proclaimed that, in the name of His Majesty the king, Don Carlos IV, our master, (whom may the Lord our Master guard for many years with increase of greater estates and kingdoms for the service of the Lord and the prosperity of his vassals and of those very powerful lords, his heirs and successors in the times to come), the commander of this sloop, by virtue of the order and instructions that the said most excellent Señor, viceroy of New Spain, has given him in the same royal name, was taking and took possession of this country, where at present he has disembarked, which has been discovered for all time, in the said royal name and that of the royal crown of Castile and Leon as stated, as its own property and which really belongs to it by virtue of the donation and the bull which our most Holy Father, Alexander VI, high Roman pontiff, executed on his own motion as a gift to the very high and Catholic lords Don Fernando V and Doña Isabel his wife, king of Castile and Leon of glorious memory, and to their successors and heirs, of one-half of the world, done in Rome May 4, 1493. By virtue of this these lands belong to the said royal crown of Castile and Leon and as such he takes and took said possession of these lands and the neighboring seas, river, *ensenadas*, ports, bays, gulfs, archipelagos, and this bay of Nuñez Gaona where at present this vessel is anchored, and places them in subordination to and under the power, possession and domain of the royal crown of Castile and Leon, as stated, as something belonging to it as it does. In sign of possession, laying hand on his sword which he carried in his belt, he cut with it trees, branches and grass, moved stones, and walked over fields and the beach without contradiction from anyone, asking those present to be witnesses to it and me, Estéban Bañales, the clerk appointed by the commander of this expedition, to make a testimony of it in public form. Then immediately taking a large cross on their shoulders, the men of the vessel being arranged in martial order with their muskets and other arms, they carried this in procession, chanting a litany with all responding. The procession being concluded the commander planted the cross and erected a pile of stones at the foot of it as a memorial and sign of possession of all these seas and lands and their districts, continuous and contiguous, and named the bay "Nuñez Gaona." As soon as the cross was planted they adored it a second time and all begged and supplicated Our Lord, Jesus Christ, to be pleased, as this would be for His holy service, for the exalting and augmentation of the Holy Catholic Faith, and for the sowing of the Holy Evangel among these barbarous nations, who up to the present have been turned away from the true knowledge and doctrine, to guard them and free them from the devices of the devil and the blindness in which they exist so that their souls may be saved. The ceremony being over the

commander, for a more perpetual sign of memorial and possession, had a tree stripped on which a cross was made and placed on it the following inscription: *Santisimo nombre de Nuestro Señor Jesu Cristo* with these four initial letters *I.N.R.I.* At the foot of the cross he put *Carolus IV Rex Hispaniarum*. In order that this should be of record it was signed by the commander and the witnesses First Pilot Don Gonzalo de Haro, and *Pilotin* Don Juan Carrasco and I, the clerk appointed by the said commander, certify to it as a true testimonial.

Gonzalo Lopez de Haro  
[*rúbrica*]

Manuel Quimper  
[*rúbrica*]

Estevan Bañales  
[*rúbrica*]

Juan Carrasco  
[*rúbrica*]

*Captain Vancouver Sails Along the Washington Coast and Enters Puget Sound.<sup>2</sup>*

The memory of Captain George Vancouver is perpetuated in many geographic place names in the Pacific Northwest. In addition to the cities and the island which recall the man himself, numerous landmarks, including Puget Sound, Mt. Rainier, Mt. Baker, Hood Canal, Port Townsend, Admiralty Inlet, Whidbey Island, and Bellingham Bay, have kept the names assigned them by this British explorer.

The Vancouver expedition was sent out in 1791 with instructions to receive back from the Spanish officers at Nootka the property and lands that had been seized two years before, and to explore the Pacific coast from 30 degrees to 60 degrees north latitude; that is, from Mexico to Alaska. The ships voyaged by way of the south Pacific Ocean and the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands, and reached the coast of northern California in April, 1792. Sailing northward to Cape Flattery, Vancouver entered the Straits of Juan de Fuca and spent the greater part of May and June exploring the shoreline of Hood Canal and Puget Sound.

The selections appearing below are taken from the captain's narrative of his voyage along the coast from the time he first sighted land south of Mendocino Bay, California, until he reached Cape Flattery. The passage dated April 24 describes his encounter with the natives near the present Port Orford, Oregon. The meeting with Gray took place not far from Destruction Island, off the Washington coast.

[Monday 16, April 1792.]

The wind at E.S.E. by two the next morning, increased with such violence as to make it necessary that the topsails should be close reefed; the squalls were very heavy, with an appearance of an approaching storm. No soundings were to be had with 120 fathoms of line; and as I could not depend upon the longitude of the coast of New Albion under this parallel, we stood on a wind until day-light, when we again resumed our course to the N. E. with an increasing gale, attended by thick rainy weather; which, by two in the afternoon, obliged us to strike our top-

<sup>2</sup> From George Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World* (3 vols., London, 1798), I, 195-7, 203-5, 213-7.

gallant masts, and stand to the southward under the foresail and storm staysails. At ten that night the wind veered round to the south, blew a moderate gale, and brought with it fair and pleasant weather. Our upper canvas was again spread; and the necessary signals made to the Chatham not being answered, and not seeing her at day-break on the 17th, we abandoned our course to the eastward to go in search of her. About five she was seen from the mast-head to the N.W.; upon which we bore down to her, and having joined company, we again directed our route to the eastward. The sky being tolerably clear, although the wind had again put us under double-reefed topsails, enabled me to obtain six sets of lunar distances, whose mean result at noon gave the longitude 50' to the eastward of the chronometer, the true longitude being 236° 8', and the dead reckoning 231° 30'; the observed latitude was 39° 20'.

Soon after mid-day we passed considerable quantities of drift wood, grass, sea weed, &c. Many shags, ducks, puffins, and other aquatic birds were flying about; and the colour of the water announced our approach to soundings. These circumstances indicated land not far off, although we were prevented seeing any object more than 3 or 4 miles distant, by the weather, which had become very thick and rainy. Being anxious to get sight of the land before night if possible, we stood to the eastward with as much sail as we could carry, and at four in the afternoon reached soundings at the depth of 53 fathoms, soft brown sandy bottom. The land was now discovered bearing by compass E. N. E. to E. by S. at the distance of about 2 leagues, on which the surf broke with great violence. We stood in for the shore under our topsails for about an hour, and perceived the coast to extend from north to S. E. The nearest shore was about 2 miles distant. The rain and fog with which the atmosphere was now loaded, precluded our seeing much of this part of the coast of New Albion. The shore appeared strait and unbroken, of a moderate height, with mountainous land behind, covered with stately forest trees; excepting in some spots, which had the appearance of having been cleared by manual labour; and exhibited a verdant, agreeable aspect. During the night we plied under an easy sail, in order to be near the land in the morning; when, in consequence of a thick haze, it remained obscured until a light breeze from the eastward about ten o'clock gave us a view of the shore to the north eastward, for which we immediately steered. The northern extremity of the land bore by compass at noon N. N. W., the nearest shore east about 6 leagues, the land I considered we were off the preceding night S. 72 E. about 8 leagues; and the southernmost land in sight S. 60 E. about 10 leagues distant.

Wednes. 18.

The gentle breeze of wind that now prevailed appearing to be settled in the southern quarter, favored my wish to pursue a northern course;

for which purpose, we bore away along the coast at the distance of 3 or 4 leagues. The weather was delightfully pleasant; and as we drew nearer the land, the shore seemed to be perfectly compact, formed, generally speaking, by cliffs of a moderate height and nearly perpendicular. The inland country, which rises in a pleasing diversity of hills and dales, was completely clothed with forest trees of considerable magnitude; and those spots which, on our first view, had the appearance of having been cleared of their wood by art, were now seen to extend, generally, along the sea-side; and their being destitute of wood, was evidently to be ascribed to some natural cause. They were beautifully green, with a luxuriant herbage, interrupted by streaks of red earth. At sun-set, the southernmost land in sight bore by compass, s. 45 e.; a small white rock, not unlike a vessel under sail, close to the shore, east; the nearest shore E.N.E. 4 leagues; and the northernmost land in sight, which I considered to be cape Mendocino N. 36 W. about 10 leagues distant. In this situation, the variation by the surveying compass was observed to be, 16° eastwardly.

Thursday 19.

The night was spent in making short trips. The next morning brought with it a return of calm or light baffling winds, a very heavy swell from the s.w. and so thick a haze over the land that the shores were scarcely perceptible. Immense numbers of whales were playing about us during the morning. Most of them were of that tribe which, in Greenland, are called finners. Towards noon, we had again from the southward, a moderate breeze; but the weather still remained extremely gloomy.

Tuesday 24.

Soon after we had anchored a canoe was seen paddling towards the ship; and with the greatest confidence, and without any sort of invitation, came immediately alongside. During the afternoon two others visited the Discovery, and some repaired to the Chatham, from different parts of the coast in sight; by which it appeared, that the inhabitants who are settled along the shores of this country, may, probably, have their residence in the small nooks that are protected from the violence of the westwardly swell by some of the larger rocky islets, so abundantly scattered along the coast.

A pleasing and courteous deportment distinguished these people. Their countenances indicated nothing ferocious; their features partook rather of the general European character; their colour a light olive; and besides being punctuated in the fashion of the South-Sea islanders, their skin had many other marks, apparently from injuries in their excursions through the forests, possibly, with little or no clothing that could protect them; though some of us were of opinion these marks were purely orna-

mental, as is the fashion with the inhabitants of Van Dieman's land. Their stature was under the middle size; none that we saw exceeding five feet six inches in height. They were tolerably well limbed, though slender in their persons; bore little or no resemblance to the people of Nootka; nor did they seem to have the least knowledge of that language. They seemed to prefer the comforts of cleanliness to the painting of their bodies; in their ears and noses they had small ornaments of bone; their hair, which was long and black, was clean and neatly combed, and generally tied in a club behind; though some amongst them had their hair in a club in front also. They were dressed in garments that nearly covered them, made principally of the skins of deer, bear, fox, and river otter; one or two cub skins of the sea otter, were also observed amongst them. Their canoes, calculated to carry about eight people, were rudely wrought out of a single tree; their shape much resembled that of a butcher's tray, and seemed very unfit for a sea voyage or any distant expedition. They brought but a few trifling articles to barter, and they anxiously solicited in exchange iron and beads. In this traffic they were scrupulously honest, particularly in fixing their bargain with the first bidder; for, if a second offered a more valuable commodity for what they had to sell, they would not consent, but made signs (which could not be mistaken,) that the first should pay the price offered by the second, on which the bargain would be closed. They did not entertain the least idea of accepting presents; for on my giving them some beads, medals, iron, &c. they instantly offered their garments in return, and seemed much astonished, and I believe not less pleased, that I chose to decline them. The first man, in particular, gave me some trouble to persuade him that he was to retain both the trinkets and his garment.

Sunday 29.

At four o'clock, a sail was discovered to the westward standing in shore. This was a very great novelty, not having seen any vessel but our consort, during the last eight months. She soon hoisted American colours, and fired a gun to leeward. At six we spoke her. She proved to be the ship *Columbia*, commanded by Mr. Robert Gray, belonging to Boston, whence she had been absent nineteen months. Having little doubt of his being the same person who had formerly commanded the sloop *Washington*, I desired he would bring to, and sent Mr. Puget and Mr. Menzies on board to acquire such information as might be serviceable in our future operations.

The most remarkable mountain we had seen on the coast of New Albion, now presented itself. Its summit, covered with eternal snow, was divided into a very elegant double fork, and rose conspicuously from a base of lofty mountains clothed in the same manner, which descended gradually to hills of a moderate height, and terminated like that we had seen the preceding day, in low cliffs falling perpendicularly on a sandy

beach; off which were scattered many rocks and rocky islets of various forms and sizes. This was generally considered, though it was not confirmed by its latitude, to be the mount Olympus of Mr. Mears; it being the only conspicuous mountain we had observed on the part of the coast he had visited. Mount Olympus is placed in latitude  $47^{\circ} 10'$ ; whereas our latitude now was  $47^{\circ} 38'$ : and as this mountain bore N. 55 E. it must consequently be to the north of us; although we were unable to determine its precise situation, by the thick hazy weather which shortly succeeded.

Having obtained this information, our course was again directed along the coast to the northward. It continued to increase in height as we advanced, with numberless detached rocky islets, amongst which were many sunken rocks, extending in some places a league from the shore. As we passed the outermost of these rocks at the distance of a mile, we plainly distinguished the south point of entrance into De Fuca's straits, bearing by compass N. 8 W.: the opposite side of the straits, though indistinctly seen in consequence of the haze, plainly indicated an opening of considerable extent. The thick rainy weather permitted us to see little of the country, yet we were enabled to ascertain that this coast, like that which we had hitherto explored from cape Mendocino, was firm and compact, without any opening into the mediterranean sea, as stated in latitude  $47^{\circ} 45'$ ; or the least appearance of a safe or secure harbour, either in that latitude, or, from it southward to cape Mendocino; notwithstanding that, in that space, geographers have thought it expedient to furnish many. Those, however, who from such ideal reports may be induced to navigate, in the confidence of meeting such resorts for shelter or refreshment, will, it is greatly to be apprehended, be led into considerable error, and experience like myself no small degree of mortification.

We now saw several villages scattered along the shore, whose inhabitants came off for the purpose, as we supposed, of trading; as the Columbia brought to for a short time, and again made all the sail she could after us; which led us to conjecture, that Mr. Gray had not been perfectly satisfied with the account given by our officers, and suspected that our object was of a commercial nature like his own, as he had informed our gentlemen that he was immediately going a considerable way to the southward. We were, at this time, within 2 or 3 miles of the shore; the wind blew a fresh gale, attended with thick rainy weather from the E.S.E. But as it was favorable for entering this inlet, we were eager to embrace the opportunity it afforded, and shortened sail that the Chatham might take the lead. About noon, we reached its south entrance, which I understand the natives distinguish by the name of Classet; it is a projecting and conspicuous promontory; and bore, by compass, from N. 56 E. to N. 39 E., distant from its nearest part about two miles. Tatooche's island, united to the promontory by a ledge of rocks over which the sea violently

breaks, bore N. 17 E. to N. 30 E., and the rock lying off the island, as described by Mr. Duncan in his excellent sketch of the entrance into this inlet, N. 14 E. In the latitude, however, there appears to be an error of 10 miles; which, from Mr. Duncan's accuracy in other respects, I was induced to attribute to the press. The south entrance is by him stated to be in  $48^{\circ} 37'$ ; whereas, by our run, and making every allowance, we could not place it so far north as Mr. Gray. No great violence of tide was experienced; nor did we observe the Pinnacle rock, as represented by Mr. Mears and Mr. Dalrymple, in order to identify these as De Fuca's straits, or any other rock more conspicuous than thousands along the coast, varying in form and size; some conical, others with flat sides, flat tops, and almost every other shape that can be figured by the imagination.

### *Lewis and Clark Explore the Mouth of the Columbia.*<sup>3</sup>

American explorers approached the Pacific Northwest by sea as early as 1788, when Captain John Kendrick and Captain Robert Gray arrived at Nootka from Boston. The following year Kendrick circumnavigated Vancouver Island. In 1792 Gray anchored in the mouth of the Columbia River. New England merchants combined the exploitation of the Northwest fur trade with profitable voyages to the Orient, and by 1801 a considerable number of American trading vessels regularly visited Nootka Sound.

It was at least partly with the thought of encouraging the American fur trade that President Jefferson projected the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1803. The acquisition of Louisiana from France that same year added greatly to the importance of this first transcontinental journey by American explorers.

With some thirty men, Lewis and Clark left the Mandan villages on the upper Missouri early in April, 1805, followed the waters of the Jefferson Fork to their source, and spent the early part of September making the hazardous crossing of the Bitterroot Mountains. By the middle of October they were on the Columbia; a month later they looked out over the Pacific Ocean.

The journals kept by the two explorers record their observations in rich detail. The passages selected for inclusion here set forth their experiences on the lower Columbia as they approached the mouth of the river. The "War-ki-a-cum" Indians were one of the Chinook tribes. The travelers were probably mistaken in their first exultant announcement that they were within view of the sea. Nearly a week more of hardship and difficult journeying elapsed before they sighted the Pacific. The "Shallow nitch" where they camped was the present Grays Bay in Wahkiakum County, Washington. Haleys Bay is now known as Bakers Bay. With one exception the entries here printed represent the text of the Lewis and Clark journals after they had been rewritten in St. Louis. The single entry marked "Clark, first draft," represents the text as given in Clark's field book. See *Lewis and Clark Journals*, I, xxxv; III, 210n, 211n, 226n.

*November 7th Thursday 1805*

A cloudy foggey morning Some rain. we Set out early proceeded under the Star[board] Side under a high rugid hills with Steep assent

<sup>3</sup> From *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806*, edited by Reuben G. Thwaites (8 vols., New York, 1904-5), III, 208-18, 224-7. Reprinted by courtesy of the American Philosophical Society.

the Shore boalt and rocky, the fog so thick we could not See across the river, two cano[e]s of Indians met and returned with us to their village which is Situated on the Star[boar]d Side behind a cluster of Marshey Islands, on a narrow chan[ne]l of the river through which we passed to the *village* of 4 Houses, they gave us to eat Some fish, and Sold us, fish, *Wap pa* to roots three *dogs* and 2 otter skins for which we gave fish hooks principally of which they were verry fond.

Those people call themselves *War-ci-a-cum* (*War-ki-a-cum*) and Speake a language different from the nativs above with whome they trade for the *Wapato* roots of which they make great use of as food. their houses differently built, raised entirely above ground eaves about 5 feet from the ground Supported and covered in the same way of those above, dores about the Same size but in the Side of the house in one corner, one fire place and that near the opposit end, around which they have their beads raised about 4 feet from the flore which is of earth, under their beads they Store away baskets of dried fish Berries & *Wappato*, over the fire they hang the fiesh as they take them and [of] which they do not make immediate use. Their Canoes are of the Same form of those above. The Dress of the men differ verry little from those above, The womin altogether different, their robes are Smaller only covering their Sholders & falling down to near the hip. and Sometims when it is cold a piec of fur curiously plated and connected so as to meet around the body from the arms to the hips.

after delaying at this village one hour and a half we Set out piloted by an Indian dressed in a Salors dress, to the Main Chanel of the river, the tide being in we should have found much difucelty in passing into the main Chanel from behind those islands, without a pilot, a large marshey Island near the middle of the river near which several Canoes came allong Side with Skins, roots fish &c. to Sell, and had a temporey residence on this Island, here we see great numbers of water fowls about those Marshey Islands; here the high mountanious Countrey approaches the river on the Lard [larboard] Side, a high Mount[ai]n to the S. W. about 20 miles, the high mountans countrey continue on the Star[boar]d Side, about 14 miles below the last village and 18 miles of this day we landed at a village of the same nation. This village is at the foot of the high hills on the Star[boar]d Side back of 2 small Islands it contains 7 indifferent houses built in the same form of those above, here we purchased a Dog some fish, *wap pa* to, roots and I purchased 2 beaver Skins for the purpose of makeing me a *roab*, as the robe I have is rotten and good for nothing. opposit to this village the high mountaneous countrey leave[s] the river on the Lar[boar]d Side below which the river widens into a kind of Bay & is crouded with low Islands Subject to be covered by the tides. We proceeded on about 12 miles below the Village under a high mountaneous Countrey on the Star[boar]d Side,

Shore boald and rocky and Encamped under a high hill on the Star-[boar]d Side opposit to a rock Situated half a mile from the shore, about 50 feet high and 20 feet Deamieter; we with difiuelty found a place clear of the tide and Sufficiently large to lie on and the only place we could get was on round stones on which we lay our mats rain continu[e]d moderately all day & Two Indians accompanied us from the last village, they we detected in Stealing a knife and returned, our Small Canoe which got Seperated in the fog this morning joined us this evening from a large Island situated nearest the Lard [larboard] Side below the high hills on that Side, the river being too wide to See either the form Shape or Size of the Islands on the Lard [larboard] Side.

Great joy in camp we are in *view* of the *Ocian*, (*in the morning when fog cleared off just below last village (first on leaving this village) of Warkiacum*) this great Pacific Octean which we been so long anxious to See. and the roeing or noise made by the waves brakeing on the rocky Shores (as I suppose) may be heard disti[n]ctly

We made 34 miles to day as computed.

November 8th Friday 1805

A cloudy morning Some rain, we did not Set out untill 9 oClock, haveing changed our Clothing. proceeded on close under the Star-[boar]d Side, the hills high with steep assent, Shore boald and rocky Several low Islands in a Deep bend or Bay to the Lard [larboard] Side, river about 5 or 7 miles wide, three Indians in a Canoe overtook us, with salmon to Sell, passed 2 old villages on the Star[boar]d Side and at 3 miles entered a nitch of about 6 miles wide and 5 miles deep with Several Creeks makeing into the Star[boar]d Hill, this nitch we found verry Shallow water and call it the Shallow nitch, (*Bay*) we came too at the remains of an old village at the bottom of this nitch and dined, here we Saw great numbers of fowl, Sent out 2 men and they killed a Goose and two *canves back* Ducks here we found great numbers of flees which we treated with the greatest caution and distance; after Diner the Indians left us and we took the advantage of a returning tide and proceeded on to the Second point on the St[arboar]d. here we found the Swells or Waves so high that we thought it imprudent to proceed; we landed unloaded and drew up our Canoes. Some rain all day at interuales, we are all wet and disagreeable, as we have been for Several days past, and our present Situation a verry disagreeable one in as much, as we have not leavel land Sufficient for an encampment and for our baggage to lie cleare of the tide, the High hills jutting in so close and steep that we cannot retreat back, and the water of the river too Salt to be used, added to this the waves are increasing to Such a hight that we cannot move from this place, in this Situation we are compelled to form our camp between the hite of the Ebb and flood tides, and rase our baggage on logs. We are not certain as yet if the

white people who trade with those people or from whom they procure their goods are Stationary at the mouth, or visit this quarter at stated times for the purpose of traffick &c. I believe the latter to be the most probable conjecture. The Seas roled and tossed the Canoes in such a manner this evening that Several of our party were Sea sick.

*November 9th Saturday 1805*

The tide of last night did not rise Sufficiently high to come into our camp, but the Canoes which was exposed to the mercy of the waves &c. which accompanied the returning tide, they all filled, and with great attention we Saved them untill the tide left them dry. wind Hard from the South, and rained hard all the fore part of the day, at 2 oClock P M the flood tide came in accompanied with emence waves and heavy winds, floated the trees and Drift which was on the point on which we Camped and tosed them about in such a manner as to endanger the canoes verry much, with every exertion and the Strictest attention by every individual of the party was scercely sufficient to Save our Canoes from being crushed by those monsterous trees maney of them nearly 200 feet long and from 4 to 7 feet through. our camp entirely under water dureing the hight of the *tide*, every man as wet as water could make them all the last night and to day all day as the rain continued all day, at 4 oClock P M the wind Shifted about to the S. W. and blew with great violence imediately from the Ocean for about two hours, notwithstanding the disagreeable Situation of our party all wet and cold (and one which they have experienced for Several days past) they are chearfull and anxious to See further into the Ocian, The water of the river being too Salt to use we are obliged to make use of rain water. Some of the party not accustomed to Salt water has made too free a use of it on them it acts as a pergitive.

At this dismal point we must Spend another night as the wind & waves are too high to proceed.

*November 11th Monday 1805*

A hard rain all the last night, dureing the last tide the logs on which we lay was all on float, Sent out Jo Fields to hunt, he Soon returned and informed us that the hills was So high & Steep, & thick with undergroth and fallen Timber that he could not get out any distance; about 12 oClock 5 Indians came down in a canoe, the wind verry high from the S. W. with most tremendous waves brakeing with great violence against the Shores, rain falling in torrents, we are all wet as usial— and our Situation is trully a disagreeable one; the great quantites of rain which has loosened the Stones on the hill Sides; and the Small stones fall down upon us, our canoes at one place at the mercy of the waves, our baggage in another; and our selves and party Scattered on floating logs and Such dry Spots as can be found on the hill sides, and crivicies of the rocks. we purchased of the Indians 13 red charr which we found

to be an excellent fish. we have seen those Indians above and are of a nation who reside above and on the opposit Side who call themselves *Calt har mar*. [*Cath lah ma*] they are badly clad & illy made, Small and Speak a language much resembling the last nation, one of those men had on a Salors Jacket and Pantiloons. and made Signs that he got those clothes from the white people who lived below the point &c. those people left us and crossed the river (which is about 5 miles wide at this place) through the highest waves I ever Saw a Small vestles ride. Those Indians are certainly the best Canoe navigaters I ever Saw. rained all day.

[Clark, first draft:]

November 12th Tuesday 1805.

a tremendous thunder storm ab[ou]t 3 oClock this morning accompanied by wind from the S W. and Hail, this Storm of hard clap's of thunder Light[n]ing and hail untill about 6 oClock at intervales It then became light for a short time when the heavens became darkened by a black cloud from the S. W. & a hard rain suckceeded which lasted untill 12 oClock with a hard wind which raised the seas tremendously high braking with great force and fury against the rocks & trees on which we lie, as our situation became seriously dangerous, we took the advantage of a low tide & moved our camp around a point a short distance to a small wet bottom at the mouth of a small creek, which we had not observed when we first came to this cove, from its being very thick and obscured by drift trees & thick bushes, send out men to hunt they found the woods so thick with Pine & decay[ed] timber and under groth that they could not get through, saw some Elk tracks, I walked up this Creek & killed 2 salmon trout, the men kill[e]d 13 of the Salmon species, The Pine of fur [fir] speses, or spruce Pine grow here to an emence size & hight many of them 6 & 7 feet through and upwards of 200 feet high. It would be distressing to a feeling person to see our situation at this time all wet and cold with our bedding &c. also wet, in a cove scercely large [e]nough to contains us, our Baggage in a small holler about ½ a mile from us, and canoes at the mercey of the waves & drift wood, we have secured them as well as it is possible by sinking and wateing them down with stones to prevent the emence [waves] dashing them to pices against the rocks. one got loose last night & was left on a rock by the tide some distance below, without receiving much damage. fortunately for us our men are helthy. It was clear at 12 for a short time. I observed the mountains on the opposit side was covered with snow. our party has been wet for 8 days and is truly disagreeable, their robes & leather clothes are rotten from being continually wet, and they are not in a situation to get others, and we are not in a situation to restore them. I observe great numbers of sea guls, flying in every derection. Three men Gibson Bratten & Willard attempted to decend in a canoe built in the Indian fashion and ab[ou]t the size of the one the Indians visited us in yesterday, they could not proceed, as the waves

tossed them about at will, they returned after proceeding about 1 mile we got our selves tolerable comfortable by drying our selves & bedding. Cought 3 salmon tds. evining in a small branch above about 1 mile

November 15th Friday 1805

Rained all the last night, this morning it became calm and fair, I preposed Setting out, and ordered the canoes Repared and loaded; before we could load our canoes the wind Sudenly Sprung up from the S. E. and blew with Such violence, that we could not proceed in Safty with the loading. I proceeded to the point in an empty canoe, and found that the waves dashed against the rocks with such Violence that I thought it unsave to Set out with the loaded canoes. The Sun Shown untill 1 oClock P. M. which afford[ed] us time to Dry our bedding and examine the baggage which I found nearly all wet, Some of our pounded fish Spoiled in the wet, I examined the amunition and caused all the arms to be put in order.

about 3 oClock the wind lulled, and the river became calm, I had the canoes loaded in great haste and Set Out, from this dismal nitich where we have been confined for 6 days passed, without the possibility of proceeding on, returning to a better Situation, or get out to hunt; Scerced on Provisions, and torents of rain poreing on us all the time. proceeded on passed the blustering point below which I found a butifull Sand beech thro which runs a Small river from the hills, below the mouth of this Stream is a *village* of 36 houses uninhabited by anything except flees, here I met G. Shannon and 5 Indians. Shannon informed me that he met Capt. Lewis at an Indian Hut about 10 miles below who had sent him back to meet me, he also told me the Indians were thievish, as the night before they had Stolen both his and Willards rifles from under their heads [*they threatened them with a large party from above which Capt. Lewis's arrival confirmed*] that they Set out on their return and had not proceded far up the beech before they met Capt. Lewis, whose arival was at a timely moment and alarmed the Indians So that they instantly produced the Guns. I told those Indians who accompanied Shannon that they should not come near us, and if any one of their nation Stold anything from us, I would have him Shot, which they understoot verry well. as the tide was comeing in and the Seas became verry high imediately from the *ocian* (imediately facing us) I landed and formed a camp on the highest Spot I could find between the hight of the tides, and the Slashers in a small bottom this I could plainly See would be the extent of our journey by water, as the waves were too high at any stage for our Canoes to proceed any further down. in full view of the *Ocian* from *Point Adams or Rond* (*see La Payrouse*) to Cape Disapointment, I could not see any Island in the mouth of this river as laid down by Vancouver. the Bay which he laies down in the mouth is imediately below me. This Bay we call Haley's bay from a favourite trader with the Indians which they Say comes into this Bay and trades with

them course to Point Adams is S. 35° W. about 8 miles to Cape Disappointment is S. 86° W. about 14 miles 4 Indians of the *War-ki-a-cum* nation came down with *pap-pa-too* (*Wappatoe*) to Sell &c. The Indians who accompanied Shannon from the Village below Speake a Different language from those above, and reside to the north of this place They] Call themselves *Chinooks*, I told those people that they had attempted to Steal 2 guns &c. that if any one of their nation stole any thing that the Senten[e]l whome they Saw near our baggage with his gun would most certainly Shute them, they all promised not to tuch a thing, and if any of their womin or bad boys took any thing to return it imediately and chastise them for it. I treated those people with great distance. our men all comfortable in their Camps which they have made of boards from the old village above. we made 3 miles to day.

## CHAPTER II.

### WASHINGTON INDIANS AND THEIR CUSTOMS

#### *Peter Puget Visits the Tribes on Puget Sound.<sup>1</sup>*

Several of the early explorers of Western America noted the manners and customs of the Indians with some care, although their reports can hardly be termed scientific. Vancouver and Lewis and Clark were directed to secure information concerning the native inhabitants of the regions through which they passed, and both parties gathered valuable data.

Lieutenant Peter Puget, who was third in command of Vancouver's flagship, the *Discovery*, took an active part in the reconnaissance of Puget Sound during the latter part of May and early June, 1792. His journal of daily occurrences forms an interesting supplement to Vancouver's narrative. The Indians mentioned in the first two passages below lived on the shore of Hood Canal. The village referred to on page 27 was situated on Eld Inlet, northwest of the site of the present city of Olympia.

We were detained by this tempestuous Weather till the 10th in the M[o]r[ni]ng when we quitted our Quarters early & made but little progress against a very Strong Southerly Wind. A Cove with a Smoak at its head about two Leagues along the Continental Shore from our Sleeping Place, induced Capt. Vancouver /after sounding it out/ to Stop there to Breakfast; Seventeen Indians who had previously watched our Motions, landed at a little distance from the Boats, leaving their Arms in the Canoes. They approached with all the Confidence imaginable & were well contented to take their Seats beyond a Line marked out to divide the two Parties, here they remained to gratify their Curiosity & at our Departure Some Medals and other Trinkets were given them, with which they appeared highly Pleased. The People in their Persons were Low & Ill made with broad faces & Small Eyes. Their Foreheads appear to be Deformed or out of Shape comparatively Speaking with those of Europeans. The Head has something of a Conical Shape. They wear the Hair Long with Quantities of Red Ochre intermixed with whale Oil or some other Greasy Substance that has a Similar disagreeable Smell. Only One Man had a thick Beard, the others, wore a Small Tuft of Hair on the Point of the Chin & on the Upper Lip like Mustachios & on other parts of the Body they suffered Nature to have its

<sup>1</sup>From "The Vancouver Expedition: Peter Puget's Journal of the Exploration of Puget Sound, May 7-June 11, 1792," edited by Bern Anderson, in the *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* (April, 1939), XXX, 183-6, 204-5, 212-3.

Course, which were as well supplied as in the Common Run of Men except the Breasts, which were all totally destitute of Hair. Square pieces of ear Shells were hung to small perforations in their Ears with small Rolls of Copper. Necklaces of the same Materials as the Latter were used as also round the Ankles & wrists. Their Garments consisted of the Skins of an Animal tied at the two Corners over one Shoulder the upper Edge coming under the Opposite Arm — by which both Hands were free. The Rest of the Body was perfectly naked. They had no other Arms but Bows and Arrows pointed with barbed Flints & long Spears in their Canoes, These were of simple Workmanship as also were the Canoes. The last consisted only of a Log hollowed out Sharp at both Ends & tolerably well constructed for paddling. The Paddles were Short and pointed at the Ends.

. . . After being greatly tormented by Musquito's and Flies &c we left our Quarters early & continued the further investigation of this Branch: Seeing a Smoak on the Western Shore we pulled in & landed at a Small Village where we found a few Indians under two or three Miserable Sheds, or Huts preparing Clams and Fish for the Winter Season /as was supposed/. From them we bought a Small Quantity of each for which they took any Article we offered. The Stench of this Place was Intolerable, though close to a fine fresh Water Run, yet the Indolence of the Inhabitants appear so great; that the filth is left close to the Habitations, which if carried but a few yards would be swept away into the Stream. The People are nearly the Same in Appearance as those seen in the Cove on Thursday Morning. They willingly disposed of the Bows and Arrows, some of which were barbed with Iron. This gave rise to various Conjectures, but it was generally supposed that either Europeans had before visited this Tribe or they must have some Mercantile Communication with those situated near the Sea — As we saw the termination of this Inlet from our present Situation, which lies in the Latitude  $47^{\circ}-20'$  No. Longitude. Capt. Vancouver determined to make the best of His Way for the Ships as the Provisions were nearly exhausted. From this village we kept to the opposite Shore, to visit some more Indians collected on a Point which forms part of the Banks & Entrance of a Fresh Water Run. There we found People of all ages & Descriptions to the Amount of Forty or Fifty, they beheld the approach of the Boats without the least Apprehension or evident Signs of Fear. They immediately on our Request began a barter for Fish or whatever Articles we wished for in their Possession The Conduct of these People impressed me with an high Idea of their Honesty, for whatever they had to barter, was suffered to be taken away, without an Exchange & it would be sometimes ten Minutes or a Quarter of an Hour before the person returned from the Boats with the Things he intended to give. yet this Delay did not cause any murmuring or Discontent on the Contrary they appeared perfectly well satisfied of our friendly Intentions. Surely then, if these People behave with such Confidence to Strangers, may we not

infer, that Innate Principles of Honesty actuated their Conduct on this Occasion? Some have attributed that Confidence to Fear of the largeness of the Party, that they were glad to receive whatever we offered in Exchange, as they expected, their Property to be wrested from their Possession. — however I am willing to allow them Credit for Appearances & say they differ in Character from the General Body of their Neighbors, who by Report of former Visitors [seem to be?] most arrant Rogues.

. . . About an Hour after we had set out, An Indian Village made its Appearance from whence some Canoes came off perfectly unarmed He pointed that we were near the Termination of this Arm, which Intelligence we found true; In our Way down we landed for a Short time & were received by the Inhabitants with all the Friendship and Hospitality we could have expected. These people I should suppose were about Sixty in Number of all Ages and Descriptions they lived under a Kind of Shed open at the Front and Sides. The Women appeared employed in the Domestic Duties such as curing Clams & Fish, making Baskets, of various Colours & as neatly woven that they are perfectly watertight. The Occupations of the Men I believe consists chiefly in Fishing, constructing Canoes & performing all the Labourious Work of the Village; Though it was perfectly Curiosity which had induced us to land, yet that was the sooner satisfied, by the horrid Stench which came from all parts of these Habitations, with which they were highly delighted The Natives had but Two Sea Otter Skins which were purchased & a variety of Marmot, Rabbit Raccoon Deer & Bear Skins were also procured The Men had a War Garment on, it consisted of a very thick Hide supposed made from the Moose Deer, & well prepared. I have no doubt but it is a Sufficient Shield against Arrows, though not against Fire Arms The Garment reaches from the Shoulders down to the Knees, this however was got in exchange for a Small piece of Copper, from which we may suppose that they were not of much Value, they likewise disposed of some well constructed Bows and Arrows, in Short it was only to ask, & have your Wish gratified, the only Difference, I perceived between our present Companions and former Visitors, were the Extravagance with Which their Faces were Ornamented. Streaks of Red Ochre and Black Glimmer, were on some, others entirely with the Former, & a few that gave the Preference to the Latter. every Person had a fashion of his own, & to us who were Strangers to Indians, this Sight conveyed a Stronger Force of the Savageness of the Native Inhabitants, than any other Circumstance we had hitherto met with; not but their Conduct, friendly & inoffensive, had already merited our warmest Approbation, but their Appearance was absolutely terrific, & it will frequently occur, that the Imagination receives a much greater Shock by such unusual Objects, than it would otherwise would, was that Object divested of its Exterior Ornaments or Dress, or the Sight was more familiarized to

People in a State of Nature & Though we could not behold these Ornaments with the Same satisfactory Eye as themselves, yet in receiving the looking Glasses, each appeared well Satisfied with his own Fashion, at least the Paint was not at all altered. They likewise had the Hair covered with the Down of Birds; which certainly was a good substitute for Powder, & the Paint only differed in the Colours & not the Quantity used by our own Fair Country women. In these two Instances we meet with some Resemblance to our Customs & I believe the above mentioned Ornaments were of a Ceremonious Nature for our Reception at the Village.

In all these Excursions I should be happy to dedicate a few Minutes to satisfy the Curiosity of those Gentlemen who accompany us by landing at the different Villages we meet with. In this particular I should be equally happy to gratify my own Inclinations, which lead us to their Abodes, to obtain some knowledge of their Customs and Manners & by a proper Distribution of the Presents to more firmly cultivate their Friendship. I have often found that by a Great Display of various Articles with which Government have so liberally supplied this Expedition that it frequently causes long Consultations among the Natives, who have come from their Habitations with fish, Refreshments & Curiosities to dispose of & for the which a certain proportion of Buttons Medals & other Trinkets have been given & though they Appeared perfectly satisfied with the exchange, yet their Eyes were continually fixed on what remained in the Boats. I do not mean to assert from this, that their Intentions were hostile, it might be Admiration or Curiosity and on the other Hand, we may equally suppose, their Consultations were not held for any good Purpose but merely to possess by Strategem or Force what they could not by Trade. To carry such a Plan into execution I believe we have frequently been invited to their Villages, but as Prevention is at all times better than Punishment I have as often declined going — & however determined the Native Inhabitants may be to preserve strictly the Rules of Hospitality, still if these Temptations are thrown in his way the Resistless Desire of Gain entirely overbalance all natural benevolence and the Possession of what they have seen becomes their Chief Object. Therefore in frequently landing we might run some danger of being surprized, & the Knowledge we should obtain would be so superficial in so Short Visits, that Mr Whidbey agreed with me it was not worth the Risk — This however had not always prevented my stopping at their Habitations, where they have not been too Numerous & on these Occasions we have taken such Necessary precautions to guard against any Surprize, that the Indians must have perceived it & therefore were equally Cautious how they offended, But speaking in general Terms of their Conduct, we found them happy to supply our Wants in whatever their Village afforded & inoffensive in their Behaviour, & a Barter established carried on with the Strictest

Honesty on both Sides. This however I greatly attributed to a proper treatment of these People on our Parts, for we would never accept of any Article till the owner was satisfied with what was offered in Exchange.

*Gabriel Franchère Portrays the Customs of the  
Columbia River Natives.*<sup>2</sup>

When in September, 1810, John Jacob Astor dispatched his ship, the *Tonquin*, around the Horn to the mouth of the Columbia with a passenger list made up largely of Canadian fur traders and boatmen, Gabriel Franchère was one of the company. He took part in the founding of Astoria, and through his service as a clerk in the trade for two years thereafter, gained an intimate knowledge of the Indians of that region. In 1813 Astoria was sold to the North West Company, Franchère declined to enter the employ of the Canadian concern and soon afterward returned overland to Montreal. The narrative of his experiences was widely read in both French and English editions.

MANNERS, CUSTOM, OCCUPATIONS, &C., OF THE NATIVES ON THE  
RIVER COLUMBIA

The natives inhabiting on the Columbia, from the mouth of that river to the falls, that is to say, on a space extending about 250 miles from east to west, are, generally speaking, of low stature, few of them passing five feet six inches, and many not even five feet. They pluck out the beard, in the manner of the other Indians of North America; but a few of the old men only suffer a tuft to grow upon their chins. On arriving among them we were exceedingly surprised to see that they had almost all flattened heads. This configuration is not a natural deformity, but an effect of art, caused by compression of the skull in infancy. It shocks strangers extremely, especially at first sight; nevertheless, among these barbarians it is an indispensable ornament: and when we signified to them how much this mode of flattening the forehead appeared to us to violate nature and good taste, they answered that it was only slaves who had not their heads flattened. The slaves, in fact, have the usual rounded head, and they are not permitted to flatten the foreheads of their children, destined to bear the chains of their sires. The natives of the Columbia procure these slaves from the neighboring tribes, and from the interior, in exchange for beads and furs. They treat them with humanity while their services are useful, but as soon as they become incapable of labor, neglect them and suffer them to perish of want. When dead, they throw their bodies, without ceremony, under the stump of an old decayed tree, or drag them to the woods to be devoured by the wolves and vultures.

<sup>2</sup> From Gabriel Franchère, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America in the Years 1811, 1812, 1813, and 1814 . . .*, edited by Reuben G. Thwaites (Cleveland, 1904), pp. 324-33.

The Indians of the Columbia are of a light copper color, active in body, and, above all, excellent swimmers. They are addicted to theft, or rather, they make no scruple of laying hands on whatever suits them in the property of strangers, whenever they can find an opportunity. The goods and effects of European manufacture are so precious in the eyes of these barbarians, that they rarely resist the temptation of stealing them.

These savages are not addicted to intemperance, unlike, in that respect the other American Indians, if we must not also except the Patagonians, who, like the Flatheads, regard intoxicating drinks as poisons, and drunkenness as disgraceful. I will relate a fact in point: one of the sons of the chief Comcomly being at the establishment one day, some of the gentlemen amused themselves with making him drink wine, and he was very soon drunk. He was sick in consequence, and remained in a state of stupor for two days. The old chief came to reproach us, saying that we had degraded his son by exposing him to the ridicule of the slaves, and besought us not to induce him to take strong liquors in future.

The men go entirely naked, not concealing any part of their bodies. Only in winter they throw over the shoulders a panther's skin, or else a sort of mantle made of the skins of wood-rats sewed together. In rainy weather I have seen them wear a mantle of rush mats, like a Roman toga, or the vestment which a priest wears in celebrating mass; thus equipped, and furnished with a conical hat made from fibrous roots and impermeable, they may call themselves rain-proof. The women, in addition to the mantle of skins, wear a petticoat made of the cedar bark, which they attach round the girdle, and which reaches to the middle of the thigh. It is a little longer behind than before, and is fabricated in the following manner: They strip off the fine bark of the cedar, soak it as one soaks hemp, and when it is drawn out into fibres, work it into a fringe; then with a strong cord they bind the fringes together. With so poor a vestment they contrive to satisfy the requirements of modesty; when they stand it drapes them fairly enough; and when they squat down in their manner, it falls between their legs, leaving nothing exposed but the bare knees and thighs. Some of the younger women twist the fibres of bark into small cords, knotted at the ends, and so form the petticoat, disposed in a fringe, like the first, but more easily kept clean and of better appearance.

Cleanliness is not a virtue among these females, who, in that respect, resemble the other Indian women of the continent. They anoint the body and dress the hair with fish oil, which does not diffuse an agreeable perfume. Their hair (which both sexes wear long) is jet black; it is badly combed, but parted in the middle, as is the custom of the sex everywhere, and kept shining by the fish-oil before-mentioned. Sometimes, in imitation of the men, they paint the whole body with a red earth mixed with fish-oil. Their ornaments consist of bracelets of brass,

which they wear indifferently on the wrists and ankles; of strings of beads of different colors (they give a preference to the blue), and displayed in great profusion around the neck, and on the arms and legs; and of white shells, called *Haiqua*, which are their ordinary circulating medium. These shells are found beyond the straits of *Juan de Fuca*, and are from one to four inches long, and about half an inch in diameter: they are a little curved and naturally perforated: the longest are most valued. The price of all commodities is reckoned in these shells; a fathom string of the largest of them is worth about ten beaver skins.

Although a little less slaves than the greater part of the Indian women elsewhere, the women on the Columbia are, nevertheless, charged with the most painful labors; they fetch water and wood, and carry the goods in their frequent changes of residence; they clean the fish and cut it up for drying; they prepare the food and cook the fruits in their season. Among their principal occupations is that of making rush mats, baskets for gathering roots, and hats very ingeniously wrought. As they want little clothing, they do not sew much, and the men have the needle in hand oftener than they.

The men are not lazy, especially during the fishing season. Not being hunters, and eating, consequently, little flesh-meat (although they are fond of it), fish makes, as I have observed, their principal diet. They profit, therefore, by the season when it is to be had, by taking as much as they can; knowing that the intervals will be periods of famine and abstinence, unless they provide sufficiently beforehand.

Their canoes are all made of cedar, and of a single trunk: we saw some which were five feet wide at midships, and thirty feet in length; these are the largest, and will carry from 25 to 30 men; the smallest will carry but two or three. The bows terminate in a very elongated point, running out four or five feet from the water line. It constitutes a separate piece, very ingeniously attached, and serves to break the surf in landing, or the wave on a rough sea. In landing they put the canoe round, so as to strike the beach stern on. Their oars or paddles are made of ash, and are about five feet long, with a broad blade, in the shape of an inverted crescent, and a cross at the top, like the handle of a crutch. The object of the crescent shape of the blade is to be able to draw it, edge-wise, through the water without making any noise, when they hunt the sea-otter, an animal which can only be caught when it is lying asleep on the rocks, and which has the sense of hearing very acute. All their canoes are painted red, and fancifully decorated.

Their houses, constructed of cedar, are remarkable for their form and size: some of them are one hundred feet in length by thirty or forty feet in width. They are constructed as follows: An oblong square of the intended size of the building is dug out to the depth of two or three feet; a double row of cedar posts is driven into the earth about ten feet apart; between these the planks are laid, overlapping each other to the requisite height. The roof is formed by a ridge-pole laid on taller posts,

notched to receive it, and is constructed with rafters and planks laid clapboard-wise, and secured by cords for want of nails. When the house is designed for several families, there is a door for each, and a separate fireplace; the smoke escapes through an aperture formed by removing one of the boards of the roof. The door is low, of an oval shape, and is provided with a ladder, cut out of a log, to descend into the lodge. The entrance is generally effected stern-foremost.

The kitchen utensils consist of plates of ashwood, bowls of fibrous roots, and a wooden kettle: with these they succeed in cooking their fish and meat in less time than we take with the help of pots and stewpans. See how they do it! Having heated a number of stones red-hot, they plunge them, one by one, in the vessel which is to contain the food to be prepared; as soon as the water boils, they put in the fish or meat, with some more heated stones on top, and cover up the whole with small rush mats, to retain the steam. In an incredibly short space of time the article is taken out and placed on a wooden platter, perfectly done and very palatable. The broth is taken out also, with a ladle of wood or horn.

It will be asked, no doubt, what instruments these savages use in the construction of their canoes and their houses. To cause their patience and industry to be admired as much as they deserve, it will be sufficient for me to mention that we did not find among them a single hatchet: their only tools consisted of an inch or half-inch chisel, usually made of an old file, and of a mallet, which was nothing but an oblong stone. With these wretched implements, and wedges made of hemlock knots, steeped in oil and hardened by the fire, they would undertake to cut down the largest cedars of the forest, to dig them out and fashion them into canoes, to split them, and get out the boards wherewith to build their houses. Such achievements with such means, are a marvel of ingenuity and patience.

The politics of the natives of the Columbia are a simple affair: each village has its chief, but that chief does not seem to exercise a great authority over his fellow-citizens. Nevertheless, at his death, they pay him great honors: they use a kind of mourning, which consists in painting the face with black, in lieu of gay colors; they chant his funeral song or oration for a whole month. The chiefs are considered in proportion to their riches: such a chief has a great many wives, slaves, and strings of beads — he is accounted a great chief. These barbarians approach in that respect to certain civilized nations, among whom the worth of a man is estimated by the quantity of gold he possesses.

As all the villages form so many independent sovereignties, differences sometimes arise, whether between the chiefs or the tribes. Ordinarily, these terminate by compensations equivalent to the injury. But when the latter is of a grave character, like a murder (which is rare), or the abduction of a woman (which is very common), the parties, having made sure of a number of young braves to aid them, prepare

for war. Before commencing hostilities, however, they give notice of the day when they will proceed to attack the hostile village; not following in that respect the custom of almost all other American Indians, who are wont to burst upon their enemy unawares, and to massacre or carry off men, women, and children; these people, on the contrary, embark in their canoes, which on these occasions are paddled by the women, repair to the hostile village, enter into parley, and do all they can to terminate the affair amicably: sometimes a third party becomes mediator between the first two, and of course observes an exact neutrality. If those who seek justice do not obtain it to their satisfaction, they retire to some distance, and the combat begins, and is continued for some time with fury on both sides; but as soon as one or two men are killed, the party which has lost these, owns itself beaten and the battle ceases. If it is the people of the village attacked who are worsted, the others do not retire without receiving presents. When the conflict is postponed till the next day (for they never fight but in open daylight, as if to render nature witness of their exploits), they keep up frightful cries all night long, and, when they are sufficiently near to understand each other, defy one another by menaces, raileries, and sarcasms, like the heroes of Homer and Virgil. The women and children are always removed from the village before the action.

Their combats are almost all maritime: for they fight ordinarily in their pirogues, which they take care to careen, so as to present the broadside to the enemy, and half lying down, avoid the greater part of the arrows let fly at them.

But the chief reason of the bloodlessness of their combats is the inefficiency of their offensive weapons, and the excellence of their defensive armor. Their offensive arms are merely a bow and arrow, and a kind of double-edged sabre, about two and a half feet long, and six inches wide in the blade: they rarely come to sufficiently close quarters to make use of the last. For defensive armor they wear a cassock or tunic of elk-skin double, descending to the ankles, with holes for the arms. It is impenetrable by their arrows, which can not pierce two thicknesses of leather; and as their heads are almost covered with a sort of helmet, the neck is almost the only part in which they can be wounded. They have another kind of corslet, made like the corsets of our ladies, of splinters of hard wood interlaced with nettle twine. The warrior who wears this cuirass does not use the tunic of elk-skin; he is consequently less protected, but a great deal more free; the said tunic being very heavy and very stiff.

It is almost useless to observe that, in their military expeditions, they have their bodies and faces daubed with different paints, often of the most extravagant designs. I remember to have seen a war-chief, with one exact half of his face painted white and the other half black.

Their marriages are conducted with a good deal of ceremony. When a young man seeks a girl in marriage his parents make the proposals

to those of the intended bride, and when it has been agreed upon what presents the future bridegroom is to offer to the parents of the bride, all parties assemble at the house of the latter, whither the neighbors are invited to witness the contract. The presents, which consist of slaves, strings of beads, copper bracelets, *haiqua* shells, &c., are distributed by the young man, who, on his part receives as many, and sometimes more, according to the means or the munificence of the parents of his betrothed. The latter is then led forward by the old matrons and presented to the young man, who takes her as his wife, and all retire to their quarters.

. . . Polygamy is permitted, indeed is customary; there are some who have as many as four or five wives; and although it often happens that the husband loves one better than the rest, they never show any jealousy, but live together in the most perfect concord.

There are charlatans everywhere, but they are more numerous among savages than anywhere else, because among these ignorant and superstitious people the trade is at once more profitable and less dangerous. As soon as a native of the Columbia is indisposed, no matter what the malady, they send for the medicine man, who treats the patient in the absurd manner usually adopted by these imposters, and with such violence of manipulation, that often a sick man, whom a timely bleeding or purgative would have saved, is carried off by a sudden death.

They deposit their dead in canoes, on rocks sufficiently elevated not to be overflowed by the spring freshets. By the side of the dead are laid his bow, his arrows, and some of his fishing implements; if it is a woman, her beads and bracelets: the wives, the relatives and the slaves of the defunct cut their hair in sign of grief, and for several days, at the rising and setting of the sun, go to some distance from the village to chant a funeral song.

#### *An Early Resident Admires Indian "Naval Architecture."*<sup>3</sup>

The coast and river tribes of Washington Territory used dug-out canoes of various designs as their principal means of conveyance, and settlers frankly acknowledged the red man's proficiency in constructing and maneuvering these primitive craft. James C. Swan, author of the following paragraphs, was particularly appreciative. He had seen many of them as he carried on his oyster business at Shoalwater Bay.

. . . The canoe which I had purchased was a beauty. She was *forty-six feet long* and *six feet wide*, and had thirty Indians in her when she crossed the bar at the mouth of the Bay. She was the largest canoe that had been brought from up the coast, although the Indians round Van-

<sup>3</sup> From James C. Swan, *The Northwest Coast; or Three Years' Residence in Washington Territory* (New York, 1857), pp. 79-82.

couver's and Queen Charlotte's Islands have canoes capable of carrying one hundred warriors. These canoes are beautiful specimens of naval architecture. Formed of a single log of cedar, they present a model of which a white mechanic might well be proud.

The other canoes are the forms used by the Indians about Fuca Straits and farther north, as being best adapted for rough water, and the Cowlitz canoe, which is mostly used on the rivers of the interior. The broad bow of the latter form is to enable the Indian to have a firm footing while he uses his pole to force the canoe over the rapids. The paddle is the shape used by the Indians in deep water, and is different from the Chenook paddle, which is notched at the end.

The manufacture of a canoe is a work of great moment with these Indians. It is not every man among them that can make a canoe, but some are, like our white mechanics, more expert than their neighbors. A suitable tree is first selected, which in all cases is the cedar, and then cut down. This job was formerly a formidable one, as the tree was chipped around with stone chisels, after the fashion adopted by beavers, and looks as if gnawed off. At present, however, they understand the use of the axe, and many are expert choppers. When the tree is down, it is first stripped of its bark, then cut off into the desired length, and the upper part split off with little wedges, till it is reduced to about two thirds the original height of the log. The bows and stern are then chopped into a rough shape, and enough cut out of the inside to lighten it so that it can be easily turned. When all is ready, the log is turned bottom up, and the Indian goes to work to fashion it out. This he does with no instrument of measurement but his eye, and so correct is that, that when he has done his hewing no one could detect the least defect. When the outside is formed and rough-hewn, the log is again turned, and the inside cut out with the axe. This operation was formerly done by fire, but the process was slow and tedious. During the chopping the Indian frequently ascertains the thickness of the sides by placing one hand on the outside and the other on the inside. The canoe is now again turned bottom up, and the whole smoothed off with a peculiar-shaped chisel, used something after the manner of a cooper's adze. This is a very tiresome job, and takes a long time. Then the inside is finished, and the canoe now has to be stretched into shape. It is first nearly filled with water, into which hot stones are thrown, and a fire at the same time of bark is built outside. This in a short time renders the wood so supple that the center can be spread open at the top from six inches to a foot. This is kept in place by sticks or stretchers, similar to the method of a boat's thwarts. The ends of these stretchers are fastened by means of withes made from the taper ends of cedar limbs, twisted and used instead of cords. When all is finished, the water is emptied out, and then the stem and head-pieces are put on. These are carved from separate sticks, and are fastened on by means of withes and wooden pegs or tree-nails. After the inside is finished to the satisfaction of the maker,

the canoe is again turned, and the charred part, occasioned by the bark fire, is rubbed with stones to make the bottom as smooth as possible, when the whole outside is painted over with a black mixture made of burned rushes and whale oil. The inside is also painted red with a mixture of red ochre and oil. The edges all round are studded with little shells, which are the valve joint of the common snail, and, when brass-headed nails can be obtained, they are used in profusion. This description I give is of the making of a canoe near my house, and I saw the progress every day, from the time the tree was cut down till the canoe was finished. This was a medium sized canoe, and took three months to finish it.

... We could have reached home easily, but, as there was no occasion for haste, I preferred to travel just as the Indians were used to going, without hurrying them up continually, which only vexes them to no purpose. Indians can be hired to go as quick as a person desires, but when they are traveling with their families, they dislike very much being obliged to go faster than a very moderate pace.

When in the canoe, all hands will paddle vehemently, and one would suppose the journey would be speedily accomplished, the canoe seeming almost to fly. This speed will be kept up for a hundred rods, when they cease paddling, and all begin talking. Perhaps one has spied something, which he has to describe while the rest listen; or another thinks of some funny anecdote or occurrence that has transpired among the Indians they have been visiting, that has to be related; or they are passing some remarkable tree, or cliff, or stone, which has a legend attached to it, and which the old folks never can pass without relating to the young, who all give the most respectful attention. When the tale is over, the steersman gives the word "*Que-nuk, que-nuk, whid-tuck*" (now, now, hurry), when all again paddle away with a desperate energy for a few moments, and then the same scene is again enacted. But if the wind happens to be fair, then they are happy; the sail is set if they have one, or, if not, some one's blanket serves instead, and down they sit in the bottom of the canoe, and eat dried fish and tell stories. If the wind is very fresh and squally, they sit to the windward, and whenever a puff strikes the sail strong enough to threaten a capsize, they all dip their paddles deep into the water, bringing the broadside of the blade toward the bottom of the canoe, which serves the purpose of righting her and throwing the sail up into the wind. They are exceedingly expert in their canoes, and very seldom meet with accidents.

*James G. Swan Explains the Use of the Jargon Among  
the Coast Tribes.*<sup>4</sup>

James Swan was one of the first territorial residents to develop a scholarly interest in the study of Indian cultures in the Northwest. Returning to the Atlantic coast in 1856, he enriched his personal knowledge by research in Eastern libraries, and became interested in the work of the newly established Smithsonian Institution. In later years, after serving for some time as teacher on the Indian reservation at Neah Bay, he prepared an extended study, "The Indians of Cape Flattery," which was published in the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, Vol. XVI (Washington, D. C., 1870). See the biographical sketch in Harvey K. Hines, *Illustrated History of the State of Washington* (Chicago, 1893).

The language of the tribes north of the Columbia is a guttural sound which to a stranger seems a compound of the gruntings of a pig and the clucking of a hen. All the tribes of the Territory (some twenty-five) speak a language which, though sounding the same to unpracticed ears, is very different when understood; and even tribes so nearly connected as the Chenooks, Chehalis, and Queniults, being only a few miles distant from each other, yet members of the one can not understand the language of the other. Still, there are individuals of each who, from a roving, trading disposition, have become familiar with each other's tongue, and can usually make themselves understood. The Chehalis language is that most usually spoken at present, for the ancient Chenook is such a guttural, difficult tongue, that many of the young Chenook Indians can not speak it, but have been taught by their parents the Chehalis language and the Jargon. The Jargon is the medium with which the Indians hold intercourse with each other and with the whites.

This Jargon is composed of Chenook, French, and English languages, and is supposed by many to have been formed by the Hudson Bay Company for trading purposes. Such, however, is not the fact. There have been constant additions to the Jargon since the advent of the Hudson Bay Company, for many of the words now in general use in this language are of French and English origin; but I think that, among the Coast Indians in particular, the Indian part of the language has been in use for years.

The first mention I have seen made of this Jargon is in Meares's voyages in 1788, where, in giving an account of a chief named Callicum, who hurt his leg while climbing on board ship, and then sucked the blood from the wound, Meares states he "licked his lips, and, patting his belly, exclaimed *Cloosh, cloosh*, or good, good." *Cloosh*, or *klose*, or *close*, are all the same, and mean good.

Still later than this, in 1803, Jewett, in his narrative of the ship *Boston*, at Nootka, gives a vocabulary of the words in common use among

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<sup>4</sup> From James G. Swan, *The Northwest Coast; or Three Years' Residence in Washington Territory* (New York, 1857), pp. 306-16.

the Nootkans, and from which I have selected the following to compare them with the present Chenook dialect or Jargon.

Nootka.	Chenook.	English.
Kloots'mah,	Klooch'man,	Woman.
Ta-nas-sis,	Ta-nas,	Child, or any thing small.
Sick-a-min-ny,	Chink-a-min,	Iron.
Ma'mook,	Ma-mook,	Work.
Kom-me-tak,	Kum-tux,	Understand.
Klu-shish or } Cloosh, }	Klose or Close,	Good.
Ty-ee,	Ty-ee,	Chief.
See-yah'poks,	Sear'por-tle,	Cap or hat.
Klack'ko,	Klar'koon,	Good.
Pow,	Pow or Po,	Report of a gun or cannon; a gun.
Klat'tur-wah,	Clat'te-wah,	Go off or go away.

The different manner in which the words are spelled is no evidence of a difference of meaning; for no two writers of Indian words fully agree as to the proper method of spelling. As an instance of this variety, I may cite that in the Commissioner's Report on Indian Affairs, 1854, page 215, the *Cammassa esculenta*, or *La Cammass*, as the French call it, is by Governor Stevens called and spelled *Camash*. On page 229, Mr. Gibbs spells it *Kamaäs*, and Wilkes has it *Lackamus*. Now these all mean one and the same thing.

There is a river emptying into Shoal-water Bay called the *Marhoo*. This is called by the Chehalis *Marh* or *Marhoo*, by the Chenooks *Nemarh*, and by the whites *Nemar*; while some of the latter have given it the name of *Neemy*. Now no casual reader would ever suppose that *Marh* or *Marhoo* and *Neemy* were the names of the same river; but it serves to illustrate the different impression the sound of words makes on different individuals.

So, also, in writing words, *k* and *c* are used indiscriminately by writers, and although they make a word look different when written or printed, yet they produce in some situations the same sound. For instance, the words *Cowlitz*, *Carcowan*, *Cultus*, *Cumtux*, etc., can be and are frequently written *Kowlitz*, *Karkowan*, *Kultus*, *Kumtux*. I think, however, if a rule was adopted to spell all words of French or English origin as originally spelled, it would be correct; but by using *k* it gives a word a sort of an Indian appearance, which some writers affect. *Cammass* should not be spelled with a *k* any more than *Columbia*.

The Indians are very quick to detect any difference in the intonation or method of pronunciation of the whites, and sometimes think we speak different languages. An Indian asked me one day (while pointing to a cow) what was the name we called that animal. I told him *cow*. He said that he had just asked another white man, and he called it a *caow*.

By this means, different Indians who have been with the whites acquire a habit of pronouncing such English words as they pick up in the same style and manner as the person from whom they learn them.

This causes a certain discrepancy in the Jargon, which at first is difficult to get over. And, again, each tribe will add some local words of their own language, so that while a person can make himself understood among any of the tribes for the purposes of trade, it is difficult to hold a lengthened conversation on any subject without the aid of some one who has become more familiar with the peculiar style.

This fact I saw instanced on an occasion of a treaty made, or attempted to be made, by Governor Stevens with five tribes on the Chehalis River in the spring of 1855. There were present the Cowlitz, the Chehalis, Chenook, Queniult, and Satchap Indians. Colonel B. F. Shaw was the interpreter, and spoke the language fluently; but, although he was perfectly understood by the Cowlitz and Satchap Indians, he was but imperfectly understood by the Chenooks, Chehalis; and Queniults, and it was necessary for those present who were conversant with the Coast tribes to repeat to them what he said before they could fully understand.

The peculiar clucking sound is produced by the tongue pressing against the roof of the mouth, and pronouncing a word ending with *tl* as if there was the letter *k* at the end of the *tl*; but it is impossible, in any form or method of spelling that I know of, to convey the proper guttural clucking sound. Sometimes they will, as if for amusement, end all their words with *tl*; and the effect is ludicrous to hear three or four talking at the same time with this singular sound, like so many sitting hens.

The Chehalis language is very rich in words, and every one is so expressive that it is not possible, like the Jargon, to make mistakes; for instance, in the Jargon, which is very limited, the same word represents a great many different things.

Tupsoe means hair, feathers, the finely-pounded bark of the young cedar, grass, blossoms, and leaves, but in the Chehalis and Queniult languages each of these things is represented by a specific word. They have also a separate word for every plant, shrub, and flower, as our own botanists have. I noticed this among even the children, who frequently brought me collections of flowers. They readily told me the name of each, and were certainly more conversant with a difference in plants than many of our own children, and even grown people, who are too ready to class all common plants as weeds.

Many of the Jargon words, though entirely different, yet sound so much alike when quickly spoken, that a stranger is apt to get deceived; and I have known persons who did not well understand the Jargon get angry with an Indian, thinking he said something entirely different from what he actually did.

The words *wake*, *no*, and *wicht*, directly or after, sound, as pronounced, very similar. "*Cha-ko, hiac, cha-ko*," "Come quick! come," said a settler one day to an Indian who was very busy. "*Wicht nika*

*cha-ko*," "I will come directly," said the Indian. But the white man understood him to say, "*Wake nika cha-ko*," "I will not come," consequently got angry. "You don't understand Indian talk; I did not say I would not come," said the Indian. If he had said *Narwitka*, yes, the white man would have understood.

### CHAPTER III.

## THE FUR TRADE IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

### *John Jacob Astor Finds a Trading Post on the Columbia.*<sup>1</sup>

For a time it seemed that John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company might compete with the North West Company in the Far West with some effectiveness. Sanctioned by the government, financed with \$400,000 of Astor money, and staffed with canny Scotsmen who knew the business, the establishment on the Columbia gave every promise of producing the pay cargoes needed for the trade with China. Had not the War of 1812 intervened, it is possible that Astor might have continued his interest in the Oregon country as he did in the Middle West. The war, however, obliged Astor to sell the post at Astoria, and the company was soon dissolved.

Washington Irving's vivid account of the whole venture was responsible for much of the popular interest that Americans later took in Astoria, and travelers to the West often referred to his book. The passage presented here relates the story of the establishment of the fort, after Captain Thorn, commander of the ship *Tonquin*, had brought the party by sea from New York. It begins with the decision of the partners to build on the south bank of the river. Clearly evident in Irving's narrative is the friction which marred the captain's relations with Duncan McDougall and the other partners. Captain Thorn perished in the catastrophe that subsequently overtook the *Tonquin*. Soon after the vessel left Astoria, hostile Indians succeeded in taking concealed weapons on board during a trading visit, and massacred the crew. While scores of Indians were on board, someone touched off the powder magazine, blowing ship and savages to pieces. See Kenneth W. Porter, *John Jacob Astor, Business Man*, 2 Vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), I, 164ff.

... [Captain Thorn] and some of the partners explored the river for some distance in a large boat, to select a suitable place for the trading post. Their old jealousies and differences continued; they never could coincide in their choice, and the captain objected altogether to any site so high up the river. They all returned, therefore, to Baker's bay in no very good-humor. The partners proposed to examine the opposite shore, but the captain was impatient of any further delay. His eagerness to "get on" had increased upon him. He thought all these excursions a sheer loss of time, and was resolved to land at once, build a shelter for the reception of that part of his cargo destined for the use of the settlement, and, having cleared his ship of it and of his irksome shipmates, to depart upon the prosecution of his coasting voyage, according to orders.

On the following day, therefore, without troubling himself to consult the partners, he landed in Baker's bay, and proceeded to erect a

<sup>1</sup> From Washington Irving, *Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise Beyond the Rocky Mountains* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1836), I, 91-8.

shed for the reception of the rigging, equipments, and stores of the schooner that was to be built for the use of the settlement.

This dogged determination on the part of the sturdy captain gave high offence to Mr. M'Dougal, who now considered himself at the head of the concern, as Mr. Astor's representative and proxy. He set off the same day, (April 5th,) accompanied by Mr. David Stuart, for the southern shore, intending to be back by the seventh. Not having the captain to contend with, they soon pitched upon a spot which appeared to them favorable for the intended establishment. It was on a point of land called point George, having a very good harbor, where vessels, not exceeding two hundred tons burthen, might anchor within fifty yards of the shore.

After a day thus profitably spent, they re-crossed the river, but landed on the northern shore, several miles above the anchoring ground of the Tonquin, in the neighborhood of Chinook, and visited the village of that tribe. Here they were received with great hospitality by the chief, who was named Comcomly, a shrewd old savage, with but one eye, who will occasionally figure in this narrative. Each village forms a petty sovereignty, governed by its own chief, who, however, possesses but little authority, unless he be a man of wealth and substance; that is to say, possessed of canoes, slaves, and wives. The greater number of these, the greater is the chief. How many wives this one-eyed potentate maintained we are not told, but he certainly possessed great sway, not merely over his own tribe, but over the neighborhood.

With this worthy tribe of Chinooks the two partners passed a part of a day very agreeably. M'Dougal, who was somewhat vain of his official rank, had given it to be understood that they were two chiefs of a great trading company, about to be established here, and the quicksighted, though one-eyed chief, who was somewhat practiced in traffic with white men, immediately perceived the policy of cultivating the friendship of two such important visitors. He regaled them, therefore, to the best of his ability, with abundance of salmon and wappatoo. The next morning, March 7th, they prepared to return to the vessel, according to promise. They had eleven miles of open bay to traverse; the wind was fresh, the waves ran high. Comcomly remonstrated with them on the hazard to which they would be exposed. They were resolute, however, and launched their boat, while the wary chieftain followed at some short distance in his canoe. Scarce had they rowed a mile, when a wave broke over their boat and upset it. They were in imminent peril of drowning, especially Mr. M'Dougal, who could not swim. Comcomly, however, came bounding over the waves in his light canoe, and snatched them from a watery grave.

They were taken on shore and a fire made, at which they dried their clothes, after which Comcomly conducted them back to his village. Here every thing was done that could be devised for their entertainment

during three days that they were detained by bad weather. Comcomly made his people perform antics before them; and his wives and daughters endeavored, by all the soothing and endearing arts of women, to find favor in their eyes. Some even painted their bodies with red clay, and anointed themselves with fish oil, to give additional lustre to their charms. Mr. M'Dougal seems to have had a heart susceptible to the influence of the gentler sex. Whether or no it was first touched on this occasion we do not learn; but it will be found, in the course of this work, that one of the daughters of the hospitable Comcomly eventually made a conquest of the great eri of the American Fur Company.

When the weather had moderated and the sea become tranquil, the one-eyed chief of the Chinooks manned his state canoe, and conducted his guests in safety to the ship, where they were welcomed with joy, for apprehensions had been felt for their safety. Comcomly and his people were then entertained on board of the Tonquin, and liberally rewarded for their hospitality and services. They returned home highly satisfied, promising to remain faithful friends and allies of the white men.

From the report made by the two exploring partners, it was determined that point George should be the site of the trading house. These gentlemen, it is true, were not perfectly satisfied with the place, and were desirous of continuing their search; but Captain Thorn was impatient to land his cargo and continue his voyage, and protested against any more of what he termed "sporting excursions."

Accordingly, on the 12th day of April the launch was freighted with all things necessary for the purpose, and sixteen persons departed in her to commence the establishment, leaving the Tonquin to follow as soon as the harbor could be sounded.

Crossing the wide mouth of the river, the party landed, and encamped at the bottom of a small bay within point George. The situation chosen for the fortified post was on an elevation facing to the north, with the wide estuary, its sand bars, and tumultuous breakers spread out before it, and the promontory of cape Disappointment, fifteen miles distant, closing the prospect to the left. The surrounding country was in all the freshness of spring; the trees were in the young leaf, the weather was superb, and every thing looked delightful to men just emancipated from a long confinement on shipboard. The Tonquin shortly afterwards made her way through the intricate channel, and came to anchor in the little bay, and was saluted from the encampment with three volleys of musketry and three cheers. She returned the salute with three cheers and three guns.

All hands now set to work cutting down trees, clearing away thickets, and marking out the place for the residence, storehouse, and powder magazine, which were to be built of logs and covered with bark. Others landed the timbers intended for the frame of the coasting vessel, and proceeded to put them together; while others prepared a garden spot, and sowed the seeds of various vegetables.

The next thought was to give a name to the embryo metropolis; the one that naturally presented itself was that of the projector and supporter of the whole enterprise. It was accordingly named Astoria.

The neighboring Indians now swarmed about the place. Some brought a few land-otter and sea-otter skins to barter, but in very scanty parcels; the greater number came prying about to gratify their curiosity, for they are said to be impertinently inquisitive; while not a few came with no other design than to pilfer; the laws of *meum* and *tuum* being but slightly respected among them. Some of them beset the ship in their canoes, among whom was the Chinook chief Comcomly, and his liege subjects. These were well received by Mr. M'Dougal, who was delighted with an opportunity of entering upon his functions and acquiring importance in the eyes of his future neighbors. The confusion thus produced on board, and the derangement of the cargo caused by this petty trade, stirred the spleen of the captain, who had a sovereign contempt for the one-eyed chieftain and all his crew. He complained loudly of having his ship lumbered by a host of "Indian ragamuffins," who had not a skin to dispose of, and at length put his positive interdict upon all trafficking on board. Upon this Mr. M'Dougal was fain to land, and establish his quarters at the encampment, where he could exercise his rights and enjoy his dignities without control.

The feud, however, between these rival powers still continued, but was chiefly carried on by letter. Day after day, and week after week elapsed, yet the storehouses requisite for the reception of the cargo were not completed, and the ship was detained in port; while the captain was teased by frequent requisitions for various articles for the use of the establishment, or the trade with the natives. An angry correspondence took place, in which he complained bitterly of the time wasted in "smoking and sporting parties," as he termed the reconnoitring expeditions, and in clearing and preparing meadow ground and turnip patches, instead of dispatching his ship. At length all these jarring matters were adjusted, if not to the satisfaction, at least to the acquiescence of all parties. The part of the cargo destined for the use of Astoria was landed, and the ship left free to proceed on her voyage.

As the Tonquin was to coast to the north to trade for peltries at the different harbors, and to touch at Astoria on her return in the autumn, it was unanimously determined that Mr. M'Kay should go in her as supercargo, taking with him Mr. Lewis as ship's clerk. On the first of June the ship got under way, and dropped down to Baker's bay, where she was detained for a few days by a head wind; but early in the morning of the fifth stood out to sea with a fine breeze and swelling canvass, and swept off gayly on her fatal voyage, from which she was never to return!

*An Old Diary Reveals the Daily Life of the Fur Traders.*<sup>2</sup>

The following are typical selections from the diary of a clerk in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company. The writer, John Work, was a burly, easygoing Irishman, one of Dr. John McLoughlin's trusted lieutenants. He shouldered a very considerable responsibility for the management of trading operations in the Flathead country (now western Montana) and on the upper Columbia.

The entries for December 17, 1825, to January 29, 1826 picture the winter's routine at the Flathead post. Those dated August 16 through September 6, 1826, describe the summer journey which was made to purchase the furs collected by the Flathead Indians during the preceding winter. See references to Work in Richard C. Montgomery, *White-Headed Eagle* (New York, 1934).

## Saturday 17th [December, 1825.]

Heavy rain in the night & the greater part of the day. The Flat Head Indians to the number of 60 to 70 arrived headed by three chiefs, they were all on horseback and came singing and firing guns with a flag flying. We answered their fire with a volley of Muskets. The Chiefs & some of the principle men smoked in the gentlemen's house, & all the others in the Indian House. The weather is so very bad that we cannot well put them out and they will have to sleep through the houses the best way they can. It is too late to trade today.

After dark the men arrived from below bringing letters from Mr. Dease dated on the 4th & 10th inst. and five guns & 4 doz. gun worms which we requested, but no Tobacco is sent which is unfortunate as it is an article which is in great demand and of which I am apprehensive we will be short. Mr. Dease informs us that we will require to be down in time to meet the Express at the Forks about the 5th of April. Without injuring the trade we cannot reach Spokane so early as our Indians will not have arrived with their spring hunts.

## Sunday 18

Sharp frost in the morning.

Commenced trading with the F. Heads and by noon had traded all the articles they had for sale when a present of 20 Ball & Powder & 2 feet of Tobacco was made to each of the Chiefs and a remuneration made two of them at the request of Mr. Ogden, per note, for services rendered the Snake Expedition & assisting in bringing home the Snake furs. Some others of the principal men got also a present of a few balls & Powder and in the afternoon they all went off apparently well pleased. On account of the bad road and weakness of the horses the greater part of the Flat Heads are not going to [hunt] the Buffalo this winter but are going to pass the winter hunting beaver. This will probably occasion a small[er] quantity of Provisions being procured in spring than usual.

<sup>2</sup> From "Journal of John Work," edited by T. C. Elliott, in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, V, 260-9; VI, 39-47. Dashes at end of sentences have been removed, and in a few cases periods or commas have been supplied.

but I expect it will be the means of an increase in the more valuable articles of furs.

I have not yet been able to ascertain the amount of the trade.

Monday 19

Overcast mild weather.

Had the men busily employed packing the Snake furs and also those traded here, in order to send off two canoes to the Coeur de Alan Portage as soon as possible, so that the men may get the canoes back before the ice takes.

Examined yesterdays trade and find it to amount to 222 Large and 107 small beaver, 1 Otter, 4 Robes, 72 Appichimons, 1 Elk Skin, 18 pack saddles, 113 fath. cords, 4 Hair Bridles, 52 Bales, 3122 lbs. dry meat, 119 fresh Tongues, 23 dry Tongues, 2 bosses & 10½ lb. castorum, which is much less than we expected. The greater part of the summer was occupied in pursuit of Buffaloes, which prevented them from hunting beaver, and as they are not going back to the Buffalo at present, they kept a considerable part of their meat to subsist on during the winter.

Some freemen paid us a visit, they were told to come tomorrow with the furs and get some supplies.

Sunday 25

Cloudy, Raw cold weather. Masses of ice running pretty thick down the River.

This being Christmas Day the two men here had a dram, and we served out extra each a ration of fresh meat, a tongue, & a quart of Flour. For the old freeman Bastang the same.

Five Kootany Indians of the Au platte tribe arrived and traded 14 Large and 4 Small beaver, 1 Otter, 17 dressed Deer Skins and 3 parrefliches [?], principally for ammunition & Knives & a little Tobacco. Two Pendent Oreilles traded the carcasses of 2 sheep, females, the one weighed 62 & the other 60 lbs.

Monday 26

Overcast mild weather, the river clear of ice, except some patches along its edge.

The men employed cutting firewood.

Tuesday 27th

Overcast stormy weather. Wind Northerly.

The men employed assorting and bailing up meat.

The Indians are still trading a few appichimans, saddles &c but few furs.

Wed.y. 28th

Cloudy cold weather. Ice running pretty thick in the River.

The men finishing assorting and baling up the meat, We have now

in store 67 Bales, 84 lbs. net each, viz 36 of lean, 19 Back Fat & 12 Inside Fat, or 3024 lbs. Lean Meat 1596 lbs. Back fats & 1008 lbs. Inside fats, in all 5628 lbs. Some of the Indians moving a little further down the River, but as some others are coming up in their place the number of lodges still keeps about 20. Those Indians that remain here employ the most of their time gambling.

#### Thursday 29th

Overcast, Snowed thick the afterpart of the day. Ice running in the River.

The River below will probably freeze over with this weather and prevent the Canoes from getting up.

#### Friday 30th

Overcast mild weather, some snow. Ice running in the river but not so much as yesterday. Nothing doing in the way of trade except a chance appichiman, parreffiches [?] etc. The Indians occupy the greater part of their time gambling, even where it is snowing they are playing out of doors and a group sitting about the parties engaged watching the progress of the game.

#### Saturday 31st

Snowed thick in the night and the forepart of the day. The snow lies nearly 6 inches thick on the ground. Very little ice running in the River. The men who were sent off to Spokane on the 22nd arrived in the evening with letters from Mr. Dease and 1/2 Roll of Tobacco & 1/2 gross of awls. The men had to leave the canoes yesterday below the Chutes as the Navigation was stopped by ice. They have made a very expeditious voyage.

Mr. Dease in one of his letters expresses a wish that Mr. Kittson or I would pay him a visit. Nothing material has occurred at Spokane since we heard from it last.

#### Jan.y. 1826. Sunday 1st

Stormy with heavy rain the greater part of the day, the snow has nearly all disappeared.

This being the first day of the new year, according to custom, each of the men got an extra ration of 6 lb. fresh venison, 2 lbs. back fat, 1 Buffalo tongue, 1 pint of Flour and 1 pint of Rum. At daylight they ushered in the new year with a volley of musketry, when they were treated with 4 glasses each of Rum, cakes & a pipe of Tobacco. With this and the pint given to each of them, they soon contrived to get nearly all pretty drunk. They appeared to pass the day comfortably enjoying themselves without quarreling. An Indian brought us a female Chiveaux [?], Round, Skin & all.

## Monday 2nd

Wind N. W. and stormy during the night and all day, but not cold, the snow has all disappeared except on the mountains. No ice driving in the River.

The men doing little today.

The Indians women were sent off to gather gum to repair one of the canoes to make another trip below if the weather continues favorable.

## Tuesday 3rd.

Blew a perfect storm in the night, but calm overcast mild soft weather during the day.

Had part of the men repairing and gumming a canoe and making paddles, the others packing up Appechimons, dressed leather, Robes, &c making in all 18 pieces or about 2/3 a canoe load, which is all in readiness to start tomorrow, for the Coeur de Alan portage. I intend going myself, with 6 men, to proceed to Spokane. I expect we will reach the portage before the River freezes but we will probably have to walk back. I am induced to take this trip in consequence of Mr. Dease expressing a wish that either Mr. Kittson or I would visit him. Mr. Kittson remains in charge of the place.

## [Friday 20]

... Nothing material has occurred since I went off. Little done in the way of trade except of fresh provisions, some Inds. from above arrived with 14 deer which has served the people & saved dry provisions for some time back on account of the mild soft weather it is difficult to keep it from spoiling. The men have been employed, getting wood for a canoe, making troughs to beat meat & make pimmican, cutting cords, & putting an upper flooring in the house, etc.

## Satdy. 21

Cloudy fine pleasant weather, thawing.  
An Indian brought the carcass of a deer.

## Sunday 22

Mild pleasant weather.

## Monday 23

Cloudy cold weather sharp frost in the night.  
Six men with some horses were sent off for canoe timber with which they returned in the evening. The road was very bad as they had to ascend the mountains. It is difficult to procure wood for canoes here now.

## Tuesday 24

Overcast soft weather. C. McKay and six men were sent up the river in a canoe to an Indian camp in expectation that they will be able to trade some fresh provisions. It is supposed they will be two days reach-

ing the camp. If we be able to procure some venison it will save the dry provisions.

The Old freeman Paget and a man Pierre, were sent down to Thompson's Plain with the horses where the grass is better.

Wed.y. 25th

Overcast soft mild weather.

Two men employed dressing canoe wood, the others cutting wood &c.

Thursday 26

Weather as yesterday, some light snow.

The men employed as yesterday. Two Kootany Indians arrived and traded Deer skins principally for ammunition.

Friday 27

Disagreeable cold weather blowing fresh from the Northward. The men bent the timbers for the canoe.

Sata.y. 28

Soft weather some snow.

Had the provisions examined, a little of it was mouldy. put 5 bales on the loft to dry, to beat for pimican.

Sunday 29

Raw cold overcast weather.

C. McKay and the men who went off on tuesday returned. The River is so shallow above that they could not get the canoe to the Indians camp but two men were sent. The Indians have had no provisions and the people were starving when they got a little. Only about two animals are brought home. They brought home the skin of a ram, horns and all, for stuffing.

Wedy 16th. August, 1826.

Warm sultry weather.

Set out [from Fort Colville] accompanied by Mr. Kittson, and 7 men which with the 6 ahead making the road makes 13, to make the summer trade at the F. Heads and Kootanies. We have 9 horses loaded with the articles of trade, provisions, gum etc—to repair the canoes. Mr. Kittson and I with 12 men are to proceed to the F. Heads and make the trade there, and a man is to cross into the Kootenay country to tell them to come and meet us to trade at the Lake on our return.

Did not make a long days march, encamped in the afternoon at a small river where there was a little place for the horses to feed. The distance made today was about 15 to 20 miles. The course from the fort till we struck off the Spokane road nearly South 8 to ten miles. The remainder of the day it was about S. E. by E 10 to 12 miles. The road was

in general good and lay through clear woods and small plains, except a piece near the fort called the Cedar, where the woods are very thick-etty and the ground swampy and boggy and a deep gully of a river to cross. There is a small lake close by our encampment.

Thursday 24

Cold weather with fog in the morning, showery afterwards.

Set out in the morning accompanied by two men, Chalifoux and Dechamp to find the Indians and apprise them of our arrival, though we expected to find some encamped at Thompson's plains. We did not see any lodges till near the big rock below the F. Head fort, where we learned that the Indians were encamped at the Horse plains. Here I sent back Dechamp and borrowed two horses for Chalifoux and myself, and proceeded to the camp, where we arrived in the afternoon, and found about 50 lodges. [Flat] Heads and Pendant Oreille, and four chiefs, Le Brute, Gros Pied, Grand Visage and Bourge Pendant Oreille. I stopped at Le Brute's lodge. The old man was glad to see me, and immediately gave me to eat. The other chiefs and the principal Indians soon assembled and smoked, during which we were employed giving and receiving all the news on both sides. The old chief said he much regretted that this year his people had been unfortunate having been able to procure but a small quantity of provisions and very few furs. That the cause of the scarcity of provisions was owing to the place being full of other Indians who disturb the buffalo. They have had no war except some horse stealing skirmishes in which they killed one Indian and lost one of their own men. A party of the F. Heads had fallen in with some of the Snake deserters and some Americans, two of them deserters, J. Guy and Jacques accompanied them to some of the camps, and Guy presented the two chiefs, Gros Pied and Grand Visage, with some tobacco and a little scarlet as from the chief of the American party Ashly, whom they said wished to see the Indians, and that he was [then] off for a large quantity of supplies. A few F. Heads, Nezperces and 2 Snakes, in all 22 have gone off to see them. A considerable party of the natives under [Grune] and Red Feather are at [Ravine] de Mere, but the others say they have nothing to trade and that their horses are very lean, that prevented them from coming in.

A former deserter, Jacques, states that the Americans last Spring took out 200 horse loads of beaver, that they are to return with 150 horse loads of goods, and that another company is coming in with a quantity equally as large, and that they were told that 3 and afterwards 5 ships were to come to the Columbia or near the river. This report was also circulated among the Indians, but we undeceived them.

Satd.y. 26

Cold in the morning, clear, fine weather afterwards.

Trade was resumed at an early hour, and the whole finished by breakfast time, when the men were set to tie up the things, and a little past noon we embarked, and encamped in the evening a little above the Isle de Pine rapid.

Had a long conversation with the principal Indians, and made arrangements about the time they would be coming to meet us in the fall, which they said would be the usual time. Each of the chiefs got a present of 40 balls and powder and a little tobacco. A small present was also sent to the absent chiefs, and they were strongly recommended to exert themselves hunting beaver, and also to bring in provisions. They are all well pleased.

A report has been spread among the Indians that this was the last time we are to trade with them. They say they were told by a young man from below who heard it from some white men. The Americans it was added were now to get the country. This they were told was false. We applied to them to bring in our deserters who are with them.

The trade is inferior to that of last year in everything. There were only 221 beaver, 90 [?] bales of meat, 66 appichimens, very little dressed leather, and some cords, and 5 lodges.

Sunday 27

Light, clouds, fine, pleasant weather.

Embarked before sunrise and reached the Kootenay portage at the lower end of the Lake in the evening, where we found Morton and the Kootany chief with 12 or 13 of his people. The evening was employed smoking and giving and receiving the news. They are not satisfied because the whites did not go to their lands to trade as usual. They say messages were sent from the fort for them to go and trade there. They had a good many beaver. They passed the summer in the upper waters of their own river.

Monday 28.

Clear, pleasant weather.

Commenced trading before sunrise, and by breakfast time had purchased all the disposable articles. The trade is good, better by far than last year, and amounts to 382 beaver, & 12 damaged do. 220 Rats, 20 dressed skins & 25 Deer skins besides some cords, etc. They have a good many rats and dressed skins at their lodges which they say, on account of the leanness of their horses, they could not bring with them. It was therefore deemed advisable that Mr. Kittson should accompany them with a supply of trading articles and purchase the whole, they are to lend him horses to go & return. Three men accompany him, & Pierre L. Etang & a man waits for him with a canoe till he returns, while I with the other two canoes full loaded proceed to the Pendant Oreille portage, and send off for the horses. By this means the trade can be finished without loss of time as the remaining canoe will be still at the portage by the time the horses arrive from the fort. Mr. Kittson will

probably proceed down the Kootenay river to examine it and send back the men to the canoe, perhaps one man and an Indian will accompany him, he is to be guided by circumstances. He will still reach the fort before us. Accordingly about 2 o'clock we both took our departure, and encamped with the canoes a little below the Cour de Alan Portage.

#### Satdy. 2nd [September]

Thick fog in the morning, clear fine weather afterwards.

After breakfast the canoe which was left at the Kootenay Portage arrived. Mr. Kittson made a pretty good trade in leather, & as was intended has gone down the Kootenay River to examine it. The men were immediately set to to arrange the pieces brought in the canoe, and application made to the Indians for the number of horses required in addition to those brought from the fort, but it was found that it would be too late before everything could be arranged and the Indian horses collected to start, therefore we deferred moving till tomorrow. The horses sent from the fort are short 2 of the number mentioned by Mr. [McDonald]. The men say all they brought from the fort are here, as there is no list of the horses I can't tell the ones that are missing.

#### Sunday 3rd.

Thick fog in the morning clear fine weather afterwards.

On account of the thick fog the Indians were some time of collecting their horses and it was late before they arrived with them, it was 10 o'clock when we started and we encamped about 2 at the foot of a hill, good feeding in a fine meadow for the horses. We made but a short day's journey, but we had to put up or it would have been too much for the horses to cross the hill to another place to encamp. The road was pretty good mostly through plains but a piece of thick woods. Some places the road is boggy.

#### Monday 4

Cloudy and foggy in the morning clear afterwards.

The people collected the horses at daylight, but before they were loaded it was about 7 o'clock, where we entered the woods and commenced ascending the hill, the top of which we did not reach till past noon, and it was near sunset when we encamped on the Kettle Fall little river. In mounting the hill the woods are generally thick, the road pretty good but in many places very steep and very laborious for the horses to ascend, gullies in many places cross the road. In descending on the West side it is also pretty steep and the road in some places stony. At two or three places in crossing the hill a little off the road there is water and a little herbage for the horses, but it would be difficult to keep a [large band] for the night. The summer and fall is the only season that this road is practicable with horses. The horses are a good deal fatigued.

Tuesday 5

Foggy in the morning fine weather afterwards.

Had the horses collected at an early hour and started a little past sunrise, and encamped a little past noon. It would have been too much for the horses to go to the fort after the hard day they had yesterday. Had two bales of leather that got wet by a horse falling in a swamp yesterday evening, opened and dried, and in the evening I left the men, and arrived at the fort after sunset, the men are to follow in the morning.

Wed. 6th.

Clear fine weather.

The people with the horses, and property arrived in the forenoon, where the loads were received and all opened and examined and in good order.

*A Hudson's Bay Company Brigade Journeys from Vancouver  
to Walla Walla<sup>2</sup>*

In the itinerary of the Wilkes Exploring Expedition the visit to the Pacific Northwest was but a minor incident. During the space of three years the party had voyaged along both coasts of South America, had crossed the Pacific to Australia, and had then recrossed to Puget Sound by way of the Hawaiian Islands. The month of May, 1841, found the vessels anchored off Nisqually. From that point detachments were sent out to explore the Columbia and the Willamette valleys.

Through the courtesy of Peter Skene Ogden provision was made for Mr. Drayton, one of the artists attached to the expedition, to accompany the Hudson's Bay Company brigade as it carried the season's accumulation of furs up the Columbia to Walla Walla. In his *Report* Lieutenant Wilkes states (IV, 377) that the following passages were prepared on the basis of Drayton's observations together with data secured from officials of the company.

Until the 26th, repairs were making to the boats, and preparations were going on for embarking the goods. The shape of these boats has been before described: they have great strength, and buoyancy, carry three tons weight, and have a crew of eight men, besides a padroon. They are thirty feet long and five and a half feet beam, sharp at both ends, clinker-built, and have no knees. In building them, flat timbers of oak are bent to the requisite shape by steaming; they are bolted to a flat keel, at distances of a foot from each other: the planks are of cedar, and generally extend the whole length of the boat. The gunwale is of the same kind of wood, but the rowlocks are of birch. The peculiarity in the construction of these boats is, that they are only riveted at each end with a strong rivet, and being well gummed, they have no occasion for nailing. They answer, and indeed are admirably adapted to, all the pur-

<sup>2</sup> From Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, and 1842* (5 vols., New York, 1856), IV, 378-91.

poses for which they are intended; are so light as to be easily transported over the portages by their crews, and in case of accident are easily repaired.

The goods embarked for the supply of the northern posts are all done up carefully in bales of ninety pounds each, and consists of groceries, clothing, flour, powder, bullets, &c. It may readily be imagined that the different packages vary very materially in size, from a few inches square to two feet. This equal division of the weight is necessary, in consequence of the numerous portages they have to make, as well as convenient in forming packs for horses, which they take at Okonagan for a journey to Thompson river, which takes twenty days to accomplish.

. . . The average cost of a beaver-skin is about twenty-five cents, and when it reaches Vancouver it has enhanced in price to two dollars and fifty cents. The amount of furs brought down by Mr. Ogden yearly will net in London £50,000, a fact which will give some idea of the value of this trade.

In setting out on his journey, Mr. Ogden's practice, as well as that of all the Company's parties, is to go only a few miles the first day, in order that they may discover if any thing has been neglected, and be able to return for it. For this reason their first encampment was at the saw-mill. Their brigade consisted of nine boats, rowed by sixty voyageurs, eight of whom had their Indian wives with them. Besides these were Mr. and Mrs. M'Kinley, (of the Hudson Bay Co.,) who was to take charge of the Wallawalla Fort, and a Mr. Cameron, also of the Company, who was on his way to Mr. Black's station. The boats take each sixty packages, excepting the trader, which is Mr. Ogden's own boat, and carries only forty. The boatmen are Canadians, excepting about one-fourth, who are Iroquois Indians, all strong, active, and hardy men. They are provided only with a square sail, as the wind blows generally either directly up or down the river.

On the 27th June, they were off at early dawn, took their breakfast at Prairie du Thé, and reached the Company's fishery, at the Cascades, at 6 P. M., where they encamped. This is the head of ship navigation, where the river takes a turn northward, and for upwards of two miles is comparatively narrow—four hundred and fifty yards wide. It falls in this distance about forty feet, and the whole body of water drives through this narrow channel with great impetuosity, forming high waves and fearful whirlpools, too dangerous to be encountered by any boat. When the river is low, these rapids are sometimes passed by skilful boatmen, but there have been many lives lost in the attempt.

The country bordering on the river is low until the Cascades are approached, with the exception of several high basaltic bluffs. Some of them are two hundred feet high, pointed like turreted castles.

An old Indian, called Slyboots, made his call upon Mr. Ogden for his annual present, consisting of some tobacco and a shirt. This present is made in consequence of his once having preserved Mr. Ogden's party

from an attack, by giving information that it was to take place. By this timely notice Mr. Ogden was enabled to guard himself and party, by taking refuge upon a small island just above the Cascades.

The Columbia, at this part, passes through the Cascade range of mountains, between high and rocky banks. The geological character of this range is basaltic lava, basaltic conglomerate, and sandstone. Large quantities of petrified wood are to be found in the neighbourhood. Mr. Drayton obtained specimens of all of these.

The river, thus far, is navigated by seeking out the eddies. The great difficulty is found in doubling the points, which are at times impassable, except by tracking and poling. The oars are used after the French or Spanish fashion, adding the whole weight of the body to the strength of arm.

At the Cascades, during the fishing season, there are about three hundred Indians, only about one-tenth of whom are residents: they occupy three lodges; but there was formerly a large town here. Great quantities of fish are taken by them; and the manner of doing this resembles that at the Willamette Falls. They also construct canals, on a line parallel with the shore, with rocks and stones, for about fifty feet in length, through which the fish pass in order to avoid the strong current, and are here taken in great numbers.

There are two portages here, under the names of the new and the old. At the first, only half of the load is landed, and the boats are tracked up for half a mile further, when the load is again shipped. The boats are then tracked to the old portage. A strong eddy occurs at this place, which runs in an opposite direction; and here it is necessary to land the whole of the cargo; after which, the empty boats are again tracked three quarters of a mile beyond.

To a stranger, unacquainted with the navigation of this river, the management of these boatmen becomes a source of wonder; for it is surprising how they can succeed in surmounting such rapids at all as the Cascades. Their mode of transporting the goods, and the facilities with which they do it, are equally novel. The load is secured on the back of a voyageur by a band which passes round the forehead and under and over the bale; he squats down, adjusts his load, and rises with ninety pounds on his back; another places ninety pounds more on the top, and off he trots, half bent, to the end of the portage. One of the gentlemen of the Company informed me, that he had seen a voyageur carry six packages of ninety pounds each on his back (five hundred and forty pounds); but it was for a wager, and the distance was not more than one hundred yards. The voyageurs in general have not the appearance of being very strong men. At these portages, the Indians assist for a small present of tobacco. The boats seldom escape injury in passing; and in consequence of that which they received on this occasion, the party was detained the rest of the day repairing damages.

On their starting next morning, they found that the boats leaked; and put on shore again to gum them. This operation, Mr. Drayton describes thus. On landing the goods, the boats are tracked up and turned bottom up, when they are suffered to dry; two flat-sided pieces of fire-wood, about two feet long, are then laid together, and put into the fire, until both are well lighted, and the wood burns readily at one end and in the space between; they then draw the lighted end slowly along the gummed seam, blowing at the same time between the sticks: this melts the gum, and a small spatula is used to smooth it off and render the seam quite tight. The common gum of the pine or hemlock is that used; and a supply is always carried with them.

In the evening, they reached within seven miles of the Dalles, and four below the mission. Here the roar of the water at the Dalles was heard distinctly.

The country had now assumed a different aspect; the trees began to decrease in number, and the land to look dry and burnt up. Before pitching their tents, the men were beating about the bushes to drive away the rattlesnakes, a number of which were killed, and preserved as specimens.

The Dalles is one of the most remarkable places upon the Columbia. The river is here compressed into a narrow channel, three hundred feet wide, and half a mile long; the walls are perpendicular, flat on the top, and composed of basalt; the river forms an elbow, being situated in an amphitheatre, extending several miles to the northwest, and closed in by a high basaltic wall. From appearances, one is led to conclude that in former times the river made a straight course over the whole; but, having the channel deeper, is now confined within the present limits.

On the morning of the 4th July, they began to pass the portage, which is a mile in length. It is very rugged, and the weather being exceedingly warm, many of the Indians were employed to transport articles on their horses, of which they have a large number. It required seventy men to transport the boats, which were carried over bottom upwards, the gunwale resting on the men's shoulders. By night all was safely transported, the boats newly gummed, and the encampment formed on a sandy beach. The sand, in consequence of the high wind, was blown about in great quantities, and every body and thing was literally covered with it.

From the high hills on the southern bank of the river, there is an extensive view of the country to the south. The distant part of this prospect was made up of rolling, barren, and arid hills. These hills, as well as the country nearer at hand, were covered with a natural hay or bunch-grass, which affords very nutritious food for cattle.

At daylight, on the 5th of July, the goods were all embarked. When they reached the Chutes, they again made a portage of their goods for a quarter of a mile, and in an hour and a half they were again on their way. During very high water, the fall, whence the place takes its name, is not visible, but when it is low, there is a fall of ten feet perpendicular, that occupies nearly the whole breadth of the river. It is impossible to pass this fall at low water; but when the river is swollen, boats shoot it with ease and safety. The Columbia, from the Chutes as far as John Day's river, is filled with rocks, which occasion dangerous rapids. The boats were, in consequence, tracked for the whole distance.

After passing the Dalles, an entirely new description of country is entered, for the line of woods extends no farther. The last tree stands on the south side of the river, and is named Ogden's Tree on our map: it is about six miles above the Dalles. The woods terminate at about the same distance from the coast in all parts of this region south of the parallel of  $48^{\circ}$  N.

The country between these places is decidedly volcanic, and the banks on either side of the river are rocky and high. In this part of the country, it is very hot when there is no wind. Mr. Drayton had no thermometer, and therefore was unable to ascertain the exact degree of heat, but any metallic substance exposed to the sun for a short time could not be grasped in the hand without pain, and the men were almost exhausted with the heat.

There are a number of villages in this neighbourhood, and among them Wisham, mentioned in Irving's Astoria. This is situated on the left bank of the river, and its proper name is Niculuita; Wisham being the name of the old chief, long since dead. There are now in this village about forty good lodges, built of split boards, with a roof of cedar bark, as before described. The Indians that live here seem much superior to those of the other villages; they number four hundred regular inhabitants, who live, like the rest, upon salmon; but they appeared to have more comforts about them than any we had yet seen.

The brigade, as usual, set out early, and with the sun there arose a fine breeze, which carried them briskly onwards. About eight miles above their encampment they came to the Hieroglyphic Rocks. These are about twenty feet high, and on them are supposed to be recorded the deeds of some former tribe. They passed so quickly that Mr. Drayton could make only two hasty sketches of them; and it is to be regretted that they were not sufficiently perfect to allow of their being given in this place.

After passing John Day's river, the country becomes much lower and more arid, and the current comparatively less. The weather was exceedingly hot, and the drifting sands were in greater quantities than before, so much so that whole islands were passed entirely composed of the sand. They now arrived at the long reach, just below Grand

Island; the country becoming sandy and so flat as to give a view of the Grand Rapid Hills. It has the appearance of having been, at no very remote period, the bed of an extensive lake. Here the voyageurs began to be relieved from their toil at the pole, which they exchanged for the tow-line and oar, and the Indians departed the moment their services were no longer wanted. The distance made this day was fifty-seven miles, for which they were indebted to the breeze. The day before, they made only sixteen miles.

While passing close along the banks, they met with numerous pin-tailed grouse, so tame as to allow the boats to approach within a few feet of them before they would fly.

At their encampment, Mr. Drayton found a large burying-place, from which he was desirous of getting a skull; but, to the surprise of the party, several Indians made their appearance and prevented it. The corpses were placed above ground, in their clothing, and then sewed up in a skin or blanket; and the personal property of each deceased individual was placed near the body; over all were laid a few boards, of native construction, placed as a kind of shed to protect them from the weather.

All along this river, from the Dalles up, there is not a piece of wood growing, and except occasionally a drift log, there is nothing larger than a splinter to be found. All the wood used for cooking is bought from the Indians, who will follow the brigade for many miles with a long pole or piece of a log, which they sell for a small piece of tobacco. The Indians also brought for sale several hares, which were large and of extremely fine flavour.

The country continues to be, as far as can be seen on every side, a barren and sterile waste, covered with a white sand mixed with rounded and washed pebbles. All that it produces is a little grass, some wood, and a species of small Cactus, filled with long white spines, so hard and sharp that if trodden upon they will penetrate the leather of a boot.

On the 6th of July the brigade reached the foot of the Grand Rapids, up which the boats were tracked. They afterwards passed along the foot of Grand Rapid Hills, which are composed of basalt, old lava, and scorix. These hills are steep on the river side, and are fast crumbling away and falling into the stream.

Eighteen miles below Wallawalla they passed the Windmill Rock, about which are a number of curious basaltic peaks. On approaching Wallawalla the scenery becomes grand: the country is broken into volcanic peaks, forming many fantastic shapes, resembling figures and colossal heads: many of them are seen either insulated or in groups; some of them are known under the name of the Nine-pins. Through this pass of volcanic rocks the wind rushes with great violence in summer, to supply the rarefied portion above. The current had increased very considerably: it often became necessary for the voyageurs to take a pipe, or in other words, a rest. When the brigade was in sight from the

fort, the Company's flag was hoisted. Before arriving there, and within a mile and a half of it, the country becomes again flat, and rises very little above the river, when the water is high. The ground is composed of pebbles and drifting sand for several miles to the east and to the north, with little or no soil, and nothing grows on it but a few spears of bunch-grass, and wormwood.

The brigade reached the fort at sunset, when they were received by Mr. M'Lean, who was in temporary charge of the post: and who reported himself ready to proceed with his Indian wife and children with Mr. Ogden: and Mr. M'Kinley took charge of Fort Wallawalla.

Fort Wallawalla is about two hundred feet square, and is built of pickets, with a gallery or staging on the inside, whence the pickets may be looked over. It has two bastions, one on the southwest and the other on the northeast. On the inside are several buildings, constructed of logs and mud; one of these is the Indian store: the whole is covered with sand and dust, which is blown about in vast quantities. The climate is hot; and every thing about the fort seemed so dry, that it appeared as if a single spark would ignite the whole and reduce it to ashes.

Many years back, Mr. Ogden, while on his route, was attacked at the place where the fort stands, by the Wallawalla tribe, and was obliged to take refuge on the island near the fort, where he made a stand and completely routed the Indians. This occurrence took place twenty-three years before, and was the cause of this post being occupied; since which time, no attack has been made.

This will give some idea of the dangers the officers and men of the Hudson Bay Company have to encounter; and although it is now safe on the Columbia river, yet there are many parts where they are still subject to these attacks: the voyageurs have a lot of toil and deprivation, yet few men are to be found so cheerful.

#### *Fort Colville Dispatches the Winter's Fur Catch.*<sup>4</sup>

The following account of the fur-trading establishment at Fort Colville was written by John K. Lord, a British naturalist who had been a hunter and trapper in Western America for many years. The annual "summer brigade" which he describes was one of the characteristic features of the British fur trade. His own experience made him very critical of the Hudson's Bay Company system of packing; elsewhere in his book he labels it the "very worst which by any possibility could be adopted."

It may prove interesting *en passant*, to give a brief outline of the plan adopted by all the far inland fur-trading posts, for the conveyance

<sup>4</sup> From John K. Lord, *At Home in the Wilderness: What to Do There and How to Do It* (3rd ed., London, 1876), pp. 53-63.

of the year's furs to the place, at which either a steamer or a 'batteau' unloads the annual supply of goods sent from England for the use of the traders, and in return takes the peltries traded, back to the central dépôt. As a description of one will apply with equal force to all of them, I shall select for description Fort Colville, which is situate on the banks of the Upper Columbia, about 1,000 miles from the seaboard. This quaint old place, one of the Company's earliest trading stations west of the Rocky Mountains, is worthy of a passing description as affording a good example of the fur-trader's 'Home in the Wilderness.' The trader's house is quadrangular in shape, and built of heavy trees squared and piled one upon another. The front, faces the Columbia River, whilst rearward is a gravelly plain which I shall presently have more to say about. The visitor, on entering the somewhat ponderous portals of this primitive mansion, finds himself in a large room dimly lighted by two small windows, the furniture of which, designed more for use than ornament, consists of a few rough chairs and a large deal table, the latter occupying the centre of the room. Looking beneath this table one cannot fail to notice an immense padlock, which evidently fastens a trap-door, and if you happen to be a guest of the chief trader, (and here I must add as the result of long experience that the Hudson's Bay Company's traders are the most hospitable kind-hearted fellows I ever met with), the probabilities are greatly in favour of your discovering the secret of the trap-door, very soon after you enter the room. The table pushed back, the trap-door is unfastened, and the trader descends into a dark mysterious-looking cave, soon however to emerge with a jug of rum, or something equally toothsome. Now, if you are of an inquisitive turn of mind, you may find out that in this underground strong-room, all valuables are deposited and secured. This room, beneath which the cavern has been excavated, has some person to occupy it night and day, and the chief trader sleeps in it; hence it is next to impossible that the savages could steal anything unless they forcibly sacked and pillaged the establishment. An immense hearth-fire, both warms and lights this dreary sitting-room, for at least eight months of the year. Behind the dwelling is a large court enclosed by tall pickets, composed of trees sunk in the ground side by side, (the house itself was I believe once picketed in, but the Indians proved so friendly that any protection of that description was deemed unnecessary). In this court, all the furs traded at the fort, are baled for conveyance by the Brigade to Fort Hope. The trading shop, and store of goods employed in bartering with the savages, adjoins the trader's house, although not actually a part of it; and the fur-trader stands therein behind a high counter, to make his bargains. The Indians have a curious custom in their barterings, which is, to demand payment for each skin separately, and if a savage had fifty marten skins to dispose of, he would only sell or barter one at a time, and insist on being paid for them one by one. Hence it often occupies the trader many days to purchase a large bale of peltries from an Indian trapper.

The system of trading at all the posts of the Company is one entirely of barter. In early days, when I first wandered over the fur countries east of the Rocky Mountains, money was unknown; but this medium of exchange has since then gradually become familiar to most of the Indians.

The standard of value throughout the territories of the Company is the skin of the beaver, by which the price of all other fur is regulated. Any service rendered, or labour executed by Indians, is paid for in skins; the beaver skin being the unit of computation. To explain this system, let us assume that four beavers, are equivalent in value to a silver-fox skin, two martens to a beaver, twenty musk rats to a marten, and so on. For example sake, let us suppose an Indian wishes to purchase a blanket or a gun from the Hudson's Bay Company; he would have to give, say, three silver-foxes, or twenty beaver skins, or two hundred musk rats, or other furs, in accordance with their proper relative positions of worth in the tariff. The Company generally issues to the Indians, such goods as they need up to a certain amount, when the summer supplies arrive at the Posts—these advances to be paid for at the conclusion of the hunting season. In hiring Indians east of the Cascade Mountains, whilst occupied in marking the boundary line, our agreement was always to pay them in beaver skins, say, two or three per day, in accordance with the duty required; but this agreement did not mean actual payment in real skins—a matter that to us would have been impossible—but that we were to give the Indian, an order on the nearest trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company, to supply him with any goods he might select, up to the value of the beaver skins specified on the order.

In many of the *Posts* the trade room is cleverly contrived, so as to prevent a sudden rush of Indians, the approach from outside the pickets being through a long narrow passage, only of sufficient width to admit one Indian at a time, the passage being bent at an acute angle near the window, where the trader stands. This precaution is rendered necessary, inasmuch as were the passage straight, the savages might easily shoot him. Where the savages are hostile, at the four angles of the court bastions are placed, octagonal in shape, and pierced with embrasures, to lead the Indians to believe in the existence of cannon, intended to strike terror into all red-skinned rebels daring to dispute the supremacy of the Company. Over the fur shop are large lofts for storing and drying the furs in as they are collected. Beyond this a smith's shop, a few small log shanties, and an immense 'corral,' for keeping the horses in, whilst fitting out the 'brigade,' make up all that is noteworthy as far as the buildings are concerned at Fort Colville. The regular staff stationed at this Post, consists of the chief-trader, a clerk, and about four half breeds, the remainder of the hands needed are selected from the Indians. The houses are by no means uncomfortable, and I can truthfully say, many

of the happiest evenings of my life, have been passed in the 'big room' at Fort Colville.

This journey from Colville to Hope occupies nearly three months for its accomplishment. About the beginning of June preparations commence at Fort Colville for the Brigade. The horses (the Hudson's Bay Company never use mules), in number about 120 to 150, are brought by the 'Indian herders,' who have had charge of them during the winter, to a spot called the 'Horse Guard,' about three miles from the fort, where there is an abundance of succulent grass and a good stream of water. Here the animals are taken care of by the trustworthy Indians until their equipment or 'rigging' is ready, which process is at the same time going on at the fort. Here some thirty or forty savages may be seen squatting round the door of the fur-room; some of them are stitching pads and cushions into the wooden frames of the pack-saddles; others are mending the broken frames; a third group is cutting long thongs of raw hide to serve as girths, or to act in lieu of ropes for lashing and tying; and a fourth is making the 'peltries up into bales, by the aid of a powerful lever press. Each bale is to weigh about sixty pounds, and the contents to be secured from wet by a wrapper of buffalo-hide, the skin side outermost. This package is then provided with two very strong loops, made from raw hides, for the purpose of suspending it from what are called the 'horns' of the pack-saddle. Two of these bales hung up each side of a horse is a load, and a horse so provided is said to be packed. When all the preparations are completed the horses are driven in from the 'guard' to the fort, and the packing commences. They use no halters, but simply throw a lasso round the animal's neck, with which it is held whilst being packed; this finished, the lasso is removed, and the horse is again turned loose into the 'corral,' or on to the open plain, as it may be. Let us imagine a horse lassoed up awaiting the operation of packing.

First a sheep or goat's skin, or a piece of buffalo 'robe,' failing either of the former, called an 'apichimo,' is placed on its back, with the fur or hair next to that of the horse, and is intended to prevent galling; next the pack-saddle is put on. This miserable affair with its two little pillows or pads, tied into the cross-trees of woodwork, is girthed with a narrow strap of hide, which often, from the swaying of the load, cuts a regular gash into the poor animal's belly. Next a bale is hung on either side, and the two are loosely fastened together underneath the horse by a strap of raw hide. This completes the operation of packing, and the horse is set free, to await the general start. When all the animals are packed, each of the hands who are to accompany this cavalcade mounts his steed; then waving their lassos round their heads, and vociferating like demons, they collect the band of packed animals, and drive the lot before them as shepherds do a flock of sheep. The principal trader, as

a general rule, takes command of the brigade, the journey being anticipated by both the master and his men as a kind of yearly recurring jubilee.

*Captain Wilkes Visits Dr. John McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver, 1841.<sup>5</sup>*

Lieutenant Wilkes called in person on Dr. John McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver, and wrote appreciatively of the chief factor's hospitality. His description of the visit to the principal post of the Hudson's Bay Company on the west coast gives an intimate glimpse of the extensive establishment maintained there, and presents the homely details of life in a frontier fort.

... On the approach to Vancouver, we passed one of the dairies, and some rich meadow-land, on which were grazing herds of fine cattle. We afterwards saw some flocks of sheep of the best English and Spanish breeds.

It becoming necessary to make a short portage within a mile of Vancouver, we concluded to walk thither by the road. In this march we first entered a wood of large pines, which had an undergrowth of various flowering shrubs. The old stumps in the road were overgrown with the red honeysuckle, in full blossom. Lupines and other flowers grow even in the roadway.

We came in at the back part of the village, which consists of about fifty comfortable log houses, placed in regular order on each side of the road. They are inhabited by the Company's servants, and were swarming with children, whites, half-breeds, and pure Indians. The fort stands at some distance beyond the village, and to the eye appears like an upright wall of pickets, twenty-five feet high: this encloses the houses, shops, and magazines of the Company. The enclosure contains about four acres, which appear to be under full cultivation. Beyond the fort, large granaries were to be seen. At one end is Dr. M'Laughlin's house, built after the model of the French Canadian, of one story, weather-boarded and painted white. It has a piazza and small flower-beds, with grape and other vines, in front. Between the steps are two old cannons on sea-carriages, with a few shot, to speak defiance to the natives, who no doubt look upon them as very formidable weapons of destruction. I mention these, as they are the only warlike instruments to my knowledge that are within the pickets of Vancouver, which differs from all the other forts in having no bastions, galleries, or loop-holes. Near by are the rooms for the clerks and visitors, with the blacksmiths' and coopers' shops. In the centre stands the Roman Catholic chapel, and near by the flag-staff; beyond these again are the stores, magazines of powder, warerooms, and offices.

<sup>5</sup> From Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, and 1842* (5 vols., New York, 1856), IV, 326-30.

We went immediately to Dr. M'Laughlin's quarters. He was not within, but we were kindly invited to enter, with the assurance that he would soon return. Only a few minutes elapsed before Dr. M'Laughlin came galloping up, having understood that we had preceded him. He is a tall fine-looking person, of a very robust frame, with a frank manly open countenance, and a florid complexion; his hair is perfectly white. He gave us that kind reception we had been led to expect from his well-known hospitality. He is of Scotch parentage, but by birth, a Canadian, enthusiastic in disposition, possessing great energy of character, and extremely well suited for the situation he occupies, which requires great talent and industry. He at once ordered dinner for us, and we soon felt ourselves at home, having comfortable rooms assigned us, and being treated as part of the establishment.

The situation of Vancouver is favourable for agricultural purposes, and it may be said to be the head of navigation for sea-going vessels. A vessel of fourteen feet draft of water, may reach it in the lowest state of the river. The Columbia at this point makes a considerable angle, and is divided by two islands, which extend upwards about three miles, to where the upper branch of the Willamette joins it. The shores of these islands are covered with trees, consisting of ash, poplars, pines, and oaks, while the centre is generally prairie, and lower than the banks: they are principally composed of sand. During the rise of the river in May and June, the islands are covered with water, that filters through the banks that are not overflowed. This influx renders them unfit for grain crops, as the coldness of the water invariably destroys every cultivated plant it touches.

The Company's establishment at Vancouver is upon an extensive scale, and is worthy of the vast interest of which it is the centre. The residents mess at several tables: one for the chief factor and his clerks; one for their wives (it being against the regulations of the Company for their officers and wives to take their meals together); another for the missionaries; and another for the sick and the Catholic missionaries. All is arranged in the best order, and I should think with great economy. Every thing may be had within the fort: they have an extensive apothecary shop, a bakery, blacksmiths' and coopers' shops, trade-offices for buying, others for selling, others again for keeping accounts and transacting business; shops for retail, where English manufactured articles may be purchased at as low a price, if not cheaper, than in the United States, consisting of cotton and woollen goods, ready-made clothing, ship-chandlery, earthen and iron ware, and fancy articles; in short, every thing, and of every kind and description, including all sorts of groceries, at an advance of eighty per cent. on the London prime cost. This is the established price at Vancouver, but at the other posts it is one hundred per cent., to cover the extra expenses of transportation. All these articles are of good quality, and suitable for the servants, settlers and visitors. Of the quantity on hand, some idea may

be formed from the fact that all the posts west of the Rocky Mountains get their annual supplies from this depôt.

Vancouver is the head-quarters of the Northwest or Columbian Department, which also includes New Caledonia; all the returns of furs are received here, and hither all accounts are transmitted for settlement. These operations occasion a large mass of business to be transacted at this establishment. Mr. Douglass, a chief factor, and the associate of Dr. M'Laughlin, assists in this department, and takes sole charge in his absence.

Dr. M'Laughlin showed us our rooms, and told us that the bell was the signal for meals.

Towards sunset, tea-time arrived, and we obeyed the summons of the bell, when we were introduced to several of the gentlemen of the establishment: we met in a large hall, with a long table spread with abundance of good fare. Dr. M'Laughlin took the head of the table, with myself on his right, Messrs. Douglass and Drayton on his left, and the others apparently according to their rank. I mention this, as every one appears to have a relative rank, privilege, and station assigned him, and military etiquette prevails. The meal lasts no longer than is necessary to satisfy hunger. With the officers who are clerks, business is the sole object of their life, and one is entirely at a loss here who has nothing to do. Fortunately I found myself much engaged, and therefore it suited me. The agreeable company of Dr. M'Laughlin and Mr. Douglass made the time at meals pass delightfully. Both of these gentlemen were kind enough to give up a large portion of their time to us, and I felt occasionally that we must be trespassing on their business hours. After meals, it is the custom to introduce pipes and tobacco. It was said that this practice was getting into disuse, but I should have concluded from what I saw that it was at its height.

Canadian French is generally spoken to the servants: even those who come out from England after a while adopt it, and it is not a little amusing to hear the words they use, and the manner in which they pronounce them.

The routine of a day at Vancouver is perhaps the same throughout the year. At early dawn the bell is rung for the working parties, who soon after go to work: the sound of the hammers, click of the anvils, the rumbling of the carts, with tinkling of bells, render it difficult to sleep after this hour. The bell rings again at eight, for breakfast; at nine they resume their work, which continues till one; then an hour is allowed for dinner, after which they work till six, when the labours of the day close. At five o'clock on Saturday afternoon the work is stopped, when the servants receive their weekly rations.

Vancouver is a large manufacturing, agricultural, and commercial depôt, and there are few if any idlers, except the sick. Everybody seems to be in a hurry, whilst there appears to be no obvious reason for it.

Without making any inquiries, I heard frequent complaints made of both the quantity and quality of the food issued by the Company to its servants. I could not avoid perceiving that these complaints were well founded, if this allowance were compared with what we deem a sufficient ration in the United States for a labouring man. Many of the servants complained that they had to spend a great part of the money they receive to buy food: this is £17 per annum, out of which they have to furnish themselves with clothes. They are engaged for five years, and after their time has expired the Company are obliged to send them back to England or Canada, if they desire it. Generally, however, when their time expires they find themselves in debt, and obliged to serve an extra time to pay it: and not unfrequently, at the expiration of their engagement, they have become attached, or married, to some Indian woman or half-breed, and have children, on which account they find themselves unable to leave, and continue attached to the Company's service, and in all respects under the same engagement as before. If they desire to remain and cultivate land, they are assigned a certain portion, but are still dependent on the Company for many of the necessaries of life, clothing, &c. This causes them to become a sort of vassal, and compels them to execute the will of the Company. In this way, however, order and decorum are preserved, together with steady habits, for few can in any way long withstand this silent influence. The consequence is, that few communities are to be found more well-behaved and orderly than that which is formed of the persons who have retired from the Company's service. That this power, exercised by the officers of the Company, is much complained of, I am aware, but I am satisfied that as far as the morals of the settlers and servants are concerned, it is used for good purposes. For instance, the use of spirits is almost entirely done away with. Dr. M'Laughlin has acted in a highly praiseworthy manner in this particular. Large quantities of spirituous liquors are now stored in the magazines at Vancouver, which the Company have refused to make an article of trade, and none is now used by them in the territory for that purpose. They have found this rule highly beneficial to their business in several respects: more furs are taken, in consequence of those who are engaged having fewer inducements to err; the Indians are found to be less quarrelsome, and pursue the chase more constantly; and the settlers, as far as I could hear, have been uniformly prosperous.

## CHAPTER IV.

### MISSIONARIES AMONG THE INDIANS

#### *Elkanah and Mary Walker Carry the Gospel to the Spokanes.<sup>1</sup>*

Elkanah Walker, a zealous young Congregational minister from Maine, was first assigned by the American Board in 1837 to serve in the foreign mission field among the Zoolaks of South Africa. Soon afterward, however, the Board received reports of wars in that quarter which made it seem unwise to expand the work there. It was therefore decided to send Walker and Cushing Eells to minister to the Spokane Indians, as this tribe had been reported by William Henry Gray to be eager for the Christian gospel.

Walker and Eells found brides for themselves, and the foursome journeyed west over the Oregon Trail during the summer of 1838, to join the Whitmans and the Spaldings. The story of the Walkers' romance and of their years of service at the Tshimakain mission is ably told by Clifford M. Drury in his *Elkanah and Mary Walker, Pioneers Among the Spokanes* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1940).

The letters and diaries of this hardy Christian teacher and his wife reveal with unusual clarity the personalities of the Protestant mission group and the conditions under which they labored. The quotations here selected from Mary's diary refer to her sojourn at Wailatpu near Walla Walla soon after her arrival in the West, and to the Whitman massacre nine years later in December, 1847. The entries from Elkanah's diary refer to his exploratory journey with Eells to the Indians near Fort Colville in September, 1838, just before the establishment of the Tshimakain mission some twenty-five miles northwest of the present Spokane.

#### [DIARY OF MARY WALKER]

Saturday, September 1, Wailatpu

[1838]

It was decided that Mr. Smith remain with Dr. Whitman; that Mr. Gray go with Mr. Spalding to assist in building a mill, that Mr. Walker and Mr. Eells go to explore, assist Mr. Spalding, etc. I find it hard to be reconciled, yet trust it is for the best. We are short-sighted creatures, and know not what a day may bring forth. All will be right in the end, although we cannot foresee how it may be. It is very trying to me to think of having my husband gone. Inclination would make me wish to be where no one else scarcely could see me. Had female prayer meeting, a very good one.

<sup>1</sup> The following selections are reproduced from pp. 21-5, 121-5, 130-7, 323-32, of a type-written transcript, "Letters and Diaries of Rev. Elkanah Walker and Mary R. Walker, 1838-1852," prepared in 1917 by William S. Lewis of the Eastern Washington Historical Society. Errors obviously due to typing (such as "odi" for "old") have been corrected.

Sunday, 2. Wailatpu.

We all united with the little church formed which now consists of sixteen members. Mr. Walker preached from the text, Herein is my Father glorified. The communion was held, Mr. Spalding and Mr. Smith officiating. Mr. Spalding made rather an interesting and affecting address. Mr. Smith also made one. Mr. S. closed by explaining to the Indians what we had been doing. We had an interesting, and I think, a happy season, notwithstanding all the hardness that has existed among us. We feel that we have great cause of gratitude, and much encouragement to go forward in the work.

Wednesday, 5, Wailatpu.

We formed a Maternal Association, Mrs. Spalding president, Mrs. Whitman corresponding secretary, Mrs. Gray recording secretary. The Monthly Concert was observed. The Maternal Association is to meet on the second and last Wednesday of each month. I was appointed Vice Pres. We are to hold meetings at each Station, and report to the Recording Sec. as often as is practicable.

Tuesday, 4. Wailatpu.

A social feast on mellons. Messrs. Spalding & Gray & wives left us.

Wednesday, 5. Wailatpu.

Husband, Eells and wife went to Walla Walla; I regulated my room and washed.

Thursday, Sept. 6, Wailatpu.

Assisted Mrs. Whitman a little in washing. Sewed a little. Put up seeds &c. Mr. W. and Mr. Rogers returned. Mr. Eells and wife took a wrong road, and we know not what has become of them.

Friday, 7. Wailatpu.

This morning rainy, Mr. & Mrs. Eells found their way back without getting much wet. Worked some in the kitchen; finished making Mr. W's leather pantaloons. Ironed.

Saturday, 8. Wailatpu.

Repaired a pair of pantaloons &c. Mr. Eells commenced lesson in musick on the black board. Had an interesting group of 20 or 30 Indians. They appear much interested. I feel anxious to be able to teach them myself; think there is every encouragement to labor for their good.

Sunday, Sept. 9. Wailatpu.

Prayer meeting in the morning. Then instruction to natives. Then sermon by Mr. Eells,—Behold what manner of love &c was the text. Two expresses from Walla Walla; letters from the Methodist Mission. News of the death of . . . Mr. Whites' child, 8 months old.

Monday, Sept. 10. Wailatpu.

Rose early; worked hard as I could till Mr. Walker got ready to start which was at three P.M. After crying a little picked up and found my-

self somewhat tired. Oh! dear how I would like to be at home about this time, and see brothers, hear from all the good folks! I wish I could have a letter from some of them.

Monday, Sept. 17.

Mr. Whitman set out for Vancouver. We rose very early. I churned and wrote to Mrs. Perkins &c. In the P.M. began to work on my husband's coat. The Dr. hurried and hustled about just as my husband does. Finally he got in such a fret that his wife began to cry which brought him to himself; and he went on more calmly till he got ready to start.

Tuesday, 18. Waiilatpu.

Mr. Rogers returned from W. W. Left Francuis.

Wednesday 19, Waiilatpu.

Mrs. Eells helped me, and we finished Mr. W's coat. Then I washed and did up her silk dress. My health is good and I enjoy myself quite well: only I want to see my good husband. Hope Mr. Eells will come soon so I can hear from him.

Thursday, 20[?]

Mr. Rogers left for Mr. Spalding's. In the afternoon letter from Mr. S. informing that they were in trouble. Dick & Conner so alarmed they can neither eat nor sleep. He does not dare part with [illegible]. I hope that it will please God to turn the hearts of the Savages, and stay them from violence, and not suffer our hopes of success as missionaries to be blasted.

Friday Sept. 21.

Sewed in the A. M. washed in the P. M. Hope when I get to our Station, I shall make a manage to do my washing in the morning. And a few other things I will try to have different from what I find them here.

Saturday 22.

Mrs. W, E & myself went to visit the Indian lodges. Found some eating, some lying down, some dressing skins &c. And some were packing up to move. They, most of them, seemed busy, especially the women. If they only could have tolerable opportunities, I see not why they could not soon rise to a rank among civilized beings.

Thur. 9 [December, 1847. Tshimakain.]

We were hoping to have Dr. Whitman to supper with us tonight. But about sunset old Solomon arrived bringing the sad intelligence that Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, Mr. Rogers, John & Francis Sager & others have been murdered by the Indians. Mr. Stanley was apprised of it at the Soda mines, & went to Walla Walla instead of Waiilatpu or he too might have been killed. May God have compassion on those that survive and stay

the hand of the ruthless savage. We are safe only under the divine protection. May we trust only in God.

[DIARY OF ELKANAH WALKER]

Saturday, 15. Spokane River &c.

[September, 1838.]

Rose this morning quite early. Some appearance of rain. Very soon quite a number of Indians came to see,—we might say the whole village came to see us. They seemed to know who we were, and our intention in visiting their country. After breakfast we put our things into a canoe, and crossed the Spokane River. The Indians asked us, were we going to sleep two nights at the next camp? doubtless knowing it was Saturday. Brother Eells read to them from the New Testament. They seemed to know what it was, and said Gray had read the same. While he was reading tears came into their eyes. I never so much desired the gift of languages as at the present time that I might communicate religious truth. To see immortal souls around you, perishing for lack of knowledge, and not able even to [to say] Christ died for them, is a trial indeed.

We were packed up and ready to start about half past seven. Our way was for the most part through pine timber. We crossed to one small mountain where there was plenty of pure granite stone of good quality. Before we reached the granite, we passed some pyramids of stone. They had the same strong appearance of being formed by volcanic power that we had seen during the rest of the journey. Past a small camp of Indians camped for noon. Travelled till 1:15 before we stopped for dinner. Started at 3:30, rode very rapidly till some time after sunset before we encamped for the night. Passed some lodges of Indians; crossed a small stream very deep, so that we were obliged to unpack our mules, and carry our baggage across the stream on an Indian bridge. Near the stream were some lodges of Indians. Two of them came to us at the crossing place. "The Fool," as he is called, brought us a few potatoes, and said if we wanted some he would go for them. We told him we did, and off he went, and brought them at our encampment. He spent considerable time with us, and said he would come the next morning, and bring the people with him that we might say something to them. He said though we could not speak to him, we could speak to our guide, and he could tell him. We told him to come, and bring the people with him, and not come to near eleven, we wishing to have some time for ourselves. One who came with him rehearsed a discourse to us that Mr. Spalding delivered at the post last year. We camped tonight near the place where Mr. Gray selected to build his house. The fool said if we would come and build, he would come and build very near us. He was glad to see [us] and thanked us much for coming to his people. He had built himself quite a good house. When the plain was burnt [over] his

house was burnt with [it]. Travelled today about 35 miles. Good road through the pine woods.

Sunday, 16. Encamped.

Rose rather late this morning. Felt some rested by our night's sleep. Set about preparing ourselves for a Sabbath day's rest. Washing and shaving; the last stood much in need of, not having shaved for five days. It was no small task. Whether I was a Jew inwardly or not, I am sure so far as beard was concerned I was one. It took me some time to regulate things and get cleaned up. Then came breakfast. Packed away everything, so that there would be no temptation laid in their way to steal.

At the time appointed the "Fool" came, and with him a few others. They continued to come during most of the day. After a sufficient number had arrived, we commenced religious worship. The Fool told us the night before that he would send round, and let the people know that we would talk to them; and I judge from the appearance of some of the horses that they came a long distance. We commenced worship after the N. England style. I talked to them some time by an interpreter. Twice I attempted to say something to them about the death of Christ, but could not make them understand anything about it. It seems that they had no language to express the atonement. . . . It was deeply interesting to see what good attention they gave while we were speaking and praying. It would put the blush upon the face of many who profess the Christian name, if they could have witnessed them. There was not the least appearance of weariness. They listened as attentively at the close as they did at the commencement.

Here we may say we commenced our labor. It was labor indeed. No one who has not been placed in the same condition can tell anything about it. The difficulty of conversing through an interpreter, the fear that he may not say what you say to him, but may give them something directly opposite[,] then the trouble of keeping on your story, having to stop so often while he is repeating what you have said: Though, I succeeded much better than I expected.

This afternoon a chief whom we saw at Dr. Whitman's overtook us. He heard that we had passed, and was determined to follow us even to Colville. He had a long talk with the people and us; gave us many thanks for coming. Said everything in favor of locating with him, and all he could against our building at the place where we were encamped. I must say he manifested as much ingenuity as any man whether in a civilized or uncivilized state could. He was not slow to name the promises made to him by Mr. Gray two years ago, and by Mr. Spalding last year, not forgetting to tell us that he gave Mr. S. a good horse. *Skilus* appeared quite unwilling to leave, and did not until we told them it was good for them to go home and think about what they had heard. Quite a number remained with us all night, and brought a large quantity of

when near sunset a small bell was heard, and they ran off. I was a little surprised until we were told that it was for worship. I looked out of my tent, and saw them coming from all directions to the big house, and crowding into it; and not one was to be seen out except three or four that remained at our fire. Soon we heard singing, and then a voice in prayer, and again singing. The singing was good: the time and melody was such that it would put many choirs in our own land to shame. It was quite interesting to see with what alacrity they moved toward the place. How different would have been the case had the bell been rung in our native land. Slow many would have gone: and I must say they observed the summons with more punctuality and cheerfulness than is done at our Theological Seminaries. It is true. As soon as we could get things arranged we had prayers at our tent.

Big Head came tonight, bringing three of his boys. He came with the express purpose of conducting us back to his place, which we intend to visit on Monday. He made a vehement speech on the same subject as the one last night. When about to retire, I informed Big Head and told him to tell the people so, and that we wished them to go away. They all obeyed except a few. He wanted them to remain that they might smoke with him, and then he should sleep there. I gave my consent. They were very still: talked low.

Thus closed the day, an interesting day, more so than any one I have ever passed in my life. The first meeting with this people, the manner in which they received us, the joy that animated their countenances, and the hearty congratulation they manifested, all were enough to pay one for the toil and suffering encountered crossing the mountains. O, could Christians at home witness such a sight, the Board would not be compelled to send circulars to the various stations requiring them to curtail their operations. Nor would there be so few ready to come here, or go into any heathen land. Although we had a hard ride over the mountain to this place, riding 8 hours without stopping, the warm reception we received made us forget that we were hungry or tired. I would not believe if my own eyes had not seen it that such things exist in a heathen land.

[LETTER FROM WALKER TO DAVID GREENE OF THE AMERICAN BOARD]

[Tshimakain, October 3, 1842.]

... One thing is very certain, that the influence of the gospel will have the tendency to make them [the Indians] more submissive to the rule of the whites and will be the means of preventing them from wars with their new neighbors, and save them from utter extinction. It seems the only [way] they can be saved from being destroyed from the face of the earth is by their yielding to the controls of the whites, and nothing will induce them to do this but a cordial reception of the gospel, and how can this be done without the labors of the christian missionary. I

say this because it is not to be expected that others will do it. The christian world looks to the missionary society to perform this work, and they contribute for this object, and will [not] be likely to do what they think they place others under obligation to do, and who is so well prepared to do it as those on the ground. They have an amount of knowledge that would require new beginners time to obtain. It seems vastly important that this mission should be continued from the fact that so much truth has been communicated to the natives.

. . . It is to be expected that a Romish influence will come in which will [be] most difficult for the Mission as now sustained to withstand. As we are now situated we are much straitened in our mode of operation and cannot exert that influence that we could if we had more men, especially those of the right kind. We need more lay members such as mechanics and farmers. We want those who are willing to be such all their days and not as soon as they get in to the field feel that they can be more useful in some other department. We very much need men of this description as it is next to impossible to get help in this country, especially in this part of the mission. I have had the walls of a house up going on two years and have been unable to obtain help to finish it. It is moreover desirable and I might say almost indispensable that those in the employ of the Mission should be men of good moral character. One of a loose character employed by the Mission would do more injury than we could repair in a short time. Where there are so many conflicting interests at work it is necessary that all connected with it should possess a disposition and be desirous of furthering the cause of the Mission. If men are engaged they do not as a general thing feel interest enough to relieve the missionary from care. As regards expense I think that one or two men of this character instead of increasing the expense would lessen the expense of the Mission, with its present members, that is, if we had the addition of two good laymen, the expense of the Mission would not be increased above what it now is. In order to make up the number occasioned by the withdrawal from the Mission equal to what it was in number three new men are needed. As many as this with the addition of a physician is needed for its energetic operation.

As it is now expected that Whitman will visit you, you will be able to confer with him. We have perfect confidence in his views of missionary operations and the course best to pursue in regard to settlers. He will be able to give you correct information as to what kind of men is needed and how many. We are not without our doubts that he may fail to get through. In order to repair as far as possible the evil that would result from a failure, a copy of this will be forwarded by way of the Islands.

My time has been so much occupied of late that I fear that I shall fail to write you by this opportunity respecting the state of our station. I can [truly?] say that a merciful providence has added another year to our lives and that it has been one of peace and quietness with the In-

dians. We hope that we are gaining influence over them and that they have a more solemn feeling when listening to the truth. We need the outpouring of the Spirit both as respects ourselves and the natives. We are not able to report any conversions. We think we can address them more intelligently and they have a more correct idea of religious truth. My own health is I think some impaired. I find that I need all the strength of body and mind that I can command to meet the labors devolving upon me. You will not understand by what I have said about the importance of the Mission that there is no dark side. It is the dark side which adds much in my mind to its importance.

If anything that I have said does not meet your approbation, I should be glad to have it pointed out.

Yours very submissively in fraternal christian affection

E. WALKER.

P. S.

I should be very much gratified if I could obtain some few books, viz. An Historical and Descriptive Account of British America &c by Hugh Murray F.R.S.E. in two volumes, the History of the United States from discovery of the American Continent. By George Bancroft. Perhaps his whole work is not yet finished, but I would like to receive what is completed and the remainder as it is published. There are many more that I would like but I will ask no more at this time. We need Histories of all kinds and if you could send Dr. Moshem's Church History it would be very desirable.

Yours as before,

E. WALKER.

### *Catholic Missionaries Labor Among Western Tribes.<sup>2</sup>*

Catholic missionary work was launched in the Northwest by Father Modeste Demers and Father Francois Norbert Blanchet. Arriving at Fort Vancouver in November, 1838, these two men performed the rites of the Church for the Canadian families living at fur-trading posts, and instructed the natives both south and north of the Columbia in the teachings of Catholicism. John B. Z. Bolduc, part of whose letter from Cowlitz is quoted below, joined them in September, 1842. The anonymous editor of Father Pierre Jean de Smet's first published work explains that the summary account, below, of the first Catholic efforts in the Far West was taken from the Catholic Almanac.

Captain John Mullan, whose cordial respect for Catholic missionaries is declared in the concluding selection, was largely responsible for supervising the survey and the construction of the famous "Mullan road" between Walla Walla and Fort Benton.

<sup>2</sup> The first two passages appear in P. J. De Smet, *Oregon Missions and Travels Over the Rocky Mountains* (New York, 1847), pp. 30-6, 58-65, but are not from his pen. The final article is excerpted from John Mullan, *Report on the Construction of a Military Road from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Benton* (Washington, D. C., 1863), pp. 51-3.

## [PIONEER CATHOLIC MINISTRATIONS]

Vancouver was the first place that experienced the happy influence of their apostolical zeal. Many of the settlers had lost sight of the religious principles they had imbibed in their youth, and their wives were either pagans in belief, or, if baptized, but superficially acquainted with the nature of that holy rite. In this state of things, which had given rise to many disorders, the missionaries found it necessary to spend several months at Vancouver, and to labor with united energies in instructing the people, baptizing children, performing marriages, and inspiring a greater respect for the Christian virtues. With this view they remained at Vancouver until the month of January, 1839, when Mr. Blanchet visited the Canadians at Willamette. It would be difficult to describe the joy which his arrival awakened among them. They had already erected a chapel seventy feet in length, which was dedicated by the missionary under the invocation of St. Paul. His ministry at this place was attended with the most signal success. Men, women and children, all seemed to appreciate the presence of one who had come, as a messenger from Heaven, to diffuse among them the consolations of religion. Before his departure, Mr. Blanchet rehabilitated a good number of marriages, and baptized seventy-four persons. In April he started for Cowlitz, where he remained until the latter end of June. Here also his efforts were most successful. He had the happiness of instructing twelve savages of Puget sound, who had come from a distance of nearly one hundred miles in order to see and hear him. It was on this occasion he conceived the idea of the Catholic *ladder*, a form of instruction which represents on paper the various truths and mysteries of religion in their chronological order, and which has proved vastly beneficial in imparting catechetical instruction among the natives of Oregon. These twelve Indians having remained at Cowlitz long enough to acquire a knowledge of the principal mysteries of our faith, and to understand the use of the *ladder* which Mr. Blanchet gave them, set about instructing their tribe as soon as they returned home, and not without considerable success; for Mr. Blanchet, the following year, met, in the vicinity of Whitby island, with several Indians who had never seen a priest, and yet were acquainted with the sign of the cross, and knew several pious canticles.

While Mr. Blanchet was at Cowlitz, his fellow-laborer visited Nisqually, where he found the savages in the best dispositions. Having but a short time, however, to pass among them, he merely laid the foundation of a more important mission, and returned to Vancouver by the month of June,—the time when the agents from New Caledonia, Upper Columbia, and other different posts assemble there to deposit their furs. After spending a month at Vancouver, availing himself of the favorable opportunity for instruction which the concourse of visitors afforded, he set out for Upper Columbia, where he visited Walla Walla, Okanagan and Colville, baptizing all the children that were brought to

him in the course of his journey. He spent three months in this excursion, during which Mr. Blanchet attended to the wants of the faithful at Vancouver, Willamette, and Cowlitz. Though these stations afforded ample occupation for a missionary, Mr. B. paid another visit to Nisqually, where he was again met by a considerable number of savages from Puget sound, who hastened to Nisqually as soon as they heard of his arrival, and listened with joy and profit to the words of life.

In October the two missionaries met at Vancouver, which was their place of residence through the courtesy of James Douglas, Esq., and on the 10th of the same month they again separated, Mr. Blanchet starting for Willamette, and Mr. Demers for Cowlitz. Their object was to spend the winter months at these points in the further instruction of their flocks. During the first year they baptized three hundred and nine persons. The following spring Mr. Demers visited the Chinouks, a tribe living below fort George. From the Chinouks he repaired to Vancouver, to meet the concourse of traders who assemble there in the month of June, after which he set out for his stations at Walla Walla, Okanagan and Colville, as he had done the preceding year. About this time Father De Smet, S. J., was sent on a visit by his superior to the Flathead Indians, who had implored this favor by repeated deputations from their country to the bishop of St. Louis. He found, to his great surprise, that Oregon already possessed two Catholic missionaries; he wrote to Mr. Demers, informing him that he would return to St. Louis, according to the order of his superiors, to procure further aid for the promising missions of the Rocky Mountains.

Mr. Blanchet having visited the people at Nisqually, was soon called away by a special embassy from the Indians of Puget sound, who requested his ministry. It was on this occasion at Whitby that he met with the savages already acquainted with certain practices of the Catholic church, though they had never seen a missionary. His labors among the Indians at this place were most consoling. A large cross was erected as a rallying point, many children were baptized, and two tribes, who were at war with each other, were reconciled. The Catholic *ladder* was passed from one nation to another, and all prayed to be instructed still more fully in the truths of salvation. After baptizing one hundred and four persons, the missionaries returned to Vancouver, and thence repaired to their respective stations during the winter season. A wide field was here opened to their zeal, not only among the catechumens who solicited baptism, but among the settlers, who were anxious to repair by their fervor the neglect of former years. In the summer of 1840 the Columbia was visited by Captain Belcher, from England, for the purpose of surveying the river.

In the spring of 1841, Mr. Demers, after giving the usual mission at Vancouver, went to Nisqually, and with the aid of Indian guides penetrated as far as Fort Langley on the river Fraser. Here he was surrounded by an immense number of savages, to whom he announced

without delay the tidings of salvation. His appeal was not in vain, all permitting their children to be baptized, and soliciting the residence of a priest among them. Seven hundred children received, on this occasion, the sacrament of regeneration. While Mr. Demers was thus occupied in gathering the first fruits of the mission at Puget sound, Mr. Blanchet was equally engaged at Willamette, Vancouver, Cowlitz and the Cascades. At the last mentioned place several children were baptized, and a number of adults instructed in the faith.

[A LETTER FROM FATHER BOLDUC]

My arrival being noised abroad, several neighboring nations came hither in crowds. Saturday, the 18th, was employed in constructing a kind of repository, whereon to celebrate mass the ensuing morn. Mr. Douglas gave me several of his men to aid in the work. Branches of fir-trees formed the sides of this rustic chapel; and the awning of the boat, its canopy. Early Sunday morning, more than twelve hundred savages, belonging to the three great tribes, Kawitskins, Klalams, and Isanisks, were assembled in this modest sanctuary. Our commander neglected nothing that could render the ceremony imposing; he gave me liberty to choose on board, all that could serve for its decoration. He assisted at the mass with some Canadians, with two Catholic ladies. It was in the midst of this numerous assembly, that, for the first time, the sacred mysteries were celebrated; may the blood of the Spotless Lamb, fertilize this barren land, and cause it to produce an abundant harvest. This being the day fixed for the baptism of the children, I repaired to the principal village accompanied by all who had assisted at the divine service. On arriving, I was again compelled to present my hand to about 600 persons. The children were arranged along the sea-coast; I distributed to each a small piece of paper with a name written thereon; and immediately commenced the ceremony. It was about ten o'clock in the morning, and I did not finish before night, the new Christians numbered 102. Though much exhausted, I was obliged to walk two leagues to rejoin the steamboat.

According to the plan traced out for our voyage, we were to remain here but a few days; and then continue our course from fort to fort, until we arrived at the Russian establishment at Sitka, but the little vessel bearing the provisions, came not. This delay grieved me much, for the grand vicar had communicated to me his intention of establishing at the beginning of summer, a mission in Whitby Isle, and also of employing me in this work of zeal. Fearing I would not return in time if I delayed my departure, I resolved immediately to retrace my steps. I purchased a canoe, and engaged the chief of the Isanisks and ten of his men to conduct me direct to Whitby Isle. I quitted Vancouver the 24th of March, bearing with me the most lively sentiments of gratitude towards the commander of the expedition and Captain Brotchie, for all their kind

and delicate attentions. The sea was calm, but the atmosphere clouded; luckily, I took with me a compass, otherwise I should have strayed from my course, having twenty-seven miles to traverse. The first day we reached a little island between the extremity of Vancouver and the continent where we passed the night. My Indians, having shot a sea-wolf, made a great feast. You would scarcely believe how much a savage can devour at a repast; but if he is voracious in time of plenty, he knows how to fast several successive days without enduring much fatigue.

The 25th there arose a strong north-westerly breeze. The rowers, before quitting the coast, ascended a hill to ascertain if the sea was much agitated in the middle of the strait; they were some time before they could decide the point; at last they declared, that with the aid of a sail, we might brave the danger. A mast was prepared, a blanket affixed to it, and thus equipped we confided ourselves to the mercy of the waves. Towards three o'clock we landed at the isle of Whitby; not, however, without experiencing some danger.

A great number of savage Klalams and Skadjats came to meet us; I knew by reputation the chief of the Skadjats and asked to see him. They replied that he had left two days previously to meet me at Vancouver's island. His two sons presented themselves; one of them pressing my hand said "My father, Netlan, is not here, he is gone to Ramoon (this is the name of the southern point of Vancouver's island); when he learns thou art here he will soon return. He will be delighted if thou wilt remain among us, for he is tired saying 'Mass' every Sunday, and preaching to these people." Later, I was informed that his Mass consisted in explaining to the savages of his tribe the chronological history of religion (traced on a map), in teaching them to make numberless signs of the cross, and singing a few canticles with the *Kyrie Eleison*.

I pitched my tent near the cross planted by Mr. Blanchet when he first landed in the island, in 1840. The next morning all the camp of the Skadjats surrounded me to hear the word of God. You may form some idea of the population of this tribe when I tell you, that I gave my hand to a file of 650 persons, besides 150 others who had passed the night near my tent not included in this number: and nearly all the old men and women, besides the children, had remained in their huts. After the instruction, several canticles were chanted in such full chorus that the sound was deafening.

Several parents had begged me to baptize their children. I repaired to the village and requested to see all the children, under seven, who had not received the grace of regeneration. Not one was forgotten; there were 150 present. The ceremony took place in a little meadow, surrounded by lofty and antique fir-trees. It was not 12 o'clock when I began the administration of the sacrament, and I did not finish before sun-set. The day was most beautiful, but the ardent rays of the sun, joined to the want of a substantial breakfast, caused me to suffer much by a violent headache. The 27th, the chief of the Skadjats declared to

me that I ought not to be lodged in a cotton house (under a tent); "for this reason," added he, "to-morrow thou must tell me in what place we shall construct thee an abode, and thou wilt see how powerful is the effect of my words when I speak to my people." Beholding the good-will of the chief, I pointed out a little eminence. Immediately afterward I saw two hundred workmen, some having hatchets to fell the trees, others preparing to remove them; four of the most skilful undertook the arrangement of the edifice. In two days all was terminated, and I found myself installed in a house 28 feet long by 25 in width. The wood was rough, the roof covered with cedar-bark, and the interior overlaid with rush mats. During the week I gave them several instructions, and taught them some canticles—for without singing, the best things are of little value; noise is essential to their enjoyment.

I had terminated the exercises of the mission, when several savages arrived from the continent; as soon as they perceived me, they cast themselves on their knees, exclaiming, "Priest, priest, during four days we have travelled to behold thee, we have walked night and day, and have scarcely tasted any food; now that we see thee our hearts are joyful, take pity on us; we have learned that there is a Master on high, but we know not how to speak to him. Come with us, thou wilt baptize our children as thou didst those of the Skadjats." I was moved by these words, and would willingly have followed them to their forests, but it was impossible to do so, my intended arrival having been announced at Skwally. I quitted these good Indians the 3d April; during my abode among them I experienced nothing but consolations which surpassed all my expectations.

By this relation you will perceive, sir, that the savages of Puget Bay show much zeal for religion, yet they do not understand the full extent of the term. If to be a Christian it were but necessary to know some prayers, and sing canticles, there is not one among them who would not adopt the title; but a capital point still to be gained is, a reformation of morals. As soon as we touch this chord, their ardor is changed into indifference. In vain the chieftains harangue their inferiors; how can they expect to make any impression where they are themselves the more guilty!

I do not mistrust Divine Providence, but I may say, without exposing myself to illusion, that our best hopes are centred in the tribes inhabiting the coasts of the ocean, or which are settled at the mouth of the numerous tributaries.

[MULLAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE JESUIT MISSIONS]

The Jesuit Catholic fathers have three missions established along the line of the road; one among the Coeur d'Alènes, one among the Pend d'Oreilles and Flatheads, and one among the Blackfeet. The first site of the Coeur d'Aléne mission was in the St. Joseph's valley; but the over-

flow of the stream and the many difficulties to which they were subjected at this point compelled them, in 1846, to abandon it in favor of its present site on the Coeur d'Aléne river. They have erected here a fine church, dwellings, and such other buildings as are necessary for their wants; the Indians are educated not only to worship God, but every attention is given to teach them to till the soil. The missions use Indian labor exclusively, under the direction of three lay-brothers, and are supported from a small fund for the "propagation of the Catholic faith," which is devoted exclusively to the purchase of those articles which they themselves cannot produce or make. They are thrifty and frugal, and by their zeal in the cause and devotion to the best interests of the Indians, for whom they have given their lives a voluntary offering, they wield an influence among the better portion such as no whites or government agents have ever been enabled to obtain. Far removed, as yet, from contact with civilization, their lives of upright moral rectitude, zeal in behalf of the Indian, their morning, noon, and night devotion, when all the tribes assemble and chant paeans to the Almighty, the perfect harmony that exists in their social family of Indians and half-breeds, has ever won my highest admiration. In all that tended towards the ultimate success of my movements I have ever enjoyed their kind cooperation and zealous support, and during the many years spent near their mountain homes the kindest and warmest relations have ever existed between us.

The fathers, in abiding among the red men, have but one object in view: to rescue them from the blighting effects of ignorance and superstition, and to reclaim them from the effects of an advancing civilization, which to them is death. I can only regret that the results as yet obtained would not seem commensurate with the endeavors so manfully put forth. The only good, however, that I have ever seen effected among these people has been due to the exertions of these Catholic missionaries.

Many of these missions might be benefited by the government allowing them the charge of the schools and hospitals, for they actually take care of the Indians when sick and educate them when well, and all this with the mere pittance at their disposal, not a moiety of what they need; while hundreds and thousands are squandered on paper for the benefit of the Indians, and which they never receive.

The Coeur d'Aléne mission has the Fathers Josét and Gazzoli, and Brothers Francis, McGuire, and Campapiano. They have chosen a beautiful site, on a hill in the middle of the mission valley, and it has always proved to the weary traveller and destitute emigrant a St. Bernard in the Coeur d'Aléne mountains. I fear that the location of our road, and the swarms of miners and emigrants that must pass here year after year, will so militate against the best interests of the mission that its present site will have to be changed or abandoned. This, for themselves and the Indians, is to be regretted; but I can only regard it as the inevitable result of opening and settling the country. I have seen enough of Indians to convince me of this fact, that they can never exist in contact with the

whites; and their only salvation is to be removed far, far from their presence. But they have been removed so often that there seems now no place left for their further migration; the waves of civilization have invaded their homes from both oceans, driving them year after year towards the Rocky Mountains; and now that we propose to invade these mountain solitudes, to wrest from them their hidden wealth, where under heavens can the Indians go? And may we not expect to see these people make one desperate struggle in the fastnesses of the Rocky Mountains for the maintenance of their last homes and the preservation of their lives. It is a matter that but too strongly commends itself to the early and considerate attention of the general government. The Indian is destined to disappear before the white man, and the only question is, how it may best be done, and his disappearance from our midst tempered with those elements calculated to produce to himself the least amount of suffering, and to us the least amount of cost.

The Pend d'Oreille mission is pleasantly situated on Mission creek, a few miles to the north of the Jocko reservation, where Fathers Minetry, Louis Vera Cruz, and Grisi preside, with two lay-brothers. They have here, as at the Coeur d'Aléne mission, a complete set of buildings for their residences and a beautiful church; here, too, Indian labor is employed. The original site of this mission was on the Clark's Fork, about fifty miles from Fort Colville, where the lower Pend d'Oreille Indians lived; but, finding at this point more soil to cultivate and a better site, they removed hither in 1855, bringing many of the lower Pend d'Oreilles with them. They have, besides, a branch mission at Fort Colville, visited from time to time by Father Josét. They had a mission at the present site of Fort Owen till 1850, when it was abandoned and the property sold to Major John Owen, where he now resides, having a pleasant home, and the finest library I have seen on the north Pacific coast.

The next mission is among the Blackfeet; but as yet not much headway has been made towards its permanent establishment. The fathers chose a site on Sun river, ten miles above the wagon road crossing, where they erected a few buildings; but they never enclosed fields, and last year it was abandoned. They then held service at, and occupied the site of, Old Fort Campbell, a mile above Fort Benton. While I was at this point last summer they were projecting a site on the Marias with a view to there establish their permanent homes; the extent of good soil, its mild climate, its proximity to the homes of the Blackfeet, and its distance from the line of travel, all combining to determine them in its selection. At present the superior is Father Giorda, who has his headquarters at Fort Benton. The superior for many years while I was in the mountains was Father Congiato, from whom I have received many kindnesses and courtesies; but he being assigned to the presidency of one of the colleges at San Francisco, compelled a change. Fathers Imoda and Giorda, with two lay-brothers, are at the Blackfeet mission. The country and the Indians are mainly indebted to the zealous labor of the Reverend Father

de Smet in establishing all these missions, for he truly is the great father of all Rocky Mountain missionaries. By his travels and his labors, and the dedication of his years to this noble task, he has left a name in the mountains revered by all who knew him, and a household god with every Indian who respects the black gown. His early work, called the "Oregon Missions," is replete with interesting information, and from which we ourselves have collected many geographical and statistical facts. To him and his colaborers in their self-sacrificing work I return my thanks for their many kindnesses with the hope that they may live to see the full fruits of their zeal and toil amid the fastnesses and solitudes of the Rocky Mountains.

## CHAPTER V.

### GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS STUDY THE INDIAN PROBLEM

#### *Lawrence Kip Witnesses the Walla Walla Indian Council.*<sup>1</sup>

The administration of Indian affairs was a difficult business at best. The general policy of concentrating the native tribes upon reservations had long been followed by the United States government. In theory, the arrangement was an equitable one, the treaty provisions supposedly resulting from solemn councils to which the Indian chiefs were party. In practice, however, the reservation system often proved unsatisfactory except as it was enforced by military power. The natives looked upon the treaties as a form of encroachment which spelled the end of their accustomed mode of living. The white men resented being excluded from reservation lands which were often highly desirable for purposes of settlement or exploitation. The interests of the two were fundamentally antagonistic, and frequently compromise was impossible.

Upon Governor Isaac I. Stevens' shoulders, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs of Washington Territory, fell the responsibility for working out the details of the reservations to be established. His negotiations with several of the eastern tribes at Walla Walla during May and early June, 1855, are here reported by an observer, Lieutenant Lawrence Kip, who accompanied the military detachment sent to the council from the army post at The Dalles. During the years from 1854 to 1857 Stevens negotiated ten treaties, entailing the liquidation of Indian claims to 100,000 square miles of land. In spite of his efforts, troubles soon arose, and several years elapsed before all these treaties were ratified. The uncertain status of the treaties was one of the reasons for the outbreak of Indian hostilities. See Edmond S. Meany, *History of the State of Washington* (New York, 1927), pp. 166-75.

The post at The Dalles possesses none of the outward attractions of scenery which distinguish that of Vancouver. Its principal recommendation is its healthiness. The buildings are badly arranged, having been planned and erected some years ago by the Mounted Rifles, when they were stationed in Oregon. The officers' quarters are on the top of a hill, and the barracks for the men some distance further down, as if the officers intended to get as far from them as possible. There is a want of compactness, as there is no stockade—nothing in the shape of a fortification—in case of an outbreak by any of the hostile tribes of Indians, the post might easily be surprised. At this time, two companies of the 4th Infantry were stationed there under command of Major Rains.

<sup>1</sup> From Lawrence Kip, "Indian Council at Walla Walla, May and June, 1855," edited by F. G. Young, in *Sources of the History of Oregon* (Eugene, Oregon, 1897), I, Part 1, 7-22.

Here I spent a week very much as I had done at Vancouver. During this time we were enlivened by a visit from Governor Stevens, the Governor of Washington Territory. He was on his way to the interior of the Indian country—to Walla Walla—in connection with the Indian Commissioners, to hold a grand council, to which he had summoned the tribes far and near. For some time they had been restless, numerous murders of emigrants crossing the plains have occurred, and it is deemed necessary by the Government to remove some of the tribes to reservations which have been selected for them. The object of this council was, therefore, to propose to them the purchase of their territory—a proposition which it was expected, (as it afterwards proved), would be received by some tribes with violent opposition. Governor Stevens had therefore stopped to request a small body of troops to be sent on to meet him at the council ground, to act as escort to the commissioners, and also to guard the presents which were to be forwarded for distribution among the Indians.

A Lieutenant and about forty men were therefore detailed by Major Rains for this duty, to which were added two half-breeds to act as packers, and a Cayuse Indian, who was to officiate as guide. This worthy from having been shot in the mouth in a fight with the Snake Indians, rejoiced in the *sobriquet* of Cutmouth John. Wounds are said to be honorable, particularly when received in front, but this was certainly not ornamental, for it had given him a dreadful distortion of visage.

On invitation of the young commander of the expedition I agreed to accompany it. . . .

Our preparations were soon made, for army expeditions do not allow much time for packing trunks. The command was mounted, some fifteen pack mules added to carry the camp equipage, and about noon, May 18th, we bid farewell to the officers and rode away from The Dalles. Our course during the afternoon was through the Des Chutes valley, an admirable grazing country, as the temperature is such that cattle can be kept out for the whole year and always find subsistence. It was formerly the place where the Hudson's Bay Company raised all the best horses they used. The country appears, however, from the absence of timber, to be waste and desolate, though the soil is said to be rich and admirably adapted to agriculture. After passing the little river of Des Chutes, we find some springs near the Columbia river and encamped, having advanced about twenty miles.

Our arrangements for sleeping were soon made. We carried no tents, so that a buffalo robe and a blanket formed our bedroom furniture. This did well enough on pleasant nights, but when it rained, it required some skill to take refuge under the buffalo robe in such a way as to keep dry, and not wake up finding one's self lying in a pool of water. As soon as we encamped, fires were made by the soldiers and the cooking commenced. Our suppers indeed, were not very sumptuous, the invariable bill of fare being bacon, hard biscuit and a cup of coffee. Yet, a long

day's ride would supply the appetite, and after the horses were picketed and we were sitting cosily by the fire or were lying down watching the stars above us, with no sound on the wide plain but the measured tread of our sentinel, there was a degree of freedom about it far more pleasant than the conventional life of cities.

Wednesday, May 23d. At 2 o'clock P. M. we arrived at the ground selected for the council, having made the march in six days. It was in one of the most beautiful spots of the Walla Walla valley, well wooded and with plenty of water. Ten miles distant is seen the range of the Blue Mountains, forming the southeast boundary of the great plains along the Columbia, whose waters it divides from those of the Lewis river. It stretches away along the horizon until it is lost in the dim distance where the chain unites with the Snake River Mountains.

Here we found General Palmer, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, and Governor Stevens, with their party, who had already pitched their tents. With the latter we dined. As was proper for the highest dignitary on the ground, he had a dining room separate from his tent. An arbor had been erected near it, in which was placed a table, hastily constructed from split pine logs, smoothed off, but not very smooth. Our preparations were made for a more permanent encampment than we have as yet had. A tent was procured for Lieut. Gracie and myself while the men erected for themselves huts of boughs, spreading over them pack covers.

Thursday, May 24th. This has been an exceedingly interesting day, as about 2,500 of the Nez Perce tribe have arrived. It was our first specimen of this Prairie chivalry, and it certainly realized all our conceptions of these wild warriors of the plains. Their coming was announced about 10 o'clock, and going out on the plain to where a flag staff had been erected, we saw them approaching on horseback in one long line. They were almost entirely naked, gaudily painted and decorated with their wild trappings. Their plumes fluttered about them, while below, skins and trinkets of all kinds of fantastic embellishments flaunted in the sunshine. Trained from early childhood almost to live upon horseback, they sat upon their fine animals as if they were centaurs. Their horses, too, were arrayed in the most glaring finery. They were painted with such colors as formed the greatest contrast; the white being smeared with crimson in fantastic figures, and the dark colored streaked with white clay. Beads and fringes of gaudy colors were hanging from the bridles, while the plumes of eagle feathers interwoven with the mane and tail, fluttered as the breeze swept over them, and completed their wild and fantastic appearance.

When about a mile distant they halted, and a half a dozen chiefs rode forward and were introduced to Governor Stevens and General

Palmer, in order of their rank. Then on came the rest of the wild horseman in single file clashing their shields, singing and beating their drums as they marched past us. Then they formed a circle and dashed around us, while our little group stood there, the center of their wild evolutions. They would gallop up as if about to make a charge, then wheel round and round, sounding their loud whoops until they had apparently worked themselves up into an intense excitement. Then some score or two dismounted, and forming a ring danced for about twenty minutes, while those surrounding them beat time on their drums. After these performances, more than twenty of the chiefs went over to the tent of Governor Stevens, where they sat for some time, smoking the "pipe of peace," in token of good fellowship, and then returned to their camping ground.

Saturday, May 26. . . . Towards evening the Cayuse tribe arrived, numbering about 300. They came in whooping and singing in the Indian fashion, and after circling round the camp of the Nez Percés two or three times, they retired to form their own at some little distance. In a short time some of the principal chiefs paid their respects to Governor Stevens and then came to look at our camp. It was not, as we had reason to believe afterwards, a friendly visit, but rather a reconnoissance to learn our numbers and estimate our powers of resistance.

Tuesday, May 29th. Today the Council was to have met at 12, but it was 2 o'clock before they came together. About eight tribes were represented. Nothing, however, was done but to organize the Council and swear in the interpreters. Governor Stevens then made a short address. All this occupied two hours, then it began to rain and the Council adjourned to meet again at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning if the weather should be pleasant; otherwise on the first pleasant day. A fine prospect for the extension of our stay in the valley! There are about 5,000 Indians, including squaws and children, on the ground.

We had another of our *recherché* dinner parties this evening, entertaining one of the gentlemen residing at the Mission, and another attached to Governor Stevens' party. We received news today of the inspection visit of General Wool to Fort Vancouver and his order for an expedition to set out on the 20th of June, from Fort Dalles, for the Snake Indian country, the force to be commanded by Major Haller.

Wednesday, May 30th. At 1 o'clock this afternoon the Council met, and business seems to be really commencing. It was a striking scene. Directly in front of Governor Stevens' tent, a small arbor had been erected, in which, at a table, sat several of his party taking notes of everything said. In front of the arbor on a bench sat Governor Stevens and General Palmer, and before them, in the open air, in concentric semi-circles, were ranged the Indians, the chiefs in the front ranks, in

order of their dignity, while the background was filled with women and children. The Indians sat on the ground, (in their own words,) "reposing on the bosom of their Great Mother." There were probably 1,000 present at a time. After smoking for half an hour (a ceremony which with them precedes all business) the Council was opened by a short address by General Palmer. Governor Stevens then rose and made a long speech, setting forth the object of the Council and what was desired of them. As he finished each sentence, the interpreter repeated it to two of the Indians who announced it in a loud voice to the rest—one in the Nez Perce and the other in the Walla Walla language. This process necessarily causes business to move slowly. Many of the Indians have been to our camp to visit us today; among them, Stickus, an old chief of the Cayuses.

Thursday, May 31. On arriving at Governor Stevens' tent, I found that the Council had already met. After the usual preamble of smoking, Governor Stevens and General Palmer, in succession, made long speeches to them, explaining the benefits they would receive from signing this treaty, and the advantages which would result to them from their removal to the new lands offered in exchange for their present hunting ground. The Council lasted until 3 o'clock.

This evening we went, as usual, to the Nez Perce camp. There was a foot race, but the great events of the evening were horse-races. Each of the tribes now here possesses large numbers of horses, so that wherever they are, the prairies are covered with these animals, roaming at large till they are wanted by their masters. Part of these are derived from the wild horses of the prairies, while some, from the marks with which they are branded, show that they have been stolen from the Spaniards in upper Mexico. To capture horses is esteemed next in honor to laurels gained in actual war, and they will follow the party of a hostile tribe for weeks, watching an opportunity to run off their horses. It is for this, too, that they are hovering around the emigrants on the plains, who sometimes by a stampede or a single bold dash lose in a single night all their animals, and are left helpless on the plains, as a ship without sails. Living as they do on horseback, racing forms one of their greatest amusements. They will ride for miles, often having heavy bets depending on the results. On this occasion we saw nearly 30 Indians start at once and dash over the plains like the winds, sweeping round in a circle of several miles.

Friday, June 1. The Council did not meet this morning, as the Indians wished to consider the proposals made to them during the past few days. We learned that two or three of the half-civilized Nez Percés, who could write, were keeping a minute account of all that transpired at these meetings.

Saturday, June 2. Just before I was up this morning, we had a call from some of the Indians, who pay little regard to visiting hours. After

breakfast I rode over to see the gentlemen at the old Mission, and on my return to camp, found that the Council was already assembled, having met at 12 o'clock. The Indian chiefs had at length begun to reply, so that another step has been gained. After Governor Stevens' opening speech, several of them followed in short addresses. I arrived there just in time to hear the last one, made by one of the Cayuse chiefs. He did not commit himself as to what they would do, but the whole tenor of his address was unfavorable to the reception of the treaty. After a few words in conclusion from Governor Stevens, the Council adjourned till 10 o'clock on Monday.

Monday, June 4. Breakfast at the fashionable hour of 10, as I was waiting for Lieut. Gracie, who was obliged to go early to the Mission to see about the pack mules. An express came in this morning from The Dalles, giving him orders to join Major Haller's command, forty-five miles below this place, as soon as the Council breaks up.

The diplomatists met today at 1:30 o'clock. After Governor Stevens' address, the old chief Lawyer spoke, which was the first time anything had been heard from the Nez Percés. Several of the other chiefs followed, and the Council finally adjourned at 5 o'clock, without having made any sensible progress. The maxim "that time is money," which prevails so extensively among the Anglo-Saxons, has not yet penetrated into the wilderness to be received as a motive in any way influencing the conduct. With the Indians, "the next moon" will answer just as well as this month, for any business that is to be transacted. I should think, however, the Commissioners would have their patience utterly exhausted.

Until a late hour we heard from the Indian camps the sound of their singing and the beating of their drums, and could see the figures flit before the fires as the dancing went on.

Tuesday, June 4. Another visit before breakfast from some of our Indian friends. Early this morning Lieut. Gracie sent off an express to The Dalles to report progress. Then came the same routine of the Council; Governor Stevens, at the opening gave them the most elaborate address he has yet made, explaining to the chiefs most definitely, what lands he wished [them] to give up, and what their "Great Father" (the President) would give them in return, together with the benefits they would derive from the exchange. General Palmer afterwards made a speech an hour long, in which he endeavored to illustrate to his audience the many advantages resulting from their being brought into contact with civilization. His reasoning at one time led him to give an account of the railroad and telegraph. It was sufficiently amusing to listen to this scientific lecture, (as Julian Avenel says of Warden's homily in the Monastery,) "quaintly conceived and curiously pronounced, and to a

well chosen congregation," but it probably would have been much more diverting could we have known the precise impressions left upon the minds of his audience, or have heard them talk it over afterwards in their lodges. After he had finished, Stickus, the old Cayuse chief, made a short speech, and then Governor Stevens adjourned them until tomorrow.

There is evidently a more hostile feeling towards the whites getting up among some of the tribes, of which we had tonight a very unmistakable proof. The Cayuse, we have known, have never been friendly, but hitherto they have disguised their feelings. Tonight, as Lieut. Gracie and I attempted, as usual to enter their camp, they showed a decided opposition; we were motioned back, and the young warriors threw themselves in our way to obstruct our advance. To yield to this, however, or show any signs of being intimidated, would have been ruinous with the Indians, so [we] were obliged to carry out our original intentions. We placed our horses abreast, riding round the Indians, where it was possible, and at other times forcing our way through, believing that they would not dare to resort to actual violence. If, however, this hostile feeling at the Council increases, how long will it be before we have an actual outbreak?

Wednesday, June 6th. Today the Indians again determined not to meet in Council, as they wished to consult among themselves; so there is another day lost. After my ride up the valley to the Mission, I found on my return to dinner an old trapper and Indian trader had come in to visit us, and was to be our guest. We had, however, a sumptuous repast, for he brought with him a buffalo tongue, a great luxury on the plains, and one of which anywhere might tempt the epicure.

Thursday, June 7th. Mr. M'Kay took breakfast with us. He is the son of the old Indian hunter so often mentioned in Irving's "Astoria," and whose name is identified with pioneer life in this region.

The Council met today at 12, and I went into the arbor, and taking my seat at the reporters' table wrote some of the speeches delivered. There is of course, in those of the Indians, too much repetition to give them fully, but a few extracts may show the manner in which these wearisome meetings were conducted day after day.

Gov. Stevens.—"My brothers! we expect to have your hearts today. Let us have your hearts straight out."

Lawyer, the old Nez Perce chief.—The first part of his speech was historical, relating to the discovery of this country by the Spaniards, which is a favorite topic with the Indian orators. In course of it, he thus narrated the story of Columbus and the egg, which he had heard from some of the missionaries.

"One of the head of the court said, 'I knew there was such a country.' Columbus, who had discovered it, said, 'Can you make an egg stand on its end?' He tried to make the egg stand, but could not do it. He did not understand how. It fell over. Columbus then showed them all that he could make it stand. He sat it down and it stood. He knew how, and after they saw it done, they could do it."

He thus described the manner in which the tribes at the East receded at the approach of the whites:

"The red man traveled away farther, and from that time they kept traveling away further, as the white people came up with them. And this man's people (pointing to a Delaware Indian, who was one of the interpreters) are from that people. They have come on from the Great Lake where the sun rises, until they are near us now, at the setting sun. And from that country, somewhere from the center, came Lewis and Clarke, and that is the way the white people traveled and came on here to my forefathers. They passed through our country, they became acquainted with our country and all our streams, and our forefathers used them well, as well as they could, and from the time of Columbus, from the time of Lewis and Clarke, we have known you, my friends; we poor people have known you as brothers."

He concluded by expressing his approval of the treaty, only urging that the whites should act towards them in good faith.

Gov. Stevens.—"We have now the hearts of the Nez Percés through their chief. Their hearts and our hearts are one. We want the hearts of the other tribes through their chiefs."

Young Chief, of the Cayuse.—(He was evidently opposed to the treaty, but grounded his objections on two arguments. The first was, they had no right to sell the ground which God had given for their support unless for some good reasons.)—"I wonder if the ground has anything to say? I wonder if the ground is listening to what is said? I wonder if the ground would come alive and what is on it? Though I hear what the ground says. The ground says 'It is the Great Spirit that placed me here. The Great Spirit tells me to take care of the Indians, to feed them aright. The Great Spirit appointed the roots to feed the Indians on.' The water says the same thing. 'The Great Spirit directs me. Feed the Indians well.' The grass says the same thing. 'Feed the horses and cattle.' The ground, water and grass say, 'the Great Spirit has given us our names.['] We have these names and hold these names. Neither the Indians or whites have a right to change these names. The ground says, 'The Great Spirit has placed me here to produce all that grows on me, trees and fruit.' The same way the ground says, 'It was from me man was made.' The Great Spirit, in placing men on the earth desired them to take good care of the ground and to do each other no harm. The Great Spirit said, 'You Indians who take

care of certain portions of the country should not trade it off except you get a fair price."

Owhi, Umatilla Chief.—"We are together and the Great Spirit hears all that we say to day. The Great Spirit gave us the land and measured the land to us, this is the reason I am afraid to say anything about the land. I am afraid of the laws of the Great Spirit. This is the reason of my heart being sad. This is the reason I cannot give you an answer. I am afraid of the Great Spirit. Shall I steal this land and sell it, or, what shall I do? This is the reason why my heart is sad. The Great Spirit made our friends, but the Great Spirit made our bodies from the earth, as if they were different from the whites. What shall I do? Shall I give the land which is a part of my body and leave myself poor and destitute? Shall I say I will give you my land? I cannot say so. I am afraid of the Great Spirit. I love my life. The reason why I do not give my land away is, I am afraid I will be sent to hell. I love my friends. I love my life. This is the reason why I do not give my land away. I have one word more to say. My people are far away. They do not know your words. This is the reason I cannot give you an answer. I show you my heart. This is all I have to say."

Gov. Stevens.—"How will Kamiakin or Schoom speak?"

Kamiakin.—"What have I to be talking about?"

General Palmer.—"We have listened and heard our chiefs speak. The hearts of the Nez Percés and ours are one. The Cayuses, the Walla Wallas, and the other tribes say they do not understand us. We were in hopes we should have but one heart. Why should we have more than one heart? Young Chief says he does not know what we propose to him. Pe-pe-mox-mox says the same. Can we bring these saw mills and these grist mills on our backs to show these people? Can we bring these blacksmith shops, these wagons and tents on our backs to show them at this time? Can we cause fields of wheat and corn to spring up in a day that we may see them? Can we build these school houses and these dwellings in a day? Can we bring all the money that these things will cost, that they may see it? It would be more than all the horses of any one of these tribes could carry. It takes time to do these things. We come first to see you and make a bargain. We brought but few goods with us. But whatever we promise to give you, you will get.

"How long will these people remain blind? We come to try and open their eyes. They refuse the light. I have a wife and children. My brother here has the same. I have a good house, fields of wheat, potatoes, and peas. Why should I wish to leave them and come so far to see you? It was to try and do you good, but you throw it away. Why is it that you do so? We all sometimes do wrong. Sometimes because our hearts are bad, and sometimes because we have had bad counsel.

Your people have sometimes done wrong. Our hearts have cried. Our hearts still cry. But if you will try to do right we will try to forget it. How long will you listen to this bad counsel and refuse to receive the light? I, too, like the ground where I was born. I left it because it was for my good. I have come a long way. We ask you to go but a short distance. We do not come to steal your land. We pay you more than it is worth. There is the Umatilla Valley that affords a little good land between two streams and all around it, is a parched up plain. What is it worth to you, what is it worth to us? Not half what we have offered you for it. Why do we offer so much? Because our Great Father told us to take care of his red people. We come to you with his message to try and do you good," etc., etc.

These extracts will give a specimen of the kind of "talk" which went on day after day.

*W. B. Gosnell, Special Indian Agent, Explains the  
Red Men's Grievances.<sup>2</sup>*

Governor Stevens believed, like many before him, that the reservation system would benefit the Indians by providing for them the advantages of the white man's civilization. This report, prepared by Wesley Gosnell, indicates what some of the advantages were. Gosnell was a special agent assigned to the tribes who were party to the Treaty of Medicine Creek. His letter is of further interest for the information it contains concerning the Indian wars of 1855-6.

Olympia, Washington Territory,  
December 31/1856.

HON. ISAAC I. STEVENS,  
Governor and Superintendant Indian Affairs,  
Olympia, Wash. Tery.

SIR:

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.

<sup>2</sup> From manuscript letter in the University of Washington Library.

The Indians belonging to Squoxain Reservation have come in pretty generally for the winter. They are comfortably clothed, enjoy very good health and appear to be well satisfied and contented. Eight Indian houses have been completed, and are occupied by the Indians, who much prefer them to their former miserable huts. A blacksmith shop has also been completed, and will be in operation in a few days, or as soon as iron can be obtained. As these Indians have provided for themselves considerable food for the winter, I shall issue provisions to them very sparingly, until the Spring months, which are the most severe on them for subsistence. I have visited the Indians on the Puyallup and Nisqually Reservations twice during the last month.

Warren Gove, the carpenter appointed under the Treaty, is in charge of the Puyallup Reservation, and is engaged in constructing quarters for the winter and in making preparations for raising a crop next year. A contract has been let to Messrs. Harned & Morgan to build twelve Indian houses on this Reservation. Owing to the great difficulty of obtaining sawed lumber in that vicinity, I do not expect that those houses will be completed before the first of May next. There are only about 200 Indians on this Reservation at present. They are in a very destitute condition both as regards clothing and food: they are also very unhealthy and are dying off rapidly. They appear to be very religiously inclined and the Catholic Priests have probably more influence with them than any other tribe on the Sound. On the 8th inst: the chief of this Tribe, *K'Qatch-ee* died.—He was about 80 years of age, had always borne the character of a good Indian, and the instructions which he gave to his people a short time before his decease were very good, and will have a beneficial influence. The head chief of the P[u]yallup Tribe is now *Es-ahl-atahtl*.

Wm. P. Wells, the farmer under the Treaty, will take charge of the Nisqually Reservation as soon as the weather moderates sufficiently to permit the necessary work to be done. Quite a number, perhaps 100 Indians, have congregated here. These Indians are also badly prepared [*sic*] for the winter, both as to food and clothing. Their health, however, is generally very good. The Indian "Charley" mentioned in my report as Local Agent, who was then missing, has been found dead on the Chehalis river. It is supposed that his death was caused by a fall of some twenty feet from a log lying across a ravine, and which he attempted to go over in a state of intoxication. His Tribe appear satisfied that his death was accidental.

I am happy to be able to state that but comparatively little whiskey has been trafficked during this month among the Indians of my charge. They all manifest a very friendly disposition towards the whites and are very anxious that all those steps towards the improvement of their condition which are referred to in their Treaty should be carried into execution without delay.

On the first breaking out of hostilities, the friendly Indians having removed to Reservations under orders of the Indian Department, many of them were compelled to leave their horses behind to the mercy of the hostiles and volunteers. Some of these horses were afterwards retaken, but many were lost. Over 30 horses are now claimed to have been thus lost by the Indians under my charge. The Indian Department has always promised that the friendly Indians should be indemnified for all losses consequent upon their removal to Reservations. I respectfully call your attention to this matter and ask that some steps may be taken at an early day towards paying those Indians who have suffered in this way.

I desire to call your attention to the course pursued by the Military authorities in reference to Indians who were engaged in hostiliti[e]s against the whites west of the Cascades. The fact that Indians, known to have been engaged in the murders of white men and women, are suffered to run at large through the Territory, and no steps taken to arrest them for trial before the civil courts has a bad effect upon the friendly Indians as well as upon the citizens, and may yet be the cause of serious difficulty. I have refused to receive such Indians upon the Reservations for the following reasons: 1. I did not deem it the legitimate duty of the Indian service to furnish an asylum of protection to known Indian murderers. 2. As those murderers are liable, until after a trial, to be killed by white men who are the relatives or friends of the persons murdered, to collect them on the Reservations would be to make those places the theatre of illegal revenge, by proclaiming to all those who had lost relatives in the recent hostilities where to come to find the murderers. 3. I have not the power, if I even possessed the authority to protect these murderers from the whites. The Indians have always been taught by us that the violaters of the law would be brought to justice; but when they see murderers running at large over the Territory, and no steps taken by the Military to arrest them, or shot down without trial by the incensed relatives of the deceased, their faith in the professions of government is much shaken.

After an Indian has been tried and acquitted, I will receive him and will protect him with my life against any and all attempts of white men to injure him. But until they are tried by the Courts and discharged I will not receive or take charge of known murderers. In order that I may not be thought to arrive at unfavorable conclusions as to the guilt of Indians without proper foundation, I will state that my information is always derived from either the Indians of the tribe to which the accused belongs, or from the fact that an indictment is pending against him in Court. For the sake therefore of justice to the white man as well as the Indian, and for the purpose, if possible, of preventing any further Indian difficulties in this Territory, I do trust that the Military authorities of this Territory will, ere it is too late, take this matter

in hand, arrest all supposed Indian murderers and turn them over the civil courts where they will receive a fair and impartial trial.

The principal portion of the hostiles west of the Cascades in the late Indian War, were from the Puyallup and Nisqually tribes, which are now under my charge. In my intercourse with these tribes I have derived considerable information from them in reference to the origin of the war, which, as it may be interesting to you, I will take the liberty of inserting in this report.

The Indian War has been in contemplation for over three years by the Klickatats, Yakimas and Walla Wallas. During the summer of '55 they made a proposition to the Indians on the Sound to assist in exterminating the whites, and they should receive an equal share of the spoils. The Treaty with these Indians was not the cause of the outbreak, but was only used by those who had determined on a war as a ground of argument to create disaffection among the others. During the summer Leschi, a Nisqually chief, visited the Indians east of the Cascades, both in this and Oregon Territory. The Yakimas, Klickatats and Walla Wallas were then holding Councils in reference to their plan of operations in the proposed war against the whites. These Councils were attended by Leschi, and at one of them a proposition was made to him by those Tribes, that if he and his brother Quiemuth, could succeed in inciting the Nisquallies to open acts of hostility against the settlements on Puget Sound, they would receive in payment for their services 100 head of cattle and 150 horses. This proposition was accepted by Leschi, on behalf of himself and his brother, and the bargain was formally concluded.

On his return to the Sound country, he told his people that the extermination of the whites in this Territory had been [a]greed upon by the Indians east of the Cascades, and urged them by every argument, threat and persuasion in his power, to join in the combination. He told them that besides their share of the spoils (movable property) that they would of course possess all the buildings, and other improvements made on the soil by the whites. He represented to them that the Indians east of the mountains were very powerful, and told them that it was their design to not only extirminate the whites, but to kill and make slaves of all Indians on the Sound whom they found had not taken up arms against the whites. This threat added to other arguments was not without its influence in exciting them to revolt. It was Leschi who first started the famous story of the *Polakly Illehe* or "Land of darkness"—a story most admirably adapted to work upon the fears and credulity of an ignorant and uncivilized people: it spread among all the Indians with the rapidity of wild-fire, exciting horror at the terrible future in store for them and arousing their latent savage hatred for all whites. These chiefs did not calculate that we would receive any assistance from abroad.—They expected, as the Indians of Oregon were

hostile, that the people of that Territory would have enough to do to protect themselves, and that before a sufficient force of troops from California or the States could reach us, their work could be done and their object attained.

Another inducement to go to war was offered to them by certain employees and discharged employees of the Hudsons Bay Company and other foreigners in this Territory, intermarried with Indian women. These people told the Indians, that a war between the United States and Great Britain was unavoidable, and that if they could succeed in wiping out the Settlements north of the Columbia river, they would not only receive the benefits of the plunder, but the Americans would never again attempt to settle the country, and they could obtain better pay for their lands from the English Government.

These assurances I am informed were accompanied by liberal presents of ammunition and promises of further assistance in case of need.

During the Summer of 1855 a Hudson Bay Pack Train, with a very large quantity of Powder, Lead and other Supplies, left Fort Nisqually for Fort Colville. I am informed by a white man who professed to be knowing to the fact, that in passing through the Klickitat-country, the gentleman in charge of the Train made presents of large quantities of ammunition to those Indians, openly encouraging them to take up arms against the Americans, and assuring them that there was no doubt of their success, if they were united, and further that he felt certain that all the Indians both east and west of the Cascades would co-operate with them. Shortly afterwards, the murders of those citizens of this Territory on their way to Fort Colville Gold mines, took place, and I cannot but regard this as a confirmation of the truth of the information I received.

The Upper Nisquallys, Upper Puyallups, a portion of the lower Puyallups, the Klickatats and other Indians living near the head of Green and White rivers, together with a portion of the Duwamish at once entered into the combination. The other Indians of the Sound, their Sympathies with the hostiles, but afraid of the whites on the one hand, and equally in terror of the execution of the threats of the Indians east of the mountains on the other, hesitated, and stood for some time on a balance as it were, for peace or for war. Meanwhile those who were in favor of the plan used every effort to make the combination general. Messengers or runners were dispatched in every direction with exaggerated tales of the power and successful operations of the confederated Tribes east of the Cascades, and of wrongs committed against the Indians by the whites; and influential chiefs travelled among the Sound Tribes exhorting them to take up arms and make common cause.

Without doubt some Indians had suffered real greivances [*sic*] in a limited degree at the hands of the whites. Bad white men had obtained the labor or services of Indians and failed to pay the stipulated wages. Their ancient burial places and fishing grounds had been interfered with, and old camping spots and potatoe patches had been wrested from them and plowed up by the settler. These instances of wrong, however, were rare, and were deemed of less importance by the Indians themselves than by impartial whites, and are more than compensated by the many substantial comforts and advantages which they have received in their trade and intercourse with the whites. The hostiles themselves do not assign these as the cause of their outbreak. All the real causes operating upon the minds of the Indians west of the Cascades in determining them to take up arms against the whites, may be briefly summed up under the following heads: 1. The Yakimas, Klickatats, and Walla-Wallas, being known to be powerful tribes, and feared as such, had determined upon war, and had threatened, if they were successful, to kill and make slaves all who failed to make common cause with them, and the Sound Tribes were afraid that this threat would be literally carried into execution. 2. The prospect of the spoils. 3. The encouragement they received from foreigners in this Territory. 4. Beleiving [*sic*] that unless effectually checked in time the Americans would overrun the country and the Indians would [be] wiped out, they regarded the present as a timely and favorable opportunity to exterminate them.

The Strength of the hostiles west of the Cascades at the outbreak may be estimated as follows: Nisquallys and a portion of the Lower Puyallups, under Leschi and Quiemuth, 65 warriors: The Green and White river Indians together with the disaffected of the Upper Duwamish, under Nelson and Kitsap, 35 warriors: The Klickatats and their relatives, west of the mountains, living on and near the head of Green and White rivers, under Kenaskut, 55 warriors: and the Upper Puyallups, under Quilquilton, 20 warriors. Total number in the field 175, who commenced hostilities on the White river Settlements by murdering men, women and children Oct., 1855.

In February following these were reinforced by 40 Klickatats from the East of the Cascades, under the command of young Owhi.

It is now ascertained beyond doubt that the above were not the only Indians west of the Cascades who entered into the combination. All the Tribes on the Sound and Straits Sympathized with the movement, and the great majority of them actually and formally pledged themselves in council to act in concert. Had these not been compelled by unlooked for events to violate their faith, the number of warriors in the field west of the Cascades would have been swelled from 215 to over 1200. What prevented the perfection of the Indian combination on the Sound will appear from what follows:

*The massacre on White river took place too soon.* Nelson and Kitsap committed a fatal error, by striking a blow until the combination was properly matured, and before the plans were agreed upon and fully understood. Although it was undoubtedly a mistake, yet the step taken at that particular time displays Shrewdness and bears evidence that it was not done without consideration. The company of Volunteers under Captain Hayes, and the company of Regulars under Captain Maloney, which had marched from Fort Steilacoom a few days previous left the Sound country in a comparatively defenceless condition. It was supposed by both whites and Indians that these companies would of course push on over the mountains into the Yakima country, then to join Major Rains for the purpose of punishing that Tribe for the murder of the miners. Very fortunately, and unexpectedly to the Indians, Capt Maloney in command of the two Companies, after proceeding as far as the Na-chess pass, determined to fall back to Fort Steilacoom. Had it not been for this occurrence, together with the promptness with which other Volunteer Companies took the field in response to the call of the executive, and the effective blows struck at White and Green rivers, it is more than probable that combination, notwithstanding the imprudence of Nelson and Kitsap, would have been perfected on the Sound.

As it was, however, the Sound Tribes generally, surprised at the massacre on White river, they were equally taken aback by the sudden return of Maloney, and the prompt action and vigorous blows struck both by the Volunteers on this side the mountains and by the Oregon Volunteers on the other side. They were amazed. The energetic movement of the Oregon Troops in our behalf was an event they had [sic] as little calculated upon as they had of the sudden outbreak and immediate accompaniments. Without any thought of relinquishing their design of entering into the combination, all those who had not actually committed themselves by overt acts of hostility, considered it their best policy to come under the control of the Indian Service for the time being, quietly watch the progress of the contest, and stand ready to seize any Good opportunity to strike an effective blow which a favorable turn in the war might present. Hence it was that all the friendly (so called) Indians had regular communication with the hostiles during the fall and winter of 1855, and always received accurate news of the progress of the conflict long in advance of the whites. Fortunately the favorable turn, so anxiously looked for and confidently expected, never happened. At this stage of affairs it is proper to refer to the testimony unanimously borne by the Indians to the prompt and efficient action of M. T. Simmons, Indian Agent, in breaking up the combination of the Sound Tribes. Immediately after the White river massacre he went to work to remove the friendly Indians to a distance from the scene of hostilities, so as to prevent their conniving at, or joining in the move-

ments of the hostiles. He told them that the war ground was on the east side of the Sound, and that all who remained on that side would be considered hostile by the whites and treated accordingly:—and that all who desired to be regarded as friendly must remove to the west side. To effect such an object at such a time was no trifling undertaking: but by indefatigable exertions, and at great personal risk, he at length succeeded in removing all the Indians who were in any danger of becoming disaffected, except a few who remained in the town of Seattle to the west side of the Sound. Those thus removed were placed on Reservations under the charge of Local Agents whose business it was to watch them and give notice of any suspicious movement. The hostiles saw that it was impossible to receive assistance from the friendly Indians so long as they remained on Reservations, and Leschi made one effort, in the case of his descent upon Fox Island, to break up the whole system. Having met with but little success in that attempt he never repeated it. Being thus subjected to a rigid system of surveillance by the Indian department, and receiving no encouragement from the several battles which took place between the hostiles and the troops, the Indians on the Reservations gradually lost sight of their former disaffection. Indeed, in the course of time, seeing that there was no hope for the hostiles, some Tribes expressed a willingness to enter the field and fight for the whites. This offer was at once accepted by the Indian department, which was desirous, in order to effectually guard against the possibility of the friendly Indians turning, to place them in an attitude of unmistakable hostility towards those who had taken up arms against the whites.

Patkanim, the chief of the Snoqualmie Tribe, who is known to have attended the councils to effect a combination among the tribes, having lost all hope in the success of the hostile movement, and designing to ingratiate himself and his people in the confidence of the whites, as well as on account of the pay which was offered, took the field at the head of 60 of his tribe, and remained out over a month. Besides the Snoqualmies, a portion of the Chehalis, Squoxin [*sic*], Skakwamish and Snohomish tribes, actuated by similar motives took up arms for the whites. By this means all sympathy with the hostiles was obliterated, and they lost all hopes of a combination among the Sound tribes. In order to avoid being misunderstood, I will briefly recapitulate the events which prevented the combination of the Sound Tribes against the whites. They are as follows: 1. The massacre on White river before a perfect understanding had been secured among all the tribes. 2. The unexpected return to the Sound country of the two companies under Capt Maloney. 3. The prompt movement and efficient blows struck by Oregon Volunteers east of the Cascades. 4. The policy of the Indian Service in promptly removing, immediately after the outbreak, all professedly friendly Indians to the west side of the Sound.

5. The employment of friendly Indians as auxiliaries [*sic*] to operate in the field against the hostiles.

I have the honor to be very respectfully,

Your Obt. Servt.

[Signed] W. B. GOSNELL,  
Special Ind. Agt.

*Captain Mullan Enumerates the Tribes Between  
Walla Walla and Fort Benton, 1863.<sup>8</sup>*

While Captain Mullan later thought of his road as a possible emigrant thoroughfare, it was built primarily for military purposes, in order that the army might deal more effectively with the Western Indians. In his *Report* he lists the tribes that would be most directly concerned.

Mullan's remarks on the subject of administrative policy suggest the confusion of authority which at times seriously impaired governmental efficiency in the management of Indian affairs. Military officers could create very awkward situations when they refused to cooperate with representatives of the Indian Office.

The Indians met with along the line are the Palouse, Spokane, Coeur d'Aléne, Flatheads, Pend d'Oreilles, a few Snakes and Bannocks, the Blackfeet, and the mountain Nez Percés.

The Walla-Wallas and the Cayuse have all been removed to the agency on the Umatilla.

The Palouse number about two hundred, reside on the banks of the Snake and Palouse rivers, and live solely by fishing. I do not know that they cultivate the soil. The absence of any great amount of farming land in their country has always possibly prevented them from attempting it.

They have no treaty arrangements with the government, and I think they could be assigned to the Nez Percés reservation with advantage to the government and security to themselves. They are miserable creatures; have neither houses nor lodges, but live under wicker shelters. They own very few horses. The Spokanes number about five hundred; live by fishing and cultivating small patches of land. They reside, at times, on the Spokane, at times on the Spokane plains, have lodges and houses, and are superior to the Palouse. They have no treaty with the government, and they might, with the Colville Indians, be located near the military post of Fort Colville. They are friendly when it is to their interest.

The Coeur d'Alénes number about three hundred, live at the mission, and along the Coeur d'Aléne and St. Joseph's rivers. They own

<sup>8</sup> From John Mullan, *Report on the Construction of a Military Road from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Benton* (Washington, D. C., 1863), pp. 49-51.

houses, cattle, and canoes, and with the Spokanes and Nez Percés often cross the mountains in quest of buffalo. They live by hunting, fishing, and cultivating the soil. They have no treaty with the government, and I think they should be moved to the Flathead reservation; they live partly in log-houses, mostly in skin lodges.

The Flatheads number about four hundred, and live by hunting and cultivating the soil. They are the best Indians in the mountains. They have treaty arrangements with the government, but have never gone upon their reservation on the Jocko river; no steps have ever been taken to remove them thence, and they still reside in St. Mary's valley, which, by the terms of the treaty, was guaranteed to them. They think the government has not kept its faith in not confirming this valley to them. Under judicious management they and the Pend d'Oreilles might be made to go upon a joint reservation, contemplated in a treaty made with them by Governor Stevens. They own great numbers of horses and cattle, and cultivate the soil more than any Indians except the Pend d'Oreilles. They are friendly, and under their chiefs, Victor, Ambrose, and Moise, will always remain so unless some great injustice is done them. They and the Pend d'Oreilles go annually to the buffalo hunt on the plains of the Missouri. They live partly in houses, mostly in skin lodges.

The Pend d'Oreilles reside principally at the Pend d'Oreille mission, live by hunting, fishing, and cultivating the soil; as a tribe they are friendly, though there are some bad fellows among them. They number about five hundred souls, and have treaty arrangements with the government, though they have never moved on to their reservation.

The mountain Nez Percés number from one to two hundred, live and hunt with the Flatheads, and are an annoyance both to them and the whites. They should be either incorporated with the Flatheads or made to live with their tribe. They are generally disaffected and cause much trouble and disturbance in the country.

With the Flatheads are found a few Indians of the Iroquois, Shawnee, and Snakes, and one or two New Mexican Indians. They all find a friendly and welcome home with the Flatheads, into which tribe they have married.

Occasionally a few Snakes and Bannocks come to the Deer Lodge valley. They live generally in the Beaver Head and on the Salmon river. I do not know their number or condition. I only know they are adept horse thieves, have no treaty arrangements with the government, and need to be looked after both for the security of the frontier settlements and their own good.

I especially invite the attention of the Indian department to the necessity of having some arrangements with the Snakes, Bannocks, and Spokanes, and point the Beaver Head out as a suitable point for col-

lecting them on a general reservation, where a large military post should be established to keep them in order.

The Blackfeet number from eight to ten thousand souls, and live exclusively by hunting the buffalo. They live partly in our territory, to the north of Fort Benton, and partly in British territory. They have treaty arrangements with the government, and, in the absence of military force to control them, keep their faith as well as could be expected from wild savages. They are rich in horses and wives, for they are perfect Mormons in polygamy—all the other tribes practice monogamy. They are great horse thieves, though I never suffered from this propensity, to which they are greatly addicted. As a people, these Indians have as high a regard for the rights of *meum and tuum* as their superiors, the whites; and if their true condition was known at the Indian bureau, I am sanguine an improvement for the better would take place. With the present system at the bureau, however, I can only expect to see experiments and changes made until the Indian has disappeared.

The present superintendent of Indian affairs in Washington Territory, Mr. C. E. Hale, has instituted a project that I have long indorsed, and the only one likely to save any portion of the Indian tribes. This is to take the children and educate them under a proper system; for it is as difficult to mould the ideas and acts of an Indian, after he has passed the age of twenty-one, as it is those of his white neighbor; and it is only by taking the children, and rescuing them from sloth, ignorance, and savage propensities, that any decided improvement can be attained.

For myself I should like to see the supervision of the Indians transferred to the War Department, so that the hand that rewards should be the one to punish when needed, and thus produce a more uniform and harmonious management, giving greater security against outbreak, and a more economical administration of the finances of the government. If this cannot be done, of which I despair, since it aims a blow at executive patronage, then I should by all means advocate that the Superintendent of Indian Affairs be allowed to appoint his own agents. This is as natural as it is just; the agents should be directly responsible to the superintendent whom the government has charged with their general supervision, and this supervision cannot be properly maintained when the agents receive their authority from another and different source, and are thus inclined to slight, if not ignore, his authority.

The sphere of duties of the superintendents should never be so great as to prevent them from visiting every agency once a year; in Oregon and Washington this is impracticable; and I would, therefore, recommend the establishment of a Rocky Mountain superintendency, with its headquarters in the Deer Lodge valley and to include the

Blackfeet, Crows, Snakes, Bannocks, Flatheads, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kootenays, and that the supplies for this superintendency be taken from St. Louis, by steamer, to Fort Benton. Four agents and a sub-agent would be required: an agent for the Blackfeet, one for the Crows, one for the Snakes and Bannocks, one for the Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles, and a sub-agent for the Kootenays. This matter is well worthy the attention of the Indian department, and to it I invite their attention, on the score of economy, efficiency, and security for the future.

## CHAPTER VI.

# NORTHERN OREGON BECOMES WASHINGTON TERRITORY

### *Senator James Semple Argues the Oregon Question.<sup>1</sup>*

On October 20, 1818, representatives of Great Britain and the United States signed a boundary convention. Article III provided that any territory claimed by either government on the Northwest coast should be "free and open, for the term of ten years . . . to the Vessels, Citizens, and Subjects of the Two Powers." In 1827 this joint occupation was extended for an indefinite period, but it was provided that either government might abrogate the agreement after giving one year's notice of its intention to do so.

On January 8, 1844, James Semple of Illinois introduced in the United States Senate a resolution requesting the President to give notice of his desire to abrogate the joint occupation agreement in the manner prescribed. The following passage states the Senator's position on the Oregon question and suggests the growing popular feeling that the way should be cleared for the establishment of American jurisdiction over the Pacific Northwest. Semple's remarks are of particular interest, in that forty-three years later his son, Eugene Semple, became Governor of Washington Territory.

It is well known to every Senator present, that the occupation of the Oregon Territory has, for some time past, engaged the attention of the people of the United States generally, but more particularly the people of the Western States. The people of the State which I have the honor, in part, to represent on this floor, has taken a very decided stand in favor of the immediate occupation of the Oregon. If I am not mistaken, the first *public meeting of the people* held to express a formal opinion on this subject, was held in the city of Alton, in that State. This was followed by several others, in Illinois and the adjoining States. During the last winter, a meeting of more than fifteen hundred persons was held in the State-House at Springfield, composed of members of the Legislature, and others, from every part of the State of Illinois, when this question was most fully discussed, and strong resolutions, expressive of the wish of the people of that State, were passed. At several of these meetings I had the honor of addressing my fellow-citizens, and giving my views of the propriety of the organization of a Territorial Government west of the mountains, and of taking such steps as would effectually exclude all other Governments from exercising any jurisdiction over the soil ad-

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<sup>1</sup> From a speech delivered in the United States Senate, January 25, 1844.

mitted by all to be the undoubted property of the United States. During the past summer, the people of the Western States were invited to meet in convention at Cincinnati, in the State of Ohio, for the purpose of taking this subject into consideration, and to adopt such measures as would appear best calculated to secure the rights of this country, and expedite the settlement of the Oregon. A very large portion of the whole Western country was represented in this convention; a much larger portion than could have been induced to send delegates to a convention on any common or ordinary occasion.

The convention was composed of men of the very first political standing in the West, without regard to party divisions of any kind; all of both political parties joining most zealously in their endeavors to promote the object for which the convention was called — the immediate occupation of the Oregon. The convention declared, in the most unequivocal terms, that they would “*protest* and continue to protest against any act or negotiations, past, in progress, or hereafter to be perfected, which shall yield possession of any portion of the said Territory to any foreign power,” but more particularly against the possession by Great Britain.

The language of that convention was firm and determined, and I believe it is the opinion of nearly every man west of the Alleghanies.

The people of the West have not contented themselves with expressing opinions — they have acted. For many years our citizens have gone into the country west of the Rocky Mountains for the purpose of hunting, trapping, and trading with the Indians. They have also more recently gone for the purpose of making permanent settlements. During the last year more than a thousand brave and hardy pioneers set out from Independence, in Missouri, and, overcoming all obstacles, have arrived safe in the Oregon. Thus the first attempt to cross the extensive prairies and high mountains which intervene between the settlements in the States and the Pacific ocean has been completely successful. The prairie wilderness and the snowy mountains, which have heretofore been deemed impassable, which were to constitute, in the opinion of some, an impenetrable barrier to the further progress of emigration to the West, is already overcome. The same bold and daring spirits, whose intrepidity has heretofore overcome the Western wilderness in the midst of dangers, can never be checked in their march to the shores of the Pacific. During the next summer I believe thousands will follow. Extensive preparations are now making for a general move towards that country. The complete success of those who have first gone will encourage others; and as the road is now marked out, I do not think I am at all extravagant when I suppose that ten thousand emigrants will go to Oregon next summer. In the meantime, what course shall the Government pursue?

The indications of public opinion thus everywhere expressed, and the apparent determination to emigrate, I am sure cannot be disregarded by this Senate. For one, I am sure that I cannot discharge the duty I owe to my constituents without using every exertion in my power to effect the

object they have so much at heart. I cannot compromise, I cannot yield any part of the Oregon Territory. I cannot agree to wait for negotiations. I cannot agree that there is sufficient doubt as to our title to admit that it is a subject proper for serious dispute.

The joint occupation of the country never ought to have been a subject of negotiation. Our Government committed a great error, in my opinion, when the treaty of 1818 was made; and a still greater error when that treaty was indefinitely prolonged. It is, however, not beyond a remedy. The treaty was made on the supposition that it might become necessary to abrogate that part providing for a joint occupation, and a plain and easy mode was pointed out in the treaty itself. This was for either party to give notice of a desire to abrogate that part of the treaty. This, sir, is the object of the resolution which I have had the honor to introduce.

This thing of a joint occupation of a country, and of a joint jurisdiction by two independent Governments, is an anomaly in the history of the world. I do not now remember anything like it, either among ancient or modern Governments. I have no doubt that it has often happened that two nations may have been at the same time in possession of the same country; but I think that in all such cases they have both contended for exclusive jurisdiction, and the joint possession has generally been hostile, and one or the other has been compelled by force to yield. I remember that there was once a joint and concurrent jurisdiction over a strip of the country between Kentucky and Tennessee; I am not sure that there ever was in that case an *agreement* for the joint occupation; I am inclined to think there never was an agreement, but that both States claimed and exercised jurisdiction over the country until the question was settled about the year 1819. The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Crittenden] will no doubt remember this dispute. I think he was probably one of the negotiators of the ultimate settlement of the line between the two States.

The joint occupation which I have just mentioned was on several occasions near producing great difficulties, even when both States belonged to one General Government, and when the people of both States were friends and neighbors, and possessed of the highest degree of prudence and forbearance. The difficulties between the States of Ohio and Michigan, and that still more recent between the State of Missouri and Territory of Iowa, will show how tenacious Governments always are in relation to boundaries. These difficulties happened between States, when it would seem really to be a matter of no great consequence whether the disputed territory belonged to the one or the other, as both belonged to one common country. It is a matter of more serious consequence when the disputed territory lies between two rival powers, having no common umpire to determine the dispute. Nations generally adhere with greater pertinacity to a claim of territory than to any other species of right, and yield it with greater reluctance; scarcely ever with-

out appealing to the only umpire between nations — the trial by battle.

I believe, sir, that the recent surrender of a part of the State of Maine to the British Government is probably the only instance recorded in history where a great and powerful nation, with a full and complete conviction of its right to the soil, has tamely surrendered a part of its domain from fear of war. That was a question of limits; this also is a question of limits. We have surrendered a part of the State of Maine; shall we also surrender a part of the Oregon?

It was after the treaty of 1842, that we of the West began to have doubts as to the propriety of treating on this subject. It was after this that we began to doubt the efficacy of negotiations to maintain our rights; and for this reason we have passed the strong resolutions which have been passed in the West, expressing a determination not to abide by any treaty that shall surrender any part of the Oregon. Our people will go there, and they will not submit to British domination. If the Government here will not protect them, they will protect themselves; and all the power of England will never be able to dislodge, from the mountain-fastnesses of the Columbia river, the hardy Western riflemen, who will in a few years occupy that delightful country.

I will not, Mr. President, add any thing more to what I have said; I am not certain that there will be any serious opposition to the adoption of the resolution. I hope most sincerely that there may be none. I believe that a similar resolution will be adopted in the House of Representatives. The President cannot disregard these expressions of the will of the Nation. The notice will be given; in twelve months we will be free from any treaty stipulations; we can then extend our laws and Government over our people who have gone and will go there; and, in a few years, you will see what is now a wilderness, the most delightful residence of man.

*Senator James Buchanan Expresses the Spirit of  
Manifest Destiny.<sup>2</sup>*

During the exuberant years of American expansionism, believers in Manifest Destiny were convinced that the westward march of the pioneers did not necessarily threaten international amity. Senator James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, later President of the United States, was of this opinion. These excerpts from his speech in support of Senator Semple's resolution indicate the line of his reasoning. His speech breathes a spirit of confident expectation that Oregon, or some part of it at least, would soon be American.

I feel deeply impressed with the importance of the question now under discussion, and of the necessity which exists for its speedy adjustment. My conviction is strong that a peaceful settlement of this question

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<sup>2</sup> From a speech delivered in the United States Senate, March 12, 1844.

can only be accomplished by prompt but prudent action on the part of this government. We are all anxious that it should be settled in peace; and there is no senator on this floor more anxious for such a happy consummation than myself. Whilst this is the desire of my heart, I am yet firmly convinced that the mode by which senators on the other side desire to attain this desirable end will utterly fail. Already we are sending numerous emigrants every year across the Rocky mountains; and we are sending them there without the protection of law, and without the restraints of civil government. We have left them, hitherto, to the unlimited control of their own passions. We must send them laws and a regular form of government. We must take them under our protection, and subject them to the restraints of law, if we would prevent collisions between them and the British occupants—the servants and people of the Hudson Bay company. This we must do, if we would preserve peace between the two nations. The present is a question, not of mere theory, but of practical statesmanship; and I sincerely hope that such a course may be pursued as will sustain the rights of the country to the territory in dispute, and, at the same time, preserve the peace of the world.

... The senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Choate] has contended that as certainly as we give the notice to annul the existing convention, so certainly is war inevitable at the end of the year, unless a treaty should, in the mean time be concluded; and he would have us at once begin to prepare for war. I suppose the senator means that we ought now to be raising armies, embodying western volunteers, and sending our sharp shooters across the mountains; and he thinks it not impossible that Great Britain, in anticipation of the event, may now be collecting cannon at the Sandwich Islands to fortify the mouth of the Columbia. Yes, sir, war is inevitable! Now I am most firmly convinced that, so far from all this, the danger of war is to be found in pursuing the opposite course, and refusing to give the notice proposed. What can any reasonable man expect but war, if we permit our people to pass into Oregon by thousands annually, in the face of a great hunting corporation, like the Hudson Bay company, without either the protection or restraint of laws? This company are in possession of the whole region, and have erected fortifications in every part of it. The danger of war results from a sudden outbreak, under such circumstances. The two governments have no disposition to go to war with each other; they are not so mad as to desire it; but they may be suddenly forced into hostilities by the cupidity and rash violence of these people, thrown together under circumstances so inauspicious to peace. To prevent this, our obvious course of policy is to send over the mountains a civil government—to send our laws—to send the shield and protection of our sovereignty to our countrymen there, and the wholesome restraints necessary to prevent them from avenging their wrongs by their own right arm. This is the course which prudence dictates to

prevent those sudden and dangerous outbreaks, which must otherwise be inevitable. The danger lies here. If you leave them to themselves, the first crack of the rifle lawlessly used, may be the signal of a general war throughout christendom. Nothing else can produce war; and this is the reason why I am so anxious for the passage of a bill which will carry our laws into Oregon. Such a bill will be the messenger of peace, and not the torch of discord. My voice is not for war. My desire — my earnest desire is for peace; and I sincerely believe that the course which we, on this side of the house, are anxious to pursue, is the only one to insure peace, and, at the same time, to preserve the honor of both nations.

The senator from New Jersey [Mr. Miller] believes that an hundred years must roll round before the valley of the Mississippi will have a population equal in density to that of some of the older States of the Union; and that for fifty years at least our people should not pass beyond their present limits. And in this connexion, he has introduced the Texas question. In regard to that question, all I have now to say is, "that sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." I have no opinion to express at this time on the subject. But this I believe: Providence has given to the American people a great and glorious mission to perform, even that of extending the blessings of Christianity and of civil and religious liberty over the whole North American continent. Within less than fifty years from this moment, there will exist one hundred millions of free Americans between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. This will be a glorious spectacle to behold; — the distant contemplation of it warms and expands the bosom. The honorable senator seems to suppose that it is impossible to love our country with the same ardor, when its limits are so widely extended. I cannot agree with him in this opinion. I believe an American citizen will, if possible, more ardently love his country, and be more proud of its power and its glory, when it shall be stretched out from sea to sea, than when it was confined to a narrow strip between the Atlantic and the Alleghanies. I believe that the system of liberty, of law, and of social order which we now enjoy, is destined to be the inheritance of the North American continent. For this reason it is, that the Almighty has implanted in the very nature of our people that spirit of progress, and that desire to roam abroad and seek new homes and new fields of enterprise, which characterizes them above all other nations, ancient or modern, which have ever existed. This spirit cannot be repressed. It is idle to talk of it. You might as well attempt to arrest the stars in their courses through heaven. The same Divine power has given impulse to both. What, sir! prevent the American people from crossing the Rocky mountains? You might as well command Niagara not to flow. We must fulfil our destiny. The question presented by the senator from New Jersey is, whether we shall vainly attempt to interpose obstacles to our own progress, and passively yield up the exercise of our rights beyond the mountains on the consideration that [it] is impolitic for us ever to colonize Oregon. To such a question I shall give no answer. But, says he,

it will be expensive to the treasury to extend to Oregon a territorial government. No matter what may be the expense, the thing will eventually be done; and it cannot be prevented, though it may be delayed for a season.

But again: Oregon, says the senator from New Jersey, can never become a State of this Union. God only knows. I cannot see far enough into the future to form a decided opinion. This, however, I do know; that the extension of our Union thus far has not weakened its strength; on the contrary, this very extension has bound us together by still stronger bonds of mutual interest and mutual dependence. Our internal commerce has grown to be worth ten times all our foreign trade. We shall soon become a world within ourselves. Although our people are widely scattered, all parts of the Union must know and feel how dependent each is upon the other. Thus the people of the vast valley of the Mississippi are dependent upon the northern Atlantic States for a naval power necessary to keep the mouth of the Mississippi open, through which their surplus produce must seek a market. In like manner, the commercial marine of the Eastern States is dependent upon the South and the West for the very productions, the transportation of which all over the earth affords it employment. Besides, the Southern and South-western States are protected by the strength of the Union from the invasion of that fanatical spirit which would excite a servile war, and cover their fair land with blood. This mutual dependence of all the parts upon the whole, is our aggregate strength. I say, then, let us go on whithersoever our destiny may lead us. I entertain no fears for the consequences, even should Oregon become a State. I do not pretend to predict whether it ever will or not; but if, in a manly and temperate tone, we adhere to our rights, we shall at least spread over her mountains and valleys a population identified with ourselves in religion, liberty and law. We shall at least bestow upon them the blessing of our own free institutions.

*Joseph Lane Defends a Bill to Make Northern Oregon  
a Separate Territory.<sup>a</sup>*

The vast Oregon country, embracing the present Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, was organized under a territorial government in 1849. Some two years later the citizens of the Puget Sound country launched their drive for a separate territory. A Fourth-of-July celebration in 1851 was the occasion of informal discussion of the idea; this resulted in the Cowhitz Convention of August, 1851. In September, 1852, a weekly newssheet, the *Columbian*, was established at Olympia. On November 25, a convention held at Monticello framed appropriate resolutions and sent them to Joseph Lane, delegate from Oregon Territory to the United States Congress. As delegate, Lane had no vote but he did what he could, and his active support of the proposal did much to secure the passage of the necessary legislation. On December 6, 1852, Lane introduced a resolution which called upon the Com-

<sup>a</sup> From the *Congressional Globe*, February 8, 1853.

mittee on Public Lands to report upon the expediency of creating a distinct territorial administration for northern Oregon. On February 8, 1853, he explained his reasons for the measure and presented the memorial that he had received. During the course of the debate the name of the proposed new territory was changed from "Columbia" to "Washington."

Mr. LANE. Mr. Chairman, before the question is taken upon the motion of the gentleman from Tennessee, I beg the indulgence of the House while I present to the consideration of the committee a few of the many reasons why, in my opinion, this bill should meet the concurrence of the House. The territory proposed to be divided by the provisions of the bill, and out of which is proposed to be organized the Territory of Columbia, embraces a district of country equal in extent to that embraced within the boundaries of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Arkansas. And even with the division as proposed by the terms of the bill now under consideration, either of the two Territories — Oregon or Columbia — would contain a broad expanse of country, four times as large as that of the great state of Ohio, a State that within the short period of half a century has acquired a population of more than two millions inhabitants.

The line of boundary between these two Territories is not only natural, so far as geographical division of the country is concerned, but demanded by that which seems to be the different, if not conflicting, interests of what is now termed Northern and Southern Oregon. The face of the country immediately bordering upon the Columbia, generally is such as to preclude that profitable settlement and occupation for which the Territory is so eminently distinguished for some distance upon either side of that stream. Add to this the fact, that neither the agricultural, manufacturing, or commercial interests of these two sections of Oregon are in any sense necessarily connected, and you will perceive the complete and perfect practicability of the proposed division contemplated by the terms of this bill.

Mr. Chairman, this question is at best but a mere question of time, and it is for the consideration of the House whether they will pass to enactment the provisions of this bill as reported here now, or consign it to the keeping of a few years at most in the future. There is no question — there can be none — that the eventual result will be the division now proposed for the action of the House. When we contemplate the immense increase of population which has everywhere awaited on the settlement of our Western States and Territories — the unexampled growth of the great West, which seems to increase with magic influence as it each day extends still further westward, and upon the Pacific coast, seems to us here almost utterly incredible — who will undertake to predict for this district of country we now seek to divide, its destiny, or what it will be when it shall have endured for half a century, that period of time within which Ohio has accumulated her population of millions?

It is by no means unreasonable, with the history of the rapid settlement of California staring us in the face, to suppose that within the reach of the next succeeding generation this district of country may subsist a population of five millions of people; and as a question of political right, if not of political economy, is it to be supposed that such a state of facts will not demand the organization of more than a single State government, or that the sovereignty of such a State, I mean the people, would find in the Senatorial representation of a single State the material for an equitable exercise of power in that body?

The agricultural capacities of both sections of Oregon are equal to the subsistence of many millions of people; the climate is salubrious and eminently healthy, and there is no reason why it should not eclipse every other western State in the rapidity of its settlement and the density of its population.

The main point — the great and important focus of commercial interest of the Territory proposed to be organized by this bill — will concentrate at Puget's Sound, which is one of the safest navigable inlets in the world. It lies in the middle of the western limits of northern Oregon, and may be considered one uninterrupted harbor for near two hundred miles. The country surrounding this Sound is rich in the fertility of its soil and in agricultural resources. It abounds in a profusion of the finest timber in the world — an article there of extensive export — and an abundance of water power. Its destiny is that of a great country —

Mr. SKELTON. I should like to ask a question. Will the gentleman inform me what the population of the proposed new Territory will be in case the division is made?

Mr. LANE. The population of Columbia in that case will be quite as great as was that of the whole of Oregon at the period of its organization into a Territory.

Mr. Chairman, I desire to add to the remarks I have already made upon the subject before the House, that the Territory of Oregon should, for these and many other reasons I might enumerate, but which will readily suggest themselves to the House, be divided as proposed by the reported bill of the committee.

The bill makes the Columbia river, from its mouth to a point where the forty-sixth parallel crosses that river, near Fort Walla-Walla, thence on the line of that parallel to the summit of the Rocky Mountains, dividing the Territory nearly equal, but leaving, to be sure, the north side somewhat smaller in extent of country than that on the south. The quality of the soil is essentially the same on both sides of the river, and either would make a State, as I before remarked, quite as large as three or four of that of Ohio, and which would afford a home for millions of people.

With these facts before us, and upon the least reflection as to the importance of the protection of that portion of our country as against any foreign aggression, that under a state of war would in all probability fall upon our people in that far-distant country, is it not the duty of

Congress, as it unquestionably is the interest of the country, to favor the speedy settlement and occupation of that Territory, so as to obviate the necessity which would otherwise exist, of immense transportation of troops to that country for their protection? Is it not the manifest policy of Congress to contribute by their legislation to the encouragement of the emigration to, and the settlement of that country? You have done much to conduce to this result by the passage of the "donation act," and again this morning by an amendment to that act, extending for a period of years its liberal provisions, and otherwise rendering the act more acceptable to the hardy pioneer who elects to avail himself of its provisions. And now, Mr. Chairman, these same emigrants, looking forward to the bright future and sure destiny of that immense scope of country, ask for a division of that Territory, that when she shall have assumed the proud attitude of sovereignty, she may do so as two great sister States of this Confederacy, and thereby command yonder in the Senate of the United States, as here, the political representation her numbers and importance entitle her to.

It may be alleged here, and perhaps elsewhere, that the passage of this bill necessarily creates additional expense to the Government. It is true, sir, that by the organization of this Territory there will arise an additional expense upon the public Treasury; but such a consideration must sink into utter insignificance when compared with the vast importance of the measure before us. But upon this point, I beg to assure gentlemen that the revenues that will be collected at Puget Sound alone will in a very short period of time more than equal all the expense of the new Territory. This, however, is a consideration, under the circumstances, so palpably unworthy the attention of the House, that I shall not annoy them with a further notice of it, but pass to the reading of the memorial of sundry citizens of Northern Oregon, adopted at a convention held near Puget Sound.

The Clerk read the memorial as follows:

*To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:*

The memorial of the undersigned, delegates of the citizens of Northern Oregon, in convention assembled, respectfully represent to your honorable bodies that it is the earnest desire of your petitioners, and of said citizens, that all that portion of Oregon Territory lying north of the Columbia river and west of the great northern branch thereof, should be organized as a separate Territory, under the name and style of the "Territory of Columbia."

In support of the prayer of this memorial, your petitioners would respectfully urge the following among many other reasons, viz:

1. The present Territory of Oregon, containing an area of three hundred and forty-one thousand square miles, is entirely too large an extent of territory to be embraced within the limits of one State.

2. The said Territory possesses a sea coast of six hundred and fifty miles in extent; the country east of the Cascade Mountains is bound to that on the coast by the strongest ties of interest; and, inasmuch as your petitioners believe that the Territory must inevitably be divided at no very distant day, they are of opinion that it

would be unjust that one State should possess so large a sea-board to the exclusion of that in the interior.

3. The territory embraced within the boundaries of the proposed "Territory of Columbia," containing an area of about thirty-two thousand square miles, is, in the opinion of your petitioners, about a fair and just medium of territorial extent to form one State.

4. The proposed "Territory of Columbia" presents natural resources capable of supporting a population at least as large as that of any State in the Union possessing an equal extent of territory.

5. Those portions of Oregon Territory lying respectively north and south of the Columbia river, must, from their geographical position, always rival each other in commercial advantages, and their respective citizens must, as they now are and always have been, be actuated by a spirit of opposition.

6. The southern part of Oregon Territory, having a majority of voters, have controlled the Territorial Legislature, and Northern Oregon has never received any benefit from the appropriations made by Congress for said Territory, which were subject to the disposition of said Legislature.

7. The seat of the Territorial Legislature is now situated, by the nearest practicable route, at a distance of five hundred miles from a large portion of the citizens of Northern Oregon.

8. A great part of the legislation suitable to the south is, for local reasons, opposed to the interests of the north, and inasmuch as the south has a majority of voters, and representatives are always bound to reflect the will of their constituents, your petitioners can entertain no reasonable hopes that their legislative wants will ever be properly regarded under the present organization.

9. Experience has, in the opinion of your petitioners, well established the principle, that in States having a moderate-sized territory the wants of the people are more easily made known to their representatives, there is less danger of a conflict between sectional interests, and more prompt and adequate legislation can always be obtained.

In conclusion, your petitioners would respectfully represent that Northern Oregon, with its great natural resources, presenting such unparalleled inducements to emigrants, and with its present large population constantly and rapidly increasing by immigration, is of sufficient importance, in a national point of view, to merit the fostering care of Congress, and its interests are so numerous and so entirely distinct in their character, as to demand the attention of a separate and independent Legislature.

Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray that your honorable bodies will, at an early day, pass a law organizing the district of country before described under a Territorial Government, to be named the "Territory of Columbia."

Done in convention assembled at the town of Monticello, Oregon Territory, this twenty-fifth day of November, A.D. 1852.

R. J. WHITE,  
*Secretary,*  
 QUINCY A. BROOKS,  
 CHAS. S. HATHAWAY,  
 C. H. WINSLOW,  
 G. N. McCANAHAN,  
*President of the Convention,*  
 JOHN R. JACKSON,  
 D. S. MAYNARD,  
 F. A. CLARKE,  
 [And others].

Mr. Chairman, aside from the seeming reflections upon the legislative department of the government of Oregon, and waiving the consideration

of what is therein represented as sectional strife between the people north and those south of the Columbia, I can scarcely hope to add to the causes set forth in this memorial, and to what I have already remarked in the expectation of influencing this House in favor of the passage of this bill. That a single Territory of this Union should become a State embracing an area of over three hundred and forty-one thousand square miles, and commanding a range of sea-coast of over six hundred miles, is a proposition so utterly at variance with the interests of the country, and with every principle of right and justice, that I sincerely trust Oregon may not be the State so admitted into the Confederacy; but that she may be divided as provided for in the bill now under consideration.

Mr. STANTON, *of Kentucky*. Before the question is taken on the motion of the gentleman from Tennessee, [Mr. Jones,] I desire to move to amend the bill by striking out the word "Columbia," and inserting "Washington" in lieu thereof. We have already a Territory of Columbia. This District is called Columbia; but we never yet have dignified a Territory with the name of Washington.

Mr. LANE. I shall never object to that name.

Mr. STANTON. I have nothing more to say, except that I desire to see, if I should live so long, at some future day, a sovereign State bearing the name of the Father of his Country. I therefore move to strike out the word "Columbia," wherever it occurs in the bill, and to insert in lieu thereof the word "Washington."

Mr. STANLY. . . . Now, sir, I hope the amendment of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Stanton] will be adopted. There is something very appropriate in it; and it is a little singular that this same idea should have occurred to others at the same time. It was but a moment ago that, without having had any conference with the gentleman from Kentucky, I made the suggestion to a gentleman upon my right, that if this Territory was to be organized, it ought not to be done under the name of Columbia, but under that of Washington. We already have a Territory of Columbia — the District of Columbia — and if we were to organize this Territory under that title, it might lead to trouble, especially if there should be a city of Washington in that State. I hope, at least, that inasmuch as we already have a portion of territory bearing the title of Columbia, we shall not give it to another Territory.

Mr. STANTON, *of Kentucky*. My reason for moving the amendment was, that I thought it would be very appropriate to name a Territory situated on the distant shores of the Pacific, after the Father of his Country.

Mr. STANLY. Well, sir, I congratulate the gentleman from Kentucky upon having made the motion, and I hope it will be adopted. We have one Territory of Columbia already, and suppose there should be an Alexandria, or a Georgetown, or a Washington, in that future Territory

of Columbia, it will lead to confusion without serving any good purpose. I hope the name will be changed, as suggested by the gentleman from Kentucky, and that this Territory will be called after the Father of his Country. There has been but one Washington upon earth, and there is not likely to be another; and, as Providence has sent but one, for all time, let us have one State named after that one man, and let the name be Washington. I hope there will be no objection to the amendment.

*The Olympia Columbian Reports the Movement for a Separate Territory.*<sup>4</sup>

The editors of the *Columbian* watched the progress of the enabling act through Congress as closely as they could from their remote outpost on Puget Sound. News traveled slowly, and occasionally rumors of developments in the East proved to be without foundation. Throughout the weeks of suspense in the winter of 1852-3 they printed every report that reached them. In their columns fact and hearsay were alike set forth, interspersed with their own editorial comment.

WHAT NORTHERN OREGON WANTS  
[October 16, 1852]

Well, what does she want? — what will she need? — and what require?

She wants the assembling of a convention at some suitable point within the territory, and that too, as early as practicable, to take the necessary steps towards the creation of a **NEW TERRITORY**, north of the Columbia. She wants as many families of this year's immigration as Can, to join our settlements this fall. She wants steamers on the Sound — steam mills, and all other kinds of machinery established throughout the territory — a distinct understanding among the people, where the route across the Cascade mountains is to be located, and the preliminary measures relative to all these subjects arranged satisfactorily to all, and as soon as possible. These being measures, mostly, in which the people of northern Oregon are alone interested, it does not become them to procrastinate; and when her citizens shall have witnessed the successful consummation of these things —

She will then Need appropriations for the construction and repair of roads — the establishment and support of common schools — attention from our heretofore neglectful mother country, for the means of erecting light-houses and a dry-dock — the establishment of mail-routes and post-offices — the erection of a university, and innumerable other objects, many of those enumerated being now seriously a matter of Need, which not only present but future Wants does and will imperatively Require.

Northern Oregon, has not heretofore, nor need she expect, so long as her territory is incorporated with that south of the Columbia, the

<sup>4</sup> Until the issue of April 30, 1853, the masthead of the *Columbia*, published at Olympia, read O. T.; thereafter it read *Washington Territory*.

demonstration of any peculiar favor or affection from either our federal officers or the legislature. We must become our own masters, and control the affairs pertaining to [our] own destiny. So long as we are content to sit at the "second table" of political preferment, so long will we be permitted to go "through the motions" of our illustrious predecessors, while at the feast, without a Crum[b] having been left us by them, whereby to relieve our wants or our necessities.

Citizens of northern Oregon! it behooves you to bestir yourselves, and proclaim your independence of the territorial authority exerted over you by the Willamette valley. Call meetings in your several precincts; memorialize congress to set us off; exhibit our grievances both in omission and commission under which we have suffered from All departments of government, and that body will be Compelled to regard your prayer.

PREPARE! PREPARE!

[November 6, 1852]

Citizens of northern Oregon! at a meeting of the residents of our territory, held at the residence of John R. Jackson, Esq., Lewis county, on the 27th of October, ult., the following resolutions were passed with great unanimity:

"Resolved, That every precinct and settlement in northern Oregon, be earnestly requested to appoint and send delegates to a general convention, to be held at Monticello, on the last Thursday of November, for the purpose of memorializing Congress for an early division of the territory, so that the Columbia river may be the southern and eastern boundary of a new territory.

"Resolved, That a written appointment, signed by the chairman and secretary of each meeting, shall be deemed conclusive evidence, that the person presenting, and named therein, is a regularly appointed delegate to the proposed assembly."

Let not the people of this, or ~~all~~ more distant parts of our country be dissatisfied or discouraged because of the *place* selected for the convention. Let the settlements from the Straits to Olympia bear in mind, that if their delegates will have to be subjected to an inclement season — bad roads, and some expense, time and trouble in going and returning from Monticello, that, had Olympia, or any other point in the interior been selected as the place for holding the convention, the citizens of Cascade city, Vancouver, Cathlamet, and in short all the settlements along the Columbia, would have been subjected to the same inconvenience and draught upon their means; and who, for reasons above enumerated, would probably have entirely failed in giving their attendance. The *place* of meeting, should deter no delegate, appointed from any portion of the territory, in giving a prompt attendance at the time specified.

And now, let us all go to work, and prepare for getting up a GENERAL CONVENTION, with an object to the formation of a new territory.

LET US HOLD MEETINGS IN EVERY PRECINCT AND SETTLEMENT, and let every voter attend, and exercise a voice and influence in the appointment of such delegates as WILL BE SURE TO ATTEND THE CONVENTION. . . .

#### THE NEW TERRITORY CONVENTION

[December 4, 1852]

It becomes our pleasant duty to announce that the delegates from the different precincts of Northern Oregon duly met at Monticello on the 25th ult. We have just received the report of the proceedings, but too late for this week's paper. Our next number, however, will contain the full proceedings of the convention. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, the great distance to be traveled by a large number of delegates, and the present deficiency in the means of conveyance, the convention was largely attended, thus showing that Northern Oregon is in earnest when she asks for a separate territorial organization. It appears that the utmost harmony and unanimity prevailed during the session. The delegates were enthusiastic in their support of the common cause; eloquent and moving speeches were delivered by different gentlemen, and the whole proceedings are characterized by energy and spirit. The memorial is couched in strong and expressive language, and is signed by the names of forty-four delegates, not a single one dissenting.

We cannot think that such a decided expression of the people of Northern Oregon will fail to attract the favorable attention of Congress, nor can we believe that the justice of our cause will be overlooked, or our prayer disregarded by that body.

The wants of the people of Northern Oregon demand a division of the territory, and we are of opinion that our wants will be satisfied ere long, by the organization of the "Territory of Columbia." The day is not far distant when the doings of the Monticello convention will be referred to by citizens of "Columbia" with feelings of pleasure and pride. The people are awake to their true interests, and are united as one man in favor of a division of the territory. The ball is now fairly in motion, and let us keep it rolling until the great object so much desired by all shall have been accomplished.

#### DIVISION OF THE TERRITORY

[March 26, 1853]

The Convention held at Monticello, on the 25th of last November, adjourned to meet at Olympia, on the 11th day of May. The time for

the meeting of the Convention will soon be at hand. The question of a division of the Territory is *the* question of the day. No other subject possesses so much interest to the people of Northern Oregon, and no other measure now before the people, if carried out, would conduce so much to the permanent advantage and prosperity of the country. The Conventions already held for the purpose of memorializing Congress for a division of the Territory, were only necessary *preliminary* steps towards effecting the object and end so much desired by all. Even the most active and enthusiastic supporters of these movements did not think that either of these memorials would have the desired effect upon Congress. The most ardent lovers of the Project dared not hope that the grand consummation would be so easily obtained. Too much was known of Congress to justify such an expectation. Not so, however, with the Convention soon to meet. We are firmly of the opinion that if the doings of the coming assemblage of the representatives of Northern Oregon are characterized by as much energy and spirit as those of the two former, their memorial will be finally operative upon Congress. It is now only some six weeks until the Convention will meet. Let us therefore be prepared and ready to do our duty. Let the Convention at Olympia, on the 11th of May next, be attended by proper representatives from all the different towns, precincts and settlements of Northern Oregon. Let elections be held, and suitable delegates be chosen in all those places which were not represented in the last Convention. Let there be but a suitable expression of the voice of the people, and the thing will be done — the “Territory of Columbia” will be organized!! . . .

#### TERRITORY OF COLUMBIA

[April 9, 1853]

We received, by the last mail, a “Bill to establish the Territorial Government of Columbia,” sent to us by our Representative in Congress, Hon. Jos. Lane. Owing to its length, we shall not publish it until it becomes a law, which we hope was the case previous to the adjournment of the last session. The provisions of the Bill are nearly the same as those in the Act organizing the Territory of Oregon. It appears that Mr. Stuart, from the Committee on Territories, reported the Bill, that it has been read twice and committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

We publish, below, a letter received from Hon. Joseph Lane, by Quincy A. Brooks, Esq., chairman of the Committee to draft a Memorial in the Monticello Convention. By this letter, it will be seen that our Representative promises us his efforts to obtain the passage of the bill at this session. We, however, cannot seriously look for its passage so soon, but we do think that the Bill ought to and will pass before the close of the next session.

. . . . .

House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.,  
January 31, 1853.

Quincy A. Brooks, Esq.: — Dear Sir: — I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 3d December last, enclosing a Memorial of the Delegates of the citizens of Northern Oregon, praying a division of the Territory of Oregon, and the establishment of the Territory of Columbia.

Some time since, I submitted to the consideration of the House of Representatives, a Resolution proposing the object sought by the terms of your Memorial. The Resolution was referred to the House Committee, on Territories, who, on the 25th ultimo, reported a Bill I had drafted for the purpose, a copy of which I herewith enclose you.

You may remain assured of my efforts for the passage of the Bill at this session, though I cannot promise that my labor in this respect will prove successful.

Your obedient serv't,

JOSEPH LANE.

Later. — Since the above was put in type, we have seen a gentleman from Portland, who states that the steamer had arrived, and a rumor was current there that the Territory had been divided, and the name "Washington" had been substituted in place of "Columbia."

THE TERRITORY OF WASHINGTON

[April 16, 1853]

It will be seen by reference to our columns of to-day, that a Bill has passed the House of Representatives of the United States, establishing a Territorial Government for Northern Oregon, under the name and style of the "Territory of Washington." This was done on the 10th of February last, or about 22 days before the close of the session. What has been the fate of the Bill in the Senate, we have not yet learned. The matter is of such vast importance to us that the liveliest interest is now experienced, and will continue to be felt and manifested throughout Northern Oregon, until the exciting question as to whether the Bill is or is not a law, is placed beyond all peradventure. We are the ones who will be affected by the passage of this act; we are the ones whom it most nearly concerns, and we, more than all others, have a right to feel and express an interest in the matter. Our information will not justify us in making a confident prediction as to the final fate of the Bill. The final result, however, cannot remain long in uncertainty. In the meanwhile we do not wish to create unwarrantable impressions or excite hopes that may not be realized. This much however, we will say, that the overwhelming majority by which the Bill passed the lower house, justifies a confident hope that it will meet with a similar cordial sup-

port in the senior branch of the National legislature. The vote on the final passage of the Bill was 128 to 29. This is no inconsiderable majority, and it speaks well for the popularity of the measure in Congress.

The most striking feature in the Bill is the name which is given to our Territory. Although "Washington" is not the name with which we prayed that our infant might be christened, yet it is certainly a very beautiful one. Nevertheless, this novelty has met with some distaste among many of our citizens, whilst with others it met with enthusiastic applause. It will be remembered that our Memorial prayed for the name of "Columbia," — this the House refused to grant us. Be it so. Even if the name "Columbia" had our preferences, we would not cavil at a *name* when *principles* are at stake. It is a mere difference in taste, and the people of Northern Oregon are not sticklers for trifles. All honor, then, to the members of the House of Representatives, and particularly to those honorable and worthy gentlemen who were the warm and active advocates of our Memorial. We accept, at your hands, the "Bill to establish the Territorial Government of Washington," with humble deference and pious gratitude.

We confidently trust, by our next issue, to be able to give a confirmation of our most sanguine hopes, and also to announce the appointment of a Chief Executive, together with the other federal officers for the "Territory of Washington."

This vast Territory must inevitably be divided at no very distant day, and the question of giving a separate Territorial or State Government to Northern Oregon, is only one of time. . . .

For the present, the glowing future must depart from the consideration, that we may be able to give a brief glance at some of the immediate results of the establishment of the new Territory. We shall be brought into direct communication with the heart of the General Government — our limbs will be freed from the shackles of our Willamette masters, and comforting ourselves under the parental wing of our national mother, we shall be cared for, protected, cherished and encouraged according to our desires and our merits. We now labor under embarrassments and disadvantages, to fully and fairly detail which we would, have to crowd our columns for many weeks with evidences of the popular discontent known and felt by all. But we are willing to "let by-gones be by-gones." The new government once in operation, there will be a great change from the existing condition of things. Public justice will be more certain, because all of the indispensables thereto will be at hand — business operations will be entered into with confidence because of the safety afforded by the convenience of the remedies for enforcing contracts; and whilst the innocent will be protected, the guilty will not entirely escape the talons of the law. Stability and a healthy tone will be given to affairs — the interests and rights of every portion of the Territory and of every individual will receive the attention to which they may be entitled, and

"God willing" prosperity will attend our career. The thousands of freemen about to journey across the continent, from the old States, to make their homes with us in this promising and fascinating region, more than realizing their highest hopes and happiest dreams, will manifest their delight in corresponding with their families and friends, earnestly importuning them to "follow on," to come and share true happiness with them in the Territory of Washington.

## THE TERRITORY OF WASHINGTON — HOPE ON, HOPE EVER

[April 23, 1853]

In our paper of last week, we spread our sails, and glided happily about, o'er the smooth sea of an anticipated future prosperity, pictured to our minds by the prospect of an immediate division of the Territory of Oregon. Full of hope and confidence ourselves, we cheered and encouraged our readers. Fancying we beheld in the eastern horizon the approach of our emblazoned day, like the early chanticleer, we clapped our wings and were about to crow, when — lo! a solitary horseman, bespattered with mud from head to foot, an old man of sorrows bringing sad news, came slowly adown the hill, and riding into town, reined up in front of one of our principal houses of entertainment. His appearance was that of deepest melancholy. His "lightest word" gave a negation to every happy thought. Contagion spread among the people — consternation reigned — the very atmosphere seemed instantly infected, everybody ran out and all hurried to throng around the stranger, the center whence emanated all the new born dismay. "What news? what news?" the eager crowd enquired. Curiosity was on tip-toe, and anxiety in every countenance. Every movement of the stranger had its effect. An ominous shake of his head increased the raging excitement. All wanted to know something; questions were plied from every direction and in every shape, by every body. "What news? what news?" all asked, and none answered. The fever became alarming; it rose to an extreme pitch, until the people, borrowing the language of the multitude in the streets of Rome, after the assassination of Caesar, exclaimed and insisted "*we will be satisfied; let us be satisfied.*"

The stranger becoming alarmed, began: "I could a tale unfold," — "Unfold it, old fellow, nobody's hindering you" shouted a red-haired, freckled face little chap in a Missouri colored coat. "Well then," quoth the stranger, "all is lost, Congress has adjourned, the new Territorial bill did not pass the Senate, and I am sorry to bring you such tidings." The crowd sighed and turned mournfully away, to cogitate upon their blasted prospects. 'We are in Oregon yet,' said one. 'Confound the luck,' said another. 'Olympia may wait a long time for the Capitol,' said a third. 'And so may Steilacoom,' said a fourth. And conversations of this kind were held in gloomy little parties, here and there, throughout the community. Finally, affairs becoming somewhat calmed, a kind-

hearted, philosophizing few undertook the work of consolation. Their advice to us was to button ourselves up snugly and firmly in our faith, plunge our hands into our pockets, and be as comfortable as possible, whistle, if necessary, to keep up our courage, for the present do our very best under the circumstances, save our gunpowder for a future occasion, and have perfect confidence in the wisdom and good intentions of the American Congress. They thought justice would be done at the next session; that then our joy would more than outweigh our present sadness. They counselled us to have patience — bide our time — fold our hands meekly upon our breasts, and prepare ourselves to say with a good grace, "All's well that ends well."

But it so occurs that we have a very different story to tell. The solitary horseman, covered with mud, the old man of sorrow, shaking his head and discoursing disappointment to us, left the Columbia river some days before our last mail, and no intelligence of the kind had at latest dates been received in that quarter. It will be seen then, that there is no sort of foundation for his *news*, and how he could have made such a *mistake*, we are at a loss to imagine. Nothing reliable is yet known in this region concerning the fate of the bill in the Senate. We hold as firmly to our faith as ever. We believe our star is in the ascendant. We believe the Northern Territory has been set apart and established, and that we are in the Territory of Washington this very day. We believe the Senate has had no hesitation in granting our divorce, that liberal appropriations have been made for our maintenance and future welfare, that the location of our Capitol and other public buildings has been left to the people, that as the "*better half*" in our late wedlock with Oregon, we have obtained the most liberal consideration of the General Government, and that we are now a household within ourselves, free, proud, and saucy, with as deep an interest as any of the States or Territories have in the prosperity and immense fortune of our indulgent "Uncle Sam."

WASHINGTON TERRITORY — "ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL"

[April 30, 1853]

What we confidently conjectured in our last issue, has been rendered "assurance doubly sure." The Territory of Washington is a fixed fact. The bill organizing the Territory, which passed the House of Representatives on the 10th of February, full details of which we have already published, passed the Senate on the 2d of March, without amendment. Henceforth Northern Oregon has an independent existence, and a destiny to achieve separate and distinct from that of her Southern neighbor. She has been baptised by the Congress of the United States, into a new name — a name Glorious, and dear to every American heart. Everywhere, throughout the length and breadth of the Territory, the news will be received with joyful acclamations. At this place, the 25th of April, a day long to be remembered, was devoted to the general joy. Beneath

the ample folds of our nations' flag, unfurled to the breeze, the deep mouthed tones of an hundred guns, awakening the echoes of our fair Pacific shores, proclaimed the welcome news.

We are only disposed at present to speed the full career of joyousness so befitting the present occasion. "All goes merrily as a marriage bell." The separate organization which the citizens of Northern Oregon with earnestness, and we may say entire unanimity, have ardently wished and labored for, has been triumphantly achieved. From our southern neighbors we part with those feelings, we trust, which become members of the same great family. In the prosperity of Oregon, the citizens of Washington Territory will ever feel the liveliest interest. The future of each is pregnant with noble achievements. Between them, while each devotes itself to the development of its own peculiar destiny, there should and doubtless will be a constant and laudable strife — which shall highest advance the credit and renown of the American name upon the western shores of the Republic.

In the act organizing our Territory, the Congress of the United States has followed very closely the precedents established in the organization of the older Territories. These may have been very well suited to the circumstances of a population, interior, agricultural, and nigh to the central government; but, as has been proven by the history of Oregon Territory, wholly foreign, and ill-adapted to the wants, the absolute necessities, of a people whose home is upon the distant shores of a vast ocean, whitened with the sails of the richest and the most luxuriant traffic known to the commercial world. Improvements upon the ancient system of territorial organization, suggested by experience as both necessary and useful, if not indispensable, requiring only trial to demonstrate their practicability, should now engage the earnest attention of the people of Washington Territory, and be pressed vigorously upon the attention of Congress. Every trace of proconsularity, from the evils of which, in common with our southern neighbors, we have suffered in our previous territorial existence, should be as far [as] possible eradicated. The progress of the age demands it. In nothing is the Republic so far behind that spirit which so eminently characterizes it, as in the government of its Pacific territories.

The closest approximation to the sovereignty of a State, while preserving the forms of dependence german to a Territory, is a problem in the successful solution of which, we have now an intimate interest. At no time can it be so consistently or more effectually urged upon the consideration of the central Government as in the infancy of our existence as a Territory. There is a sure guarantee in the promptitude with which our wishes in reference to a separate organization have been acceded to, that every reasonable demand we may prefer, will meet with a ready and cordial acquiescence. But of these thoughts, more anon!

## OUR NEW TERRITORY — PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

[May 7, 1853]

The recent enactment of the law to establish the "Territory of Washington," has given a new, gallant, dashing, sparkling, and ponderous momentum to the march and swagger of "progress" hereabouts. During our poor dependency upon the cold charities of Oregon, we crept, as weak and puny infants creep; and like the wretched heathens when tickled, we habitually chuckled and giggled over a pitiful gain of one miserable inch of snail-like advancement. We were crowded, cramped, crushed and imposed upon in every possible way and on all occasions. The shipping of the great Puget Sound consisted of one little schooner and three dilapidated old brigs. They brought us our only supplies, — the most intolerable trash from the San Francisco auctions. Our representation in the Oregon Legislature was but a pittance of what we were entitled to. We had no Territorial roads; and of the many public buildings provided for by Congress, not one was given to our northern half of the then Territory. No charter could be obtained by our enterprising citizens to concentrate their means and efforts for the public welfare. Our limited population was kept small by the desperately hostile measures of our neighbors. Every conceivable bug-bear, mud mountains, barren lands, etc., etc., was conjured up to disgust or affright the would be settler north of the Columbia. Our condition, to some, would have seemed hopeless, but there was no despairing. Our *faith*, defined in the good book as being "the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen," kept us comforted and strong. "The winter of our discontent" is passed and gone.

The play is changed. No longer in the hands of go-betweens, we have become "a people" within ourselves. "Progress" is our watchword. Our destiny is in the keeping of God, the National Government, and our own judgment. Nature has performed prodigies for our benefit, and by the exertions being made, we are fast securing fortune and happiness for ourselves and a proud and ennobling future for posterity. In our present embryo condition our parts are creditably performed, and passing as we are through a probation leading to a great career as a State, everything about us promises the utmost prosperity and grandeur. We have two steam and three water-power saw-mills, one lath, and one flouring mill all in operation. We have a semi-monthly mail communication with the States, a weekly with Oregon, a line of sail-boats between the head and the mouth of Admiralty Inlet, and a military Express between Olympia and Fort Steilacoom *via* Fort Nisqually. Our Indians are perfectly docile, and of great service to the community both as boatmen on the Sound, and laborers on shore. Fine flourishing farms by hundreds are being established in all directions. Our rich prairies are being ploughed, fenced, and planted. The wheat sown last fall exhibits a luxuriant thriftiness, and seems to smile assurance of heavy purses after

harvest. The commerce of the Sound has increased many fold in the past year. We have just cause to be proud of our fine fleet of ships, barks, brigs and schooners, driving a brisk trade, alike beneficial to the country and themselves. Our towns are springing forward with bustling alacrity. Houses are erected as though a magician bade them rise. Merchants with well assorted stocks are placing themselves at all points convenient to the people. Families are thronging into the country and making their permanent abodes. Society is improving. The many little flocks of children here and there are being provided with good schools. Ministers are amongst us, churches are organizing, and Divine services are regularly performed. Verily! our affairs are wondrously and advantageously changed. Vulgarity is odious, and moral sentiment is the ruling influence. An energetic activity prevails. In imitation of Mr. Dombey, our people are disposed to "make an effort," and surely they will succeed. We have full faith in their good fortune in proportion as they strive, "measure for measure."

The *future* of our Territory is to our mind's eye so gorgeously pano-  
plied and arrayed, as to do it justice would require so much of our space,  
we propose to lay it upon the table and make it the special business in  
our next issue. So, *nous verrons*.

## CHAPTER VII.

# TERRITORIAL LAWMAKERS ATTACK ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

### *Statutes Define Criminal Acts.*<sup>1</sup>

The Organic Act establishing the territorial government of Washington, which appears as an appendix to the present volume, continued in effect largely unchanged until the admission of Washington as a state in 1889. Serving practically as a constitution, it provided for the usual three branches of government and prescribed in general terms the duties and powers of each.

On November 28, 1853, Governor Isaac I. Stevens issued a proclamation which set the electoral machinery of the territory in motion. Three months later, to the day, he addressed the first of his executive messages to the assembled legislature.

The legislation enacted during the first few sessions of the territorial assembly was important in that it served as the foundation for Washington's code of statute law. The following selections illustrate some of the lawmakers' ideas concerning crime and punishment, the protection of personal and property rights, and the inauguration of public and semi-public services. They exhibit a reliance upon private enterprise which was characteristic of the earlier territorial period. The beginnings of social legislation are also apparent. Acts here quoted were passed during the first legislative session, 1854, except as otherwise indicated.

#### AN ACT RELATIVE TO CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, AND PROCEEDINGS IN CRIMINAL CASES

### II. Of Offenses Against the Lives and Persons of Individuals.

SEC. 11. *Felony defined; what are misdemeanors.*

All offenses which may be punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary, are felonies; and all other offenses are misdemeanors.

SEC. 12. *Murder defined. Pardoning power not prevented.*

Every person who shall purposely, and of deliberate and premeditated malice, or in the perpetration, or attempt to perpetrate, any rape, arson, robbery or burglary, or by administering poison, or causing the same to be done, kill another, every such person shall be deemed guilty of murder in the first degree, and upon conviction thereof shall suffer death. But this shall in no case prevent the exercise of the pardoning power of the governor, or the authority to commute the punishment from that of death to imprisonment for life.

<sup>1</sup> All the selections presented in this chapter are reprinted from the *Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington, 1854-8.*

SEC. 17. *Assisting self-murder deemed manslaughter.*

Every person deliberately assisting another in the commission of self-murder, shall be deemed guilty of manslaughter.

SEC. 18. *Endangering the lives of passengers on vessels deemed manslaughter.*

Any person navigating any boat or vessel for gain, who shall wilfully or negligently receive so many passengers, or such a quantity of other lading, that, by means thereof, such boat or vessel shall sink or overset, and thereby any human being shall be drowned or otherwise killed, shall be deemed guilty of manslaughter.

SEC. 23. *Punishment for carrying or accepted a challenge; being present at, encouraging, or promoting a duel.*

Every person who shall accept such challenge, or who shall knowingly carry or deliver any such challenge or message, whether a duel ensue or not, and every person who shall be present at the fighting of a duel with deadly weapons, as an aid, or second, or who shall advise, encourage, or promote such duel, shall on conviction thereof, be imprisoned in the penitentiary, not more than five years, nor less than six months.

SEC. 26. *Malicious mayhem and punishment therefor.*

Every person who on purpose, and of malice aforethought, shall unlawfully disable the tongue, put out an eye, cut or bite off the nose, ear, lip, or other member of any person, with intent to disfigure or disable such person, shall be deemed guilty of malicious mayhem, and upon conviction thereof, shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary not more than fourteen years, nor less than one year, and be fined in any sum not exceeding one thousand dollars.

SEC. 28. *Punishment for assault and battery when the offender has a pistol.*

Every person who shall assault and beat another with a cowhide or whip, having with him at the time a pistol, or other deadly weapon, shall on conviction thereof, be imprisoned in the county jail not more than one year, nor less than three months, and be fined in any sum not exceeding one thousand dollars.

SEC. 30. *Punishment for exhibiting a dangerous weapon.*

Every person who shall, in a rude, angry, or threatening manner, in a crowd of two or more persons, exhibit any pistol, bowie knife, or other dangerous weapon, shall on conviction thereof, be imprisoned in the county jail not exceeding one year, and be fined in any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars.

### III. Of Offenses Against Property.

SEC. 40. *Arson; punishment therefor; when it is murder.*

Every person who shall wilfully and maliciously set fire to the dwelling house, barn, stable, out house, ship, steamboat, or other vessel or any water craft, mill, milk house, banking house, distillery, manufactory,

mechanic's or artificer's shop, store house, building, or room occupied as a shop for an office for professional business, or printing office of another, any public bridge, court house, jail, market house, seminary or college edifice, or building thereto belonging, or other public buildings of the value of five dollars, shall be deemed guilty of arson, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary not more than ten years, nor less than one year, or in the county jail not more than six months, nor less than one month, and be fined in any sum not exceeding one thousand dollars; and should the death of any person ensue therefrom, known to be occupying or present on said premises, at the time such premises are wilfully set fire to, the offender, on conviction thereof, shall be deemed guilty of murder in the first degree.

*SEC. 45. Grand larceny; punishment therefor.*

Every person who shall feloniously steal, take, and carry, lead or drive away the personal goods or property of another, of the value of thirty dollars or more, shall be deemed guilty of grand larceny, and upon conviction thereof, shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary not more than fourteen years, nor less than one year.

*SEC. 47. What shall be considered personal property.*

Bonds, promissory notes, bills of exchange, or other bills, orders, drafts, checks, or certificates, or warrants for or concerning money, goods or property due or to become due, or to be delivered; and any deed or writing containing a conveyance of land or any valuable contract in force, or receipt, release, or defeasance, writ, process or public record, or any other instrument whatever, shall be considered as personal goods of which larceny may be committed.

*SEC. 51. Stolen property must be returned to the owner; duty of the officer making arrest.*

All property obtained by larceny, robbery or burglary, shall be restored to the owner, and no sale, whether in good faith on the part of the purchaser or not, shall divest the owner of his rights to such property; and it shall be the duty of the officer who shall arrest any person charged as principal or accessory in any robbery or larceny to secure the property alleged to have been stolen, and he shall be answerable for the same; and shall annex a schedule thereof to his return of the warrant.

*SEC. 62. Altering boundary; punishment therefor.*

Every person who shall wilfully or maliciously remove any monuments of stone, wood or other durable material, lawfully erected for the purpose of designating the corner or any other point in the boundary of any lot or tract of land, or any post or stake lawfully fixed or driven in the ground for the purpose of designating a point in the boundary of any lot or tract of land, or alter the marks upon any tree, post, or other monument lawfully made for the purpose of designating any point, course, or line in the boundary of any lot or tract of land, or shall cut

down or remove any tree upon which any such marks shall be made for such purpose, with the intent to destroy such marks, shall, upon conviction thereof, be imprisoned in the county jail not more than one year, and be fined in any sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, or be fined only.

#### IV. Of Offenses Against Public Peace.

##### SEC. 67. *Disturbing public worship, punishment for.*

Every person who shall disturb any religious society, or any member thereof, when met or meeting together for public worship, or shall sell or give away any spirituous liquor at any booth, wagon, shed, or open place, or at any boat, canoe, or other watercraft, or in any building temporarily erected for the purpose of selling therein such liquors, within one mile of any collection of a portion of the citizens of this territory, convened for the purpose of worship, or shall disturb any collection of the people convened for any lawful purpose, such persons shall, on conviction thereof, be imprisoned in the county jail not exceeding one month, and be fined in any sum not exceeding two hundred dollars, or fined only.

#### VI. Of Offenses Against Public Policy.

##### SEC. 92. *Fraudulent voting, fine for.*

If any person shall fraudulently cause, or attempt to cause, any elector at any election held pursuant to law in this territory, to vote for a person different from the one he intended to vote for, such person, so offending, shall be fined not more than one hundred, nor less than ten dollars.

##### SEC. 97. *Bribing voters, fine and punishment for.*

If any person shall use any threats, menaces, force, or any corrupt means, at or previous to any election, held pursuant to the laws of this territory, towards any elector, to hinder or deter such elector from voting at such election, or shall directly or indirectly offer any bribe or reward of any kind, to induce any elector to vote contrary to his inclination or shall on the day of election give any public treat, or authorize any other person to do so, to obtain votes for any person, such person, so offending, shall be fined in any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, and be incapable of holding any office for two years after conviction thereof.

##### SEC. 99. *Gaming, fine for.*

Every person who shall deal cards at the game called faro or monte, or other banking games, or shall set up, keep or exhibit an E-O or roulette table, or shuffle board, or any gaming table whatever, for the purposes of gaming, or shall have in his possession, to be used for such purposes, any gambling device whatever, shall, on conviction, be fined in any sum not exceeding one thousand dollars.

Sec. 102. *Fine for obstructing a road, bridge, or highway.*

Every person who shall in any manner obstruct any public highway, turnpike, plank road, or bridge, or injure any material used in the construction of such roads or bridge, shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars.

Sec. 112. *Fine and punishment for concealing or attempting to conceal crime.*

If any person having knowledge of the commission of any crime, shall take any money, gratuity, reward, or any engagement therefor, upon an agreement or understanding, express or implied, to compound or conceal such crime, or not to prosecute therefor, or not give evidence thereof, he shall, on conviction thereof, be imprisoned in the county jail for any length of time not exceeding one year, or be fined in any sum not exceeding one thousand dollars.

### *Transportation and Communication Are Encouraged.*

#### MEMORIAL TO THE HONORABLE THE POSTMASTER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES:

Your memorialists, the Legislative Assembly of the territory of Washington, would respectfully call your attention to the condition of the mail facilities in this territory, they being totally inadequate to the wants and interests of the country.

Your memorialists would represent that the country lying north of the counties bordering on the Columbia river, comprising nine counties, with a population of three thousand inhabitants, is dependent for their mail matter on the mail from Ranier to Olympia and Steilacoom, conveyed in canoes from Ranier to Cowlitz Landing, on the Cowlitz River; from thence to Olympia and Steilacoom on horseback, across a portage of sixty miles, which, in the winter season of the year, is almost impassable, rendering the arrival of our mails uncertain, and owing to the heavy rains and high waters, unsafe. The condition of the mails has been such on their arrival at Olympia, owing to the causes above stated, that it was almost impossible to distinguish the address on the packages — all communications between the Departments at Washington and the officials at the seat of government of this territory, the officers at Fort Steilacoom, and the Collector of Customs at Port Townsend, having to pass over the same route, and subject to the same dangers and delays — is conclusive evidence of the necessity of a more safe and speedy way of conveying the mails.

The commerce of the northern portion of this territory is rapidly increasing: our business men are weekly exporting to San Francisco and to China, Australia, Sandwich Islands, South America and other foreign countries, valuable cargoes of lumber, square timber, piles and spars. Our coal mines are being worked, and promise to be the source of a

rich and extensive trade. Several cargoes of this mineral have been shipped to San Francisco, and the time is not far distant when the coal mines of Washington territory will successfully compete with the mines of South America in supplying the ocean steamers on the Pacific with this article. Yet this region of country, comprising such important interests, is destitute of mails carried by contract with the government north of Steilacoom, but have been wholly dependent on the steamer Major Tompkins since the first of October last, for their weekly mails.

Your memorialists would therefore earnestly recommend that a contract be let at as early a day as possible, for carrying the mail by steamer, weekly from Olympia to Port Townsend, touching all intermediate ports; and also a contract weekly, by steamer from Port Townsend to Pacific City, at the mouth of the Columbia river, there to connect with the mails from San Francisco. This would secure to the northern portion of Washington Territory a speedy, safe and reliable communication with San Francisco and the States, and have a strong tendency to develop the resources of this part of our common country.

Your memorialists would also recommend that a liberal compensation be allowed to the owners of the steamer Major Tompkins for supplying our citizens with their mails since the first of October last.

Your memorialists are of the opinion that the revenue of the Post Office Department will be increased by complying with their recommendation.

*Resolved*, That His Excellency, the Governor, be requested to forward one copy of this Memorial at his earliest convenience, to the Post Master General of the United States.

*Passed the House of Representatives January 25, 1855.*

*Passed Council January 26, 1855.*

#### AN ACT REGULATING FERRIES

SEC. 1. *County commissioners may license ferries.*

*Be it enacted by the legislative assembly of the territory of Washington*, That the board of commissioners of any county in this territory, may grant a license to any person entitled and applying therefor, to keep a ferry across any lake or stream within their respective counties, upon being satisfied that a ferry is necessary at the point applied for, which license shall continue in force for a term to be fixed by the commissioners, not exceeding five years.

SEC. 2. *Commissioners shall fix tax on such license.*

The board of commissioners shall tax such sum as may appear reasonable, not less than one dollar nor more than one hundred dollars per annum for such license, and the person to whom such license shall be granted, shall pay to the county treasurer, the tax for one year in advance, taking his receipt therefor, and upon the production of such receipt, the

clerk of the board of commissioners shall issue such license, under the seal of the board of commissioners.

SEC. 3. *Owner of land adjoining stream, shall be first entitled to such license.*

No such license shall be granted to any person other than the owner of the land embracing or adjoining such lake or stream where such ferry is proposed to be kept, unless such owner shall neglect to apply for said license. And whenever such application shall be made for a license by any person other than such owner, the board of commissioners shall not grant the same, unless proof shall be made that the applicant caused notice in writing of his intention to make such application, to be given to such owner, if residing in the county, at least ten days before the session of the board of commissioners at which application is made.

SEC. 8. *Board of commissioners to establish rates of ferriage.*

Whenever the board of commissioners of any county shall grant a license to keep a ferry across any lake or stream, such board shall establish the rates of ferriage which may lawfully be demanded for the transportation of persons and property across the same, having due regard to the breadth and situation of the stream, and the dangers and difficulties incident thereto, and the publicity of the place at which the same shall have been established; and every keeper of a ferry, who shall at any time demand and receive more than the amount so designated for ferrying, shall forfeit and pay to the party aggrieved for every such offense the sum of ten dollars, over and above the amount which shall have been illegally received, to be recovered before any justice of the peace having jurisdiction.

SEC. 10. *Preference to be given for certain passengers.*

All persons shall be received into the ferry boats and conveyed across the stream, over which such ferry shall be established, according to their arrival at the same, and if any keeper of a ferry shall act contrary to this regulation, he shall forfeit and pay the sum of ten dollars for every such offense, to the party aggrieved, to be recovered before any justice of the peace having jurisdiction: *Provided*, That public officers, on urgent business, post-riders, couriers, physicians, surgeons and midwives, shall in all cases be first carried over, where all cannot go at the same time.

#### AN ACT TO AUTHORIZE AND REGULATE THE ERECTION OF WHARVES

SEC. 1. *Persons owning lands adjoining navigable waters, may build wharves and charge wharfage.*

Any person owning land adjoining any navigable waters or water course, within or bordering upon this territory, may erect upon his own land any wharf or wharves, and may extend them so far into said waters or water courses as the convenience of shipping may require; and he may charge for wharfage such rates as shall be reasonable: *Provided*,

That he shall at all times leave sufficient room in the channel for the ordinary purposes of navigation.

SEC. 2. *County commissioners may authorize the erection of wharves at terminus of highway, &c., and fix rate of wharfage.*

Whenever any person shall be desirous of erecting upon his own land any wharf, at the terminus of any public highway, or at any accustomed landing place, he may apply to the county commissioners of the proper county, who, if they shall be satisfied that the public convenience requires the said wharf, may authorize the same to be erected and kept up for any length of time not exceeding twenty years. And they shall annually prescribe the rates of wharfage, but there shall be no change [charge] for the landing of passengers and their baggage.

SEC. 3. *Rates of wharfage under preceding section must be posted in conspicuous places on said wharf.*

Every person building or occupying a wharf, built according to the provisions of the preceding section, shall post up in a conspicuous place thereon, a table of the rates charg[e]able by law, upon which table passengers and their baggage shall be marked free.

#### AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR BUILDING BRIDGES

SEC. 1. *Power of board of county commissioners.*

*Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington,* That each board of county commissioners shall determine what bridges shall be built and maintained at the expense of the county, and what by the road district.

SEC. 2. *Bridges costing over fifty dollars to be built by the county.*

Where estimated expense for a bridge shall exceed fifty dollars, it shall be built by the county.

SEC. 4. *Commissioner appointed to build and keep in repair.*

If the board of county commissioners shall be of opinion that a bridge is necessary, and that it should be built at the expense of the county, they shall determine in what manner, and of what materials, the same shall be built, and shall appoint some suitable person bridge commissioner, to contract for building such bridge, and for keeping in repair, not less than two nor more than four years, to be determined by the board of county commissioners.

SEC. 12. *When and how bridges may be built, aided by subscription.*

When one moiety of the estimated expense of building any bridge, upon any county road, shall have been raised by individual subscription, and such subscription exhibited to the board of county commissioners, with a petition from ten resident householders, in the county in which such bridge is intended to be built, praying the erection thereof, the court shall take such petition into consideration, and if in their opinion,

all things considered, the interest of the public will be promoted by building the bridge, at that time, they shall make an order for building the same, and for the payment of the residue of the estimated expense of building said bridge, out of the county revenue.

SEC. 18. *Bridge commissioner prohibited from contracting or being security.*

No bridge commissioner shall be a contractor for building a bridge of which he is commissioner, nor be security for any such contractor.

AN ACT TO LOCATE A TERRITORIAL ROAD FROM SEATTLE, IN KING COUNTY,  
TO BELLINGHAM BAY

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington,* That Clement W. Sumner, L. M. Collins, and Henry Webber be, and are hereby, constituted a board of commissioners to locate a territorial road from Seattle to Bellingham Bay.

SEC. 2. Said commissioners, or a majority of them, shall meet at Seattle, on the first day of July next, or as soon thereafter as they may deem practicable, and after being duly sworn, faithfully and impartially to perform their duties as such commissioners, shall proceed to locate said road on the nearest and most practicable route.

SEC. 3. Said commissioners shall cause a true report to be made, and a certified copy of the same to be deposited with the clerks of the several county commissioners' courts through which the road passes, who shall file and preserve the same; and when said report is so deposited with said clerks, said road shall be considered as a territorial road to all intents and purposes, and shall be opened and kept in repair in the same manner as other territorial roads are opened and kept in repair.

SEC. 4. Said commissioners shall be entitled to receive the sum of three dollars per day, for the time necessarily employed in locating the same, to be paid out of the treasuries of the different counties through which said road passes, in proportion to the time employed in each county; and they shall also be allowed to employ any necessary assistants, who shall be allowed a reasonable compensation for their services.

SEC. 5. This act to take effect from and after its passage.

*Commercial Firms and Social Organizations Are Incorporated.*

AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE COWLITZ STEAMBOAT COMPANY

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the legislative assembly of the territory of Washington,* That Seth Catlin, John R. Jackson, Fred A. Clark, Henry N. Piers, G. B. Roberts, together with all other persons who shall become associated with them, by subscribing to the capital stock of said company, and their successors, be, and they are hereby, constituted and declared a body corporate and politic, by the name and style of the

"Cowlitz river steamboat company," for the purpose of improving the bed of the Cowlitz river for navigation, and keeping on said river a steamboat or steamboats, for the transportation of freight and passengers, from some point near the head of tide-water, on said river, to Clarke's hotel, or some other point on Cowlitz river, to be determined by said company, or a majority of the directors of said company, and from said Clarke's hotel, or whatever other point may be fixed upon by said directors, to said tide-water on said Cowlitz river; and said company is hereby authorized and empowered to have and to receive, purchase and possess, enjoy and retain land, lots, tenements, goods, chattels, rents and effects of any kind, and to any amount necessary to carry into effect the objects of said corporation, and the same to use, alien, sell, and dispose of at pleasure; to sue and to be sued, in any court having competent jurisdiction; to have and to use a common seal, the same to alter, break, and renew at pleasure; to ordain and establish such rules, regulations, and by-laws as may be necessary for the well-being of said corporation, subject, however, to the constitution of the United States, the laws of this territory, and the restrictions and limitations contained in this act.

SEC. 2. The capital stock of said company shall consist of ten thousand dollars, divided into shares of one hundred dollars each, and shall be transferable in entire shares, or parts of shares, as the regulations of the corporation may prescribe: *Provided, however,* That no stockholder shall be at liberty to transfer his stock without the consent of the directors, after an installment is ordered, until such stockholder shall have paid the amount due his stock.

SEC. 3. The persons named in the first section of this act, or a majority of them, shall do and perform all acts necessary to organize said company; shall be commissioners to receive subscriptions, and shall have power to cause books to be opened at any time, or in any place, they may think proper, to receive subscriptions to the capital stock of said company.

SEC. 4. That when one thousand shares shall have been subscribed, the commissioners shall call a meeting of the subscribers, by causing notice of the time and place thereof to be posted up in at least three different places of Lewis county, and published in the nearest newspaper, not less than twenty days preceding the time of said meeting; and at such time and place, those present shall proceed to elect directors, who shall serve for one year from their election, and until their successors are chosen and qualified; and they shall adopt such regulations and by-laws for the government of the corporation, as by them may be deemed expedient; the stockholders to vote either in person or by proxy, each stockholder being entitled to one vote for each share.

SEC. 5. The affairs of said company shall be governed by three directors, or a majority of them, who shall be elected by the stockholders on the first Monday in June, each year, and shall hold their office until their

successors are elected and qualified; and each director shall be a stockholder at the time of his election, and shall cease to be a director when he shall cease to be a stockholder; all vacancies which may happen in said board of directors shall be filled by a new election, to be held as prescribed in the previous section.

SEC. 6. The directors, before entering upon their duties, shall take oath or affirmation, faithfully and impartially to discharge their duties. They shall choose a president and treasurer from among their number. They shall appoint such officers and agents as they may think proper to promote said undertaking; to make contracts, and do all things necessary to carry them into effect, and allow them such compensation as they may think just. They shall determine on the amount of bonds they may see fit to exact from their officers or agents, and pass upon their sufficiencies; prescribe the amount of instalment to be paid upon subscriptions, the manner of securing payment of such subscriptions, and take the general charge and supervision of the affairs of said company.

SEC. 7. Said directors shall have power to annually establish and fix the rates of freight and passage on said Cowlitz river: *Provided, however,* The rates by them established shall in no case exceed the following, to wit:

Fifteen dollars per ton.

From said point at tide-water, or other points, to Clarke's, each passenger, four dollars.

And the freight and passage to any intermediate point between tide-water and Clarke's hotel, other than those specified above, shall be in the same proportion: *Provided, however,* That in any case where the convenience of the passenger or passengers may require the steamboat to stop at any point, other than its usual place for taking in freight and passengers, then a bargain fare may be charged: *Provided, however,* That in no case said fare shall exceed the fare for the entire distance.

SEC. 8. If said company shall not be organized within six months after the passage of this act, and shall not, within six months afterwards, have a steamboat in full operation on said river, then this act shall cease and be null and void.

SEC. 9. That said company may, at any time, contract debts and liabilities to the amount of stock actually subscribed by responsible stockholders, and payable within twelve months from the time of contracting said debts and liabilities: *Provided,* That in any case of default or failure to pay the debts or liabilities contracted by the company, each and every stockholder in the company shall be individually liable for the payment of such debt or liability, equally and ratably, to the full amount of his stock in the same.

SEC. 10. Said company shall be subject to the provisions of any law that now is, or may hereafter be enacted, regulating the mode of taxation; and the capital stock of said company shall be subject to such tax as may now, or hereafter, be provided by law.

SEC. 11. And the said company is hereby granted [for] six years the exclusive right and privilege of navigating the said Cowlitz river, with freight and passage steamboats: *Provided, however,* That said company shall, to the utmost of their power, and as far as may be necessary and practicable, improve the channel of said river for navigation, and at any time when it is believed by the legislature that said company are in the way of, and hinder other and better improvements in said river, the legislature may repeal this charter, allowing any other company to pay to said company, at the appraised value, for all the improvements in the channel of said river, that are deemed to be of value to the navigation of said river.

SEC. 12. This act shall not be so construed as to prohibit the transportation of goods and passengers in any other mode than in steamboats, and shall have no application where the tide ebbs and flows.

SEC. 13. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

AN ACT TO INCORPORATE OLYMPIA LODGE NO. FIVE, OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the legislative assembly of the territory of Washington,* That Thornton F. McElroy, C. G. Saylor, B. F. Shaw, M. T. Simmons, B. F. Yantis, J. W. Wiley, Ira Ward, C. H. Hale, N. Delin, J. P. Anderson, Smith Hays, F. A. Clarke, I. B. Powers, Edmund Sylvester, Philip Waterman, and G. A. Lathrop, worshipful masters, wardens, and members of the masonic fraternity, their associates and successors, be, and they are hereby, constituted and declared to be a body corporate and politic, in deed, fact, and name, by the name and style of "Olympia lodge. No. 5, of free and accepted masons," and by that name they, and their successors shall be able and capable, in law, to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, defend and be defended against, in all the courts of law and equity in this territory, to take, receive, and hold all moneys, and other property, by voluntary subscriptions, contributions, donations, or otherwise; also, all legacies and devises of real and personal estate; and to have, hold, possess, and acquire lands and tenements, furniture, chattels, regalia, and property of any description, incident to such bodies, to an amount not exceeding twenty thousand dollars, and the estate aforesaid to lease, grant, convey, and dispose of, in such manner as they may judge expedient, at their will and pleasure; and, at any of their meetings for business, to enact and pass such rules, regulations, and by-laws for the government of said lodge, and management of the affairs thereof, as they may deem proper and necessary: *Provided,* The same be not repugnant to the laws of this territory, and of the United States.

SEC. 2. That said lodge may hold its meetings at such times and places, and may elect such officers as they may think proper, for the management and government of its affairs.

SEC. 3. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE STEILACOOM LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF  
WASHINGTON TERRITORY

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington*, That A. B. Delin, A. F. Byrd, E. A. Light, W. H. Wallace, W. R. Downy, W. P. Dougherty, William Lane, S. McCaw, B. Pierce, Frank Clark, Sherwood Boney, O. H. White, E. M. Meeker, Wm. N. Savage, Nathaniel Orr, and their associates and successors, be, and they are hereby constituted and declared a body corporate and politic, to be known by the name and style of "Steilacoom Library Association of Washington Territory."

SEC. 2. Said association may, by its corporate name, sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, defend and be defended against, in all the courts of law and equity in this Territory, and may receive and hold all moneys and other property coming into the hands of said association by voluntary subscriptions, contributions or otherwise; also, all legacies and devises of real or personal estate, and to have and to hold, possess or acquire lands and tenements, chattels and property of any description incident to such associations, to any amount not exceeding twenty thousand dollars, and the estate aforesaid to lease, grant, convey and dispose of in such manner as they may deem expedient.

SEC. 3. That said association may hold its meetings at such times and places, and elect such officers for the management of its affairs as may be deemed proper.

SEC. 4. The said association may, at any of its regular meetings or special meetings for business, enact and pass such rules, regulations and by-laws for the government of the same, and the management of the property of said association, as may be deemed necessary: *Provided*, That the same be not inconsistent with the laws of the United States or of this Territory.

SEC. 5. This act, for good cause shown, may be repealed by any subsequent Legislature.

*Passed February 3d, 1858.*

AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE OLYMPIA MUSICAL ASSOCIATION

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington*, That Albert Eggers, W. H. Wood, James R. Wood, Oliver Shead and S. A. Wood, be, and they are hereby organized and constituted

into a body corporate, by the name and style of the "Olympia Musical Association."

SEC. 2. By that name, they and their successors shall be capable in law to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, defend and be defended against, in all courts of law and equity in this Territory.

SEC. 3. They, in their corporate capacity, are hereby authorized to receive and to hold all moneys and other property, by voluntary contribution, subscription, donation or otherwise, by legacies and devises of real and personal estate, to hold, possess and acquire lands and tenements, furniture, chattels, and property of any description necessary for the use of said association, to the amount of ten thousand dollars.

SEC. 4. They, in their corporate name, shall have power to lease, grant, convey and dispose of its property and effects in such manner as they may deem proper and expedient; and are hereby authorized to elect one president and one secretary, who shall hold their offices at the pleasure of the association, a majority of whom shall constitute a quorum to do business, who at any time are hereby authorized to make such rules and regulations for the government of said association and management of its affairs as they may deem proper and necessary, not inconsistent with the laws of the United States or of this Territory: *Provided, however,* That this act shall be subject to be repealed at any subsequent Legislature.

*Passed February 2d, 1858.*

### *Units of Local Government Are Established.*

#### AN ACT TO CREATE AND ORGANIZE THE COUNTY OF WALLAWALLA

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the legislative assembly of the territory of Washington,* That all that portion of Skamania county, within the following described boundaries, to wit: commencing at a point opposite the mouth of Deschutes river on the north bank of Columbia river, thence running north to forty-ninth parallel, thence along said parallel to summit of Rocky Mountains; thence south along summit of Rocky Mountains to forty-sixth degree of parallel; thence west along said forty-sixth parallel to where it crosses the Columbia river; thence along said Columbia river to place of beginning, be, and the same is hereby constituted and organized into a separate county, to be known and called Walla-walla county.

SEC. 2. That all the territory embraced within said boundaries shall compose a county for civil and military purposes, and shall be under the same laws, rules, restrictions and regulations as all other counties in this territory, and entitled to elect the same county officers as other counties are entitled to elect.

SEC. 3. The said county shall be attached to Skamania county for judicial purposes.

## AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE CITY OF STEILACOOM

## Article I.

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington*, That the city of Steilacoom shall be bounded as follows: Commencing at the north east corner of Lafayette Balch's land claim, thence south along the line of said claim to the south east corner of the town plat of said town: thence westerly along the line of said town plat to the east line of John M. Chapman's portion of said town: thence south along said line to the south east corner of said town plat: thence west along the line of said town plat to the bay, (or Puget Sound:) thence northerly, the meanderings of the bay, (or Puget Sound,) to Sand Point, known as "Chapman's Point:" thence easterly, the meanderings of the bay, (or Puget Sound,) to the place of beginning.

SEC. 2. The inhabitants of the said city of Steilacoom shall be, and they are hereby constituted a body politic and corporate by the name of "The City of Steilacoom," and by that name they and their successors shall be known in law, and have perpetual succession, sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, in all courts of law whatsoever, and receive property, personal and real, within said city for public buildings, public works and city improvements, and may dispose of the same in any way for the benefit of the city. May purchase property beyond the limits of the city to be used for burial purposes, and for the establishment of a hospital for the reception of persons affected with contagious or other diseases, also for water works to supply the city with water, and may dispose of the same for the benefit of said city. And they shall have a seal which they may alter at pleasure.

## Article II. Government of the City.

SEC. 1. For the government of the city, there shall be elected in the manner hereinafter provided, the following officers: A common council, (consisting of seven members,) a mayor, recorder, a treasurer, a marshal, an assessor, who shall hold their offices for one year, and until their successors shall be duly elected and qualified, and there shall be appointed annually, by the city council, a city attorney, a street commissioner, a city surveyor, a city collector, a harbor master, and a port-warden.

## Article III.

SEC. 1. That a general election for all city officers of the corporation required to be elected under this act, shall be held on the first Monday in November of each year.

SEC. 2. No person shall be entitled to vote at any city election who shall not be an elector for territorial officers, and have resided in this city ten days next preceding the day of election, and no person shall be

eligible to any office under this charter who is not a qualified voter of said city.

SEC. 3. At all elections for city officers, the vote shall be by ballot at the time and place designated by the city council.

SEC. 4. That all vacancies happening before the annual election, shall be filled by the city council.

SEC. 5. That all elections for city officers shall continue for one day, during which time the polls shall be kept open from ten o'clock A.M., to four o'clock P.M.

SEC. 6. The persons who shall have received a plurality of votes for any office, shall be declared duly elected, and the clerk shall issue to him a certificate of election; upon presentation of the same by him to the council he shall be sworn into office.

#### Article IV.

SEC. 1. The members of the common council shall fix the time and place of holding their stated meetings, and may be convened by the mayor at any time. A majority of the members shall constitute a quorum to do business, but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance of absent members.

SEC. 2. Any ordinance which shall have been passed by the common council, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the mayor for his approval; if he approves, he shall sign it; if not, he shall, within ten days, return it with his objections in writing to the common council, who shall cause the same to be entered in their journal, and shall proceed to reconsider the same. If, after such reconsideration, two thirds of the members of the common council shall agree to pass the same, it shall become a law.

SEC. 4. The mayor and common council shall have power within the city: —

1. To make by-laws and ordinances not repugnant to the laws of the United States or to the laws of this territory, necessary to carry into effect the provisions of this chapter.

2. To levy taxes not to exceed one-half of one per centum per annum upon all real and personal property made taxable by law for territorial and county purposes.

3. To make regulations to prevent the introduction of contagious diseases into the city, and for securing health, peace, cleanliness and good order of the city.

4. To prevent and restrain any disturbance or disorderly conduct, or any indecent and immoral practices within the limits of said city.

#### Article V.

SEC. 1. The mayor and members of the common council shall receive no pay for their services, until the city shall contain three thousand

inhabitants, and then such pay to be determined by vote of the city.

SEC. 2. The recorder shall receive the same fees for his services as justices of the peace are entitled to by law for services of a similar nature.

SEC. 3. The marshal shall receive the same fees for his services as constables are entitled to by law for services of a similar nature, and for other services such compensation as may be provided by ordinance.

SEC. 4. All other officers provided for by this act, or to be created, shall receive such compensation as may be established by ordinance.

#### Article VI. Of the Duties of Officers.

SEC. 1. It shall be the duty of the mayor to communicate to the common council at least once in each year of the condition of the city, its finances and improvements.

SEC. 2. The recorder shall reside within the limits of the city.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of the city marshal, in addition to the duties prescribed by the common council, to execute and return all processes issued by the recorder.

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the assessor, in addition to the duties prescribed by the common council, to make out, within such time as the common council shall order, a correct list of all the property taxable by law within said city.

SEC. 5. It shall be the duty of the collector to issue all license[s] granted by the city authority, to collect all moneys and tax, and pay the same over to the treasurer monthly.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of the city treasurer to receive all moneys that shall come to said city by taxation or otherwise, and pay out the same as provided by this act.

SEC. 7. It shall be the duty of the city attorney to attend to all suits, matters and things in which the city may be legally interested, give his advice and opinion in writing upon each matter when required by the mayor or common council, and attend to all prosecutions against offenders of the city ordinances.

SEC. 8. The common council shall define the duties of all officers by ordinance, which are not herein prescribed.

#### Article VII.

SEC. 1. All officers required to be elected under this act, shall, before entering upon the duties of their office, take an oath or affirmation before any person competent to administer oaths.

SEC. 2. All resolutions and ordinances calling for the appropriating of any sums of money exceeding one hundred dollars, (\$100.00) shall lie over at least two meetings.

SEC. 3. This act to take effect whenever the citizens of Steilacoom shall have elected the officers provided for in this act, and shall have fully organized under the same.

*Social Legislation Is Enacted.*

## AN ACT TO AMEND AN ACT ENTITLED, "AN ACT RELATING TO COMMON SCHOOLS IN THE TERRITORY OF WASHINGTON"

SEC. 1. *School meeting may be called on organizing district. Three legal voters constitute a quorum.*

*Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington,* That a school meeting may be called at any time for the purpose of organizing a new district, as provided for in section (4) four, under the title of county superintendents. Three legal voters shall constitute a quorum to do business.

SEC. 2. *Chairman and secretary to be appointed, and three directors elected.*

Such meeting, when assembled, shall organize by appointing a chairman; it shall then proceed to elect three directors, who shall hold their office for one year, and until their successors are chosen and qualified.

SEC. 3. *Directors to qualify within ten days after their election.*

Directors shall qualify within ten days after their election, by taking an oath or affirmation faithfully to discharge the duties of their office to the best of their ability, and to promote the interest of education within their district, which oath may be administered by any school director that has taken the oath of office.

SEC. 4. *Directors shall call special meetings when they deem it necessary.*

It shall be the duty of school directors to call special meetings of the district, whenever they shall deem it necessary; to purchase or lease a site for the district school house, as may be designated by a meeting of the district; to build, hire or purchase, and to keep in repair such school house.

SEC. 5. *A majority of directors shall constitute a quorum to do business.*

A majority of said directors shall constitute a quorum to do business.

SEC. 6. *Directors shall employ teachers for their district. Shall be judge of teachers' qualifications. May require teachers to get certificate from county superintendent. Shall furnish fuel for, and have charge of the school house.*

It shall be the duty of school directors to employ teachers to teach in their district, and school directors shall be judges of the qualifications of teachers in their districts, but may require a teacher to get a certificate from under the hand of the county superintendent, as provided for in section five, under the title of "county superintendents." Directors shall furnish fuel for the school house in their district, and shall have the custody and safe keeping of the district school house.

*Passed January 30th, 1858.*

AN ACT TO DISSOLVE THE BONDS OF MATRIMONY EXISTING BETWEEN  
LAWRENCE M. POOLER AND CATHARINE POOLER

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington,* That the bonds of matrimony, heretofore existing between Lawrence M. Pooler and his wife, Catharine Pooler, be, and the same are hereby, dissolved.

SEC. 2. That the said Catharine Pooler have the sole custody of her child, Thomas Lawrence Pooler, until he shall become of age.

SEC. 3. This act to take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

*Passed January 3, 1856.*

LIENS OF MECHANICS AND OTHERS FOR LABOR AND MATERIALS

SEC. 1. *Labor done or materials furnished, a lien on the property.*

*Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington,* That mechanics, and all persons performing labor, or furnishing materials for the construction or repair of any building, may have a lien, separately or jointly, upon the building which they may have constructed or repaired, or upon any building, mill, or other manufactory, for which they may have furnished materials of any description, and on the interest of the owner in the lot or land on which it stands, to the extent of the value of any labor done, or materials furnished, or for both, when the amount shall exceed fifty dollars.

SEC. 2. *Notice of lien to be filed and recorded in auditor's office within sixty days.*

Any person wishing to acquire such lien, whether his claim be due or not, shall file in the recorder's office of the county in which such building is situated, at any time within sixty days after the completion of such building or repairs, a notice of his intention to hold a lien upon such building, for the amount due, or to become due, specifically setting forth such amount, and containing a description of the building upon which the labor was performed, or for which the materials were furnished, which notice shall be recorded by the auditor, in a book to be kept for that purpose.

SEC. 3. *Sub-contractor or journeyman may have a lien.*

Any sub-contractor, journeyman, or laborer, employed in the construction or repair, or furnishing materials for any building, may give to the owner thereof notice in writing, particularly setting forth the amount of his claim and service rendered, for which his employer is indebted to him, and that he holds the owner responsible for the same; and the owner shall be liable for such claim, but not to exceed the amount due from him to the employer at the time of notice, which may be recovered in an action.

SEC. 5. *Trial of liens. Judgment and sale of the property. When property may be removed by purchaser. Several actions may be consolidated.*

In such actions, all persons whose liens are recorded, as herein provided, may be made parties, and all, or any number, may join in one action, stating their claims distinctly, and issues shall be made up, and trials had, as in other cases; and the court may, by the judgment, direct a sale of the defendant's interest in the lot or land (if he have any such saleable interest,) and building, for the satisfaction of the lien or liens, and costs; such sale to be under and by virtue of an execution, and without prejudice to the rights of any prior incumbrance, owner, or other persons, not parties to the action. If the defendant or defendants in such action be not entitled to such interest in the lot or land, on which such building is erected, as is liable to sale under execution, then the purchaser, at the sale herein provided for, shall be entitled to remove from the premises such property, so sold by execution, and purchased. If several such actions be brought by different claimants, and be pending at the same time, the court may order them to be consolidated.

#### AN ACT RELATING TO THE SUPPORT OF THE POOR

SEC. 1. *Boards of county commissioners vested with the superintendence of the poor.*

*Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington,* That the boards of county commissioners of the several counties of this territory, are hereby vested with entire and exclusive superintendence of the poor in their respective counties.

SEC. 2. *By whom poor to be supported. Penalty for refusal to support the poor. Proviso.*

Every poor person who shall be unable to earn a livelihood in consequence of bodily infirmity, idiocy, lunacy, or other cause, shall be supported by the father, grandfather, mother, grandmother, children, grandchildren, brothers or sisters, of such poor person, if they or either of them be of sufficient ability; and every person who shall fail or refuse to support his or her father, grandfather, mother, grandmother, child, grandchild, sister or brother, when directed by the board of commissioners of the county where such poor person shall be found, whether such relative reside in the county or not, shall forfeit and pay to the county, for the use of the poor of their county, the sum of thirty dollars per month, to be recovered in the name of the county commissioners for the use of the poor as aforesaid, before any justice of the peace, or any court having jurisdiction: *Provided,* That when any person becomes a pauper from intemperance or other bad conduct, he shall not be entitled to any support from any relation except parent and child.

SEC. 3. *Who to be first called on. Married females not to be sued.*

The children shall be first called on to support their parents, if there be children of sufficient ability; if there be none, the parents of such poor persons shall be next called on, and if there be no parents or chil-

dren of sufficient ability, the brothers and sisters shall be next called on; and if there be no brothers and sisters, the grand children of such poor person shall be called on, and then the grandparents; but married females whilst their husbands live shall not be liable to a suit.

SEC. 10. *Work houses may be built under the control of the county commissioners.*

The board of county commissioners of any county in this territory may, if they think proper, cause to be built or provided in their respective counties, work-houses for the accommodation and employment of such paupers, as may from time to time become a county charge; and said work-house and paupers shall be under such rules and regulations as said board of commissioners may deem proper and just.

SEC. 11. *Penalty for bringing a pauper into the territory.*

If any person shall bring and leave any pauper in any county in this territory, wherein such pauper is not lawfully settled, knowing him to be a pauper, he shall forfeit and pay the sum of one hundred dollars for every such offense, to be sued for and recovered by, and to the use of such county, in a civil action before any court having jurisdiction of the same.

## CHAPTER VIII.

# THE ARMY AND THE PROBLEM OF MILITARY PROTECTION

### *The Territorial Legislature Urges Military Measures.*<sup>1</sup>

Washington Territory was by no means self-sufficient. In matters relating to roads and public improvements, mail service, and defense, the legislature repeatedly sent resolutions and memorials to Washington, D. C., urging that suitable measures be adopted by the federal government. The following petitions are typical of the 1850's, when Indian hostility made military protection imperative. The militia act indicates the responsibilities which the territory independently assumed.

#### JOINT RESOLUTION RELATIVE TO THE PROTECTION OF EMIGRANTS, &C.

*Resolved by the House the Council concurring,* That Congress be requested to authorize the Governor of Washington Territory to accept the services of two companies of mounted volunteers to serve for twelve months in quelling Indian troubles, recovering stolen property, and affording protection to emigrants from the South Pass, in the Rocky mountains westward to the Pacific, on the emigrant route, to the territories of Oregon and Washington.

*Passed the House of Representatives December 14, 1854.*

*Passed Council December 22, 1854.*

#### MEMORIAL PRAYING THAT AN ARMED STEAMER BE STATIONED ON THE NORTHWEST COAST

*To the Honorable, the Secretary of the Navy of the United States:—*

Your memorialists, the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington, would respectfully represent, that there are many flourishing settlements, bordering on Puget Sound, and extending along the coast of the Pacific, from the entrance of the straits of Juan de Fuca, to the mouth of the Columbia river. That these settlements are continually in danger of being attacked by bands of hostile savages, as well by those living within the limits of our own Territory, as by the warlike tribes inhabiting the coast, and numerous islands north of us, as far as Sitka. That the means of defense in these settlements are altogether disproportioned to the actual force that might readily be brought to bear upon

<sup>1</sup> From the Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington.

them, from the fact that the settlements are often remote from each other, and have no adequate means of gaining intelligence of the movements of the enemy, or of concentrating forces. That whilst our citizens are thus widely separated, and consequently unable to act in concert, there are resident upon Puget Sound, the straits of Juan de Fuca, and the Pacific coast, between Cape Flattery and the mouth of the Columbia river, at least eight thousand Indians, of whom two thousand are warriors. That in times past, these Indians have given many proofs of their hostility to the whites, by repeated acts of robbery and murder, and, more recently, by engaging in a war of extermination against the citizens of this Territory. Your memorialists are further of opinion, that we have, in the northern Indians, who are in the habit of visiting our settlements, ostensibly for purposes of trade, but really for the sake of plundering, a more formidable enemy than those living amongst us. That from the best information your memorialists can obtain, they are satisfied that several of these tribes could each furnish from five to eight hundred warriors, and should a combination of the various tribes be formed, they could probably send against us a force of ten thousand men. That they have in their possession some small pieces of cannon, are generally well provided with arms and ammunition, and skillful in the use of their weapons.

Your memorialists would further represent, that these Indians are, both mentally and physically, far superior to those of their race living further south. That they often visit our coast, to the number of several hundred at a time, and that every year they make their appearance amongst us in increased numbers, encouraged, no doubt, by the impunity with which they have hitherto committed their depredations. That they use large canoes, containing from fifty to seventy-five men each, which are managed with great dexterity, and capable of being driven at a speed equaling that of an ordinary steamer. That their robberies and murders on our shores, coupled with threats of a general massacre, have been so often repeated, as to create a well grounded apprehension in the mind of the community, that these exposed settlements may be cut off in detail, before a sufficient force can be sent to their relief: that the danger has recently become so im[m]inent, as to compel most of the settlers on Puget Sound to abandon their homes and seek safety in forts. Your memorialists are perfectly well satisfied of the utter inadequacy of sailing vessels to afford due protection to the persons and property of citizens in this part of the Territory, from the fact that a fleet of canoes can readily pass any sailing vessels stationed for the purpose of intercepting them, the winds being so uncertain, and the currents so strong, that it often requires ten or fifteen days for vessels of this class to pass from one extremity of the sound to the other, and that a steamer alone is capable of successfully pursuing such enemies through the numerous canals, bays, and arms of the sea, which indent our coast.

In view of these facts, your memorialists would respectfully, but earnestly, urge upon the Navy Department, the importance of stationing

an armed steamer on our coast, to cruise in Puget Sound, the straits of Juan de Fuca, and waters adjacent.

*Passed December 20, 1855.*

MEMORIAL PRAYING AN APPROPRIATION FOR MILITARY ROAD ACROSS THE  
CASCADE MOUNTAINS

*To the Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress Assembled:—*

The memorial of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington, respectfully represents, that the completion of the military road across the Cascade mountains, is of the most vital importance and interest to the citizens of the Territory of Washington: that said road connects the military post established at fort Steilacoom, with fort Walla Walla, which is the point upon the Columbia river where the great emigrant trail enters Washington Territory: that as a means of communication, between the two sections of territory lying east and west of the Cascades, it would afford facility for the transportation of men and supplies in the event of necessity, and, in a military point of view, would be of incalculable advantage to the defence of this Territory: that the experience of the present Indian war demonstrates the necessity of a good wagon road, connecting the valleys lying east and west of said mountains, and the difficulties consequent upon the absence thereof: that the discovery of gold at fort Colville, and the future development of the country, imperatively demands the completion of said work.

Your memorialists therefore pray your honorable bodies to pass an act, appropriating thirty thousand dollars for the completion of the military road from fort Steilacoom, upon Puget Sound, across the Cascade mountains, to fort Walla Walla, upon the Columbia river.

*Passed January 15, 1856.*

JOINT RESOLUTION RELATIVE TO ESTABLISHING A MILITARY POST AT  
PORT TOWNSEND, WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

Whereas, News of an alarming character has just reached us, that the settlements at Port Townsend, and in the vicinity thereof, are in imminent danger, in consequence of the hostile demonstrations by the foreign Indians north of our possessions, calling for immediate action for the protection to our people, and also for the security of the government property, in connection with the United States custom house, which is located thereat: And Whereas said settlements are isolated, and in great degree defenceless: Therefore—

*Be it Resolved by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington, That our Delegate in Congress be, and he is hereby, instructed to use his best endeavors with the proper authorities, to have a military*

post established, as soon as practicable, at Port Townsend, Washington Territory.

*Passed January 30, 1856.*

AN ACT SUPPLEMENTAL AND AMENDATORY TO AN ACT ENTITLED  
"AN ACT TO ORGANIZE THE MILITIA."

SEC. 1. *Act to organize the militia, how amended. Term of office of the general staff.*

*Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington,* That the act entitled, an act to organize the militia, be, and is hereby amended by striking out in section (1st) first in said act the words, "and each Council district in said Territory shall constitute one regimental district;" and by striking out in section ten, (10,) all after the words "commissary general," and inserting the words, "who shall hold their office for three years, unless sooner removed by the Legislature," and that the remaining portion of said act be, and the same is hereby repealed.

SEC. 2. *County assessor to make return to the adjutant general of all persons liable to militia duty.*

It shall be the duty of the county assessor of each county in this Territory, in taking the census of their respective counties, to make return in writing to the adjutant general of the Territory, of all persons in their respective counties who may be liable to militia duty as is hereinafter provided; and for such service they shall receive such compensation as the county commissioners of their respective counties may deem just and proper, to be paid out of the county treasury.

SEC. 3. *Who liable to militia duty.*

Every white male citizen between the ages of (18) eighteen and (50) fifty, not disqualified by bodily infirmity, shall be liable to militia duty, and subject to be called upon for such purpose by the Governor, in case of emergency.

SEC. 4. *Formation and arming of companies and detachments. Number constituting a company or a detachment. Officers of the same. Commissions and oath of.*

Whenever any number of persons liable to militia duty as aforesaid, not exceeding [one] hundred nor less than twenty-five, shall form themselves into a company or a detachment, for the purpose of permanent or temporary defence as volunteers, elect their own officers as hereinafter provided, and report the fact to the adjutant general, he shall thereupon make a requisition upon the quartermaster general, to be approved by the Governor, for suitable arms for said company, which shall be issued as hereinafter provided. For the purpose of such organization, fifty-two persons and upwards to one hundred, shall constitute a company, and shall choose one captain, one first and one second lieutenant, four sergeants and four corporals; every less number shall be considered a detachment, and shall choose one lieutenant, two sergeants and two corporals. Said officers shall hold their respective offices for the term of one

year, unless sooner removed by a sentence of a court martial; and said captains and lieutenants shall be commissioned by the Governor, and on receiving said commission, each shall take an oath, to be endorsed on the back thereof, before an officer authorized to administer oaths, that he will support the constitution of the United States and faithfully discharge the duties of his office.

*Passed February 4, 1858.*

### *Colonel Joseph K. F. Mansfield Visits Fort Townsend, 1858.<sup>2</sup>*

Colonel Joseph K. F. Mansfield, Inspector General of the United States Army from 1853 to 1861, made two tours of inspection of the Pacific Coast, first in 1854 and again in 1858-9. Taken together, the reports of these inspections give an excellent picture of the conditions which appeared important to a trained military observer.<sup>3</sup> Not only was he interested in the military posts and the troops, but he described the geography of the country, the location and disposition of the Indians, the condition and population of the white settlements, the means of transportation, the availability and cost of necessary supplies—in short, everything that might be of value to those in the national capital who had to administer the Army. Such material is of untold value now to those who wish to visualize and understand the past.

On Colonel Mansfield's second trip he inspected the Department of Oregon, which embraced all of Washington Territory and most of Oregon,<sup>4</sup> between September 20, when he entered the Columbia River by steamer, and December 19, 1858, when he completed his inspection of Fort Steilacoom. During those three months he visited every post in the department, traveling throughout the Pacific Northwest by land and water something over fifteen hundred miles.<sup>5</sup> The report on Fort Townsend has been chosen for publication here both because it is typical of Colonel Mansfield's descriptions of the conditions and problems of frontier posts and because Fort Townsend was typical of the smaller military posts of Washington. Never by any means the largest or most important among the latter, Fort Townsend's geographic position assures it even today an important place in the defenses of Puget Sound.

This report was written at San Francisco, where Colonel Mansfield had gone to complete his reports on the Pacific Northwest and to begin an inspection of the Department of California. It was in reality made to Brevet Lieutenant General Winfield Scott, Commanding General of the Army, but was addressed to an adjutant in his office in accordance with military custom.<sup>6</sup> The problem of desertions, which is discussed at some length, was unusually acute on the Pacific coast, particularly

<sup>2</sup> Manuscript report in The National Archives (War Department, Adjutant General's Office, Document File, 1859-I-14). This document is presented through the courtesy of Mr. Jesse S. Douglas of The National Archives staff, Division of War Department Archives, who transcribed and edited the text and prepared the explanatory notes.

<sup>3</sup> These reports are on file among the records of the War Department in The National Archives.

<sup>4</sup> The Rogue River and Umpqua Districts were part of the Department of California. See Raphael P. Thian, *Notes Illustrating the Military Geography of the United States* (Washington, 1881), pp. 58-4, 85-6, 151, 165.

<sup>5</sup> He inspected the following posts in the Department of Oregon on the dates indicated: Fort Walla Walla, October 1-11; Fort Simcoe, October 15-20; Fort Dalles, October 22-6; Fort Cascades, October 27; Fort Vancouver, October 28 to November 8; Fort Yamhill, November 10; Fort Hoskins, November 12; Fort Townsend, December 3-4; Fort Bellingham, December 7-8; camp of the escort to the Northwest Boundary Commission at Semi-ah-moo, December 10-12; and Fort Steilacoom, December 14-19.

<sup>6</sup> It was subsequently referred by endorsement to the Adjutant General's Office, among the records of which it is still on file (War Department, Adjutant General's Office, Document File, 1859-I-14, in The National Archives).

prior to the Civil War. The lure of the gold fields was always strong, but the estimate of the quality of recruits is not exaggerated. Of the military personnel at Columbia Barracks (Fort Vancouver) in 1850, for instance, 46 per cent were foreign born, 21 per cent being from Germany and 14 per cent from Ireland.<sup>7</sup>  
J.S.D.

REPORT OF THE INSPECTION OF FORT TOWNSEND WASHINGTON TERRITORY  
3RD & 4TH DECEMBER, 1858.

B[re]v[e]t Major Irvin McDowell.

Ass[istan]t Adj[utan]t Gen[era]l – Head Quarters of the Army.

Sir.

I arrived at Fort Townsend on the morning of the 3rd Dec, and immediately commenced the inspection of that post, and have to report to the Commanding Gen[era]l as follows.

Fort Townsend is situated in the Bay of Port Townsend on Puget Sound, about 3 miles from that place by water, in a southwest direction, in full view, and about 5 miles by land following the beach. It is in latitude 48°-4'. The site of the post is on the table land elevated about 100 feet above the water line, and fronting northward on Port Townsend, a place of about 40 buildings, & growing; and having in the distant view mount Baker a smoking volcano, and Mount St Helens of the Cascade range, both perpetually covered with snow. It seems to be well selected for a military post as a protection to the Citizens located in this vicinity: and to overaw the Indians: and to afford aid to the Custom house officer at Port Townsend in case of necessity, and to the Indian Agent of this vicinity who resides in that place. The proximity of this post to the boundary line on the north, and the short distance by water say 40 miles from Victoria, a growing City, on Vancouvers Island, where the English Government will probably have a naval station on Esquimaux Bay; gives to this post at present, great importance in a military point of view, as a depot for efficient Troops, ready to be transported to any point, in conjunction & connexion with the other Military posts in this sound, to wit, at Billingham Bay & Steilacoom.

This site has no intrinsic value in point of strength of position, beyond any other site along the shore, nor would a battery on this shore defend the channel. But it is well supplied with Timber for miles in this region, and has a first rate spring of pure water, a very important and necessary quality, and there is a good prairie for garden.

This post was established on the order of Lieut Col. S[ilas] Casey 9th Inf[an]t[ry] on the 6th Oct 1856, by Brevet Major G[ranville] O[wen] Haller, who had instructions to report to Col Casey for this object. Herewith accompanying is a plot of the reservation marked out by Major Haller which has been approved by Col Casey. It was designed to take in a small piece, say 100 acres of prairie land for purposes of hay

<sup>7</sup> Oregon Territory Census Schedules, 1850, Seventh Census, Free Inhabitants, Vol. I, pp. 80-6, in the Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce.

and garden. This prairie seems to have been taken up previously by two men Newel Garish & Edward Lill. The former has been paid 1200 doll[ar]s for his improvements, & half; but the latter has declined to let his be taken, and now lives on it. The residue of this reserve is covered with a heavy growth of fur, spruce and cedar timber. In the mean time this reserve has not received the Sanction of the President of the U. S. The buildings were commenced here in 1857 for a one company post, after the plans had been submitted thro' Col Casey to Genl Wool then in command of this Dep[ar]tment, and they are now completed, with the exception of a Commissary store house which seems necessary.

#### *Buildings*

The Officers quarters are 3 buildings in a line. The centre for the commanding officer with the Adjutants Office. That on the right the subalterns quarters, & that on the left the Assistant Surgeon's. These are roomy and ample, & frame buildings, lathed & plastered. Further on the same line on the left is a block or loghouse guardhouse with prisoners rooms and two cells. Further on the right is a block or loghouse bakery, & soldiers library, & reading room. Perpendicular to this line on the right stands a two story Barrack, roomy and ample for one company, with Kitchen, messroom, company store room, & lounging room, for soldiers in the first floor. On the left perpendicular to the line of Officers quarters, stands the hospital almost finished, roomy and ample. All these buildings in an emergency would be sufficient for two companies, for a limited time. In addition to these is a log barn & two good small houses for laundresses. A wharf has been built at the landing & the grounds graded to a gradual slope between the buildings towards the water.

These buildings all of them, seem to be judiciously planned, & executed, and the soldiers are particularly well accommodated. The hospital is large for this climate for one company, but it might be required hereafter for several Companies.

#### *Troops, Drills, Targetfiring & Recruits & Ordnance.*

Company I, 4th Inf[an]t[ry] is stationed here commanded by Brev[e]t Major G. O. Haller: 1st Lieut F[rancis] H[enry] Bates on recruiting Service, left the Company on the 23d June 1858: 2d Lt. R[obert] N[icholson] Scott act[ing] A[ssistant] Q[uar]ter master, act[ing] a[ssistant] c[ommissary of] Subsistence, and Adj[utan]t [of the] Post, and recruiting officer — 3 Sergeants, 3 Corporals, 2 musicians, 63 privates: of which 5 were sick, 13 confined. Assistant Surgeon J[ohn] F[ox] Hammond.

This Company was neat and completely equipped. Armed with the new rifled musket, & corresponding new equipments. The canteens were gutta percha, but had never been used. It marched in review, drilled at the light infantry drill: but as there was snow on the ground, I dispensed with the drill as skirmishers. It fired at the Target of 6' by 22" at 200 yards, & out of 40 shots by 40 men, 5 struck the Target: which showed a want of Target practice as at other posts. The men here have been in a

great degree employed at laboring work, & there were many recruits and the military exercises ordinary. The men were well quartered, and slept in double bunks two tiers high, and the Kitchen and Messroom neat & comfortable. I have never seen soldiers better accommodated. Two Laundresses. Yet since the last payment about the middle of November, there were 18 desertions, and some considerable intoxication. The Company books were written up and in good order. The desertions in 1856 were 11, in 1857, 26, & in 1858 37, say 74 men in 3 years. This is to be attributed to 4 causes. 1st The worthless unprincipled character of many recruits. 2d the want of proper discipline & instructions as soldiers at the Gen[era]l Recruiting Depot before they are sent to join companies; a fatal error in our system. 3d The vicinity of this post to the British frontier, where the gold diggings are enticing, and where they cannot be seized if discovered; 4th The bad treatment of an orderly sergeant since reduced to the ranks.

While on this subject of recruits I have to remark there must be great neglect, or want of attention, at the recruiting depot at Philadelphia, & at the General Depot. Two men joined here in August last from the recruiting depot at Philadelphia. One Thos Flannegan 21 years old, 5' 5" high, grey eyes, brown hair, born in Cavan Ireland, enlisted 23d June 1858 at Philadelphia, by Capt Jones; had a dislocated wrist & elbow of the right arm, & could not do duty & rejected. Another Peter Kelly 25 years old, 5' 7½" high, grey eyes, brown hair, from Queens County Ireland, enlisted 5 May 1858 at Philadelphia by Capt Jones; had a fracture of the fibula, & severe contusion of the right leg, involving ankle joint: it gives him pain to stand long and it swells. These two men have been rejected here, and submitted to the Adjutant General for final action. Another recruit a prisoner for desertion, wished to speak to me. He was a German, and could not speak English nor understand it when spoken to, & required an interpreter. It would take this man 5 years to learn English enough to be a Soldier.

The Government is put to the expense of sending such men to this distant post to be rejected, merely because the duties at the recruiting stations are not strictly performed. Paragraph no 1308 Army Regulations makes it the duty of the officer to be present on the examination of the Medical Officer: and paragraphs 1352 & 1353 provide for two more critical examinations before the recruits leave the depot, and yet dislocated joints, & a lame leg with a scar, are not seen &c, and the above results are obtained. \* A man was discharged from the 10th Inf[an]t[ry] before it marched for Utah in 1857 for a bad elbow, and I knew a near-sighted recruit in New Mexico in 1853, and the awkward left handed men are quite common. I counted 6 in two companies at the Dalles firing at the target. It is impossible for an Inspector General when recruits are to be

\* *Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1857* (New York, 1857), pp. 424, 480.

sent from a General Depot, to detect such gross defects. He can only look at their general appearance, numbers & outfit &c.

In this connexion I would earnestly urge that no recruits be sent from the General Depot, till they have been, disciplined, & Trained to the performance of military duties. This can be better done at the depot than at the Military Posts. It would prevent much desertion, & the men kept at the depot for 6 months, under strict discipline, & instructions, would not fail to show their defects; such as fits &c, and could be discharged without further expense. I do not think a left handed man should be enlisted. He cannot fire efficiently by the right shoulder in the ranks, & better be out of the service. The pay & compensation of a soldier are ample, and none but good & active men, & men of good habits, should be allowed to enter the service.<sup>9</sup>

This Company is armed with the new pattern rifled musket, with equipments complete, & 9000 rifled musket ball cartridges There is a defe[c]t in the construction of the nipple of these muskets, & I will call by letter the attention of the Col[onel] of ordnance to it.

#### *Guard, Discipline, Prisoners*

The guard was 6 privates & one non-commissioned-officer. There were 13 soldiers prisoners, 4 for minor offences & 9 for desertion—also 4 citizens, 2 by sentence of a civil court & 2 waiting Trial—also 4 Indians, 3 by sentence of civil court & one by Indian agent. Six of the deserters desired to speak to me, & said it was bad treatment by the 1st Sergeant, that made them desert, & they complained of a want of food & clothing; which so far as true, was at once corrected by Major Haller. One deserted while a sentinel & took off a prisoner.

I could discover no want of discipline. Yet there was a want of old soldiers to make non-com-officers of, & I think it much to be regretted our Service cannot afford American Citizens enough to make non-com-officers.

#### *Laundresses, Bakery, Company funds, &c.*

There were two landresses comfortably provided for. There should be the full complement here. <sup>10</sup> The bread is as good as the average. On the 31st August the Company fund was 599.52 and since modified to 567.78 doll[ar]s. Major Haller has paid at different times out of this fund 65

<sup>9</sup> The base pay of a private of Infantry at this time was \$11 per month. Labor unions in the North were trying to obtain from \$1.25 to \$2 per day for skilled workmen; factory workers in Massachusetts, where wages were highest, received about \$5 per week. It is very difficult to compare these figures, however, for in addition to his pay the soldier received food, clothing, shelter, and medical care. He received an increase of \$2 per month for the first and \$1 per month for each successive reenlistment, and there were other means of obtaining extra pay. On the other hand, there were also deductions, such as the 25 cents per month "asylum dues" for the Soldiers' Home, and he had to pay for his own laundry. From 1850 to 1853 troops serving on the Pacific Coast had received extra pay, but the base pay was then only \$7 per month. A general pay increase of \$4 per month was put into effect in 1854. See Thomas M. Exley, *A Compendium of the Pay of the Army from 1785 to 1888* (Washington, 1888), pp. 50-51, 57; *Statutes at Large of the United States* (Boston and Washington, 1853-), IX, 504-505; *ibid.*, X, 108, 575; Fred A. Shannon, *Economic History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1934), p. 291; Harold U. Faulkner, *American Economic History* (New York, 1935), p. 315.

<sup>10</sup> *Regulations for the Army of the United States, 1857*, par. no. 124, p. 16, allowed four laundresses to each company.

dolls in extra compensation for recovery of deserters. This is not strictly correct. When complaint was made of not having enough to eat, I referred the Major to this large fund, & I saw several bbls of pork the savings of the ration. I could discover no grounds for this complaint, & they had 150 bushels potatoes that were raised in the garden.

*Hospital*

Asst Surgeon J. F. Hammond is in charge of the hospital department. He has an acting Steward, & his dispensary, wardrooms, supplies, books, Kitchen &c &c, all that is desirable. There were 5 in hospital with a matron, Cook and attendant, and the sick well provided for.

*Quartermaster's Department*

2d Lieut R. N. Scott relieved Lt F. H. Bates in this Dep[artmen]t of the duties on the 22d June 1858. All the monthly papers to the 1st November, & the quarterly papers to the close of September have been forwarded; & the monthly returns to the close of Nov ready to be forwarded. There was due the U. S. at the close of November 50.43 dolls—expended since 40.50 leaving a balance in cash of 9.93 dolls. He Keeps 5 horses, generally inferior, used to communicate by land with Port Townsend &c 5 mules, 2 wagons, 2 horse carts, 1 boat all which are necessary. He pays 37½ dolls the Ton for hay & one dollar the bushel for oats. Employs two Citizen Carpenters @ 4.50 dolls & 3.50 dolls & a ration per day at finishing the hospital: and as extra duty men at the same 1 Carpenter, 2 plasterers, 1 painter; and one quar[ter]-m[aster]-sergeant, 2 Teamsters & others at the usual duties. Wood is cut close by the buildings by the prisoners. Lt Scott performs the duty well & obtains his funds from the Chief Quarter Master at San Francisco.

*Commissary Department*

Lieut Scott is also acting commissary & relieved Lt Bates from the same dates. His monthly papers to the 1st November & his quarterly papers to the 30th September have been forwarded & the monthly papers for November made out & ready to be forwarded. There was due the U. S. at the close of November 276.19 dolls in cash on hand. Supplies are all good & ample. He Keeps an extra duty man as clerk & Lt Scott performs this duty well also.

*Recruiting Service*

Lieut Scott is also recruiting Officer & relieved Lt Bates from the same dates, & has on hand 305 75/100 dolls in cash.

*Post Ordnance*

There is one 12 p[ounde]r brass mountain howitzer, with 48 spherical case shot, 12 canister shots, 22 shells &c — and in addition 74 old muskets, & corresponding accoutrements in store ready to be shipped to the Benecia Arsenal — and 650 musket ball cartridges & 650 rifle ball cartridges.

*Indians Steamers &c.*

R. C. Fay is the local special Indian agent in this vicinity and he resides at Port Townsend. There is probably not over 100 Indians close at hand. But this post is about equally distant from the Skagit, Tulalap and Kitsap reserves, under the Treaty of Point Elliot made by Gov Stevens, say 3600 Indians which can only be reached by water. In addition there is the Cape Flattery reserve destined for 700 Indians; & this is a long distance, and can best be approached by water via Neah Bay. There may be about 5000 souls to be watched, over from this position under different denominate Tribes. It is true these Indians are not now on the reserves, but are scattered over the Country in the neighborhood of the reserves. They are not dangerous, and are peaceable. But they are exposed to depredations on them by northern Indians, from the British, & Russian possessions: and to be captured and made slaves of, & our own citizens murdered as was Col Ebey on Whidby's Island.

The northern Indians should be shut out of these waters entirely, and the only way it can be effectually done, is by pursuing them when they enter our waters in their large canoes. This can be done only by means of a small steamer, that will move at the rate of 15 miles the hour, & run them down, and pursue them to their homes. One should be built especially for the purpose to navigate the rough waters of the straits de Fuca, & outside, & be under the command of the ranking Officer of this sound. It is pretty well understood that the Kake Tribe who live in latitude 58°-30' took off the head of Col Ebey who lived in sight of this post, and it is highly important to be able to punish such depredations severely. Further such a Steamer would be of great service in transporting supplies &c &c, from post to post on these waters, & would save a large amount of contingent expenses.

It is my opinion that all the Indian Treaties heretofore made with these Indians, should be confirmed.

*Conclusion, Payments, &c.*

This post is paid once in 4 months, & was last paid in November: hereafter it may be paid oftener. The sutlers reside in Port Townsend, but they have a store here. The Garden is good & on the land purchased of a claimant, & seems ample without the residue which the other claimant does not wish to relinquish.

I am Very Respectfully

Your Ob[edien]t S[ervan]t

Jos. K. F. Mansfield

Col & Inspt Genl U S A.

San Francisco Cal  
6th Jan 1859.

## CHAPTER IX.

### DOCUMENTS OF OVERLAND TRAVEL

#### *Experienced Travelers Offer Practical Advice to Emigrants.*<sup>1</sup>

The overland journey across the plains and the Rocky Mountains figures conspicuously in the epic of westward expansion. Whether the trip was made by a brigade of fur traders, a detachment of military forces, or a band of emigrants bound for the Columbia, the dangers were many and the hardships severe. Seasoned travelers shared their wisdom with the inexperienced, and drew up "hints" and "suggestions" to guide prospective parties in planning their equipment and organization. The following three selections represent the viewpoints of all the above groups.

The organization of emigrant parties was more democratic than the others, although it was occasionally even more elaborate. Peter Burnett organized a wagon company in Missouri during the winter of 1842-3 and made the trip across the plains to Oregon during the following summer and early fall. See his *Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer* (New York, 1880).

#### HINTS TO TRAVELLERS

By adopting the following simple rules, altho. I admit, it will, on the starting, cause some trouble and loss of time, it will, as I can truly state from long experience, prove a gain not only in time, but in Horses and Provisions.

You should first ascertain the number of loads, then ascertain the number of your Horses or Mules. This is to enable you to divide your loads. Divide your men by Twos. This is commonly called a Brigade, and you can safely give each Brigade 12 [13?] Horses. Your Superintendent of Packing should establish it as a rule that one man of each Brigade goes in the morning to collect the Horses, the remaining man of each Brigade should remain in Camp and prepare his loads, so as to be in readiness when the Horses are all brought in.

For your own Camp (I allude to the Officers) three men should be appointed solely to attend to your Baggage, Tents and Provisions & should have no other duty assigned them, with the exception of one to collect the Horses as he will take more Interest than any other.

<sup>1</sup> The original of the first of the following documents, a letter written by Peter Skene Ogden, is preserved in the McClellan Papers, Series I, Vol. 5, in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. The second document is reprinted from John Mullan, *Report on the Construction of a Military Road from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Benton* (Washington, D. C., 1863), pp. 40-1. The third selection is taken from "Letters of Peter H. Burnett," in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (December, 1902), III, 416-21.

The Superintendent should not allow the Brigade to load before all the Horses & Mules are found, nor should he allow them to *start* before all are ready, and one of the Officers should be appointed to take the lead, & should not allow any loaded Horses to go ahead of him. After a few days starting the Brigade could easily be made to go separately from each each [*sic*] other, and the Superintendent of Packers should have his eye over all. No particular place should be assigned him, for men in charge of Brigades are very apt to neglect their Horses, and are too lazy and *indolent* to stop and manage their loads, which are liable to get deranged.

The call in the morning for all men to rise should be at the dawn of day—At 12 O'clock the Horses should be allowed to have at least three hours to eat and rest, and be careful that the Superintendent gives the horses to drink in the evening, midday and morning. One man of each Brigade should assist the Supert. in driving the Horses to drink. The Conductor of the Packers if vigilant and attentive to his duty has an arduous one to perform & should on all occasions be strongly supported by his Commanding Officer, which will tend to make him respected.

Yours Respectfully

[signed] Peter Skene Ogden.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS TO TRAVELLERS

For persons who desire to leave St. Louis in the spring on steamer for Fort Benton, where the passage is from \$40 to \$100, and freight from 5 cents to 10 cents per pound, and who desire to make the land transit by wagon, I would advise that they provide themselves with a light spring covered wagon in St. Louis, also two or four sets of strong harness, and transport them to Fort Benton, where they can procure their animals, mules or horses. The former can be had from \$100 to \$150, the latter from \$50 to \$75; oxen, from \$100 to \$125 per yoke. Let them provide themselves with a small kit of good strong tin or plated iron mess furniture; kettles to fit one in the other, tin plates and cups, and strong knives and forks; purchase their own supplies in St. Louis; brown sugar, coffee, or tea, bacon, flour, salt, beans, sardines, and a few jars of pickles and preserved fruits will constitute a perfect outfit in this department. I have found that for ten men for fifty days, the following is none too much on a trip of this kind: 625 pounds of flour, 50 pounds of coffee, 75 pounds of sugar, 2 bushels of beans, 1 bushel of salt, 625 pounds of bacon side, 2 gallons of vinegar, 20 pounds of dried apples, 3 dozen of yeast powders, and by all means take two strong covered ovens, (Dutch ovens.) These amounts can be increased or diminished in proportion to the number of men and number of days. If your wagon tires become loose on the road,

caulk them with old gunny sacks, or in lieu thereof, with any other sack-  
ing; also, soak the wheels well in water whenever an opportunity occurs.  
In loading the wagons, an allowance of four hundred pounds to the  
animal will be found sufficient for a long journey. For riding saddles,  
select a California or Mexican tree with machiers and taphederos, hair  
girth, double grey saddle blanket, and strong snaffle bit.

If the intention is to travel with a pack train, take the cross-tree pack-  
saddle, with crupper and breeching, and broad thick pads. Use lash-rope,  
with canvas or leather belly bands. Have a double blanket under each  
saddle. Balance the load equally on the two sides of the animal—the  
whole not to exceed two hundred pounds. Have a canvas cover for each  
pack. A mule-blind may be found useful in packing. Each pack animal  
should have a hackamo, and every animal (packing and riding) a picket-  
rope, from thirty-five to forty feet long and one inch in diameter. For my  
own purposes, I have always preferred the apperajo for packing, and  
have always preferred mules to horses. Packages of any shape can be  
loaded upon the apperajo more conveniently than upon the packsaddle.  
A bell animal should be always kept with a pack train, and a grey mare  
is generally preferred. Every article to be used in crossing the plains  
should be of the best manufacture and strongest material. This will, in  
the end, prove true economy. Animals should be shod on the fore feet, at  
least. Starting at dawn and camping not later than 2 p. m., I have always  
found the best plan in marching. Animals should not go out of a walk or  
a slow trot, and after being unloaded in camp they should always be  
allowed to stand with their saddles on and girths loose, for at least  
fifteen minutes, as the sudden exposure of their warm backs to the air  
tends to scald them. They should be regularly watered, morning, noon,  
and night. Never maltreat them, but govern them as you would a woman,  
with kindness, affection, and caresses, and you will be repaid by their  
docility and easy management. If you travel with a wagon, provide your-  
self with a jackscrew, extra tongue, and coupling pole; also, axle grease,  
a hatchet and nails, auger, rope, twine, and one or two chains for wheel  
locking, and one or two extra whippetrees as well as such other articles  
as in your own judgment may be deemed necessary. A light canvas tent,  
with poles that fold in the middle by a hinge, I have always found most  
convenient. Tables and chairs can be dispensed with, but if deemed  
absolutely necessary, the old army camp stool, and a table with lid that  
removes and legs that fold under, I have found to best subserve all camp  
requisites. Never take anything not absolutely necessary. This is a rule  
of all experienced voyageurs.

[BURNETT'S ADVICE TO EMIGRANTS]

Linnton, 1844.

James G. Bennett, Esq.—

Dear Sir: The proper outfit for emigrants is a matter of very great  
importance, as upon it depends the ease of the journey. As little as we

knew about the matter, we were well enough prepared to get here, all safe, and without much suffering on the road. I would even be most willing to travel the same road twice over again, had I the means to purchase cattle in the States; and Mrs. B. (who performed as much labor on the road as any other woman) would most gladly undertake the trip again. There is a good deal of labor to perform on the road, but the weather is so dry and the air so pure and pleasant, and your appetite so good, that the labor becomes easy. I had more pleasure in eating on this trip than I ever did in the same time before, which would have been greater had it not been for the eternal apprehension of difficulties ahead. Whether we were to leave our wagons, or whether we were to be out of provisions, was all uncertain, and kept us in a state of painful suspense. This state of uncertainty can not exist again, as the way is broken and conclusively shown to be practicable. The sedge, which was a great impediment to us, we broke down completely, and left behind us a good wagon road, smooth and easy. Those who come after us will be better prepared, and they will have no apprehension about a scarcity of provisions. There is not the slightest danger of starvation, and not the least danger of suffering, if even ordinary care is taken. Emigrants may now come, knowing that the property they start with they can bring clear through; and when they reach here it will be worth about twice, and some of it (all their cattle) four times as much as it was when they left the States. There is no danger of suffering for water, as you will find every evening, and always good, except perhaps at one or two places—not more; and by filling a four-gallon keg every morning, you have it convenient all day. Fuel on the way is scarce at some points, but we never suffered for want of fuel. You travel up or down streams nearly all the way, upon which you will find dry willows, which make an excellent fire, and where you find no willows, the sedge answers all purposes. Nothing burns more brilliantly than the sedge; even the green seems to burn almost as readily as the dry, and it catches as quick as dry shavings, but it does not make as good coals to cook with as the willows. The wagons for this trip should be two-horse wagons, plain yankee beds, the running gear made of good materials, and fine workmanship, with falling tongues; and all in a state of good repair. A few extra iron bolts, linchpins, skeins, paint bands for the axle, one cold chisel, a few pounds of wrought nails, assorted, several papers of cut tacks, and some hoop iron, and a punch for making holes in the hoop iron, a few chisels, handsaw, drawing-knife, axes, and tools generally; it would be well to bring, especially, augers, as they may be needed on the way for repairing. All light tools that a man has, that do not weigh too much, he ought to bring. Falling tongues are greatly superior to others, though both will do. You frequently pass across hollows, that have very steep, but short banks, where falling tongues are preferable, and there are no trees on the way to break them. The wagon sheets should be doubled and not painted, as that makes them break. The wagon bows should be well made and

strong, and it is best to have sideboards, and have the upper edge of the wagon body beveled outward, so that the water running down the wagon sheet, when it strikes the body may run down the outside; and it is well to have the bottom of the bed beveled in the same way, that the water may not run inside the wagon. Having your wagons well prepared, they are as secure, almost, as a house. Tents and wagon sheets are best made of heavy brown cotton drilling, and will last well all the way. They should be well fastened down. When you reach the mountains, if your wagons are not well made of seasoned timber, the tires become loose. This is very easily repaired by taking the hoop iron, taking the nails out of the tire, and driving the hoop iron under the tire and between it and the felloes; the tire you punch, and make holes through the hoop iron and drive in your nails, and all will be tight. Another mode of tightening the tire, which answers very well, is to drive pine wedges crosswise under it, which holds it tight. If your wagons are even ordinarily good, the tire will never become loose, and you will not perhaps have to repair any on the whole trip. Any wagon that will perform a journey from Kentucky to Missouri, will stand the trip well. There are many wagons in Oregon, brought through last year, that are both old and very ordinary. It is much easier to repair a wagon on the way than you would suppose. Beware of heavy wagons as they break down your teams for no purpose, and you will not need them. Light wagons will carry all you want, as there is nothing to break them down, no logs, no stumps, no rock, until you get more than half way, when your load is so much reduced, that there is then no danger. You see no stumps on the road until you get to Burnt River, and very few there, and no rock until you get into the Black Hills, and only there for a short distance, and not bad, and then you will see none until you reach the Great Soda Spring, on Bear River—at least none of any consequence. If an individual should have several wagons, some good and some ordinary, he might start with all of them; and his ordinary wagons will go to the mountains, where his load will be so reduced that his other wagons will do. It is not necessary to bring along an extra axletree, as you will rarely break one. A few pieces of well seasoned hickory, for the wedges and the like, you ought to bring.

*Teams.*—The best teams for this trip are ox teams. Let the oxen be from three to five years old, well set, and compactly built; just such oxen as are best for use at home. They should not be too heavy, as their feet will not bear the trip so well; but oxen six, seven, and eight years old, some of them very large, stood the trip last year very well, but not so well in general as the younger and lighter ones. Young cows make just as good a team as any. It is the travel and not the pulling that tires your team, until after you reach Fort Hall. If you have cows for a team it requires more of them in bad roads, but they stand the trip equally well, if not better, than oxen. We fully tested the ox and mule teams, and we found the ox teams greatly superior. One ox will pull as much

as two mules, and, in mud, as much as four. They are more easily managed, are not so subject to be lost or broken down on the way, cost less at the start, and are worth about four times as much here. The ox is a most noble animal, patient, thrifty, durable, gentle, and easily driven, and does not run off. Those who come to this country will be in love with their oxen by the time they reach here. The ox will plunge through mud, swim over streams, dive into thickets, and climb mountains to get at the grass, and he will eat almost anything. Willows they eat with great greediness on the way; and it is next to impossible to drown an ox. I would advise all emigrants to bring all the cattle they can procure to this country, and all their horses, as they will, with proper care, stand the trip well. We found a good horse to stand the trip as well as a mule. Horses need shoeing, but oxen do not. I had ox shoes made, and so did many others, but it was money thrown away. If a man had \$500, and would invest it in young heifers in the States and drive them here, they would here be worth at least \$5,000; and by engaging in stock raising, he could make an independent fortune. Milch cows on the road are exceedingly useful, as they give an abundance of milk all the way, though less toward the close of it. By making what is called thickened milk on the way, a great saving in flour is effected, and it is a most rich and delicious food, especially for children. We found that yearling calves, and even sucking calves, stood the trip very well; but the sucking calves had all the milk.

*Provisions.*—One hundred and fifty pounds of flour and forty pounds of bacon to each person. Besides this, as much dried fruit, rice, corn meal, parched corn meal, and raw corn, pease, sugar, tea, coffee, and such like articles as you can well bring. Flour will keep sweet the whole trip, corn meal to the mountains, and parched corn meal all the way. The flour and meal ought to be put in sacks or light barrels; and what they call shorts are just as good as the finest flour, and will perhaps keep better; but I do not remember of any flour being spoiled on the way. The parched corn meal is most excellent to make soup. Dried fruit is most excellent. A few beef cattle to kill on the way, or fat calves, are very useful, as you need fresh meat. Pease are most excellent.

The loading should consist mostly of provisions. Emigrants should not burthen themselves with furniture, or many beds; and a few light trunks, or very light boxes, might be brought to pack clothes in. Trunks are best, but they should be light. All heavy articles should be left, except a few cooking vessels, one shovel, and a pair of pot hooks. Clothes enough to last a year, and several pair of strong, heavy shoes to each person, it will be well to bring. If you are heavily loaded let the quantity of sugar and coffee be small, as milk is preferable and does not have to be hauled. You should have a water keg, and a tin canister made like a powder canister to hold your milk in; a few tin cups, tin plates, tin saucers; and butcher knives; and there should be a small grindstone in company, as the tools become dull on the way. Many other articles may

be useful. Rifles and shotguns, pistols, powder, lead, and shot, I need hardly say are useful, and some of them necessary on the road and sell well here. A rifle that would cost \$20 in the States is worth \$50 here, and shotguns in proportion. The road will be found, upon the whole, the best road in the world considering its length. On the Platte, the only inconvenience arising from the road is the propensity to sleep in the daytime. The air is so pleasant and the road so smooth that I have known many a teamster to go fast asleep in his wagon, and his team stop still in the road. The usual plan was for the wagons behind to drive around him, and leave him until he waked up, when he would come driving up, looking rather sheepish. Emigrants should start as early as possible in ordinary seasons; by first of May at furthest; even as early as first of April would do. For those emigrants coming from the Platte country, it is thought that they had better cross the Missouri River at McPherson's Ferry, in Hatt County, and take up the ridge between Platte and Kansas rivers; but I can not determine that question. Companies of from forty to fifty wagons are large enough. Americans are prone to differ in opinion, and large companies become unwieldy, and the stock become more troublesome. In driving stock to this country about one in ten is lost; not more. Having started, the best way to save the teams is to drive a reasonable distance every day, and stop about an hour before sundown. This gives time for arranging the camp, and for the teams to rest and eat before it is dark. About eight hours' drive in long days—resting one hour at noon—I think is enough. Never drive irregularly, if you can avoid it. On Platte River, Bear River, and Boisé River, and in many other places, you can camp at any point you please; but at other places on the way you will be compelled to drive hard some days to get water and range. When you reach the country of buffalo, never stop your wagons to hunt, as you will eat up more provisions than you will save. It is true you can kill buffalo, but they are always far from camp, and the weather is too warm to save much of it. When you reach the country of game, those who have good horses can keep the company in fresh meat. If an individual wishes to have great amusement hunting the buffalo, he had better have an extra horse, and not use him until he reaches the buffalo region. Buffalo hunting is very hard upon horses, and emigrants had better be cautious how they unnecessarily break down their horses. A prudent care should be taken of horses, teams, and provisions, from the start. Nothing should be wasted or thrown away that can be eaten. If a prudent course is taken, the trip can be made, in ordinary seasons, in four months. It took us longer; but we lost a great deal of time on the road, and had the way to break. Other routes than the one traveled by us, and better routes, may be found. Captain Gant, our pilot, was decidedly of the opinion that to keep up the South Fork of the Platte, and cross it just above a stream running into it, called the Kashlapood, and thence up the latter stream, passing between the Black Hills on your right and peaks of the Rocky Mountains on your left, and

striking our route at Green River, would be a better and nearer route—more plentifully supplied with game than the one we came. He had traveled both routes, and brought us the route he did because he had been informed that large bands of the Sioux Indians were hunting upon the southern route.

The trip to Oregon is not a costly or expensive one. An individual can move here as cheap, if not cheaper, than he can from Tennessee or Kentucky to Missouri. All the property you start with you can bring through, and it is worth thriffling as much as when you started. There is no country in the world where the wants of man can be so easily supplied, upon such easy terms as this; and none where the beauties of nature are displayed upon a grander scale.

*General James F. Rusling Journeys by Wagon Through the  
Blue Mountains.*<sup>2</sup>

During the sixties and early seventies a number of lively books appeared describing tours of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific coast. One of the most popular of these was written by General James F. Rusling, a retired army officer, who had taken an extensive inspection trip shortly after the Civil War and who wrote from notes he had made at the time.

General Rusling traversed most of the Oregon Trail, visited a number of posts in the Military Division of the Pacific, and returned to New York by boat from San Francisco via the Isthmus of Panama. The setting for the passage here reproduced is in northeastern Oregon, on the road between the Snake River and Umatilla. In 1874 Rusling was already anticipating the day when the railroad would be finished and wayfarers would no longer make the journey, as he had, "by stage-coach and ambulance." Actually the days of exciting travel were not to end as soon as he expected, for the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad was delayed for nearly a decade.

As to the wagoning, I need scarcely say, it well exemplified, with abounding emphasis, "Jordan's a hard road to travel!" The roads, indeed, as a whole, after we got up into the Mountains, were simply execrable, and our ride in that respect anything but romantic. All along the route, we found freight-trains, bound for Boise City and the Mines, hopelessly "stalled." Some of the wagons with a broken wheel or axle, had already been abandoned. Others were being watched over by their drivers, stretched on their blankets around huge fires by the roadside, smoking or sleeping, patiently awaiting their comrades, who had taken their oxen or mules to double-up on some team ahead, and would return with double teams for them to-morrow or next day, or the day after—whenever they themselves got through. Snow had already fallen on the Mountains, once or twice that season; we found several inches of it still in various places, and the air and sky both threatened more, as the day wore on.

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<sup>2</sup> From James F. Rusling, *Across America: or, The Great West and the Pacific Coast* (New York, 1874), pp. 236-43.

Yet these rough freighters looked upon the "situation" very philosophically, and appeared quite indifferent whether they got on or stayed. If it snowed, the forest afforded plenty of wood, their wagons plenty of provisions, and their wages went on just the same; so where was the use of worrying? This seemed to be about the way they philosophized, and accustomed to the rude life of the Border, they did not mind "roughing it" a little. An old army friend used often to parade a pet theory of his, that a man could not associate much with horses, without directly deteriorating. "The horse," he would say, "may gain largely, but it will only be at the expense of the man. Our cavalry and artillery officers always were the wickedest men in the service, and all because of their equine associations. The animals, indeed, become almost human; but in the same proportion, the men become animals!" I always thought him about half-right; but if this be true as to intimacy with horses, what must be the effect on men of long and constant association with mules or oxen! I thought I saw a good deal of this in mule-drivers in the army, in Virginia and Tennessee; but a harder or rougher set, than the ox-men or "bull-whackers" (as they call themselves) of the Plains and Mountains, it would be difficult perhaps to find, or even imagine. On the road here in the Blue Mountains, with their many-yoked teams struggling through the mud and rocks, of course, they were in their element. *Outré*, red-shirted, big-booted, brigand-looking ruffians, with the inseparable bowie-knife and revolver buckled around their waists, they swung and cracked their great whips like fiends, and beat their poor oxen along, as if they had no faith in the law of kindness here, nor belief in a place of punishment hereafter. And when they came to a really bad place—in crossing a stream, or when they struck a stump or foundered in a mud-hole—it is hard to say whether their prodigious, multiplied, and many-headed oaths were more grotesque or horrible. To say "they swore till all was blue," would be but a feeble comparison; the whole Mountains corruscated with sulphur! Some few of the trains consisted only of horse and mule teams; but ox-teams seemed most in favor, and slow as they were, we took quite a fancy to them — they appeared so reliable. When the roads were good, they averaged ten or twelve miles per day, and subsisted by grazing; when they became bad, they managed to flounder through any how — some way or other. At extra bad places, the teams were doubled or trebled up, and then the wagon was bound to come, if the wood and iron only held together. Twenty or thirty yoke of oxen straining to the chains, with the "bull-whackers" all pounding and yelling like mad, their huge whip-lashes thick as one's wrist cracking like pistols, was a sight to see—"muscular," indeed, in all its parts. The noise and confusion, the oaths and thwacks and splashing of the mud, made it indeed the very hell of animals; but, for all that, the wagon was sure to reach *terra firma* at last, no matter how heavily loaded, or pull to pieces. We had great sympathy for the patient, faithful oxen, and wished for Mr. Henry Bergh and his Cruelty-Prevention Society many a time that day! Here, indeed, was some

explanation of the high rates of freight from the Columbia to Boise; and Idaho would find it to her interest to improve such routes of transportation forthwith.

I need scarcely add, it was a hard day on our noble horses, but they carried us through bravely. Our ambulance was a light spring carriage, with only L. myself and the driver, and could not have weighed over fifteen hundred pounds, baggage and all; yet it was just as much as the four gamey horses wanted to do to haul us along. It was a steady, dragging pull throughout, after we were well into the Mountains, with scarcely any let-up; up-hill, of course, most of the way, with deep mud besides; chuck-holes abounding, and quagmires frequent; in and out, and around freight-trains "stuck" in the road; and on arriving at "Meacham's," our gallant team, though by no means exhausted, yet seemed very willing to halt for the night. How we congratulated ourselves on securing them, before quitting Le Grande! Had we started with our pair of dilapidated donkeys, we would never have got through; but would probably have had to camp out in the Mountains over night, and send back for another team, after all. Once in rounding a rocky hill-side, above a yawning chasm, our "brake" snapped short off, early in the forenoon; and again, in one of the worst quagmires, our drawing-rope by which the leaders were attached broke, and we would no doubt have been hopelessly ship-wrecked, had it not been for our forethought on leaving Le Grande. Fortunately, accustomed to army roads on the Peninsula and in Tennessee, we laid in a supply of rope and nails there, with a good stout hatchet, and these now stood us in excellent stead. With these we soon repaired all damages satisfactorily, and went on our way—not exactly rejoicing; but rather with grave apprehensions lest we should break down entirely, far away from any human habitation, and have to pass a supperless night by the roadside, or around a roaring fire, with wolves, bears, and such like "varmints" perhaps uncomfortably near about us.

So, it was, we were glad to be safe at "Meacham's," at last, and to sit down to the generous cheer he gave us at nightfall. Though 8,000 feet or more, above the sea, and built wholly of logs, it was the cleanest, cheeriest, and best public-house we had yet seen in either Oregon or Idaho, outside of Boise City; and even the "Overland" there indeed set no better table, if as good. We did ample justice to the luscious venison, sausage, and pumpkin-pies, that they gave us for dinner at 6 P. M.—having breakfasted at 6 A. M., and eaten nothing since. . . .

We left "Meacham's" accordingly at 7 A. M., with our horses fresh and keen after their night's rest, and got along pretty well for a couple of miles or so, when suddenly, in drawing out of a chuck-hole, one of our wheels struck a stump, and "smash" went our king-bolt. Down came the ambulance kerchuck in the snow and mud; out went the driver over the dash-board *a la* bull-frog, but still clinging to the ribbons; while L. and I sat wrapped in our great-coats and robes on the back seat, at an angle of forty-five degrees or so. Here was a pretty predicament, surely! On top

of the Blue Mountains, broken down in a quagmire, the snow falling fast, and no house nearer than "Meacham's!" Fortunately, our gamey horses did not frighten and run away, or we would have been infinitely worse off. Tumbling out, we presently ascertained the extent of our damages, and all hands set to work to repair them. Now it was, that our forethought at La Grande again handsomely vindicated itself. With our hatchet we cut props for the ambulance, and lifted it up on these; and then found, that though part of the king-bolt was broken off and the balance badly bent, it could yet be hammered into shape sufficiently to carry us forward again, with careful driving. It took an hour or more of sloppy and hard work, before we got the bolt back again into its place and every thing "righted up;" and then, as an additional precaution, with our good rope we lashed the coupling-pole fast to our fore axle-tree besides. Altogether it made a rough looking job, but it appeared stout and strong, and we decided to venture it anyhow. The rest of the way out of the Mountains, however, we proceeded very cautiously. The snow continued to fall right along, and concealed the bad places, so that the roads were even worse, than the day before, if possible. At all extra-bad spots, or what seemed so, L. and I got out and walked; and even when riding, we tried to help the driver keep the best track, by a sharp lookout ahead and on either side. Our ambulance, however, rolled and pitched from quagmire to chuck-hole, like an iron-clad at sea; and repeatedly, when out walking I stopped deliberately, just to see how beautifully she would capsize, or else collapse in a general spill, like a "One-Horse Shay!" All around us was the dense forest: all about us, that unnatural stillness, that always accompanies falling snow; no human being near; no sound, but our panting horses and floundering ambulance; no outlook, but the line of grim and steely sky above us. "There she goes! This time sure! See what a hole!" And yet by some good luck, she managed to twist and plunge along through and out of it all, in spite of the mud and snow; and at last landed us safely on the high bald knob, that overlooks "Crawford's," and the valley of the Umatilla. We had about ten miles of this execrable travelling, expecting any moment to upset or break down; and when at last we got fairly "out of the wilderness," it was a great relief. We had an ugly descent still, of two miles or more, before we reached the valley; but this was comparatively good going, being downhill, and besides the snow above had been only rain here.

The view from this bald knob or spur, as we descended, was really very fine. Just as we rounded its brow the clouds broke away, and the sun came out for awhile quite brilliantly. Far beneath us, vast plateaus, like those between Bear River and Boise City, stretched away to the Columbia; and in the distance, the whole region looked like a great plain or valley. To the northeast, we could follow for miles the road or trail to Walla-Walla, as it struck almost in a straight line across the plateaus; to the northwest, we could mark in the same way the route to Umatilla. At our feet, and far away to the west and north, we could trace the Umatilla

itself, as it flowed onward to the Columbia. Beyond all these, to the north and west still, a hundred and fifty miles away, sharp against the sky, stood the grand range of the Cascade Mountains, with their kingliest peaks, Adams, Hood, St. Helens, and Rainier, propping the very heavens. On a bright, clear day, this view must be very fine; as it was, we caught but a glimpse or two of it, just enough to make us hunger for more, when the clouds shut in again, and we hastened on.

*Samuel Bowles Describes Overland Travel in Washington Territory.*<sup>3</sup>

The construction of territorial roads in Washington was not far advanced when Samuel Bowles, editor of the Springfield (Massachusetts) *Republican* made his "Summer's Journey" to the Pacific coast in 1865. The improvement of transportation and communication had been one of the principal objectives of the group which had urged a separate territory. Some of the laws and memorials subsequently adopted by the territorial legislature have been noted in previous chapters of the present volume.

Even before the territorial organization was perfected, a road had been cut across the Cascades at Naches Pass. By this means emigrant parties from "the States" who reached Walla Walla were encouraged to continue northwest to the Puget Sound settlements.

Bowles chose a different route, a north-south road which ran between the Cowlitz River and the head of Puget Sound. Freight and stagecoach service was offered between Olympia and Cowlitz as early as December, 1854. Four- and six-horse stages were run, the usual fare being \$20. The journey from Portland to Olympia usually took three days and cost about \$30. See Oscar O. Winther, "Inland Transportation and Communication in Washington, 1844-1859," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* (October, 1939), XXV, 371-86; Thomas W. Prosch, "Military Roads of Washington Territory," *Washington Historical Quarterly* (January, 1908), II, 118-26.

THROUGH WASHINGTON TERRITORY

OLYMPIA, W. T., July 26.

Unless you have been studying geography lately, you will need to open your map to follow us in our journey northward. So near the northwestern limit of the Republic and not to touch it; so close to John Bull and not to shake his grim paw, and ask him what he thinks of the preposterous Yankees now; so near to that rarely beautiful sheet of water, Puget Sound, and not to sail through it, and know its commercial capacities and feel its natural attractions, — it would never do. So, two days ago, we put out of Portland, steamed down the Columbia for fifty miles, and up its Cowlitz branch for two miles (all it [that] is now navigable), and landed on the Washington Territory side at two houses and a stage wagon, bearing the classic name of Monticello. Jefferson was not at home; but there was a good dinner with Mr. Burbank, scion of your

<sup>3</sup> From Samuel Bowles, *Across the Continent: a Summer's Journey to the Rocky Mountains, the Mormons, and the Pacific States* . . . (New York, 1866), pp. 198-201.

northern Berkshire Burbanks; testifying, like all the rest of these border settlers, away from schools and churches and society, that there was no such other country anywhere, and that you could not drive them back to the snows and cold winters of "the States."

The next question was, how to put eleven passengers in an open wagon that only held seven, for a ninety-mile and two-day drive across the Territory. It was successfully achieved by putting three of them on saddle horses; and off we bounced into the woods at the rate of three to four miles an hour. Most unpoetical rounding to our three thousand miles of staging in these ten weeks of travel, was this ride through Washington. The road was rough beyond description; during the winter rains it is just impassable, and is abandoned; for miles it is over trees and sticks laid down roughly in swamps; and for the rest,—ungraded, and simply a path cut through the dense forest,—the height [*sic*] and depth are fully equal to the length of it. Those who worked their passage, by whipping lazy mules whose backs they strode, and paid twenty dollars for the privilege, made the best time, and had the laziest of it. Yet since, I observe, with tender memories of hard saddles, they "stand and wait," instead of sitting upon wooden chairs.

But the majestic beauty of the fir and cedar forests, through which we rode almost continuously for the day and a half that the road stretched out, was compensation for much discomfort. These are the finest forests we have yet met,—the trees larger and taller and standing thicker; so thick and tall that the ground they occupy could not hold them cut and corded as wood; and the undergrowth of shrub and flower and vine and fern, almost tropical in its luxuriance and impenetrable for its closeness. Washington Territory must have more timber and ferns and blackberries and snakes to the square mile than any other State or Territory of the Union. We occasionally struck a narrow prairie or a thread-like valley; perhaps once in ten miles a clearing of an acre or two, rugged and rough in its half-redemption from primitive forest; but for the most part it was a continuous ride through forests, so high and thick that the sun could not reach the road, so unpeopled and untouched, that the very spirit of Solitude reigned supreme, and made us feel its presence as never upon Ocean or Plain. The ferns are delicious, little and big,—more of them, and larger than you can see in New England,—and spread their beautiful shapes on every hand. But the settlers apply to them other adjectives beginning with *d*, for they vindicate their right to the soil, in plain as well as forest, with most tenacious obstinacy, and to root them out is a long and difficult job for the farmer.

We dined on the second day at Skookem Chuck (which is Indian for "big water,") and came to the head of Puget Sound, which kindly shortens the land-passage across the Territory one-half, and this town, the capital, at night, encountering the usual demonstration of artillery, brass band and banners, and most hospitable greeting from Acting-Governor Evans and other officials and citizens. Olympia lies charmingly under the

hill by the water-side; counts its inhabitants less than five hundred, though still the largest town of the Territory, save the mining center of Wallula, way down in the south-east towards Idaho; numbers more stumps than houses within city limits; but is the social and political center for a large extent of country; puts on the airs and holds many of the materials of fine society; and entertained us at a very Uncle Jerry and Aunt Phebe little inn, whose presiding genius, a fat and fair African of fifty years and three hundred pounds, robed in spotless white, welcomed us with the grace and dignity of a queen, and fed us as if we were in training for a cannibal's table.

If there is one thing, indeed, more than another, among the facts of civilization, which the Pacific Coast organizes most quickly and completely, it is good eating. From the Occidental at San Francisco to the loneliest of ranches on the most wilderness of weekly stage routes, a "good square meal" is the rule while every village of five hundred inhabitants has its restaurants and French or Italian cooks.

## CHAPTER X.

### TRAVEL ON WESTERN WATERWAYS

*Samuel Bowles Views Puget Sound from a Steamer, 1865.*<sup>1</sup>

Steamboats were introduced on Puget Sound at the very beginning of the territorial period, although sailing craft and Indian canoes were in common use for many years thereafter. Regular service was inaugurated between Olympia, Steilacoom, and Seattle as early as 1853, and was soon extended to Port Madison, Port Gamble, Port Ludlow, and Port Townsend. In 1856 the Pacific Mail Company established a line of vessels which plied between San Francisco, Portland, and Puget Sound ports. For a time the concern enjoyed a virtual monopoly of coastal steamship service, but in later years a vigorous competition arose. The Oregon Steam Navigation Company began active operations on the Sound in 1869. The following year the newly formed Puget Sound Navigation Company entered the field with a capital of a half million dollars, contributed by Oregon and Puget Sound investors and men connected with the Northern Pacific Railroad. Mill companies also operated ships on the Sound. See *Lewis and Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest*, edited by E. W. Wright (Portland, 1895); Iva L. Buchanan, "Economic History of Kitsap County, Washington, to 1889," a doctoral dissertation in the University of Washington Library.

VICTORIA, V. I., July 28.

We were a full day and night coming down Puget Sound, on the steamer from Olympia; loitering along at the villages on its either shore, and studying the already considerable development of its lumber interests, as well as regaling ourselves with the beauty of its waters and its richly-stored forest shores. Only the upper section of the southern branch of these grand series of inland seas and rivers, that sweep into the Continent here, and make Vancouver's Island, and open up a vast region of interior country to the ocean, is now called Puget Sound, — only forty miles or so from Olympia north. Formerly the whole confines went by that name; and rightfully it should remain to all which runs up into Washington Territory from out the Strait of San Juan de Fuca, for this has a unity and serves a similar purpose. For beauty and for use, this is, indeed, one of the water wonders of the world; curiosity and commerce will give it, year by year, increase of fame and visitors. It narrows to a river's width; it circles and swoops into the land with coquettish freedom; and then it widens into miles of breadth; carrying the largest

<sup>1</sup> From Samuel Bowles, *Across the Continent: a Summer's Journey to the Rocky Mountains, the Mormons, and the Pacific States* . . . (New York, 1866), pp. 204-6.

of ships anywhere on its surface, even close to the forests' edge; free of rocks, safe from wind and wave; — the home of all craft, clear, blue and fathomless.

It is the great lumber market of all the Pacific Coast. Already a dozen saw-mills are located on its shores; one which we visited was three hundred and thirty-six feet long, and turns out one hundred thousand feet of lumber daily; three ships and two barks of five hundred to one thousand tons each were loading with the product direct from the mill; and the present entire export of the Sound, in prepared lumber and masts and spars, reaches nearly to one hundred millions of feet yearly, and yields at the average price of ten dollars a thousand about one million dollars. San Francisco is the largest customer; but the Sandwich Islands, China, all the Pacific American ports, south and north, and even Buenos Ayres around on the Atlantic, come here for building materials, and France finds here her cheapest and best spars and masts. Much of the shipping employed in the business is owned on the Sound; one mill company has twelve vessels of from three hundred to one thousand tons each. The business is but in its very infancy; it will grow with the growth of the whole Pacific Coast, and with the increasing dearth of fine ship timber in other parts of the world; for it is impossible to calculate the time when, cut and saw as we may, all these forests shall be used up, and the supply become exhausted.

The size of these Washington Territory trees is rather overpowering, — we have not seen the big trees of California yet, — and not daring to trust unaccustomed eyes, we resorted to the statistics of the lumbermen. Trees, six and seven feet in diameter, and two hundred to two hundred and fifty feet high, are very common, perhaps rarely out of sight in the forest; eight feet in diameter and three hundred feet high are rarer, but still not at all uncommon; — the builder of the telegraph line has hitched his wire in one case to a cedar (*arbor vitæ*) which is fourteen feet in diameter; a monster tree that had fallen, — the forests are full of fallen trees, — measured three hundred and twenty-five feet long; and another tree, at the distance of ninety feet from its root, was seven feet in diameter! Masts for ships are readily procurable, straight as an arrow, and without a knot for one hundred feet, and forty inches in diameter at thirty feet from the base. I stop my figures here, lest my character for truthful reporting grow questionable.

*Caroline Leighton Narrates an Exciting Adventure on  
the Upper Columbia.<sup>2</sup>*

The *Colonel Wright*, first steamboat to be built on the upper Columbia, was launched in 1859 by Robert R. Thompson, who controlled the portage at The Dalles. Two years later the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, having absorbed

<sup>2</sup> From Caroline C. Leighton, *Life at Puget Sound, with Sketches of Travel in Washington Territory, British Columbia, Oregon, and California*, 1865-1881 (Boston, 1884), pp. 68-70.

the Thompson interests, promised the inauguration of steamer service from Priests Rapids north to Fort Okanogan and Kettle Falls. Regular schedules were not maintained, however, on the upper river. Steamboat rides were scenic, but not always exciting. Caroline Leighton's trip was decidedly adventurous; however, and it lost nothing in her recollection of it. See Frank B. Gill, "Unfinished History of Transportation in Oregon and Washington," a volume of typed manuscript and clippings in the University of Washington Library; Dorothy O. Johansen, "Oregon Steam Navigation Company; An Example of Capitalism on the Frontier," in *Pacific Historical Review* (June, 1941), X, 179-88.

#### FORT COLVILLE, July 20, 1866.

We have just returned from a trip on the Columbia River, extending two hundred miles north into British Columbia, on the little steamer built in this vicinity for the purpose of carrying passengers and supplies to the Big Bend and other mines in the upper country. We did not get to the "Rapids of the Dead." The boat, this time, did not complete her ordinary trip. Some of the passengers came to the conclusion that the river was never intended to be navigated in places she attempted to run through. It is a very adventurous boat, called the "Forty-nine," being the first to cross that parallel,—the line separating Washington Territory from British Columbia. The more opposition she meets with, and the more predictions there are against her success, the more resolute she is to go through; on which account, we were kept three weeks on the way, the ordinary length of the passage being four days. I was surprised, when we came to the first of what was called the "bad water," to see the boat aim directly for it. It was much better, the captain said, to go "head on," than to run the risk of being carried in by an eddy. I never saw any river with such a tendency to whirl and fling itself about as the Upper Columbia has. It is all eddies, in places where there is the least shadow of a reason for it, and even where there is not; influenced, I suppose, by the adjoining waters. Some of these whirl-pits are ten or fifteen feet deep, measured by the trees that are sucked down into them.

The most remarkable part of the river is where it is compressed to one-sixth of its width, in passing through a mountain gorge three-quarters of a mile long. The current is so strong there, that it takes from four to six hours for the steamer to struggle up against it, and only one minute to come down. The men who have passed down through it, in small boats, say that it is as if they were shot from the mouth of a cannon.

When we reached this cañon, our real difficulties began. We attempted to enter it in the afternoon, but met with an accident which delayed us until the next morning. Meanwhile the river began to rise. It goes up very rapidly, fifty, sixty, I believe even seventy, feet, sometimes. We waited twelve days in the woods for it to subside. The captain cut us a trail with his axe; and we sat and looked at the great snow-fields up on the mountains, so brilliant that the whitest clouds looked dark beside them. The magnificence of the scenery made every one an artist,

from the captain to the cook, who produced a very beautiful drawing of three snow-covered peaks, which he called "The Three Sisters."

Everybody grew very impatient; and at length, one night, the captain said he would try it the next morning, although he had never before been up when the water was so high. A heavy rain came on, lasting all night, so that it seemed rather desperate to attempt going through, if the river was too high the night before; and I could hardly believe it, when I heard the engineer getting up the steam to start. The wildest weather prevailed at this time, and on all important occasions. As soon as we went on board the boat, in first starting, a violent thunder-storm came on, lightning, hail, and rain; and a great pine-tree came crashing down, and fell across the bow of the boat. A similar storm came again the first time we tried to enter the cañon; and the drift it brought down so interfered with the steering, that it led to the accident before mentioned. On this last morning, there were most evident signs of disapproval all about us,—the sky perfect gloom, and the river continually replenishing its resources from the pouring rain, and strengthening itself against us. But we steamed up to the entrance of the cañon. Then the boat was fastened by three lines to the shore, and the men took out a cable six hundred feet in length, which they carried along the steep, slippery rocks, and fastened to a great tree. One of them rolled down fifty feet into the water, but was caught by his companions before he was whirled away. They then returned to the boat, let on all the steam, and began to wind up the cable on the capstan. With the utmost power of the men and steam, it was sometimes impossible to see any progress. Finally, however, that line was wound up; and the boat was again secured to the bank, and the cable put out the second time. This part of the passage was still more difficult; and, after the line was arranged, two men were left on shore with grappling-irons to keep it off the rocks,—a great, fine-looking one, who appeared equal to any emergency, and a little, common one, with sandy hair and a lobster-colored face and neck. We watched them intently; and, as we drew near, we saw that the line had caught on something beneath the surface of the water, so that they could not extricate it. The little man toiled vigorously at it, standing in the water nearly up to his head; but appeared to be feebly seconded by the big one, who remained on the rocks. It seemed as if the line would part from the strain, or the boat strike the next moment. The mate shouted and gesticulated to them; but no voice could be heard above the raging water, and they either could not understand his motions, or could not do as they were directed. The boat bore directly down upon them. Presently it seemed evident to us that the little man must sacrifice himself for the steamer; but I did not know how it looked to him,—people are all so precious to themselves. He stopped a second, then flung back his cap and pole, and threw himself under the boiling water. Up came the rope to the surface, but the man was gone. Instantly after, he

scrambled up the bank; and the great magnificent man did nothing but clutch him on the back when he was safely out.

We had then wound up about two-thirds of the cable. Immediately after, this remarkable occurrence took place: The great heavy line came wholly up out of the water. A bolt flew out of the capstan, which was a signal for the men who were at work on it to spring out of the way. The captain shouted, "Cut the rope!" but that instant the iron capstan was torn out of the deck, and jumped overboard, with the cable attached to it. I felt thankful for it, for I knew it was the only thing that could put an end to our presumptuous attempt. I had felt that this rope would be a great snare to us in case of accident. Three of our four rudders were broken; but the remaining one enabled us to get into an eddy that carried us to a little cove, where we stopped to repair damages sufficiently to come down the river.

All day, the rain had never ceased; and the river had seemed to me like some of those Greek streams that Homer tells of, which had so much personal feeling against individuals. I felt as if we were going to be punished for an audacious attempt, instead of rewarded for what might otherwise have been considered a brave one. When the capstan disappeared, it was just as if some great river-god, with a whiff of his breath, or a snap of his fingers, had tossed it contemptuously aside. So we turned back defeated. But there was a great deal to enjoy, when we came to think of it afterwards, and were safely out of it. We had seen nothing so bold and rugged before. An old Scotchman, who knows more about it than any one else here, had said to us before we started, "That British Columbia is such a terrible country, very little can ever be known of it." But there was a great real that was beautiful too. I was particularly struck with the manner in which the Pend d'Oreille springs into the Columbia. Glen Ellis Fall, gliding down in its swiftness, always seemed to me more beautiful than almost any thing else I ever saw. But this river is more demonstrative. It springs up, and falls again in showers of spray, and comes with great leaps out of the cañon, in a way that I cannot describe. There is in it more freedom and strength and delight than in any thing else I ever saw. Far to the south-east, this stream widens into Lake Pend d'Oreille. On this lake are the wonderful painted rocks, rising far above the water, upon which, at the height of several hundred feet, are the figures of men and animals, which the Indians say are the work of a race that preceded them. They are afraid to approach the rocks, lest the waters should rise in anger, and engulf them. There are also hieroglyphic figures far up on the rocks of Lake Chelan, which is supposed to have once been an arm of the Columbia. These paintings or picture-writings must have been made when the water was so high in the lakes that they could be done by men in boats.

Most of the tributaries of the Upper Columbia are similar in character to the main stream,—wild, unnavigable rivers, flowing through deep cañons, and full of torrents and rapids. With Nature so vigorous and

unsubdued about us, all conventionalities seemed swept away; and something fresh and strong awoke in us, as if it had long slumbered until the presence of its kindred in these mountain streams called it to consciousness,—something of the force and freedom of these wild, tireless Titans, that poured down their white floods to the sea.

*Samuel Bowles Describes the Exploits of the Oregon Steam  
Navigation Company.*<sup>3</sup>

The Oregon Steam Navigation Company, organized in 1860, was an association of steamboat and portage owners who pooled their interests in order to secure the advantages of monopoly. For almost twenty years the Company dominated transportation on the Columbia. By charging high rates and keeping administrative costs at a minimum the directors ran their business at a handsome profit, paying out nearly \$5,000,000 in dividends.

The service, if expensive, was good. Improved boats and shipping facilities were acquired, and passengers rode with the knowledge that the concern had a perfect record for safe transportation. In 1879-80 the business passed into the hands of Henry Villard at its capitalized value of \$5,000,000. See Dorothy O. Johansen, "Oregon Steam Navigation Company: An Example of Capitalism on the Frontier," in *Pacific Historical Review* (June, 1941), X, 179-88.

The navigation of the Columbia River is now in the hands of a strong and energetic company, that not only have the capacity to improve all its present opportunities, but the foresight to seek out and create new ones. They are, indeed, making new paths in the wilderness, and show more comprehension of the situation and purpose to develop it than any set of men I have yet met on the Pacific Coast. Organized in 1861, with property worth one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, they have now, with eighteen or twenty first class steamboats, the two railroads around the Cascades and The Dalles, and their appointments, warehouses at all the principal towns on the river, including one nine hundred and thirty-five feet long at Cellilo, and real estate in preparation for future growth, a total property of rising two millions dollars, all earned from their business. Besides this great increase of wealth from their own enterprise, they have paid to themselves in dividends three hundred and thirty-two thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars. With wagon roads from The Dalles, from Umatilla, and from Wallula, the river and their boats have formed and still form the cheapest and quickest route for travel or freight from all parts of the Coast to the rich mines of Boise and Owyhee in Idaho, as well as to those in eastern Oregon. Boise City is two hundred and sixty miles from Umatilla and Owyhee two hundred and ninety miles. The roads from the other points are longer and poorer. So large have been the travel and trade in this direction in the last few years, that the Oregon steam navigation company has carried

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<sup>3</sup> From Samuel Bowles, *Across the Continent: a Summer's Journey to the Rocky Mountains, the Mormons, and the Pacific States . . .* (New York, 1866), pp. 193-5.

to the Upper Columbia sixty thousand three hundred and twenty tons in the last four years, beginning with six thousand tons in 1862 and rising to nearly twenty-two thousand tons in 1864. In the same time, their boats have carried up and down on the river nearly one hundred thousand passengers, increasing from ten thousand in 1861 to thirty-six thousand in 1864.

California has at last aroused to the importance of securing this trade, if possible, for herself, and is opening shorter wagon routes to Idaho by way of Chico and Red Bluffs in the upper Sacramento valley, and through Nevada by the Humboldt valley; but the Oregon people are still likely to keep the larger share of the traffic, for their route, though longer, is very much by water, and so cheaper, safer and pleasanter. The Oregon navigation company are also busy with plans for improving their own route. By opening a road one hundred and ten miles long, across a wide bend of unnavigable sections of the Snake River, from Wallula to the mouth of the Powder River, they will again find the Snake River navigable for one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles farther up its course, or into the very heart of the Owyhee and Boise gold basins, and on beyond towards Utah. Then from this new head of navigation on the Snake River, to Salt Lake, is but one hundred or one hundred and fifty miles more; so that with wagon roads of less than three hundred miles, steam navigation may soon be secured all the way from Salt Lake to the Pacific Ocean in Oregon.

### *General Rusling Travels by Steamboat.\**

Steam navigation was inaugurated on the lower Columbia River at about the same time that it began on Puget Sound. Boats were running on a regular schedule twice a week between Portland and The Dalles in 1855. Travel and transportation on the river were subject to serious inconvenience, since portages broke the voyage at the Cascades and at The Dalles. Trans-shipment of freight was costly, and the granting of exclusive rights by portage owners resulted in increased rates. In 1861 freight charges between Portland and The Dalles amounted to \$20 per ton. The passenger fare was \$8.

Despite these handicaps a very considerable traffic moved up and down the river. In 1860 the equipment acquired by the Oregon Steam Navigation Company was worth \$172,500, which was declared by one of the members of the firm to be the "highest possible valuation for a few old boats and barges." By 1865 the Company owned eighteen vessels and had built expensive wharves and landings at Portland, the Cascades, and The Dalles. When the property passed into the hands of Henry Villard in 1880, the fleet comprised twenty-six boats aggregating 15,155 tons capacity. See Frank B. Gill, "Unfinished History of Transportation in Oregon and Washington"; Dorothy O. Johansen, "Oregon Steam Navigation Company: An Example of Capitalism on the Frontier," in *Pacific Historical Review* (June, 1941), X, 179-88.

\* From James F. Rusling, *Across America: or, The Great West and the Pacific Coast* (New York, 1874), pp. 250-6.

Ding! Dong! Puff! Puff! The steamer had come, and Nov. 28th, we at length embarked for down the Columbia. She was a little stern-wheel boat, scarcely longer than your finger, called *Nez Perce Chief*, Capt. Stump, master. Her fare to Fort Vancouver or Portland, including railroad-portages, was \$18 in coin, which at rates then current was equivalent to \$25 in greenbacks. Meals were extra, at a cost of \$1.50 each, in currency, besides. The distance to Portland was about 200 miles; to the mouth of the Columbia, 100 or so more. We found Capt. Stump a very obliging Oregonian, and obtained much interesting information from him. His boat was part of a line belonging to the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, a gigantic corporation that controlled all the navigable waters of the Columbia, and with far-reaching enterprise was now seeking to connect them with the headwaters of the Missouri. He said, their boats could ascend to Umatilla all the year round, except in mid-winter, when the Columbia sometimes froze over for several weeks together, though not usually. With good water, they could go up to Wallula, at the mouth of the Walla-Walla, 25 miles farther, which they usually did six months in the year. With very high water, they could run up to Lewiston, at the junction of the Snake and Clearwater, about 175 miles more, three months in the year—making about 500 miles from the sea in all. Above Lewiston, there was a bad cañon in the Snake, with shoals and rapids for a hundred miles or so to Farewell Bend; but after that, he thought, a light-draught steamer might get up at least three hundred miles farther, or within about 200 miles of Salt Lake, as stated heretofore.

Clark's Fork of the Columbia, or the Columbia proper, makes a sharp bend north at Wallula, and for 300 miles, he said, was unnavigable, until you reach Fort Colville near the British line, when it trends east and south, until it disappears in the far off wilds of Montana. Just above Fort Colville, it became navigable again, and a small boat was then running up to the Great Bend region, over 200 miles farther, where good placer mines had been discovered (Kootenay) and worked a little. This boat could connect with another, already plying on Lake Pond Oreille (a part of Clark's Fork), and this with still another then building, that it was believed with short portages would extend navigation some 200 miles more, or into the very heart of Montana, within two or three hundred miles only of Fort Benton—the head of navigation on the Missouri. These were weighty facts, marrying the Pacific to the Atlantic; but Captain Stump thought the O. S. N. company could accomplish them, or anything else, indeed, it seriously undertook. Just now it was bending its energies in that direction, and he said would beat the Northern Pacific Railroad yet. No doubt we have a fine country up there, near the British America line, abounding in lakes and threaded with rivers, and roomy enough for all enterprises, whether railroad or steamboat.

Puff! Puff! And so we were off down the Columbia, at last. How exquisitely pleasant, how cosy and delightful, our little steamer seemed,

after 2,400 miles of jolting and banging by stage-coach and ambulance! The staterooms were clean and tidy, the meals well-cooked and excellent, and we went steaming down the Columbia without thought or care, as on "summer seas." Occasionally rapids appeared, of a serious character; but as a rule the river was broad and deep, majestic in size and volume. On the banks were frequent Indian villages, with their hardy little ponies browsing around—apparently on nothing but sage-brush and cobblestones. These Indians fancied spotted or "calico" horses, as the Oregonians called them, and very few of their ponies were of a single color. They spend the summer mostly in the Mountains, making long excursions in all directions; but as winter approaches, they return to the Columbia, and eke out a precarious subsistence by fishing, etc., till spring comes. Timber was scarce, and frequently we saw numbers of them in canoes, paddling up and down the river in search of drift-wood, for their winter's supply of fuel. Past Owyhee rapids and the seething caldron of Hell-Gate, we reached Celilo, eighty-five miles from Umatilla, with its long warehouse (935 feet), and its mosquito fleet of five or six pigmy steamers, that formed the up-river line. Here we disembarked, and took the Railroad around the "chutes" or rapids, some fourteen miles, to still water again below. The shrill whistle of the locomotive and the rattle of the cars were delightful sounds, after our long exile from them, and soon convinced us we were on the right road to civilization again. This portage had formerly been made by pack-mules, and then by wagons; but recently a railroad had been constructed, after much hard blasting and costly wall-work, and now "Riding on a rail," there, with the Columbia boiling and roaring at your side, like the Rapids above Niagara, was exhilarating and superb. At very high water, these "chutes" or rapids somewhat disappear, though they still continue very dangerous. No attempt had been made to ascend them with a steamer; but the spring before, Capt. Stump had safely descended them, much against his will. It was high water in the Columbia, with a strong current, and his boat drifting near the rapids was suddenly sucked in, before he knew it. Clearly, escape was impossible; so he put on all steam, to give her steerage-way, and then headed down stream—neck or nothing. There was a good deal of bumping and thumping—it was a toss and a plunge, for awhile—and everybody he feared was pretty badly scared; but his gallant little boat ran the rapids for all that, and reached still water below safely at last. It was a daring feat, and worthy of this brave Oregonian. Just now, the Columbia was very low, rocks and reefs showing all through the rapids—among, around, and over which the waters boiled and rushed like a mill-race.

The locomotive carried us to the Dalles, at the foot of the Rapids, a town of some two thousand inhabitants, with a maturer civilization than any we had seen since leaving Salt Lake. It was but five or six years old; yet it was already in its decrepitude. A "rush" of miners a few years before, to alleged fine "diggings" near there, had suddenly elevated it

from an obscure landing into quite a town; but the mines did not justify their promise, and the Dalles was now at a stand-still, if not something worse. "Mining stock" and "corner lots" had gone down by the run, during the past year or two, and her few merchants sat by their doors watching for customers in vain. The enterprise of the town, however, deserved a better fate. At the Umatilla House they gave us an excellent supper, at a moderate price, and the hotel itself would have been a credit to a much larger town anywhere. The mines on John Day River, and other dependencies of the Dalles, had formerly yielded \$2,000,000 per year, and Congress had then voted a U. S. Mint there. We could but sincerely hope it would be much needed, some day or other.

Halting at the Dalles over night, the next morning we took the side-wheel steamer *Idaho*, and ran down to Upper Cascades—some fifty miles—through the heart of the Cascade Mountains. Here we took the railroad again for six miles—to flank more rapids—and at Lower Cascades embarked on the *W. G. Hunt*, a large and elegant side-wheel steamer, that some years before had come "round the Horn," from New York. The Columbia, soon issuing from the Mountains, now became a broad and majestic river, with good depth of water to the ocean all the year round, and larger vessels even than the *W. G. Hunt* might readily ascend to Lower Cascades, if necessary. Our good boat, however, bore us bravely on to Fort Vancouver, amidst multiplying signs of civilization again; and as we landed there, we realized another great link of our journey was over.

To return a little. Our sail down the Columbia, and through the Cascade Mountains, altogether was a notable one, and surpassed everything in the way of wild and picturesque river-scenery, that we had seen yet. Some have compared the Columbia to the Hudson; but it is the Hudson many times magnified, and infinitely finer. It is the Hudson, without its teeming travel, its towns and villas, its civilization and culture; but with many times its grandeur and sublimity. The noble Palisades, famed justly throughout the world, sink into insignificance before the stupendous walls of the Cascade Range, which here duplicate them but on a far vaster scale, for many miles together. Piled along the sky on either side, up two or three thousand feet, for fifty miles at a stretch, with only a narrow gorge between, the Columbia whirls and boils along through this, in supreme mightiness and power; while from the summit of the great walls little streams here and there topple over, run like lace for a time, then break into a million drops, and finally come sifting down as mist, into the far depths below. Some of these tiny cascades streaked the cyclopean walls, like threads of silver, from top to bottom. Others seemed mere webs of gossamer, and these the wind at times caught up and swayed to and fro, like veils fit for goddesses. These Mountains, all through the cañon of the Columbia, abound with such fairy cascades; whence their name. Just below Lower Cascades, where the river-bottoms open out a little, stands Castle Rock, a huge red boulder of comparatively

moderate dimensions at the base, but seven hundred feet high. Its walls are so perpendicular they seem inaccessible, and on top it is covered with a thick growth of fir-trees. Its alleged height appeared incredible at first, but on comparing it with the gigantic firs at the base, and those on the summit, the estimate seemed not unreasonable. All along, the vast basaltic walls of the cañon are shaped and fashioned into domes and turrets, ramparts and battlements; and surely in point of picturesque grandeur and effect, the Columbia would be hard to beat.

*Charles Nordhoff Candidly Surveys the Columbia River and  
Puget Sound.<sup>5</sup>*

Not all the travelers who toured the Pacific coast wrote enthusiastically about what they saw. Charles Nordhoff was one visitor who refused to be swept off his feet. Having arrived with the usual notions of the "romantic West," he admitted that in some respects his journey was a disappointment. His account of it indicates some of the less happy features of life on the Pacific coast.

The voyage from San Francisco is almost all the way in sight of land; and as you skirt the mountainous coast of Oregon you see long stretches of forest, miles of tall firs killed by forest fires, and rearing their bare heads toward the sky like a vast assemblage of bean-poles—a barren view, which you owe to the noble red man, who, it is said, sets fire to these great woods in order to produce for himself a good crop of blueberries. When, some years ago, Walk-in-the-Water, or Red Cloud, or some other Colorado chief, asserted in Washington the right of the Indian to hunt buffalo, on the familiar ground that he *must* live, a journalist given to figures demolished the Indian position by demonstrating that a race which insisted on living on buffalo meat required about 16,000 acres of land per head for its subsistence, which is more than even we can spare. One wonders, remembering these figures, how many millions of feet of first-class lumber are sacrificed to provide an Indian rancheria with huckleberries.

On the second morning of your voyage you enter the Columbia River, and stop, on the right bank, near the mouth, at a place famous in history and romance, and fearfully disappointing to the actual view—Astoria. When you have seen it, you will wish you had passed it by unseen. I do not know precisely how it ought to have looked to have pleased my fancy, and realized the dreams of my boyhood, when I read *Bonneville's Journal* and Irving's *Astoria*, and imagined Astoria to be the home of romance and of picturesque trappers. Any thing less romantic than Astoria is to-day you can scarcely imagine; and what is worse yet, your first view shows you that the narrow, broken, irreclaimably rough strip of land never had space for any thing picturesque or romantic. Astoria,

<sup>5</sup> From Charles Nordhoff, "The Columbia River and Puget Sound," in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (February, 1874), XLVIII, 338-48.

in truth, consists of a very narrow strip of hill-side, backed by a hill so steep that they can shoot timber down it, and is inclosed on every side by dense forests, high, steep hills, and mud flats, and looking now like the rudest Western clearing you ever saw. Its brief streets are paved with wood; its inhabitants wear their trowsers in their boots; if you step off the pavement you go deep in the mud, and ten minutes' walk brings you to the "forest primeval," which, picturesque as it may be in poetry, I confess to be dreary and monotonous in the extreme in reality. There are but few remains of the old trapper station—one somewhat large house is the chief relic; but there is a saw-mill, which seems to make, with all its buzz and fuzz, scarcely an appreciable impression upon the belt of timber, which so shuts in Astoria that I thought I had scarcely room in it to draw a full breath; and over to the left they pointed out to me the residence of a gentleman—a general, I think he was—who came hither twenty-six years ago in some official position, and had after a quarter of a century gained what seemed to me from the steamer's deck like a ten-acre lot from the "forest primeval," about enough room to bury himself and family in, with a probability that the firs would crowd them into the Columbia River if the saw-mill should break down.

On the voyage up I said to an Oregonian, "You have a good timber country, I hear?" and his reply seemed to me at the time extravagant. "Timber?" he said; "timber—till you can't sleep." When I had spent a day and a half at anchor abreast of Astoria, the words appeared less exaggerated. Wherever you look you see only timber; tall firs, straight as an arrow, big as the California redwoods, and dense as a Southern cane-brake. On your right is Oregon—its hill-sides a forest so dense that jungle would be as fit a word for it as timber; on the left is Washington Territory, and its hill-sides are as densely covered as those of the nearer shore. This interminable, apparently impenetrable, thicket of firs exercised upon my mind, I confess, a gloomy, depressing influence. The fresh lovely green of the evergreen foliage, the wonderful arrowy straightness of the trees, their picturesque attitude where they cover headlands and reach down to the very water's edge, all did not make up to me for their dreary continuity of shade.

Astoria, however, means to grow. It has already a large hotel, which the timber has crowded down against the tide-washed flats; a saw-mill, which is sawing away for dear life, because if it stopped the forest would push it into the river, on whose brink it has courageously effected a lodgment; some tan-yards, shops, and "groceries;" and if you should wish to invest in real estate here, you can do so with the help of a "guide," which is distributed on the steamer, and tells you of numerous bargains in corner lots, etc.; for here, as in that part of the West which lies much further east, people live apparently only to speculate in real estate. . . .

In fact, the Columbia is one of the great rivers of the world. It seems to me larger, as it is infinitely grander, than the Mississippi. Between

Astoria and the junction of the Willamette its breadth, its depth, its rapid current, and the vast body of water it carries to sea reminded me of descriptions I had read of the Amazon; and I suspect the Columbia would rank with that stream were it not for the unlucky obstruction at the Cascades and Dalles, which divide the stream into two unequal parts.

For ten miles above Astoria the river is so wide that it forms really a vast bay. Then it narrows somewhat, and the channel approaches now one and then the other of its bold, picturesque shores, which often for miles resemble the Palisades of the Hudson in steepness, and exceed them in height. But even after it becomes narrower the river frequently widens into broad, open, lake-like expanses, which are studded with lovely islands, and wherever the shore lowers you see, beyond, grand mountain ranges snow-clad and amazingly fine.

The banks are precipitous nearly all the way to the junction of the Willamette, and there is singularly little farming country on the immediate river. Below Kalama there are few spots where there is even room for a small farmstead. But along this part of the river are the "salmon factories," whence come the Oregon salmon, which, put up in tin cans, are now to be bought not only in our Eastern States, but all over the world. The fish are caught in weirs, in gill nets, as shad are caught on the Hudson, and this is the only part of the labor performed by white men. The fishermen carry the salmon in boats to the factory—usually a large frame building erected on piles over the water—and here they fall into the hands of Chinese, who get for their labor a dollar a day and their food.

The salmon are flung up on a stage, where they lie in heaps of a thousand at a time, a surprising sight to an Eastern person, for in such a pile you may see fish weighing from thirty to sixty pounds. The work of preparing them for the cans is conducted with exact method and great cleanliness, water being abundant. One Chinaman seizes a fish and cuts off his head; the next slashes off the fins and disembowels the fish; it then falls into a large vat, where the blood soaks out—a salmon bleeds like a bull—and after soaking and repeated washing in different vats, it falls at last into the hands of one of a gang of Chinese whose business it is, with heavy knives, to chop the fish into chunks of suitable size for the tins. These pieces are plunged into brine, and presently stuffed into the cans, it being the object to fill each can as full as possible with fish, the bone being excluded. The top, which has a small hole pierced in it, is then soldered on, and five hundred tins set on a form are lowered into a huge kettle of boiling water, where they remain until the heat has expelled all the air. Then a Chinaman neatly drops a little solder over each pin-hole, and after another boiling, the object of which is, I believe, to make sure that the cans are hermetically sealed, the process is complete, and the salmon are ready to take a journey longer and more remarkable even than that which their progenitors took when, seized with the curious rage of spawning, they ascended the Columbia, to deposit their eggs in its head waters, near the centre of the continent.

I was assured by the fishermen that the salmon do not decrease in numbers or in size, yet, in this year, 1873, more than two millions of pounds were put up in tin cans on the Lower Columbia alone, besides fifteen or twenty thousand barrels of salted salmon.

But travelers are beginning to discover that it is worth while to spend some months on the Pacific coast; some day, I do not doubt, it will be fashionable to go across the continent; and those whose circumstances give them leisure should not leave the Pacific without seeing Oregon and Washington Territory. In the few pages which follow, my aim is to smooth the way for others by a very simple account of what I myself saw and enjoyed. And first as to the Cascades and the Dalles of the Columbia. You leave Portland for Dalles City in a steamboat at five o'clock in the morning. The better way is to sleep on board this steamer, and thus avoid an uncomfortably early awakening. Then when you do rise, at six or half past, you will find yourself on the Columbia, and steaming directly at Mount Hood, whose splendid snow-covered peak seems to bar your way, but a short distance ahead. It lies, in fact, a hundred miles off; and when you have sailed some hours toward it, the river makes a turn, which leaves the snowy peak at one side, and presently hides it behind the steep bank. The little steamer, very clean and comfortable, affords you an excellent breakfast, and some amusement in the odd way in which she is managed. Most of the river steamers here have their propelling wheel at the stern; they have very powerful engines, which drive them ahead with surprising speed. I have gone sixteen miles an hour in one with the current; and when they make a landing the pilot usually runs the boat's head slantingly against the shore, and passengers and freight are taken in or landed over the bow. At the wood-pile on the shore, you may usually see one of the people called "Pikes," whom you will recognize by a very broad brimmed hat, a frequent squirting of tobacco juice, and the possession of two or three hounds, whom they call hereabouts "hound-dogs," as we say "bull-dog." And this reminds me that in Oregon they usually ask you if you will eat an "egg-omelet;" and they speak of pork—a favorite food of the Pike—as "hog-meat."

The voyage up the river presents a constant succession of wild and picturesque scenery; immense rocky capes jut out into the broad stream; for miles the banks are precipitous, like the Hudson River Palisades, only often much higher, and for other miles the river has worn its channel out of the rock, which looks bare and clean cut, as though it had been of human workmanship. The first explorer of the Columbia, even if he was a very commonplace mortal, must have passed days of the most singular exhilaration, especially if he ascended the stream in that season when the skies are bright and blue, for it seems to me one of the most magnificent sights in the world. I am not certain that the wildness does

not oppress one a little after a while, and there are parts of the river where the smoothly cut cliffs, coming precipitously down to the water's edge, and following down, sheer down, to the river's bottom, make you think with terror of the unhappy people who might here be drowned, with this cold rock within their reach, yet not affording them even a momentary support. I should like to have seen the rugged cliffs relieved here and there by the softness of smooth lawns, and some evidences that man had conquered even this rude and resisting nature. But for a century or two to come the traveler will have to do without this relief; nor need he grumble, for, with all its rugged grandeur, the scenery has many exquisite bits where nature has a little softened its aspect. Nor is it amiss to remember that but a little way back from the river there are farms, orchards, cattle, and sheep. At one point the boat for a moment turned her bow to the shore to admit a young man, who brought with him a wonderful bouquet of wild flowers, which he had gathered at his home, a few miles back; and here and there, where the hill-sides have a more moderate incline, you will see that some energetic pioneer has carved himself out a farm.

Nevertheless it is with a sense of relief at the change that you at last approach a large island, a flat space of ten or twelve hundred acres, with fences and trees and grain fields and houses, and with a gentle and peaceful aspect, doubly charming to you when you come to it suddenly, and fresh from the preceding and somewhat appalling grandeur. Here the boat stops; for you are here at the lower end of the famous Cascades, and you tranship yourself into cars, which carry you to the upper end, a distance of about six miles, where again you take boat for Dalles City.

The Cascades are rapids. The river, which has ever a swift and impetuous current, is nearly two miles wide just above these rapids. Where the bed shoals it also narrows, and the great body of water rushes over the rocks, roaring, tumbling, foaming—a tolerably wild sight. There is nowhere any sudden descent sufficient to make a water-fall; but there is a fall of a good many feet in the six miles of cascades.

These rapids are considered impassable, though I believe the Indians used sometimes to venture down them in canoes; and it was my good fortune to shoot down them in a little steamer—the *Shoshone*—the third only, I was told, which had ever ventured this passage. The singular history of this steamboat shows the vast extent of the inland navigation made possible by the Columbia and its tributaries. She was built in 1866 on the Snake River, at a point ninety miles from Boise City, in Idaho Territory, and was employed in the upper waters of the Snake, running to near the mouth of the Bruneau, within 125 miles of the head of Salt Lake. When the mining excitement in that region subsided there ceased to be business for her, and her owner determined to bring her to Portland. She passed several rapids on the Snake, and at a low stage of water was run over the Dalles. Then she had to wait nearly a year until high water on the Cascades, and finally passed those rapids, and carried her

owner, Mr. Ainsworth, who was also for this passage of the Cascades her pilot, and myself safely into Portland. We steamed from Dalles City about three o'clock on an afternoon so windy as to make the Columbia very rough. When we arrived at the head of the Cascades we found the shore lined with people to watch our passage through the rapids. As we swept into the foaming and roaring waters the engine was slowed a little, and for a few minutes the pilots had their hands full; for the fierce currents, sweeping her now to one side and then to the other, made the steering extraordinarily difficult. At one point there seemed a probability that we should be swept on to the rocks; and it was very curious to stand, as General Sprague and I, the only passengers, did, in front of the pilot-house, and watch the boat's head swing against the helm and toward the rocks, until at last, after half a minute of suspense, she began slowly to swing back, obedient to her pilot's wish. We made six miles in eleven minutes, which is at the rate of more than thirty miles per hour, a better rate of speed than the steamboats commonly attain. Of course it is impossible to drive a vessel up the Cascades, and a steamboat which has once passed these rapids remains forever below.

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Puget Sound is one of the most picturesque and remarkable sheets of water in the world; and the voyage from Olympia to Victoria, which shows you the greater part of the sound, is a delightful and novel excursion, specially to be recommended to people who like to go to sea without getting seasick; for these land-encircled waters are almost always smooth.

When, at Kalama, you enter Washington Territory, your ears begin to be assailed by the most barbarous names imaginable. On your way to Olympia by rail you cross a river called the Skookum-Chuck; your train stops at places named Newaukum, Tumwater, and Toutle; and if you seek further, you will hear of whole counties labeled Wahkiakum, or Snohomish, or Kitsar [Kitsap], or Klikatat; and Cowlitz, Hookium, and Nenolelops greet and offend you. They complain in Olympia that Washington Territory gets but little immigration; but what wonder? What man, having the whole American continent to choose from, would willingly date his letters from the county of Snohomish, or bring up his children in the city of Nenolelops? The village of Tumwater is, as I am ready to bear witness, very pretty indeed; but surely an emigrant would think twice before he established himself either there or at Toutle. Seattle is sufficiently barbarous; Steilacoom is no better; and I suspect that the Northern Pacific Railroad terminus has been fixed at Tacoma because it is one of the few places on Puget Sound whose name does not inspire horror and disgust.

Olympia, which lies on an arm of Puget Sound, and was once a town of great expectations, surprises the traveler by its streets, all shaded with magnificent maples. The founder of the town was a man of taste; and

he set a fashion which, being followed for a few years in this country of abundant rains, has given Olympia's streets shade trees by the hundred, which would make it famous were it an Eastern place. Unluckily, it has little else to charm the traveler, though it is the capital of the Territory; and when you have spent half an hour walking through the streets you will be quite ready to have the steamer set off for Victoria. The voyage lasts but about thirty-six hours, and would be shorter were it not that the steamer makes numerous landings. Thus you get glimpses of Seattle, Steilacoom, Tacoma, and of the so-called saw-mill ports—Port Madison, Port Gamble, Port Ludlow, and Port Townsend—the last named being also the boundary of our Uncle Samuel's dominions for the present, and the port of entry for this district, with a custom-house which looks like a barn, and a collector and inspectors, the latter of whom examine your trunk as you return from Victoria to save you from the sin of smuggling.

## CHAPTER XI.

### RAILROADS COME TO THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

#### *The Legislative Assembly Proclaims the Importance of a Transcontinental Railroad.*<sup>1</sup>

As early as 1854 Isaac I. Stevens made his survey of a practicable route for a northern transcontinental railroad and looked forward to the day when a Puget Sound terminal would be the gateway to the Pacific. In 1858 the benefits of direct rail connections with the East were summarized by the territorial legislature in the memorial here printed.

#### JOINT RESOLUTION RELATIVE TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NATIONAL RAILROAD ACROSS THE CONTINENT FROM THE ATLANTIC STATES TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN

*Resolved,* That in the opinion of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington, the time has arrived for the construction of a great national railway across our continent, connecting the populous States of the Atlantic with the Pacific shores of the Union, already colonized with our young and vigorous men. That so great an object never yet has been presented to the acceptance of a nation; that the great importance of this line of communication is incalculable.

*Resolved,* As the opinion of the Legislative Assembly, that there are many and very important reasons requiring the construction of this great work. It will bind together this vast republic and be a chain of union between the Atlantic and Pacific States. It will insure the defense of the country. Armies, seamen, military and naval stores may be transported from ocean to ocean in less time and with less expense than were required between New York and the lakes during the war of 1812. It will give a direct, quick transit to mails. Military reasons call for its construction. Political reasons require that it should be made; and more than all, commercial reasons demand it. The trade of the Pacific ocean and eastern Asia will take its track. The trade of India, whose channels have been shifting for hundreds of years, is destined to shift once more, and that is across our continent. The American road to India will become the European track to that region, and the rich commerce of Asia will flow through our centre.

*Resolved,* As the opinion of the Legislative Assembly, that the cheapest and shortest route from the great commercial emporiums of the

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<sup>1</sup> From Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington, 1857-1858, pp. 64-5.

Atlantic to the Pacific, is the route explored and surveyed by Governor Stevens near the 49th parallel of north latitude, connecting Puget Sound, the largest and most commodious harbor in the world, with its inexhaustible beds of coal, with the head of Lake Superior and the three great lakes which connect directly with the Atlantic, thus greatly reducing the cost of transit on heavy merchandize. It touches, too, long lines of steamboat navigation on the Columbia and Missouri rivers.

*Resolved*, That the northern line is the most accessible by navigation, passes through the lumber regions of Minnesota and Washington, and has easy access to the vast pine forests of the Red river, and passing through the rich and boundless prairies of the north-west.

*Resolved*, That the construction of this great northern national railway cannot only be the work of the present century, but it can be made the great work of the present administration, giving it undying fame, binding together this vast empire in bands of iron, and bearing the light of the gospel, of science and civilization across the continent, and making it the great highway between Europe and Asia.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of this Territory be requested to forward copies of these resolutions to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and our delegate in Congress.

*Passed February 4th, 1858.*

### *Territorial Governors Discuss the Construction of the Northern Pacific Line.<sup>2</sup>*

The hope of early construction of a northern railway which had been dispelled by the preference given by Congress to the Union Pacific and Central Pacific lines in 1862, was revived for a brief period two years later with the granting of a charter to the Northern Pacific Company. Actual construction, however, was long delayed. Only 500 miles had been built by 1873; not until September 8, 1883 was the last spike driven near Garrison, Montana.

The difficulties to be overcome were many. Financial promotion undertaken by Jay Cooke in 1869 ended in failure four years later. Reorganization was attempted, but construction work was not actively resumed until 1881, when Henry Villard succeeded in gaining control. Meanwhile attacks were made on the company's land grant by Seattle and Oregon citizens who felt that their interests were being neglected. Bitter controversies likewise arose over the choice of a western terminal—Portland, Seattle, and Tacoma being the principal contestants. The notice taken of the railroad question by the territorial governors, in such passages as appear below, is evidence of its importance to the development of the region. See James B. Hedges, *Henry Villard and the Railways of the Northwest* (New Haven, 1930).

<sup>2</sup> From *Messages of the Governors of the Territory of Washington to the Legislative Assembly, 1854-1889*, edited by Charles M. Gates (Seattle, 1940), pp. 201-5; 246.

## NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILROAD

For nearly a quarter of a century, our people have been looking forward with anxious solicitude for the construction of a Rail Road from the waters of Puget Sound to Lake Superior. The route for such a road was surveyed by the first Governor of this Territory, General Isaac I. Stevens, during the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-three. On the second day of July, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, a charter was granted by Congress to the Northern Pacific Railroad Company to construct a railroad from a point on Lake Superior in the State of Wisconsin or Minnesota in a westerly direction to some point on Puget Sound, with a branch via the valley of the Columbia River, to a point at or near Portland in the State of Oregon. By an amendment to the charter, approved on the thirty-first day of May, one thousand eight hundred and seventy, the Company was authorized to construct its main road to some point on Puget Sound via the valley of the Columbia River, with the right to construct a branch from some convenient point on its main line, across the Cascade mountains to Puget Sound. To enable the Company to construct its main line and branch, a munificent grant of land was made to it, amounting to sixty millions of acres, the estimated value of which has been stated by the Company to be one hundred and fifty millions of dollars. More than thirteen years have elapsed since that charter was granted. During a large portion of this period an unexampled state of financial prosperity existed throughout the nation. At the present time only five hundred and fifty-five miles of road has been completed. Four hundred and fifty in the Eastern division and one hundred and five in the Western.

It is unnecessary to refer to the many causes which have operated to delay the completion of this road. If mistakes have been made we can at least entertain the hope that in the future, governed by the experience of the past, they may be avoided. During the first session of the last Congress, a bill was introduced into the Senate, granting an extension of ten years' time for the completion of the road. It was subsequently amended by confining the extension to the main line. At that time the opinion generally prevailed that the Company had abandoned the project of constructing the branch line across the Cascade Mountains to Puget Sound. For this opinion there was at least semi-official authority. The bill passed the Senate but failed to pass in the House of Representatives.

I assume that the application for an extension will not be permitted to rest, but that another effort to secure it will be made when Congress convenes.

Our Territory is vitally interested in this question. That our advancement in wealth and population depends to a great degree upon continuous rail road communication with the East, has been so often demonstrated that I refrain from even a recapitulation of the benefits which we will derive therefrom. It is therefore, manifestly for the interest of this

Territory, and also of those Territories lying between us and the Missouri River, to aid and assist the Northern Pacific Railroad Company by all legitimate means and to the extent of our ability in obtaining an extension of time. On this point I think there will be substantial agreement in opinion, but there are several subsidiary questions growing out of the main proposition, in which we also have a deep interest, and in regard to which different views may be entertained.

And first, should an extension of ten years or any other period of time be granted without imposing any conditions upon the Company? After a very careful consideration of the subject, I have arrived at the conclusion that certain conditions are indispensably necessary, and that no extension should be granted without imposing them. The request for an extension of ten years must necessarily be based upon an implied promise or obligation on the part of the Company to complete the road within that period, and no valid reason can be assigned against making this implied obligation an express one and compelling the Company not only to complete the road within the extended period, but to construct annually a certain number of miles of road both in its Eastern and Western divisions. Without this, at a glance it will be seen that at the expiration of ten years or other period of time which may be granted, the road may be no nearer completion than it is today.

If the Northern Pacific Railroad Company has no reasonable expectation of completing the road within ten years, then it is its duty to declare this fact and surrender back to the government, or to transfer to some other Company its entire land grant except that portion to which it is entitled by reason of the construction of a part of the road. The grant was not made to enrich a few individuals, but for the benefit of the whole nation.

Another condition which should be imposed is that the Company should not be permitted to charge for its lands more than the maximum of two dollars and fifty cents per acre, except for coal lands. Many reasons might be urged in favor of this limitation, but I shall refer mainly to those which show that the best interests of the Company will be advanced thereby.

Should the price of railroad lands be fixed at the maximum charged by the government, the sales of lands will be largely augmented. The policy heretofore pursued, has retarded settlement, not only on rail-road, but on government land contiguous thereto. Within the land grant of this Company between Puget Sound and Lake Superior, there is an immense area of unsurpassed agricultural and grazing land, a large portion of which is in this Territory. Many years must elapse before these lands will be surveyed by the government. At present the settler is in a great measure precluded from occupying any of those unsurveyed lands. He is unwilling to make improvements which may when the lines of survey are extended be found to be on the lands of the Company, and instead of securing, as he desires and intends to do, a homestead or pre-

emption claim, he may be compelled to pay the Company double or even four-fold the price of government lands, or lose his claim and his improvements. It would be obviously a wise policy for the Company to promote immigration to the lands adjacent to the line of the road; to encourage the cultivation of the soil, to foster every branch of industry and thus create a remunerative traffic for the road. The government is desirous that all unoccupied lands should be settled upon and improved, and the people are anxious to develop one of the finest regions for the production of all the cereals which is on the continent. All these desirable results can be promoted by fixing the price of government and rail-road lands at the same rate per acre. From these considerations alone if no others existed, I feel confident that the best interests of the Company, of the government and the people will be subserved by establishing equality of price for rail-road and government lands. The present is the opportune time to impose this condition upon the Company. The lands are now free from incumbrances. It could not have been done while the lands were incumbered by a mortgage, neither can it be done in the future should they be again so incumbered.

A rail-road across the Cascade Mountains connecting the Eastern portion of our Territory with Puget Sound would be of incalculable benefit to our people. It would bind them closely together in business and other relations and would greatly facilitate the mutual interchange of the various dissimilar productions of the two sections. It will be recollected that the main line of the Northern Pacific Railroad, if it had been constructed in accordance with the terms of the original charter, from Lake Superior to Puget Sound, would have given us this connection. The route of the main line was however changed to the valley of the Columbia River, and thence to Puget Sound with permission to the Company to construct a branch road across the Cascade Mountains to Puget Sound. We have no assurance, that I am aware of, that the Northern Pacific Railroad Company will ever construct the branch road. What the intention of the Company is in this respect we are not informed; but whatever the Company may intend to do, it is quite probable that efforts will be made in the next Congress to make Portland in the State of Oregon the Western terminus of the main line, to deprive the Company of the lands granted for the construction of the branch; restore them to the public domain and on this, base a claim for a grant of land to aid another Company in the construction of a road to connect the city of Portland in the State of Oregon with the Union Pacific Railroad. It must be apparent that this movement is not designed to promote the interests of Washington Territory and it should receive no countenance or support from us.

Puget Sound is the only proper Western terminus for a Northern trans-continental road. This has been recognized by Congress, by the Railroad Company and by the American people for many years. The most powerful argument urged to obtain the original land grant and to effect a sale

of the bonds of the company was, that the route of the road was the shortest that could be run between the Atlantic and the Pacific. This favorable feature was in a measure destroyed by changing the main line to the valley of the Columbia River and thence to Puget Sound, thus adding two hundred and twenty-five miles to the length of the road. The construction of the branch across the Cascade Mountains will still however give the direct railroad communication originally contemplated. But if the land grant for the branch is restored to the public domain, many years will probably elapse before the road will be constructed.

Should this be the case, and the Western terminus of the main line be established at Portland, the original design will be absolutely frustrated, and we will receive a check to our advancement and a blow will be struck at our prosperity from which we will not recover during the present century. The need for the branch road is greater to-day than ever before. If it was feasible in the past, it is now. Let, then, the Northern Pacific Railroad Company construct a road across the mountains, if it will. Let the time for its completion be extended, coupled with the conditions before referred to, as to the price of land and annual construction. Should, however, the Company refuse to prosecute the work under those conditions, the land grant should be transferred to the Territory, or to some other Company which will complete the work. And I feel assured that with the land grant as an aid, there is sufficient ability and enterprise within our own Territory to construct the road within any reasonable time which may be prescribed by Congress.

This very important subject is submitted to your consideration, with the suggestion that Congress be memorialized, and the delegate from the Territory be instructed, in relation thereto.

ELISHA P. FERRY.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE,

Olympia, October 3, 1877.

[FROM THE GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE, 1883]

The completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad from Lake Superior to Puget Sound, is an event of immeasurable importance to the entire Pacific coast country north, and especially so to the Territory of Washington.

It is the realization of hopes long delayed by insurmountable obstacles, which now find full fruition in the connection, by a new and direct channel of the Pacific with the Atlantic oceans, thus affording us easy and convenient access to States and to kindred hitherto almost inaccessible.

To Washington it brings assurance of early greatness, by placing us in the very van of commercial importance on this newly opened highway of nations including us in its circuit around the globe, and making our

great waters the necessary counter parts of the seas of China and Japan, the North Sea of Europe; and the bays of Boston and New York.

Forty-five millions of acres of timber, coal, pasture and mountain lands; mines of precious metals, quarries of lime stone, marble, granite, slate, sand stone, and beds of mica; ocean front, and inland salt seas; many lakes and rivers affording thousands of miles of navigable waters, all alive with an hundred varieties of fish, some of them of great value; water powers; a climate of even temperature, and healthful; grand scenery of water and mountains, facilities for manufacturing the staples from our own material, wood, iron, wool and hides; maritime opportunities unsurpassed for internal, coast-wise, and foreign commerce; in a line to absorb the trade of Alaska in fish, fur, cedar, and gold; to obtain the largest share from Asia in coffee, teas, opium, porcelain, silks and ivory, all of these are our resources and advantages which will straight way place Washington Territory in the fore front along with the most prosperous countries on the globe.

We hope for an early completion of the Cascade division which will give us a more direct connection with the states, and enable the citizens of this Territory to effect a more convenient exchange of our many commodities with each other, east and west of the mountains; and also facilitate and promote that personal and friendly acquaintance and intercourse which are so indispensable to good fellowship, and to prevent estrangement amongst our people who have a community, and at the same time a contrariety of interests.

[WILLIAM A. NEWELL.]

[October 3, 1883.]

*John M. Murphy Has a Sad Experience on the Famous  
Wallula Railway.*<sup>3</sup>

The earliest railways in the Columbia Valley were built around portages and across short stretches of prairie between places served by water transport. The Walla Walla and Columbia line here portrayed is famous in the annals of Northwest history. It operated only in daylight. The train frequently left the rails, which were four-by-six fir timbers surfaced with strap-iron. The line was sometimes referred to as the "rawhide" railroad, and stories were told of wolves eating away the track. See George W. Fuller, *History of the Pacific Northwest* (New York, 1931), pp. 317-18.

The next stoppage was made at Wallula, a post town and shipping point claiming the distinction of supporting neither lawyer, physician, nor minister, and only one school-teacher. It is 240 miles from Portland, and may be called the head of navigation on the Columbia proper, as no other hamlet is met with until Idaho is reached.

<sup>3</sup> From John M. Murphy, *Rambles in North-Western America from the Pacific Ocean to the Rocky Mountains* (London, 1879), pp. 152-4.

I went ashore there, intending to go to Walla-Walla, in Eastern Washington Territory. On landing, I was informed that the stage had left in the morning, and that the only means of reaching my destination was to hire a farm waggon, or secure a seat in a goods truck attached to a miniature train that ran fifteen miles into the interior on a wooden line of rails. Having secured an interview with the president, secretary, conductor, and brakeman of the road, he informed me that he would book me as a passenger on the payment of 2 dollars, and that sum being paid, I was placed on some iron in an open truck and told to cling to the sides, and to be careful not to stand on the wooden floor if I cared anything about my limbs. I promised a strict compliance with the instructions, and the miserable little engine gave a grunt or two, several wheezy puffs, a cat-like scream, and finally got the car attached to it under way. Once in motion, it dashed on at a headlong speed of two miles an hour, and rocked like a canoe in a cross sea. The gentleman who represented all the train officials did not get aboard, but told the engineer to go on and he would overtake him in the course of an hour. Before I had proceeded half a mile, I saw why I was not permitted to stand on the floor of the truck, for a piece of hoop-iron, which covered the wooden rails in some places, curled up into what is called a "snake head," and pushed through the wood with such force that it nearly stopped the train. After this was withdrawn the engine resumed its course, and at the end of seven hours hauled one weary passenger, with eyes made sore from the smoke, and coat and hat nearly burnt off by the sparks, into a station composed of a rude board shanty, through whose apertures the wind howled, having made the entire distance of fifteen miles in that time. The route of this famous railway ran through a sandy alkaline desert, capable of producing nothing but rank wild sage and kindred useless shrubs; hence, houses were scarce, and those seen were perched on the banks of some stream. Life was active enough there, however, for immense prairie schooners, as the waggons are called, drawn by teams of seven or eight pairs of mules or horses, or ten of oxen, wound in long serpentine lines over its bluish surface; and some of their drivers had the temerity to challenge the president of the railway line to run a race with them in his old machine; but he scorned their insinuations, and kept quietly walking beside his train.

I found a farmer's waggon at the station bound for Walla-Walla, and was furnished a seat in that on condition that I drove the team while the owner slept, a proposition I gladly accepted; but I soon repented of my bargain, as every driver I met who had any sense of humour in him began to make fun of my "stove-pipe" hat, and to suggest that I ought to take my first lessons in driving behind donkeys. The *badinage* was, as a rule, so original and witty that I had several good laughs at my own expense; and I found after awhile that the chaff was richly merited, as my black broadcloth coat was one mass of burnt holes in the back, and my silk hat looked like a sieve. I did not bless that railway, perhaps!

I arrived at Walla-Walla, however, in safe bodily condition, and without any greater inconvenience than being severely stared and sometimes laughed at as I drove through the streets to the hotel. When I alighted there a party of friends crowded around me, and commenced roaring, slapping their thighs, and turning me around to have a look at me; and the facetious ones began to congratulate me on my "holey" appearance, my spotted raiment, Jehu-like qualities, and such other terms as could express their sense of humour, until the landlord quietly led me away from the boisterous group, and invited all to follow and join in a toast, an invitation which was promptly accepted. I am glad to be able to say that this eccentric railway has since disappeared, being superseded by one much more desirable.

### *Washington Territory Celebrates the Completion of the Northern Pacific.*<sup>4</sup>

The completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad was the occasion of great celebration in the towns and cities through which it passed. The *West Shore*, a Portland magazine, printed an account of them, from which the following passages have been taken.

#### GOLD SPIKE STATION,

is the name bestowed upon the spot where the final spike was driven. It is at Independence creek, on the north bank of Deer Lodge river, between Garrison and Gold creeks, in Deer Lodge county, Montana, sixty miles west of Helena. Here met the trains from the east and west, bearing their loads of invited guests, who exchanged hearty greetings as they mingled together. The scene was an agreeable surprise to all. In this Rocky Mountain wilderness had been erected a pavilion capable of seating more than 1,000 people, over which the national colors of England, Germany and the United States floated together upon a harmonious equality. Reaching to the grade, which as yet had no track upon it, was an extensive promenade, bordered by a long platform upon which were comfortable seats. The band of the Fifth United States Infantry occupied a stand to the right, and a detachment of the same regiment was present with artillery. Scores of vehicles, whose occupants had driven for miles over the mountains, a large force of track-layers and a band of Flathead Indians, completed the assemblage.

#### LAST SPIKE CEREMONIES

When the last train load of guests had arrived, President Villard initiated the ceremonies by delivering an address of welcome. He referred briefly to the difficulties surmounted in the construction of the

<sup>4</sup> From "Northern Pacific Railroad," in the *West Shore* (September, 1883), IX, 237-8.

road and in furnishing the necessary means, and concluded amid loud applause with the hope "that this great work of man will stand forever, it may also forever be an immortal honor to its builders, a permanent pride and profit to its owners, and, most of all, an everlasting blessing to man." He then introduced Hon. William M. Evarts, the lawyer and statesman of New York, who had been selected to deliver the oration. His address reviewed in brief the struggles and triumphs of the road, the grandeur of its conception, the greater glory of its completion, and its effect upon the country through which it passes and upon the American nation in general. It was a masterly effort and produced a deep impression upon his audience. Mr. Evarts was followed by Hon. H. M. Teller, Secretary of the Interior, who made a short speech and gave way to Hon. Frederick Billings, the predecessor of Mr. Villard as president of the road. Sir James Hannen made a brief address on behalf of the English guests, and the German Minister, Von Eisendecker, and Dr. Kneiss and Dr. Hoffman spoke the sentiments of the German visitors. The governors of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Dakota, Montana, Washington and Oregon then spoke a few words of welcome for the states and territories they represented, and were followed by General Grant, who in response to loud and earnest calls came forward and made a few happy remarks that were applauded with great enthusiasm.

The speech-making being concluded, the guests were all seated upon the platform and a photograph taken of the scene. The camera next registered the image of an old horse that had worked constantly on the road since its inception. There followed then a most interesting feature of the occasion, the laying of 600 yards of track that had been purposely torn up to be laid again for the entertainment of the guests. Three hundred men, in two gangs, worked towards the center from either end, spanning the gap in twenty minutes. A salute was fired by the artillery, and H. C. Davis drove home the last spike. This gentleman was granted this honor because he drove the first one at the opening of the road, February 8, 1870, and the spike used on this occasion was the same one he drove more than thirteen years ago, the Alpha and Omega of the construction of the Northern Pacific. The three sharp blows given by Mr. Davis were heard in all the telegraph offices along the line, wires having been attached to the hammer and spike, and were struck at exactly 6 P. M., September 8, 1883, by the local time, or at 5:30 P. M., by the time in Portland. A photograph was then taken of the scene and the gold spike which had been prepared was exhibited. As the ceremonies concluded the sun was just sinking behind the hills, and took with it the sounds of cheers, music, and cannon peals as they reverberated from the surrounding hills. A few of the guests then started upon the return journey to the east, while the majority resumed their excursion westward.

The train passed through Missoula in the night and arrived at Lake Pend d'Oreille the following day, a number of the excursionists stopping a few hours and taking a trip over the lake on a steamer.

## SPOKANE FALLS

was the next station of importance, and here preparations for a grand reception had been made, but as the train did not arrive until about sunset, instead of in the morning as at first announced, the programme had to be abandoned to the severe disappointment of the crowds of people who had assembled. After viewing the decorations and taking a short ride about the streets the travelers were compelled to depart. The display was very fine. Three triumphal arches were erected, bearing the following inscriptions: "Spokane Falls, the Gem City of the Inland Empire, Gives First Greeting from Washington Territory to our Eastern Visitors." "The Northern Pacific Railway, the Bond which Unites us with the Rest of the World." "Spokane Falls, the Minneapolis of the West." "The Steel Rail has at Last United our Mutual Interests." "All Honor to Henry Villard and his Associates." The streets, business houses, private residences and depot were profusely decorated with evergreens, flags, streamers, etc.

## CHENEY

was lavishly decorated with flags of every nation, streamers and evergreens, while a grand display of products was tastefully arranged. The city was thronged with people from the surrounding country, who waited patiently until after six o'clock when the first section of the train arrived. Each division as it appeared received a cordial welcome, and remained a brief time to witness the display and then was compelled to resume the journey.

## AT SPRAGUE

the arrival of the first section was announced by the shrill whistle of a dozen locomotives, this place containing a large round house and machine shops. A number of brief speeches were made in the short time each section was enabled to remain. The display of products was very fine and the decorations quite extensive, prominent among them being a large portrait of Mr. Villard and an immense transparency of an engine.

## WALLULA

was reached early in the afternoon of Monday. The decorations upon the large depot were exceedingly elaborate, surpassing the display made at any single building along the whole route, and were much admired by the visitors.

## THE DALLES

which possesses the large car shops of the O. R. & N. Co., fairly outdid itself in welcoming and honoring the guests. The streets and business houses were decorated in a most elaborate manner with garlands, stream-

ers, flags, evergreens and banners. An arch at the intersection of Court and Front streets, under which the train passed, had a large portrait of Mr. Villard surmounted by the Angel of Victory bearing the laurel wreath. On one side was the inscription, "Welcome," and on the reverse, "To the West." Where the railroad crosses the bridge was a beautiful arch, or cluster of arches, consisting of a framework, embellished with evergreens and the American colors, surmounted with six flag-staffs, on which floated the stars and stripes. From the sides were little streamers, bearing the names of Oregon, California, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Washington, Idaho, Dakota and Montana. On the entrance from the east were the words "To the Pacific," and from the west, "To the Atlantic." The crowd of people was dense and waited patiently until about six o'clock when the first section with Mr. Villard aboard drew up and stopped between the arches. A committee of young ladies at once boarded the train and presented each guest with a beautiful bouquet of flowers, of which four hundred had been prepared. This was a novel and very pleasing change for the visitors and was highly appreciated. This act was accompanied by cheers, salutes, and excellent music by the Ladies' Silver Cornet Band. Mr. Villard made a brief address and then amid hearty cheers the train drew out. Each section was received in the same manner, especial enthusiasm being displayed upon the arrival of the one containing General Grant. The trains all reached Portland during the night.

#### PORTLAND'S DISPLAY

The great wave of enthusiasm reached its highest point in this city, which abandoned itself completely to the entertainment of the guests. The display cost the people over \$100,000, and was by far the grandest and most magnificent ever witnessed in the northwest, or that will be for many years to come. Business firms and private citizens rivaled each other in the magnificence and cost of their decorations, until the city was literally buried beneath a mass of evergreens, bunting, banners, flags, mottoes, portraits, devices and transparencés, while the flags of the United States, Germany, England and other nations, floated in profusion from the top of buildings or were suspended across the streets. The public decorations were on a most magnificent scale, two weeks being consumed in preparing them. For more than half a mile First street was lined on either side by long festoons of evergreens, supported upon posts erected at the edge of the side-walk, upon each of which was an immense wreath and a banner bearing the name of some prominent individual. This grand avenue was spanned at either end and in the center by three magnificent arches. The first one, at A street, was an imitation of a massive stone gateway entrance to the court of an old German castle, the others being of different designs, and all of them beautifully decorated with evergreens and draped with the combined colors of Germany and America.

## THE PARADE

Tuesday was wholly devoted to a grand pageant, representing Oregon and her industries and products. General H. A. Morrow brought over from Vancouver a large detachment of troops and acted as grand marshal. The procession was on a most extensive scale and even astonished those who assisted in its organization. From early morning the streets were a perfect mass of human beings, waiting patiently for the expected sight, windows, balconies and house tops being crowded with eager spectators, who heartily cheered the special features of the display. A grand stand was erected in front of the court house, where the guests were given seats to view the parade which was prepared for them to witness. The procession was arranged in nine divisions, each headed by a marshal and aids, followed by a band of music. After a squad of mounted and dismounted policemen as an escort, came seventy-eight of the pioneers of Oregon, some of whom crossed the continent forty years ago and established the picket line of civilization on the Pacific coast, and who now marched firmly at the head of this display of the results flowing from their pioneer labors. Then came the grand marshal and his aids, followed by six companies of the Twenty-first U. S. Infantry and Battery E, First U. S. Artillery. It is useless to enumerate in detail the composition and order of the procession. It is sufficient to say that the array of Oregon industries was impressive in the extreme. More than 100 cars, gaily decorated and inscribed with appropriate mottoes, represented the industries of the state, many of them containing workmen busily engaged in manufacturing the articles displayed, others containing attractive exhibits, and still others being emblematical of some of our multifarious resources.

## AT NEW TACOMA

every effort was made to give the guests royal entertainment. Pacific avenue was highly decorated and the whole city presented a holiday appearance. An immense tripple arch spanned the avenue, having on its south face the inscriptions, "West," "United," "East," and on the reverse, "Western," "Welcome," "Terminus." The first division consisting of Mr. Villard and the foreign guests, reached the city on Thursday afternoon, and marched down the avenue to the dock, headed by the 5th U. S. Infantry band that had accompanied the party from Fort Keogh, Montana. There they boarded the magnificent steamer *Queen of the Pacific* and sailed for Victoria. The next division, consisting of American guests, arrived Friday noon, and were escorted to Alpha hall, where a splendid banquet was given them, accompanied by speeches of welcome and congratulation. They then departed for Seattle. The following day the journalistic wing of the party visited the city, and were entertained in the same hospitable manner. A special train took them on a flying trip to the hop fields of Puyallup valley, and then they boarded the steamer for

## SEATTLE.

Here the first and second divisions were united Friday afternoon, but it was impossible for Mr. Villard to remain, and after an address of welcome and a few speeches, he and the foreign guests again embarked on the *Queen* and sailed for New Tacoma. The others remained and Saturday were entertained by a procession and an immense barbecue and clam-bake, departing upon their return in the afternoon. The journalists arrived later, and were well entertained and banqueted. They next visited Victoria and then returned to Portland, whither the others had preceded them. From here all departed for the east in different divisions, some of them direct and others stopping to visit the National Park of the Yellowstone and other places of interest on the way. Mr. Villard and the foreign visitors with many of the distinguished Americans, followed a few days later by the journalists, visited Walla Walla on the return journey, where they were given a reception, a special feature being feats of horsemanship by sixty Umatilla Indians. The city was gaily decorated and a fine exhibit was made of the products of the "Inland Empire." Thus ended the great celebration.

## CHAPTER XII.

# ECONOMIC ENTERPRISE: LUMBERING, FISHING, MINING

*Charles M. Scammon Describes Lumbering Operations During  
Territorial Days.*<sup>1</sup>

Even before the organization of Washington as a territory, the lumbering business had become an important economic enterprise. The Puget Sound Milling Company began operations in 1846 and shipped lumber out on the Hudson's Bay Company steamer *Beaver* in 1848. The California gold rush created an immense demand for piles and timbers for mines and buildings. Because of the convenience in shipping, California proprietors came to prefer Puget Sound to the Columbia, and by 1855 sixteen sawmills were producing a total output of 85,000 feet of lumber a day.

Some of these early mills were sizeable establishments and were kept running day and night. The Puget Mill Company of Port Gamble ran a gang of thirteen saws in its original mill built in 1854. By the end of 1855 thirty-eight saws were employed in sawing, grooving, and planing, and in making shingles and laths. Capital invested in the mill amounted at that time to more than \$100,000.

As years passed, the Sound mills came to be owned principally by San Francisco interests. For a time logging was a distinct enterprise, and a number of small independent establishments, operating on a very limited capital, furnished logs to the mills. Gradually, however, the independents disappeared, and logging operations were taken over by the milling companies.

Large operators secured control of immense tracts of timber—frequently by buying out persons who had taken up land under the Homestead Act and other land acts. Where they did not buy the land outright, they purchased logging privileges by paying a stumpage fee. Moreover, some of the lumber companies illegally logged public lands, thus further depleting the natural resources of the territory. Control was attempted through grand jury indictments and regulatory legislation, but the government found it in many cases impossible to enforce disciplinary measures. See Iva L. Buchanan, "Lumbering and Logging in the Puget Sound Region in Territorial Days," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* (January, 1936), XXVII, 34-53.

### LUMBERING IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

When sailing along those deep inland waters— which are generally known among lumbermen and coasters as Puget Sound— dark, dense forests are seen in every direction: they cover the steep sides of the mountains and spread over the hills and valleys to the very brink of the great estuary which branches from the Pacific into the heart of Wash-

<sup>1</sup> From Charles M. Scammon, "Lumbering in Washington Territory," in the *Overland Monthly* (July, 1870), V, 55-60.

ington Territory. Even the majestic, snowy peaks of Baker and Rainier, and the lofty spurs of the Olympian Range, appear as if emerging from an undulating sea of ever-green foliage, whose boundaries are the distant horizon. In truth, the whole wooded landscape is of such grand proportions that one looks upon the millions of broad acres covered with tall firs as a vast field of waving shrubbery; and not until he beholds the *modus operandi* of converting the leviathan trees into the lumber of commerce, does he get a faint idea of their mammoth proportions. Of course, we are not talking of these big trees as compared with the two guardsmen of Calaveras, but of those of an immense growth, spreading far and wide, even to the arms of the ocean, that are reduced to the various dimensions required for exportation to every clime. Probably no country in the world has the natural facilities for producing immense supplies of masts, spars, and timber of great size as has that portion of Washington Territory bordering the shores of Juan de Fuca Strait, Admiralty Inlet, Possession Sound, Puget Sound, and their many branches.

The principal mills for manufacturing the lumber are scattered from the head of Possession Sound, on the north, to the extremity of Puget Sound, southward, and these draw their supplies of "saw-logs" from the adjacent shores. When gliding along the shaded waters, the "rolling tiers" of the logging-camp are seen on either hand; while those which have been abandoned show that the heavy growth has been culled in the immediate vicinity. Others have clustered about them booms of logs, which have been tumbled from the bank into the water, while the sound of the axe, the lowing of cattle, and the loud voices of the teamsters indicate the busy camp of the "loggers."

A good "chance" having been chosen by the explorer — who, oftentimes, is the "boss" — the logging "crew" commence their operations. A camp is built of "*cultus*" lumber, about thirty feet long by eighteen wide, with a partition through the middle, which divides it into two rooms — one for the cook, and the other for a sleeping apartment for the men. The latter is fitted up with bunks, similar to those on shipboard, and a space near the centre of the room, raised just above the rough board-floor, composed of a concrete of rock and earth, serves as a fire-place; a wooden chimney, flaring at the bottom, and appearing as if suspended from the ridge-pole, conducts the smoke upward to wreath through the tree-tops. The apartment is lighted by day by a window or two, and by night by a blazing fire; besides which latter the men, of almost every nation and caste, amuse themselves in reading, smoking, and talking, and in playing their everlasting games of cards. The cook's apartment is furnished with a huge stove and an ample table; the latter surrounded with seats or benches to accommodate the hungry company who, thrice a day, gather around the homely board.

A small, but convenient shanty is usually built for the "boss," separate from the main camp, where he ensconces himself, apart from the force

under his charge. Then there is a "hovel," the sides of which are built of logs, and the roof covered with a species of long shingles, called "shakes," where the oxen are housed, and their provender of hay and grain is stored.

Shelter and subsistence for both man and beast having been provided, the whole encampment is speedily awake to the varied and laborious duties. First comes the "boss," who takes the general superintendence of the whole establishment; selects and purchases the oxen for the teams, "keeps the men's time," and gives orders for their pay; and, like a careful commanding officer, especially looks after the cook, to see that meals are properly prepared and served promptly at the appointed hours. Next comes the teamster, whose only business is to drive the team and "take care of it." Then comes the chopper, whose work is to chop down the trees. The fourth man is the "hook-tender," whose duties are to wait on the team and "snipe the logs." Then there are two "sawyers," who saw the trees, after being felled, into suitable lengths for logs. Two men called "swampers" make the roads, under the direction of the "boss." Another, called the "skidder," skids the road; and two others, called "barkers," chip the bark from the logs on the "riding side," or, when the sap runs, the bark is peeled off with a "barking-iron." The cook, who is the most important man of the whole gang, "cuts his own wood," and attends to preparing and cooking the meals, which are always ready at the regular meal-time.

At the morning hour, the day's work begins. The cook "turns out" at four o'clock, (during the long days) and has breakfast ready at twenty minutes before six. At about twenty minutes past five he walks to the door, puts a bullock's horn to his mouth, and blows repeated loud blasts, to arouse the sleepers, who quickly wash and dress for their morning meal. At twenty minutes to six he gives one blast from his horn, when the whole "crew" sit down to breakfast, which consists of boiled corned-beef, potatoes, baked beans, "hash," hot griddle-cakes, biscuit, butter, and coffee. About the same bill of fare is served for dinner and supper.

The morning repast being over, each one goes to his work — the chopper with his "board" and two axes: one to cut through the thick bark, and the other, ground very sharp and thin, to cut the clearwood. The mere "felling of a tree," as generally understood by woodmen, is but a simple matter of labor; but in the forests of Oregon and Washington Territory, it is quite a novel undertaking. The tree being extremely large at its base, with immense, outspreading roots, and frequently "shaky," or perhaps a little decayed at the "butt," it is found to be a saving of labor to cut it sometimes as high up as fifteen feet from the ground. To do this, the chopper makes a square notch into it, as high up as practicable, and inserts the end of his board — which is about five feet long and eight or nine inches wide, furnished with an iron "lip" at the end, which catches in the upper side of the notch in the tree, preventing it from slipping

out when the man is standing on it; he then leaps upon the board, cuts another notch as high up as he can reach; strikes his axe into the trunk above his head, holding on to the helve with one hand, sticks his toes into the notch below, and then removes the board from it to the notch above, while half jumping and climbing, he mounts his board again. If high enough up, he chips off the bark with his heavier axe, and then, with his thin, sharp one, cuts a broad "scarf" into the heart of the tree on the side he desires it to fall; then, chopping the other side till the tree is about to come down, he calls out "Under! under!" as a warning signal. A few more strokes with the keen axe, and the leviathan of the forest begins to bow its towering top. When sure of its falling the chopper flings his axes at a distance to the ground, and quickly removes his board to the notch below; then, swinging himself clear of the ponderous roots, he jumps to the ground, while the tree comes down with a crashing noise that is heard for miles distant. The two sawyers then mount the fallen tree, and the chief, with an eight-foot pole, measures off the length for each log, according as they will cut to the best advantage. Twenty-four-foot lengths predominate, and hence the custom of using a pole eight feet long to measure — three lengths of it being the usual linear dimension of logs designed for boards and many descriptions of planks or deals. The bark is then cut off around the tree sufficiently to prevent the saw coming in contact with it when drawn through the log with that skillful movement only acquired by practiced sawyers. Then come the swampers, who, under the direction of the "boss," clear the roads, and the "skidder," with axe, mattock, crow-bar, and shovel, who prepares and places the skids. A tall, slender sapling is selected for the purpose, then felled and cut into nine-foot lengths. These skids are placed across the road about seven feet apart, and with as much precision as the ties of a railroad; the bark is chipped off on the upper side, after the skid is laid, in order that the logs may glide glibly over the ribbed road, and when the skids become dry, they are moistened with oil. The logs having been duly prepared by the barkers, next comes the teamster, with his team of eight oxen, or, if the timber is small, one yoke of cattle are hooked to a single log, or, perhaps, two logs; although, if the "timber" is very large, the whole team is hitched to one log. With a shout and a spur from his goad, the team all pull together, and the log is soon hauled to the "rolling-tier."

This description of transporting the round lumber from the stump to the edge of the beach, applies more particularly to hauling on nearly level ground; but the timbered land is much broken along the shores of the diverse branching waters reaching seaward, as well as on the wooded coast stretching from Upper California to the extremity of the tree-covered shores of Alaska. Yet the sides of the steep hills are shorn of their heavy timber by the loggers, who manage, in various ways, to transfer the logs to the water. A road may wind along the side of a mountain, or down an abrupt declivity, and at many places the team is only neces-

sary to guide the descending log. Sometimes ten or a dozen logs are coupled together by short chains. Their appearance, when worming down the well-skidded, meandering trail, is not unlike an immense, jointed serpent, winding its way to the valley below. These logs frequently run one after another so rapidly, when descending the steep, that the team is unable to keep ahead, and it occasionally happens that oxen are seriously injured, or killed outright. At other times, they glide smoothly along till they come to rising ground on the road, when the ends come in contact, one after another, with a report like the rapid firing of distant artillery. They are then uncoupled, and hauled singly or in pairs to the bank, and when the rolling-tier is full, the stoppers are removed, and the logs are rolled or tumbled over long "stringers" into the water. At some points, where the shore is high and precipitous, a sort of extended sluice is constructed of narrow, but long timber, and the logs are then slid from a height of fifty to a hundred feet to the water, in which they successively plunge, and rebound to the surface in every fantastic fashion. Sufficient logs having been collected in the boom, which receives them from the bank, they are then made into a raft — which is also called a boom, by the lumbermen — for transportation to the mill. These booms are made up either as a "round," or a "square," or "heater" boom, so called from their difference in shape and the manner of securing them. From three to four hundred thousand feet of logs generally constitute a round boom, while in a square or heater there is usually not less than five hundred thousand feet. The main trunks of moderately large trees are made into boom-sticks, by hewing down the ends and boring holes in them, through which a short, but heavy chain is reeved, fastening them together. The booms being connected, the logs are run into the inclosure formed by the boom-sticks — an opening having been left for that purpose — and when the boom is full, the space is securely closed by a chain. In a "square" raft, long, slender spars, called "swiftners," are placed across the whole, and secured at the sides, to prevent the logs from being thrown out by the ugly swell that prevails in windy weather. A "round" boom is constructed in like manner as the others, except that it has no swiftners. All being in readiness, the tug-boat comes and tows it to the mill.

A steamer towing a boom of logs is an odd sight to the stranger, who sees the craft at a distance, puffing under a full head of steam, but appearing to make but little way through the water. On a nearer approach, he finds that an extended mass of huge timber, closely and securely packed, is floating astern, retarding her progress by means of a strong hawser. These rafts, or booms, can not be towed more than two miles an hour through the water, without danger of breaking them up; and occasionally, when there is a heavy breeze and an adverse tide, the Sound becomes so rough that the raft breaks up, and all is lost, except the boom-sticks, which are shackled together by the massive chains. Many millions of feet of lumber have been lost by the breaking up of

these rafts, although, under ordinary circumstances, there is no difficulty in towing rafts in any part of the inlets and Sound. Once at the mill, the logs are deposited in the boom adjoining, and the steamer returns to camp for another tow.

The change from camp-life to that about the mill-towns, is quite pleasing to one who has passed months amid the solitudes of the sombre forests of Oregon, or those of Washington Territory, with nothing, save the casual sight of the elk, deer, bear, or panther, or the screech of some moping owl, as the shades of evening approach, to relieve the monotony of the daily toil. At the mills, all is hurry and excitement. Coasting and foreign vessels are lying at the wharves, some discharging freight or ballast, while others are loading with the manufactured lumber, which varies from the heavy, square timber a hundred and thirty feet in length, down to laths which require a hundred to make up a bunch. The principal mills upon the Sound are on an extensive scale. Of these, that at Port Madison is one of the best, sawing a hundred thousand feet of lumber daily; although the Port Gamble Mill cuts a greater amount, employs more hands, and is by far the most extensive establishment of the kind in the Territory, being known under the name of "Puget Mill Company." Two hundred men are employed about the mill, and the same number in the logging-camps. The company manufacture annually thirty million feet of long lumber, besides a large amount of laths, pickets, and shingles.

The Port Madison Mill is three hundred feet long, sixty feet wide, and two stories high. A wing projects from one side, which incloses the engine and boilers. A slip runs from the upper floor of the main building to the water, where the logs are floated. A chain, with dog-hooks, is fastened to the log, which is hauled up the slip by steam-power into the mill. It is then rolled upon the "carriage," when a sawyer forwards it toward the immense circular saw, which quickly runs through it, cutting a slab from one side; and the carriage instantly runs back, when the log is quickly turned by machinery on its flat side, and is set in motion again, the saw ripping it into planks of a thickness required for the width of boards or joists. This being done, the slabs on each side of the log are quickly removed by the sawyers, and the massive planks in a body are transported again by machinery to the "edging-table," where they are sawed into boards or scantling of the required thickness. From the "edger" the lumber is passed to another table, where whirls another saw, called the "trimmer." Here the ends of each board or plank are clipped off squarely, which finishes it for market, and it is then run out of the mill to the wharf, to be embarked on board ship. The slabs, too, are cut into four-foot lengths by the same saw and passed to the floor below, where the lath machine is in full operation, turning out about two thousand of laths an hour. The planing, tonguing, and grooving machine is on the same floor likewise, which receives its supply of clear lumber from the saws above, and planes and matches daily fifteen thousand feet.

All the mills are run by steam-power, the fuel used being nothing but sawdust, although but half the quantity made by the saws is required for the furnaces. In order to get rid of the surplus dust, edgings, and the general *débris*, it is found necessary to burn them. A tramway is usually run out a short distance, to obviate any danger to the building by fire, and the whole mass of combustible matter is rolled on a car to the end of the track, where it is thrown into a heap and burned to ashes. Strange as it may seem, these fires, once kindled, have been kept constantly going for years. At night, one sees the smoldering blaze, and by day the stifling smoke rolls upward, or drifts and settles along the wooded shores.

It will be readily seen that if no vessels are at the mill loading, the manufactured materials, of all descriptions, accumulate rapidly. Such instances happen occasionally, by reason of dense fogs, or head-winds delaying the ships. The wharves creak under their bulky weight, and those interested look anxiously for the tardy vessels. At last, the white sails are seen through the trees across some craggy point, or the long looked-for messenger bursts instantly upon their view from behind a bold headland, and comes dashing up to the anchorage. Down go the sails, and down goes the anchor; lines are run to the buoys and to the shore; the vessel is hauled head on to the wharf, and her bow-ports knocked out; a stage is rigged; the men are divided into gangs; the Mates take their stations in the hold — the Chief on the port, and the Second on the starboard-side — when the work of loading commences. The men on the wharf run the lumber down the stage into the ports, stick by stick, each time singing out “starboard,” or “port,” according to the side that at the moment is receiving it. The Mate stows the cargo on one side, and the Second Mate on the other (if a coaster). After the hold is full, the deck-load is put on, or rather piled on; for some of the finest vessels, built expressly for the trade, carry deck-loads ten to eleven feet high; while such carriers as the barks *North-West*, *Tidal Wave*, *Oakland*, and the brig *Deacon*, have their deck-loads piled so high when fully laden, that, instead of showing their symmetrical hulls, little else is seen but the huge piles of lumber and the vessel’s spars peering above them. The foreign ships, however, take nearly all their cargo in the hold, as they are ill adapted for weight on deck. The vessels being loaded and ready for sea, a steamer generally tows them fairly into the Sound, or, perhaps, into the Strait of Juan de Fuca, when they set sail for domestic ports, both on the Pacific and Atlantic coasts, or to Australia, England, France, China, the East Indies, South America, the Sandwich Islands, and various others in Oceanica.

As nearly as can be ascertained, the exports of lumber from the Territory during the year 1869, were as follows: 130,000,000 feet of long lumber, 28,000,000 of laths, 3,500,000 shingles, 275,000 linear feet of piles, and 2,000 spars; the aggregate value being \$2,067,000. About 25,000,000 feet of the long lumber went to foreign ports, the greater portion of all

the material exported finding a market in California and the Eastern States.

When considering the heavily timbered region that is of so great an extent; the rapid growth of the forest; the unparalleled facilities for interior navigation, leading in every direction, and the mild, but invigorating climate prevailing throughout the year, it is possible that the lumbering business of Puget Sound will long continue, as it now is, the great source of wealth to Washington Territory.

### *Indian Salmon Fishers Demonstrate Their Skill.<sup>2</sup>*

Amazing fish stories have been told of the Indians' ingenuity in catching salmon and perch. John Murphy reported that when the perch were running in certain parts of Puget Sound, the natives placed canoes in their midst and the fish jumped aboard in great numbers. Certainly the Western tribes were highly successful fishermen, as the following selections amply demonstrate.

In the early days salmon was a staple in the diet of both Indians and white men. Later, the Indians played their part in commercialized fishing by supplying salmon to the canneries.

West of the Rocky Mountains salmon in a great measure take the place of the white fish.

As far south as San Francisco salmon are tolerably numerous, running up the Sacramento, Klamath, and other large streams; but proceeding north, we reach the mouth of the Columbia river, and from this point through the Straits of Juan de Fuca to Fort Simpson (beyond the north end of Vancouver Island, on the mainland), the salmon form one of the most prominent wonders of this region.

Salmon arrive in great numbers at the mouth of the Columbia about the 1st of May, and a little later at the Fraser and streams further north.

On the Nanimo river the Indians have a most ingenious contrivance for taking salmon. They construct a weir across the stream, and, instead of placing basket traps, they pave the river bottom with white, or light-coloured stones; this pavement is always made on the lower side of the weir, and leads to an opening in the wicker; a stage is erected between, or near these paved ways, so that Indians lying on the stage can see in an instant if a salmon attempts to ascend over the white paving. A long spear, barbed at the end, is held poised, in readiness, and woe betide the adventurous salmon that runs the gauntlet of this perilous passage. But the most ingenious system I have ever seen practised is employed at Johnson's Narrows, near the Nimkish river. Salmon readily take a bait in salt water. The Nimkish Indians provide a spear about seventy feet in length, together with a shorter one having a barbed trident end, about

<sup>2</sup> These two selections are taken respectively from John K. Lord, *At Home in the Wilderness: What to Do There and How to Do It* (3rd ed., London, 1876), pp. 256-61; and James G. Swan, *The Northwest Coast; or, Three Years' Residence in Washington Territory* (New York, 1857), pp. 103-9.

twenty feet in length; two Indians paddle along in a canoe, and when on favourable fishing ground moor it. The one having the long spear is likewise provided with a small hollow cone of wood, trimmed round its greater circumference with feathers like a shuttlecock; this cone he places on the end of the long spear, and depresses it under water until down the full length of the spear; then a skilful jerk detaches this feathered cone, and it wriggles up through the water like a struggling fish. The savage with the short spear intently watches the deceiver — a salmon rushes at it, when, like magic, he transfixes it with the spear.

In June and July the great 'run' begins, and the numbers of salmon that ascend the various streams, is beyond belief to any one who has never seen them. In some of the tributaries to the Fraser river, the Chilukweyuk is an instance — a perfect mountain torrent — the salmon throng up in such myriads, that it is next to impossible to throw in a stone without hitting a fish. The spring salmon keep to the larger streams, and seldom enter the tributaries until they get a long way up from the sea; these spring fish reach the salmon falls at Colville, in June, distant about 1,000 miles from the sea. This salmon is the *Salmo Quinnat* of Sir J. Rich, F.B.A.; in Chinook, 'tyhe, or chief salmon;' Colville Indian, 'Se-met-leek;' Yakima Indian, 'kwin-na-to;' Nisqually Indian, 'satsup.' It is beyond doubt the finest salmon obtained in the rivers and inlets of British Columbia. The colour of the flesh is the most delicate pink, the general appearance bright silvery and metallic, the dorsal region having a tinge of greenish-blue. Commercially, it is, too, by far the most valuable salmon, and very large quantities are salted and barrelled by the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Langley upon the Fraser. During the season the Indians on the Columbia, Fraser, and, indeed, on all the principal streams, take immense quantities of these salmon, and prefer them to any other species for drying and winter use. At the cascades on the Columbia, and on the Fraser river, the method of taking salmon is with scoop-nets. The salmon keep close to the shore, to avoid the more rapid current, and to take advantage of the eddies to rest in during their upward run. The Indian builds, or rather hangs, a kind of stage over the water, and lies upon it, armed with a net like a shrimping net, about four feet diameter, fastened to the end of a long pole. He passes this net *down* the current, and allows it to be swept on as far as his arms can reach, then he hauls it out and plunges it in again up stream as far as possible. In this way I have seen a savage take thirty-five to forty salmon an hour. They usually fish immediately after sunrise, or late in the evening. At the north of the Fraser river and on Puget Sound, the Indians employ long poles, with sharp gaff-hooks at the end of them, then, paddling about in canoes, thus hook in large numbers of salmon. Higher up the streams, at the salmon falls or leaps, the Indians use huge wicker baskets, flat on one side and bellied out on the other; these they hang in places where they well know the salmon leap; usually against the face of a rock, the flat side of the basket

being toward the rock. These baskets are hung before the river begins to flood from the melting snow, for the Columbia rises at least thirty-five feet above its autumn and winter level. As soon as the water has risen sufficiently for the fish to leap the falls, at it they go, and in leaping often fall back into the baskets. I have seen from 250 to 300 salmon taken from out one basket two or three times a day. I have likewise seen over a hundred salmon in the air at one time, and often six or eight tumble into a basket together. Two Indians go naked into this huge pannier, each carrying in his hand a heavy wooden club, and, utterly reckless of the water dashing over them, and scrambling about amongst the struggling fish, they seize one after another by the gills, give each salmon a crack on the head with the club, then fling it out upon the rocks, whereon the squaws are waiting; the women pounce upon the stunned fish, lug them away, cut off their heads, split them open, take out the backbones, and then hang them upon long poles to dry, keeping a small fire always smouldering underneath the poles to partially smoke the drying fish. Salmon cured in this way I have known to keep two years perfectly sound.

It is curious the Columbia salmon never take a bait after they leave the *salt* water. I have tried every expedient I could think of to tempt them, but always without success; and from careful inquiries made of the different tribes of Indians on both sides of the cascades, and from the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company at the various trading posts, I am quite sure salmon are *never* taken with bait after they leave the sea. But in the sea, before entering the rivers, I have seen this species of salmon (*Salmo Quinnat*) caught by the Indians with the greatest ease by trolling for them. The line is made of *seaweed*, smoked and then knotted together; a large pebble about 4 oz. in weight, slung about six feet from the hook, acts as a sinker. The savages at one time used a wooden hook with a bone barb, but now they get supplied with steel fish-hooks by the Hudson's Bay Company. The bait employed is a small fish, usually a herring or anchovy. The line is made fast to the canoe paddle, just above the hand-grip, and the act of paddling gives to the bait the necessary jerking motion. The time chosen for trolling is about two hours after the sun rises, or two hours before it sets.

#### [THE CHINOOK SALMON]

The Chenook salmon commences to enter the river the last of May, and is most plentiful about the 20th of June. It is, without doubt, the finest salmon in the world, and, being taken so near the ocean, has its fine flavor in perfection. The salmon, when entering a river to spawn, do not at once proceed to the head-waters, but linger round the mouth for several weeks before they are prepared to go farther up. It has been supposed that they can not go immediately from the ocean to the cold fresh water, but remain for a time where the water is brackish before

they venture on so great a change. Be that as it may, one thing is certain, that the early salmon taken at Chenook are far superior in flavor to any that are subsequently taken farther up the river, and this excellence is so generally acknowledged that Chenook salmon command a higher price than any other.

These salmon resemble those of the Kennebec and Penobscot Rivers in Maine, but are much larger and fatter. I have seen those that weighed eighty pounds; and one gentleman informed me that twelve salmon he had in his smoke-house averaged sixty-five pounds each, the largest weighing seventy-eight pounds. The Chenook fishery is carried on by means of nets. These are made by the whites of the twine prepared for the purpose, and sold as salmon-twine, and rigged with floats and sinkers in the usual style. The nets of the Indians are made of a twine spun by themselves from the fibres of spruce roots prepared for the purpose, or from a species of grass brought from the north by the Indians. It is very strong, and answers the purpose admirably. Peculiar-shaped sticks of dry cedar are used for floats, and the weights at the bottom are round beach pebbles, about a pound each, notched to keep them from slipping from their fastenings, and securely held by withes of cedar firmly twisted and woven into the foot-rope of the net.

The nets vary in size from a hundred feet long to a hundred fathoms, or six hundred feet, and from seven to sixteen feet deep.

Three persons are required to work a net, except the very large ones, which require more help to land them. The time the fishing is commenced is at the top of highwater, just as the tide begins to ebb. A short distance from the shore the current is very swift, and with its aid these nets are hauled. Two persons get into the canoe, on the stern of which is coiled the net on a frame made for the purpose, resting on the canoe's gunwale. She is then paddled up the stream, close in to the beach, where the current is not so strong. A tow-line, with a wooden float attached to it, is then thrown to the third person, who remains on the beach, and immediately the two in the canoe paddle her into the rapid stream as quickly as they can, throwing out the net all the time. When this is all out, they paddle ashore, having the end of the other tow-line made fast to the canoe. Before all this is accomplished, the net is carried down the stream, by the force of the ebb, about the eighth of a mile, the man on the shore walking along slowly, holding on to the line till the others are ready, when all haul in together. As it gradually closes on the fish, great caution must be used to prevent them from jumping over; and as every salmon has to be knocked on the head with a club for the purpose, which every canoe carries, it requires some skill and practice to perform this feat so as not to bruise or disfigure the fish.

The fishermen are not always lucky. Sometimes the net is hauled repeatedly without success; but in seasons of plenty, great hauls are often made, and frequently a hundred fine fish of various sizes are taken at one cast of the seine. It happened to be a good day while we were

there, and M'Carty caught about forty, which was considered good fishing for so early in the season. The others did quite as well, some even getting more than he did.

It was formerly the custom among the Chenook Indians, on the appearance of the first salmon, to have a grand feast, with dancing and other performances suited to the occasion; but the tribe has now dwindled down to a mere handful, and they content themselves simply with taking out the salmon's heart as soon as caught — a ceremony they religiously observe, fearful lest by any means a dog should eat one, in which case they think they can catch no more fish that season. The fish taken by the whites are served in the same manner by the Indians in their employ.

The choice part of a salmon with the Indians is the head, which is stuck on a stick, and slowly roasted by the fire. The other part is cut into large, flat slices, with skewers stuck through to keep them spread; then, placed on a split stick, as a palm-leaf fan is placed in its handle, with the ends of this stick or handle projecting far enough beyond the fish to be tied with a wisp of beach grass to secure the whole, this stick is thrust in the sand firmly and at the right distance from the fire, so that the fish can roast without scorching. Clam-shells are placed underneath to catch the oil which will run from these rich, fat salmon almost in a stream. Neither pepper, salt, nor butter were allowed during this culinary operation, nor did I find they were needed; the delicate and delicious flavor would have been spoiled by the addition of either.

I was so much pleased with this style of cooking salmon that I never wish to have it cooked in any other form, either boiled and served with melted butter, or fried with salt pork, or baked with spices. The simpler a fat salmon can be cooked, the better; it retains its flavor with perfection, and is more easily digested; and the only style is to roast it before an open fire.

### *Canneries Make Fishing a Business.<sup>8</sup>*

Salmon canning has been an important industry in the Pacific Northwest for three quarters of a century. As early as 1866, 4,000 cases of fish were packed on the Columbia River. By the end of the decade, 100,000 cases were marketed each year, and by 1880 the total pack exceeded 500,000 cases. Production was stabilized at a somewhat lower level thereafter. On Puget Sound canneries began to operate about 1877. They expanded rapidly during the nineties and by the end of the century consistently exceeded the Columbia River output. Grays Harbor and Willapa Harbor turned out from 12,000 to 40,000 cases during the last two decades of the century. Washington's production was surpassed by the Alaskan canneries after 1900. Statistics are given in John N. Cobb, *Pacific Salmon Fisheries*,

<sup>8</sup> *Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington, 1855-56*, pp. 11-12; *West Shore* (August, 1883), IX, 192; Richard Rathbun, *Review of the Fisheries in the Contiguous Waters of the State of Washington and British Columbia* (Washington, D. C., 1899), pp. 258-60, 293-5.

Bureau of Fisheries Document No. 902 (Washington, D. C., 1921), pp. 152 ff.

The following passages refer to the Columbia River industry and the Puget Sound fisheries respectively. Richard Rathbun, Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, served as the American member of an international commission created to study problems of conservation in the fisheries of Puget Sound and British Columbia.

AN ACT TO CREATE AND REGULATE THE OFFICE OF INSPECTOR OF SALMON

SEC. 1. *County commissioners may appoint inspector of salmon. Term of office.*

*Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington,* That it shall be the duty of the county commissioners of each of the counties, who may deem it expedient, to appoint one inspector of salmon, within and for their respective counties, at their annual session in April, in each year, who shall hold his office for the term of one year, and until his successor shall have been duly appointed and qualified.

SEC. 3. *Duty of inspector of salmon. Unmerchantable salmon to be destroyed. Merchantable salmon to be branded. Prohibition of exporting salmon without inspection.*

It shall be the duty of said inspector to examine, or cause to be examined, all salmon intended for exportation, which may be cured and put up at any fishery in either of said counties; and if any of said salmon shall, on such examination, be found unfit for market, they shall destroy, or cause the same to be destroyed; but if on such inspection, a part thereof shall be found good, they shall proceed to separate the same, and shall put up the good salmon in a proper manner. Upon all merchantable salmon shall be branded the name of such inspector, and no salmon shall be exported from any of the fisheries of said counties, unless the same shall have been branded by the inspector as aforesaid.

SEC. 5. *Penalty for exporting salmon not inspected. Action for recovery of penalty. Penalties recovered under act, to go to school fund, and to informer. Inspector not responsible for costs.*

Any person who shall export, or cause to be exported, any salmon, contrary to the provisions of section 3, of this act, shall, on conviction thereof, by civil action, before any justice of the peace of either of said counties, in the name of said inspectors, be fined in any sum not exceeding one hundred dollars; one half of which shall go into the common school fund of said counties, for the support of common schools, and the other half to the informer. The proceedings shall be the same as in other civil cases, but the inspector shall not be responsible for costs.

*Passed January 30, 1856.*

[FROM THE WEST-SHORE MAGAZINE]

Salmon packing on the Columbia river was brought to an end for the year [1882-3] by the beginning of the close season, the first of August.

The pack is the largest known and yet, owing to the competition having raised the price paid fishermen for the salmon beyond a reasonable figure, the profits will be small. There were thirty-eight canneries in operation and 1,700 boats in the river. The twenty-four canneries located in Astoria packed 420,000 of the 630,000 cases and paid \$1,110,000 of the \$1,550,000 paid out to fishermen. The large pack and the fact that the run of fish in July was very great are pointed to as evidences that the supply of salmon in the river is not becoming exhausted. To achieve this result a greater number of boats, larger nets and more assiduous fishing were necessary, and it is pretty certain that the proportion of salmon running in April, May and June, the ones which go to the headwaters and become the chief propagators, that escaped the miles of meshes spread for them, was very small. In examining the following table it must be borne in mind that nets are now more than twice the size first used, and that seines and fish traps catch many that are there credited to the boats. It will be seen that the price paid for fish has steadily advanced while the market value of the canned goods has declined. It will be also seen that in spite of the increase in the size of nets, the number of boats and the skill of the fishermen, the average caught by each boat has largely decreased. All these things point to the necessity of a propagating establishment; for with an increase in the run of fish will come a decrease in the number of boats necessary to be used, an increase in the average per boat, with a necessary decline in the price paid for fish, and consequently a safer margin for the packer to work upon. The table is very suggestive. The figures are approximated for convenience:

Year	Pack Cases	No. of boats	Average per boat Cases	Price per case	Cost of fish Cents
1866	4,000	2	2,000	16 00	15
1867	18,000	15	1,200	13 00	20
1868	28,000	25	1,120	12 00	20
1869	100,000	35	2,857	10 00	20
1870	150,000	50	3,000	9 00	20
1871	200,000	75	2,666	9 50	20
1872	250,000	100	2,500	8 00	22½
1873	250,000	125	2,000	7 00	25
1874	350,000	250	1,400	6 50	25
1875	275,000	300	917	5 60	25
1876	450,000	400	1,125	4 50	25
1877	450,000	450	1,000	5 20	25
1878	460,000	550	836	5 00	25
1879	480,000	750	640	4 60	50
1880	530,000	900	590	4 80	50
1881	550,000	1,200	458	5 00	60
1882	545,000	1,500	363	5 00	75
1883	630,000	1,700	370	5 00	90

Estimating that one fish will fill eighteen one-pound cans and that four dozen cans make a case, it will be seen that 1,680,000 salmon were

caught this year, or an average of 988 fish per boat as against an average of 8,000 per boat in 1870.

Although the fishing season has expired by statutory limitation on the Columbia, it is still open at other points on the coast and in some places where the run of fish is late, it is just beginning. The pack in British Columbia will probably be smaller than last year, but new canneries in Alaska, on Puget sound and at other points, will all serve to swell the total pack of the coast beyond that of any previous year.

The total value of fish taken in British Columbia in 1882 was \$1,842,675, showing an increase of \$388,353 over the previous year. Had the valuation been as high as in 1881, the total would have reached \$2,000,000. Fishing operations in the province give employment to 5,215 men; the value of canneries is \$402,000, and of boats, etc., \$220,670.

[GOVERNMENT REPORT ON FISHERIES]

The halibut should probably be accorded next place after the salmons, not so much on account of the local industry as for the fact that the entire halibut fishery from Cape Flattery to Alaska centers here. The local grounds are mainly distributed through the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and from its inner entrance north to Boundary Bay and south to the mouth of Hoods Canal. The most important nearby bank, however, is in the open sea off Cape Flattery, and other smaller banks lie directly south from there.

With the recent increased demand for halibut, the search for more extensive grounds was carried northward. The nearest one was located off the northern end of Vancouver Island in the vicinity of Cape Scott, but its area is restricted and its capacity relatively small. The most important grounds so far discovered are in Hecate Strait and its vicinity, and it is here that the principal catches have been made in recent years. They consist of numerous banks and patches, generally near the land, on both sides of the strait, the largest extending 60 miles along the northern side of Graham Island from North Island to Rose Point, and thence down the eastern side of Graham Island to the vicinity of White Cliffs. Among the islands of southeastern Alaska and about the southern end of Prince of Wales Island, small quantities of halibut are taken, but the Alaskan region is still open to development as regards this species.

While halibut fishing has always been one of the chief occupations of the Indians in the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the inner sea, the present status of the fishery has been the result of rapid growth dating back only about ten years, or to 1888, when it received its principal stimulus through the advent of two Gloucester vessels, which began

fishing on Flattery Bank and in the adjacent region. Although the work of these vessels was not long continued, it gave evidence of abundant resources and led to the opening of markets even as far distant as Boston and Gloucester on the eastern coast, where the western product came directly into competition with that from the great Atlantic fishing grounds.

In 1890 the total catch from all sources landed in this region amounted to 1,376,800 pounds; in 1891 to 2,124,500 pounds; in 1892 to 2,768,000 pounds and in 1895 to 4,251,000 pounds. The fleet, which had doubled in four years, consisted in 1895 of 48 boats of 5 to 10 tons measurement, of 10 vessels measuring from 18 to 40 tons, and of 3 steamers. Only the larger vessels and the steamers ventured as far as Cape Scott and the Queen Charlotte Islands. The steam vessels have belonged entirely in British Columbia, their catch being landed at Vancouver, Victoria, and Tacoma, and in 1895 having comprised a very large proportion of the total catch, but their operations are controlled by companies originating in the Eastern States.

Port Townsend was the first headquarters for the halibut fishery, but during the past few years Seattle and Tacoma, with their direct railroad communication, have absorbed nearly the entire business on the part of United States fishermen. Within two years, however, a few small shipments have been made from Fairhaven and New Whatcom. Fishing is carried on most extensively in the winter, and nearly all the catch is landed fresh, only an occasional trip being made for fletched halibut.

The main outlet for the Pacific catch is furnished by the Eastern markets, and is thus controlled by the large Eastern dealers, the shipments being mainly made at seasons when the Atlantic catch is smallest. The cost of transportation across the continent greatly reduces the profit to the catchers, who have to be satisfied with low prices, and who sometimes suffer considerable losses by producing more than the trade can handle. The demand, both at the East and in the interior of the country is said, however, to be constantly increasing, and, if heed be given to the condition of the market at different seasons, there is every reason to suppose that the development of the fishery may go forward steadily and without reverses.

While this fishery is assured a much larger growth, that it will ever approach the Atlantic fishery in extent or stand the same test of time seems improbable. The grounds in the Gulf of Georgia, Puget Sound, and Strait of Fuca, with those off Cape Flattery, have all together only a relatively small capacity, which has already been overtaxed. Along the British Columbian and southern Alaskan coast the continental platform is everywhere narrow, precluding the occurrence of extensive off-shore grounds. On the Alaskan banks still farther north, made known through the cod fishermen and the investigations of the United States Fish Commission, halibut have not yet been found in the abundance characteristic of the North Atlantic, though further researches may show

the conditions to be more favorable than now appears. But, however uncertain may be the future status of this important branch of fishing, the supply of halibut is undoubtedly sufficient to satisfy the demands of trade for a number of years to come.

While the true cod is of no importance as a local product, yet this region affords convenient shipping facilities in respect to the Alaska banks and will doubtless soon come to dispute with San Francisco for supremacy in their development. Two or more stations for curing and handling this species have already been established in Puget Sound.

Point Roberts has figured most conspicuously in the Washington [salmon] fishery, and the largest catches have been made in its vicinity. The principal reef-net ground of the entire region lies directly off its southeast corner, a large kelp-covered ledge, to which the Indians have undoubtedly resorted for many generations, and which has always been the cause of much contention among the several neighboring tribes. The perpetual right to fish upon it, in common with other inhabitants of the territory, was secured to the Indians by treaty with the United States in 1855, and while formerly regarded solely in the light of a rich collecting-ground, where their own needs could readily be met, it afterwards became the source of much revenue in their dealings with the whites. So far as the records show, the Indians have at no time resided permanently on Point Roberts. It has been their custom to be present there only during the fishing season, chiefly of the sockeye salmon, from about July 1 until early in September. In recent years their number has varied from 150 to 200, though sometimes reaching 250. Their canoes in active operation have been as many as 15 to 20, but lately the number has greatly fallen off through the intervention of the whites. Their drying racks formerly covered a considerable area, but they are now small in extent and have been entirely driven from Cannery Point, their principal location in more prosperous days. After the completion in 1894 of the continuous line of traps commanding the approaches to the big reef, its value for reef-net fishing seems to have been in great part destroyed, and the Indian catches declined so much in consequence as to render the old-time occupation practically unprofitable. The primitive methods are making way for those of civilization, and the process has not been wholly devoid of certain elements of injustice, which are by no means peculiar to this locality.

While the visits of the Indians to Point Roberts have had reference mainly to the salmon, they were at one time in the habit of going there in March, during some years but not continuously, in search of dogfish, of which they are said to have secured large catches. Those who went at that time might remain until the salmon season opened. They made use of a rude sort of gill net set along the flats, in which the dogfish be-

came entangled, and also of trot lines having perhaps from 150 to 200 hooks apiece.

The Indians have also taken sturgeon in Boundary Bay, have fished there with hook and line in the fall for the silver salmon, and have used, by drying, the large clams which are very abundant along its shores.

There are no authentic records of the earlier fishing by the whites about Point Roberts, though it is well known that they were attracted there many years ago by the abundance of the salmon. In the beginning, however, it is probable that their supplies were chiefly obtained by purchase from the Indians. During the period when the Hudson Bay Company was active on the west coast, agents of the company made annual visits to the Point for the purpose of adding to their stock of salmon. In the early sixties, according to one informant, who has had a long experience in the region, several men were engaged in fishing and purchasing at the Point in a small way. There was, however, little expansion in the work for over a decade, and practically not until about 1875, when parties from Seattle went there to engage more regularly in the business, which then consisted chiefly in salting and barreling fish. The canneries on the Fraser River also began to obtain some of their supplies from this locality, but apparently never in large quantities.

The Indians furnished a part of the salmon; the remainder were taken in drag seines measuring about 100 fathoms long by 35 feet deep and with a 4-inch mesh. From 4 to 6 of these seines were in use from about 1875. The seining-grounds were on the west side of Point Roberts, extending northward from the southwest corner a distance of about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles, where the shore is free from stones and well adapted to the purpose. These nets were operated during the sockeye season, and later for the silver salmon, which species was taken in the greater abundance. Humpback salmon could be secured in large numbers, but they had no sale and were only used by the Indians. The quinnat were never fished for, as they ran too early in the year, when the weather was still stormy. Purse seines have also been employed about Point Roberts for some years, and are still used there to some extent.

There are no figures showing the catch during this period, but it is said to have fluctuated greatly, dependent upon the abundance of the fish and the number of men at work, the latter having varied from year to year. Between 1875 and 1889, according to the accounts received, the maximum number of whites present in any season was about 30. In some of those years the output would not have exceeded 450 barrels of salted salmon, while in others it reached as many as 3,000 barrels. This was in addition to what might have been sent to the Fraser River.

Fishing on a greater or less scale is carried on in most of the Washington rivers which empty into Puget Sound and the Gulf of Georgia. The Skagit is the principal of these rivers, and is especially noteworthy as the resort of the sockeye as well as of all of the other species of salmon. The runs are relatively large and excellent opportunities for

fishing are thus afforded. Previous to 1893, however, most of the catch, such as it was, was disposed of locally to ranchmen, mill hands, and settlers, but in the year mentioned it is said that 300,000 pounds of salmon from this river were sold to the markets in Seattle. These were caught between Sedro and the mouth of the river, and consisted in large part of quinnat and steelheads. The number of fishermen was about 50, of whom perhaps one-half made this business their regular occupation. Above Sedro, including Baker River, the catch during the same year, reported to have been about 136,000 pounds, was still entirely utilized by the inhabitants of the neighboring country.

Nets were employed up to 1893 only in the main Skagit River. They were mostly gill nets of two kinds, one being set, the other drifting when in use. The same year two seines, 100 fathoms long and 30 feet deep, with a 3-inch mesh, were operated at La Conner at the mouth of the river, and in the same neighborhood the Indians had four seines of the same mesh, 30 fathoms long and 10 feet deep. A salmon wheel was also built in that year a few miles below Sedro, but the results were not satisfactory. Nearly all of the salmon taken in its two branches, the Baker and Cascade rivers, up to 1893 were obtained by means of spears and gaffs, both whites and Indians resorting to this method.

The recent rapid development of the salmon market at Seattle, the establishment of canneries at Anacortes, and the demands from canneries at more distant places have given a fresh impetus to the fishery in both the Skagit River and the bay of the same name into which it empties. In the latter especially has there been a marked increase in the amount of apparatus employed, which consists of trap nets, gill nets, and seines.

The Nooksack River is also, in proportion to its size, becoming of considerable importance as a salmon stream. The sockeye have been said to enter it, but the evidence to that effect is not conclusive. Fishing is carried on directly off the mouth of the river as well as at several places along its course. Gill nets have been chiefly employed, and it has been proposed to introduce trap nets near the mouth.

The salmon fishermen on both sides of the line are of many nationalities, most maritime nations of Europe being represented and also the Japanese. A large proportion consists of Indians and half-breeds, and some negroes are also employed. The Chinese, however, while they compose the bulk of the help in the canneries, have participated only to a very slight extent in the fishing and not at all in Canadian waters. Nearly if not quite all of the trap-netters are whites.

*A Western Pioneer Recalls the Gold Strike at Oro Fino.*<sup>4</sup>

The first gold rush into the Inland Empire took place in the fall of 1855 when active prospecting was carried on in the vicinity of Fort Colville. The migration of miners into that region increased the tension between whites and Indians, and the murder of several white men contributed to the outbreak of general hostilities later that same year.

Some of the Colville miners moved north across the Okanogan country and participated in the Fraser River gold rush of 1858. The stampede to north Idaho, which remained part of Washington Territory until March, 1863, followed three years later. In the meantime vigorous military measures, and the ratification of Governor Stevens' treaties, had brought about the pacification of the Indians east of the Cascades. In March, 1861, several hundred men started from Walla Walla for the new diggings. By August of that year there were perhaps 2,500 actual miners in the Idaho mines. Coulter's picture of mining operations is drawn from personal observation, for he arrived at the mines in July, 1861. See William J. Trimble, *Mining Advance Into the Inland Empire* (Madison, Wis., 1914), pp. 15-72.

PLACER MINING AT ORO FINO

The little party of prospectors were soon at work with what few implements they had, and with what rude processes they could improvise, and in a short time had gathered something less than one hundred dollars worth of gold dust. Satisfied with the value of their discovery, the party returned to Walla Walla, where they succeeded in interesting Sergeant I. C. Smith, who thereupon fitted out a party and started for the mines, reaching there in November, 1860. In the following March, Smith made his way out on snowshoes, taking with him \$800 in gold dust. This dust was shipped to Portland, where it caused a blaze of excitement. From Portland the news was borne on swift steamers southward to San Francisco and other points in California. Northward, the glad tidings flew to Puget Sound, to Victoria, and to all the Fraser River country in British Columbia. Very soon every locality was converted into a scene of confusion, bustle, and activity. Everybody was preparing to join the host of adventurers, now setting themselves in array for an invasion of the newly discovered gold fields. In the spring of 1861 came the mad rush up the Columbia, simultaneously with the booming of cannon on the coast of South Carolina. The Civil War was on in the east, and a new golden era had opened in the west. By the first of June, thousands of eager gold-hunters had pitched their tents along the level alluvial bottoms of the Oro Fino Creek, and along the streams and gulches that empty into it, far up into the heart of the Bitterroot Mountains. Into the fastnesses of these mountains went representatives of every civilized nationality on earth, with many whose native lands could hardly be thus classified. Oro Fino and Pierce City, two model mining towns with houses built of pine logs and roofed with

<sup>4</sup> From W. A. Coulter, *Reminiscences: Incidents in the Life of a Pioneer in Oregon and Idaho* (Boise, 1909), pp. 203-5, 210-18.

"Shakes," had already taken up their positions within a mile and a half of each other on the banks of the same stream which had given a name to the new camp and to one of the new towns. The other town had been named in honor of Captain Pierce, the leader of the discovery party. The buildings along the principal street of each town increased in number from day to day and as fast as they could be built were devoted to the prosecution of every business and occupation known in such communities.

The causes of the excitement and of the sudden occupation of the district by thousands of miners was not so much in the richness of the deposits in any one or more localities, but in the fact that the district was soon known to be very extensive and that it had everywhere been found that the gold was very evenly diffused through the gravel wherever examinations had been made. There seemed to be room and to spare for all the miners that might come, and this was the very welcome account and description of the district that was spread abroad everywhere. The country seemed to afford illimitable scope for mining operations, while the auriferous gravel deposits seemed inexhaustible.

Placer-mining on the waters of the Oro Fino among the lower spurs of the Bitterroot Mountains—what was it like? In its general features, it was much the same as everywhere else in the placer-mining mountain districts. One brief description will suffice to give an idea of what it was everywhere. One characteristic of these mountain streams is that during the ages they have worn their channels down deep among and between the hills, and that their sluggish waters flow with scarcely a perceptible current until a sudden change of the general surface to a lower altitude converts this course into a series of rapids. It is on the level sections of the streams that the auriferous gravel is found a few feet below the surface and just below the alluvial deposits on the creek bottoms. To wash this gravel and separate the little grains and atoms of gold nearly evenly diffused through the mass, requires a swift stream of water running through narrow boxes, called a string of sluices or a flume, according to the mode of construction. How obtain this needed current on a creek bottom "as flat as a pancake?" First, the tough, grassy sod and the alluvial deposit, or loam, as the miners called it, is removed from a space measuring some forty feet in length and twelve feet in width and carried to a distance from the spot by the aid of wheelbarrows. This operation exposes the gravel. Next, the creek is dammed at the proper distance above, and the water thus raised above the surface is brought in boxes to the place where it is to be used. Before proceeding further, the gravel must be removed from the pit, or enough of it to allow the sluice boxes to be placed at the angle or grade necessary to produce the required current. Then, at the lower end of the sluice, a strong dam must be built to prevent the water from washing back into

the pit. The water having been raised above the surface at the dam above and brought through boxes to the pit with just as little grade as will allow it to flow, rushes through the few boxes that have been placed at the required angle of descent, and regains the general level of the creek below. Here the water flows off through a long, narrow ditch, called in miners' parlance a tail-race. Now the water is rushing through the sluices at the required velocity, and the gold-bearing gravel is all exposed and ready to be thrown into the boxes. But the miner is not yet ready to begin the operation of washing out the shining particles. While the several feet in depth of gravel is being thrown into the boxes and washed, the seepage water from the bank is coming into the pit, and long before the "bed-rock" is reached the accumulated water has made further progress impossible. The "bed-rock" on which, when reached, the greater quantity of the gold is found, cannot be cleaned, and thus the paying rewards of the miner's labor would be lost. Before commencing he must have a "bed-rock drain." To secure this he must go down the creek to a point (to be determined by a careful survey) where the flow of the seepage water from the "bed-rock" in his pit will flow into the channel of the creek below. Having ascertained this, he must then dig a ditch of liberal width and varying length from a quarter- to a half-mile, and often more, through sod, and loam, and gravel, to and into the bed-rock to provide a channel through which the seepage water is to flow from the claim to the bed of the creek below. This narrow channel at the bottom of the long bed-rock drain is then to be covered with split timbers from the neighboring woods. When this is all done the ditches must be at least partially filled up to prevent the displacement of the culvert timbers.

The lumber for the flumes and sluice-boxes and for all other purposes where lumber on or about the claim is needed must be whip-sawed from the forest trees growing on the hillsides. It was by this process that nearly all the lumber used in the Oro Fino mining district for several years, whether for building or mining purposes, was obtained. The half has not yet been told of the labor and expense attending the "opening of a claim" in the early days of the Bitterroot Mountains. It may be assumed here, however, that the patient and hardworking miner is now ready to begin his golden harvest and reap the rewards of his toil. The sluice-boxes are now provided with "riffles," that is, narrow frames in which transverse bars are placed at intervals, and the frames placed and confined firmly on the bottoms of the sluice-boxes. Two men armed with picks and shovels then take positions, one on each side of the "string," and commence the work of picking and shoveling the gravel into the sluice-boxes. A third man takes a position on the top of the "string" and with a "sluice-fork" fishes up the pebbles and boulders as the current brings them within reach. The sand and lighter portions of the gravel are swept by the narrow current to the bottom and out of the string of sluice-boxes, where the man [sand] stops and begins to accumulate as the arti-

ficial current above loses its force in the slower current in the "tail-race." A fourth man is now needed, clad in long-legged gum boots, to take his stand in the pool of water and with a strong shovel throw the wasted sand and gravel as far from the spot as his utmost strength will permit. While this is going on, a fifth man, the foreman or superintendent of the claim, comes along with a bottle containing from twelve to fifteen dollars' worth of quicksilver, which he pours into the moving mass of water, sand, gravel and boulders. Above the "cut" and on a line with it, two other men are engaged in "stripping," that is, in removing with spades and shovels the sod and loam down to the gravel and taking it off with wheelbarrows.

This is far from being the whole show, but enough has been seen to make manifest the extreme slowness of the process and the expense daily incurred in its prosecution, and also to show that the gravel in these placer claims of Oro Fino must have been originally very richly laden with golden particles.

Our company worked two strings of sluices, employing something over two dozen men, divided into day and night shifts. Thus the work goes on without cessation until Saturday evening, when a halt is called for the final "clean up" of the week and for the payment of the hands who have richly earned their little stipend of \$5 per day, amounting at the end of the week to two ounces of gold dust, the yellow dust having a market value of \$15 per ounce.

Sunday morning brings only a change of occupation to the miners. At an early hour, the advance guard of a great army of miners begins to file past our cabin doors, almost staggering under the loads of worn implements, which must be repaired by the blacksmith that day for the renewal of hostilities next morning. Steadily for two or three hours the procession moves down the creek. This army is moving upon the busy town of Oro Fino, whose streets are soon crowded and thronged by other thousands of miners coming in from all the creek gulches and ravines in the surrounding mountains. Bills are to be settled, provisions and supplies purchased, implements are to be repaired or replaced by new ones, and all the needed preparations for the coming week are to be made. At noon on Sunday, the express arrives from Walla Walla. Oro Fino has no post-office yet, there are no mails. Three days ago the expressman left Walla Walla mounted on a strong, fleet steed and leading another, laden with treasures richer than any the mines can yield. They are letters from the dear ones in the distant homes—letters in which the kisses are yet warm and the heartbeats yet audible. As the expressman gallops furiously down Main Street and comes to a sudden halt in front of the express office, he dismounts and delivers his precious charge into the hands of W. A. Atlee, Wells-Fargo's express agent. The head of a long procession of eager and impatient expectants, composed of all the various elements of the population, now begins to enter the door of the office. Atlee is behind the counter, busily engaged

in opening and classifying packages. As soon as he can get ready, he begins to call the roll, beginning with John Smith and proceeding upward or downward, to the right or to the left, as the case demands, and delivering letters, papers, and packages to each one as the names are responded to. As parties are served they file out into the street and others move up, and thus the work of delivering goes on till all are served.

During the remainder of the summer one week was like another with no local events cropping much above the general surface, only that each succeeding Sunday would bring its quota of news from the battlefields in the distant East, and its alternating tide of joys and sorrows, hopes and fears. The principal mining events of the summer were the operations in the several localities of the district and the almost fabulous yield of gold from the Oro Fino placers, which far exceeded the hopes and anticipations of the most sanguine, and discoveries of other rich placer deposits in all the interesting mountain region drained by the tributaries of the Clearwater River. This was, of course, followed by another rush of miners, traders, and adventurers of every class to the scenes of the new discoveries. In the Oro Fino district, everywhere along all the creek bottoms, high mounds and long ridges of "tailings" and other debris had been heaped up. Millions of dollars had already been contributed by these miners to the general output of the precious metal from other sources.

Summer now wanes and blends into autumn. The first of October comes bright, clear, and cold, with several inches of the new white winter dress covering mountain, hillside, and creek flats. The ice now begins to check the flow of water in the creeks. The nights begin to be too long and too cold and the days too short and often too stormy to allow placer mining, except on a much diminished scale, to be either comfortable or profitable. Gradually mining operations begin to be suspended or greatly restricted. Many of the miners, particularly those who have homes and families in the Walla Walla, Willamette, and other valleys in the lower country, begin to gather their ponies from the neighboring "horse ranches" and prepare to abandon their camp until the following spring, when they would return to their claims and their labors. By the first of November, all who have elected to leave the camp for the winter have departed.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### DEVELOPMENTS IN AGRICULTURE

#### *Granville O. Haller Describes the Life of a Gentleman Farmer.*<sup>1</sup>

Granville O. Haller, author of the diary here presented, began his military career in early youth. After serving as a lieutenant with Taylor and Scott in the Mexican War, he came with his regiment to Washington Territory. He took an active part in the campaign against the Indians in eastern Washington, and took charge of the construction of Fort Townsend during the following year. He was still in command of this post in December, 1853, when Colonel Joseph K. F. Mansfield made the inspection recorded in Chapter VIII.

Having been promoted to the rank of major, Haller saw active service with General McClellan during the early campaigns of the Civil War. Suddenly, in July, 1863, he was dismissed from the service for alleged disloyalty. His appeals for a review of his case having been refused, he took up residence on a farm on Whidbey Island and turned his attention for a time to the agricultural arts. His diary dates from this unhappy period of his life. Its pages reveal the varied responsibilities of farm life, and record meticulously his receipts and expenditures.

Haller was not, perhaps, a typical farmer. Indeed, his journal shows the soldier's training in precise notation, and is the more valuable on that account. The next fifteen years he spent in Washington, interesting himself in retail trade as well as agriculture. In 1879 he was given the trial that his friends had long tried to secure for him. After an investigation he was restored to his command, and soon afterward was promoted to the rank of colonel. After a short period of service he was retired. He lived out the remainder of his life in Seattle. See biographical sketch in Frederic J. Grant, *History of Seattle, Washington* (New York, 1891), pp. 415-25.

Landed at Port Townsend, Washington Territory, from the Bark, *William A. Banks*, on the 6th day of July 1864. Put up at Capt. Fowler's house.

Soon after visited farm at Crescent Harbor, now called: *Meadowside*, and found things looking better than I had reason to expect, from accounts received, but still in a damaged condition. Learnt that Mr. Busby had undertaken to cut the Timothy hay, on the farm, and house it in the shed, for one half of the crop.

On the 17th July we took possession of the farm house, and made arrangements to sleep and eat in the house. Mr. Busby had previously occupied the house, and was mowing the Hay, so a portion of the house

<sup>1</sup> The following excerpts from a diary kept by Granville O. Haller, September 6, 1864—July 25, 1865, are reproduced from the manuscript preserved in the University of Washington Library. Date lines, which appear in the page margins in the original, have here been uniformly indented.

was set apart for his men to sleep in, some seven persons, and we kept the other portion for the family.

As soon as Mr. Busby finished cutting such hay as he desired, leaving those portions which were well mixed with Fern and not desirable for market, I employed men to cut that which had been left for the use of my stock in the winter. The following is an account of the time and money, devoted to Hay making.

Mr. Nesbit commenced mowing July 25th  
 Mr. Bradley " " " " 29th

September, 1864

21st. While at Port Townsend, W. T., arranged with F. A. Wilson, Esqre, to receive a Deed from him for the land and Saw-mill, at the Chemicum Creek, known as Hoff's Mill and claim, as colateral security for my payments of money due by him, and for which liens (mechanics' liens) were about to be foreclosed, and would throw the claim and mill into court. If the principal sums, with interest at two percent per month, payable quarterly, are paid me within five years, then, by an obligation given by me and acknowledged by me at Olympia, September 9th, I will reconvey the Land, and Sawmill, etc. to him or his heirs or assigns.

On completion of the several papers for recording in Auditor's office, I then paid in the following manner the sums set opposite.

To P. M. Hanna, draft, 5 days, on Blumberg, San Francisco, for	\$250.00
" John Head " " " " " "	100.00
" Brooks and Tucker " " " " " "	150.00
" A. J. Miller, prommissory note, payable six mos. from 8th. Sep- tember, '64, signed by Wilson and myself, severally, for	500.00
Consideration money paid.....	\$1000.00

Took prommissory note from F. A. Wilson, payable in six months, from 8th September, '64, with interest at 2 per cent per month payable quarterly for the money advanced through Blumberg, namely, the 1st \$500.00.

There is yet over \$1000.00 to be paid, but Mr. Wilson is in hopes to be able to pay himself, so may not require me to lift those obligations referred [to] in my agreement with him.

21st. Drew from Barrington and Phillips, in gold, on acct., \$50.00.

22nd. Mr. Garrett commenced at noon to work for me at \$1.25 per diem.

23d. Mr. Garrett worked all day—Due 1½ days. Borrowed wagon and harness from Mr. Wallace for hauling sand and stone. Dug holes for apple trees, where dead trees stood in orchard. Spoke to Henry Maryott, in presence of Mr. and Mrs. Busby, about my claiming damages, and Mr. Dennison advising us to settle by arbitration. Maryott denies all claim for damages, whereupon I told him that I would proceed to law where he could argue his case—not with me.

24th. Rained all day and suspended work. Rode to Oak Harbor to meet C. C. Phillips, who wished to turn over to me my cattle. The rain prevented our looking them up, so spent the day there with Phillips, Barrington, and Hinebaugh.

Consulted Phillips about the Bill presented by Maryott to me, who says it differs materially from the one presented to him and that Maryott only hauled one load, of five Bales Hay, per day while others hauled three loads, yet he charges \$2.00 per diem.

25th. Hunted up my cattle with Capt. Barrington—the Miller Boys and Kelly assisted. Found about eight head but succeeded only in bringing home a Brown Cow with a calf about 2 days old—a White Cow, and a yearling steer.

Rode to Miller's point with Nelson Miller—Mr. Bradley accompanied us on Dalles. Paid Mr. Bradley the \$10.00 due for mowing, also for 5½ bus. oats at 6/- [6 "bits"] = \$4.00 and 111½ lbs. Potatoes at 6/- per bushel. The price of oats and Potatoes being quite low, I paid him Down \$16.00.

26th. Worked without assistance. Sent Morris to Ebey's Landing with letters, and to Coupeville to have Webfoot (mare) shod on all fours. Prepared frame for Dairy and Root House but was interrupted by a call from Mr. Wallace and then proceeded to Mrs. Scott's to get our cows and calves at that place. Received four cows and four calves: One white with white calf; one Red Cow with frosted flank, and red calf; one brown, with red calf, and White with Red neck and Calf much like her.

Mrs. Nesmith called on Mrs. Haller and did some washing but would not take pay for her work. Paid her for 15 young and old chickens amounting to \$6.25. Sold 25 cts worth of apples.

Mrs. Haller reported the sale of Fruit, etc. while I was absent as follows: Sent to Utzaladdy by Mr. Garrett who sold

12 lbs. Butter for 50 cts	6.00	
200 lbs. Apples and Pears at 4 and 5 cts	9.00	
10 lbs. " " " at 5 cts. (Indian)	.50	\$15.50

Paid Mr. Garrett for time \$1.50 and Indian carrying the fruit and Butter to Boat 50 cts	2.00	\$13.50
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Mai sold Pears at 10 cts and apples at 8 cts and Received	2.00
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Mrs. Haller sold apples to Indian and received and paid for cranberries \$1.00 and for whortleberries 50 cts	.50
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Earthquake. At 20 minutes before one o'clock this morning, I was waked by the shaking of the house, which had alarmed Mrs. Haller. It was an Earthquake—the aggitating—which I felt very distinctly. Mrs. Haller was at the time wide awake, being indisposed, and felt a lesser one just before I awoke.

27th. Accompanied Mrs. Haller and baby to Ebey's Landing on their way to Port Townsend. Drove wagon to Oak Harbor and there

took a canoe to Coupeville. Dined at Mrs. Fay's and obtained their wagon to cross to Landing. Did not pay Mrs. Fay but left account to pay on Mrs. Haller's return. Paid Indian for canoe hire \$1.50. Spent 25/cts with Mr. Hatch for wine.

Mr. Hatch gave me the Agricultural Reports of the Patent office for the years 1861 and 1862. Received from Dr. O'Brien 6 panes Glass 12x9 inches and bottle of medicine. Brought Mail to Coupeville. Bought of Barrington and Phillips 1 x cut [cross-cut] sawfile, charged \$1.00. I paid Mr. Whitworth \$25.00 in Green Backs, for my Taxes but Mr. Phillips having left for Port Townsend, could not get the receipt from him as Treasurer.

Received from Capt. Barrington 40 lbs. of Round of Beef to be returned when I kill Beef, also an empty Flour bbl. Received from Mr. Hinebaugh an empty Flour bbl.

Drew from Capt. Barrington, for Mr. Garrett, for which I became responsible, 1 sack Sugar 61 lbs. at 17 cts = \$10.37 and 2 sacks Flour \$6.00 amount to be paid \$16.37.

Mr. Garrett worked half a day, cutting down alders. Due him 2 days.

Sent to Port Townsend by Mrs. Haller, 2 boxes, containing 45 lbs. apples and Pears, respectively, for presents to friends there.

[Marginal note: First White frost, this morning.]

28th. Returned wagon to Mr. Wallace—used it for 1 Load of Stone only. Met Capt. Barrington, at Oak Harbor, by agreement, and proceeded to Maylor's point in search of my Cattle—found 1 Cow (large and old) with a fine Heifer Calf called Lightfoot.

Returned Mr. Izett 16 lbs Beef (on his loan to me) on his order for a friend at Utsaladdy. Sent Mrs. Izett, as a present, 3 lbs. Steaks.

Gave Mr. Izett my file to fix my X cut saw.

29th. Visited Mr. Izett to see if my Saw was filed but it was not. Drew from him his X cut saw; and hand saw and Drawing Knife which Mrs. Izett had taken back. Tore down the shelves in the kitchen and placed near the window, making a decided improvement.

30th. Prepared a pig-pen, and sent Mai and Morris over to Mrs. Scott's to purchase 4 sucking pigs—they paid \$5.00 for them. Mr. Garrett came at a late hour to assist me—having returned from Dugualla Bay. Worked until late making a day—due him 3 days work.

Gathered a great deal of manure in clearing a space for the pig-pen and had Mr. Garrett throw all the manure about that place into a heap. We then commenced clearing a large space of ground adjoining the Cattle yard for a Calf-corral, intending to remove the old corral and enlarge the Cattle yard.

Sawed considerable timber, and made fire wood of some of it, which was not wanted for corral.

Sent Judge Miller a copy of the *Weekly Age*, having in it the famous protest of Senator Wade, of Ohio; and M. C. [Member of Congress] H. Winter Davis, of Md., against Presidential Usurpation.

October, 1864

1st. Saturday. Mr. Garrett worked all day—due him for 4 days. Hauled stone for foundation of house and for drain, borrowing from Mr. Wallace his wagon and harness for the purpose. Cleaned from under fruit trees the blue grass and weeds—hauled a little manure into the orchard for the holes already dug for trees. Picked up several Bushels of apples blown down by the recent wind and rain storms.

2nd. Sunday. Nothing of importance occurred to note here.

3rd. Monday. Mr. Garrett worked all day—5 days pay due. Mr. Pearce, a carpenter, came today to work for me—but concluded not to work until to-morrow. Sent Morris to Coupeville with letter for Mrs. Haller, and to arrange for bringing her from Port Townsend to-morrow, also, to have Dalles shod in his forefeet. He returned safely. Mr. Nesbit arranged to work for me after Wednesday morning, at \$1.50 per day. Worked at Closets, dug a drain to Duckpond, and built a stone foundation for Root House and Dairy, besides sawing pieces of dead timber.

4th. Tuesday. Mr. Pearce commenced work to-day, at \$3.00 as Carpenter. Worked all day. Mr. Garrett assisted him all day—due him 6 days' work. Proceeded to Oak Harbor in wagon, and in canoe to Coupeville for Mrs. Haller, who returned from Port Townsend, bringing along the new harness, Demijon of Rum, Books, etc. from San Francisco. Bought of Barrington and Phillips a Coil of Baling rope, 138 lbs, at 23 cts. We returned late, paying Indians for Canoe \$1.50. The expenses of Mrs. Haller, and her purchases, were charged to me, hence, will appear in my journal as the bills are settled.

5th. Wednesday. Mr. Pearce worked all day—due for 2 days work. Rained all day. Wrote out Deed for Williamson and wife to sign and set fire to a few trees: overhauled harness and goods from San Francisco. Made arrangements for baling Hay tomorrow.

6th. Thursday. Messrs. Bradly and Nesbit came to work at baling Hay: put them at boring holes and cutting down and burning timber, until the machine arrived. William Pearson brought the machine in an ox cart, and I, with the wagon and mares, brought the Ropes, Tackle, etc. Pearson forgot one piece of timber belonging to the machine, so could not work at baling Hay to-day, but fixed everything ready for tomorrow while I went to Oak Harbor again with wagon for Lumber and the piece required. Mr. Garrett worked at removing grass from under Fruit trees and digging the soil with Hayfork. Mr. Pearce planed boards for shelves to Dairy. I engaged Barrington and Phillips' ox-team for drawing the ropes of press.

My roster now stands as follows:

Mr. Pearce, carpentering,	\$3.00	day,	completed	3	days	services.
“ Garrett, Laboring	\$1.25	“	“	7	“	“
“ Nesbit, Hay press,	\$1.50	“	“	1	“	“
“ Bradly, “ “	\$1.50	“	“	1	“	“
“ Pearson, “ “	\$2.00	“	“	1	“	“

Brought home 410 ft. of Lumber from Barrington's pile, and 3 ft. x 12 in. x 1½ in. Whi. pine.

7th. Friday. Commenced baling; ropes were stiff, the press was not well fixed and worked slowly for awhile: baled until noon with Mr. Bradly, who was called home on account of his daughter's illness: Mr. Garrett filled his place: put up 30 bales. I forgot to note, yesterday, that Bradly brought 38 lbs potatoes and 42 lbs onions. Mr. Nesbit brought 3 cabbages weighed 16 lbs. Hauled manure in the morning—2 loads. Sawed up wood for keeping up the fires, and lost a little time in getting ready to kill a yearling but it ran off when ready and did not get back until evening. Hauled from Barrington's 453 feet Lumber. The above Roster shows who are working for me, and all filled their day, but Bradly who has pay due for 1½ days only.

8th. Saturday. Rained during the night and did not clear up for some time during the day which impeded the baling. The men attended to the fires in the trees, until baling commenced. They also assisted me in skinning and raising and cutting up a yearling steer. They put up about 20 bales and then rolled them and piled them in the Hayshed, with the 30 bales of yesterday which they also piled.

Mr. Hinebaugh came over today and we brought up the Bull, Sampson, and fastened him, and then castrated him. He also cut the ears of several calves.

The weeks account stands thus with the men. Viz.:

Mr. Pearce, Carpenter,	5	days,	due	him	\$15.00
Mr. Garrett, Laboring,	9	days,	"	"	11.25
Mr. Nesbit, Hay press,	3	"	"	"	4.50
Mr. Pearson, " "	3	"	"	"	6.00
Mr. Bradly, " "	1½	"	"	"	2.25

Mr. Garrett purchased 3 lbs. Butter making 6 lbs. to be paid for.

9th. Sunday. Lent my mares and Mr. Wallace's wagon to Mr. Nesbit to haul home some things, and get his plough to Oak Harbor. Sent off by the wagon the following meat,

For Mr. Busby one hind quarter weighing 73 lbs and for Mr. Garrett 20 lbs Forequarter at 8 cts; and 15½ lbs Hind quarter at 9 cts; equals \$3.00. Gave Mr. Nesbit 51 lbs Forequarter at 8 cts, equals \$4.08. Presented to Nesbit and Garrett 39 lbs of Pears and Apples together

Mr. Busby agreed to return me from time to time, the Beef. Visited Mr. Izett at night, and spoke about returning Beef for pork and paying off my indebtedness in that line.

10th. Monday. Fine morning: rose early, and had an early breakfast. Mr. Pearce, the Carpenter, and Pearson, Hay baler, were absent without proper reasons. Mr. Nesbit brought his wife along to wash for Mrs. Haller, and was necessarily late. Mr. Garrett and I began to bale hay alone, and had the press well filled when Pearson appeared. However,

we baled about four tons, having weighed twenty-one, of the 30 bales put up, today, which averaged, 290 lbs to bale.

18th. Tuesday. Fine day: rose early and began work before breakfast. Mr. Nisbit assisted me in getting in posts for gates: fixing fences thrown down by Maryott's steer followed by my Cows; and ploughing and carrying sods to the Root-house; and fixing things again, in Store-room by removing from Roothouse, etc.

Maryott's steer has been jumping my fences nightly since Saturday night, and feeding on the boughs of Apple and fruit trees in the orchard: the Steer has put my cattle into the humor of getting into the orchard and were in with him on Saturday and Sunday nights and last night they disturbed my haybales, knocking down four bales off their piles. We tied up the Steer in the coral to-day, and let him starve a little, but I sent word to Maryott about his being tied up, through Wilson Busby.

Mr. Pearce finished inside of the Store room to-day, very nicely.

Mrs. Haller and children picked apples. Borrowed parts of a plough from Mr. Miller.

19th. Wednesday. Fine day: rose late and had late breakfast. Mr. Pearce tore floor up in front of kitchen and relaid it. Then commenced a dining table. Mr. Nisbit was employed boring holes in trees for firing them; set several on fire. I assisted Mr. Pearce until Mr. Hinebaugh came over, then rode with him to Mr. Busby's to get a "block" for Hay press—got it; and a few "Shakes" for mending shed at stable. Took my horses in their new harness to Oak Harbor and brought over Barrington's new wagon for hauling sand and bales of Hay. Received from Hinebaugh Paint, Oil, Nails, Butts, Paint Brush, etc, which I had sent to Coupeville for, and he was kind enough to bring them over for me.

Mrs. Haller and children gathered a great many apples to-day.

Maryott took off his ox, by hand.

20th. Thursday. Fine day: breakfasted at a good hour. Had to-day Pearson, Bradly and Nisbit, who baled hay at my own private stack: the fog set in at an early hour and it became dark before six o'clock: put up 25 bales and hauled 12 bales to hayshed. I hauled a load of sand. Mr. Pearce finished dining table and began a wooden spout for over the kitchen. Cut down two trees that were nearly burned through for fear of falling on our cattle.

Mrs. Haller and children brought in fruit to-day.

21st. Friday. Fine day: breakfast rather late, and work tardy. Pearson, Bradly, and Nisbit finished 5 bales of hay, when that at the bottom of the stack was considered too full of *fern* to bale: had that, not baled, put on top of a very flat stack to shed rain in the wet weather. Weighed all the bales and marked them: 30 bales weighed 7671 lbs—average 255 lbs; hauled them to hayshed and put under cover. Returned to Mr. Izett the pr. of Fairbanks Scales, borrowed to weigh the hay. Returned to

Oak Harbor the pr. of oxen, and bailing apparatus. Brought back on wagon 387 feet of Barrington's lumber. Ploughed up some blue-grass in yard. I forget to say I brought on Wednesday, from Barrington's pile of lumber, a piece of 1½ inch White-pine 3 feet long.

Mr. Pearce finished spout, and commenced box at the well.

Mrs. Haller and children picked and brought in quite a pile of apples.

22nd Saturday. Fine day: breakfasted rather late. Mr. Pearce finished the box and floor of the well. Bored holes in a few trees by Mr. Nisbit; unloaded and took an account of Barrington's lumber, found I had 387 feet. Hauled 2 loads of Stone then returned wagon to Mr. Hinebaugh. Sodded around the Dairy, from ploughed ground until dark.

Mr. Wallace called and talked of roads. Mr. Garrett called and borrowed \$50.00 (dft on Blumberg) to pay Chas. Miller for a Cow, etc.

Mrs. Haller and children finished picking the fruit trees.

. . . . .  
*January, 1865*

8th. Sunday . . . I wrote, or rather finished, a long letter to Bro Theodore today to take along tomorrow to the Landing. I proposed to him, when buying implements for farming at New York City, to get the merchant to send him my bill "accompanied with a bill of Lading (quaduplicate) "from the vessel on which they are shipped" and when he is satisfied all is right, give the necessary orders to the York Bank to pay the amount out of my funds, saying "I will write to Uncle Welsh to comply with your orders." I reminded him of the \$600.00 due me last November from King and Klinefelter, and hoped he had retained the \$115.08 due to the "Equitable Life Assurance Society of the U. S.," on the 1st of March next, for my Life Assurance policy. I also spoke of my farming, etc, and answered his letter of the 27th of May last.

Hennie finished a long letter to her sister Catharine to go along tomorrow. She asks for Ellen to decide if she will come out here or not, telling her I will assure her \$500.00 in Greenbacks and boarding, per annum, by teaching school for the District and our children. Adding that she may even get better offers.

. . . . .  
*February, 1865*

16th. Thursday. Windy morning. Breakfasted early. Mr. Wright and I opened furrows in the plowed ground in Orchard; Chas. loaded the wagon with manure; and Joe dug the furrows where the sods fell back into it: then Mr. Wright and Chas. hauled and filled the wagon: I had several loads of clay muck hauled to the yard, from the Duck Pond, and filled a trench with it and manure for currents and Gooseberries. After dinner, Chas. and Joe carried manure into the furrows, and I planted seven and a half rows of Lady finger Potatoes, which Chas. covered with Hoe. Joe sawed wood; Mr. Wright split rails and stakes

and dressed a few posts after the rain set in: towards evening rain brought Chas. to the house, when he filed off a piece of the Iron pipe of well, and curried the mares, etc. Joe split wood in the shed.

Mr. Wright paid me Ten Dollars on the Rifle.

Finding the Cow, "Spottie," a fine Durham, not up, this morning, I sent Morris and Mai in search of her, and they soon returned and informed me that she was Dead. Poor thing, she had fallen down between two trees in such manner that she could not regain her legs, and struggled until death put an end to her troubles. We did [not] count to see if all were up, each day, hence did not miss her. I gave her flesh to the Indians, but retained her skin, and that of a fine unborn calf (Leifer), and the feet for making glue.

17th. Friday. Raining and very stormy. Breakfasted early. Mr. Wright dressed and partly squared, Posts for making board fence, say about 40: Chas. laid stones in the drain, and covered them with earth, as far as the stones we had at hand would permit; he removed manure from the shed ready for hauling; killed a pig and cleaned it; and did other little things: I fixed the pump in place so as to work; fixed up several boards with surplice pins, Brass knobs, etc. on them for hanging clothes on; and several little things about the house. Joe came but the weather being bad, I excused him.

Mr. Garrett came back with his Rifle and exchanged it for a hair trigger. Chas. Anderson and Wm. Pearson came and each took a Rifle—the former \$12.00; the latter, a Government Pattern Rifle. Peter came and took the other Government Rifle at \$10.00. Mr. Wright laid out his Rifle and will charge him \$12.00. Sold Joe apples 37 1/2 cts.

April, 1865

4th. Tuesday. Frosty morning, but clear day. Breakfasted early. Set Mr. Hanna, Bob, and Joe, to digging trench for remainder of trees; and Mr. Wright to haul trees and manure. Mr. Walker trimmed the transplanted trees, and set in all that were brought up, and completed his work in the orchard, before dinner.

I proceeded to Coupeville to attend the Democratic meeting to nominate Delegates to Convention, to meet at Olympia, on the 12th inst. and County Officers. Stopped at Barrington's for a few minutes and took some Brandy with him and friends. Mr. Buzby came as I was leaving, but I declined noticing him in any way as I passed. I stopped also at Capt. Swift's and sat an hour: he gave me some excellent vaccine matter for Thedy. I then hastened to Coupeville and attended the meeting, but owing to the notices being put up only a few days before, calling the meeting, there were few there, about 14 persons, while [if] generally known more persons would have attended, hence it was proposed to nominate delegates to the Territorial Convention, and adjourn until the 2nd Saturday in May next. I was nominated as delegate and chosen: then Mr. Bogart was nominated and chosen.

Mr. Caleb Miller was nominated by me as Representative to the Territorial Legislature; Capt. Hathaway, by young Hathaway, for Assessor; and I, by Mr. Jno. Condry, for Commissioner; but it was agreed to withdraw these nominations until next May, when a full meeting can act on the nominations.

Wm. Pearson bought 2 lbs. Butter 5/- \$1.25 and exchanged some Herring for salt.

Sold Indians \$2.50 of apples. Bought clams for 25 cts.

*June, 1865*

5th. Monday. Tried to rain but failed and cleared off. Breakfasted early. Mr. Hanna dressed Posts in the forenoon and attended the election after dinner. Peter worked at the drain in the afternoon. The little Indians gathered Stones and loaded the Drag, and Morris hauled them off the ploughed ground until I came home when I drove the mares, and finished removing the Stones.

I went to the election, at Oak Harbor, and deposited the Democratic Ticket in full; it received a full majority of 10 votes. Dined at Mr. Gillespie's: paid for 2 Poll Taxes \$4.00 and paid Wm. Pearson, on account, \$2.50. Came home about 4 O'clock P. M.

6th. Tuesday. Fine day. Breakfasted early. Mr. Hanna bored a few holes in a fallen Tree, and split a few Rails: about 11 o'clock he stopped work (not having recovered from the effects of the election,) and went off. Peter charred Posts until noon, but stopped from indisposition. Bob and Joe did not work.

Morris and I worked in the ploughed ground; he harrowing, and I and the little Indians picking up Stones, etc. I raised some half dozen very large stones, and removed some large pieces of Blue grass from the grounds. Andy took sick and left before dinner: Paid Abe and Jeff, each, 50 cts. = \$1.00.

Mr. McGill, of Olympia, called as Asst. Assessor, and I invited him to remain over night. He and I called at Mr. Izett's and the Millers' Houses, and at night Mr. Izett, and Mr. Kennedy called, also Mr. Buzby, and the two, first named, spent the evening with us. Wm. Pearson bought 2 lbs. Butter \$1.00.

9th. Friday. Morning clear but rain in the afternoon. Breakfasted early. Peter and 2 Indian Boys weeded and hoed the Potatoes in Maryott's orchard. Bob churned, and assisted to plow furrows for planting potatoes. Morris also assisted at the plowing, but principally at harrowing, and Bob hoed potatoes while harrowing the ground. I spent the day with the Indians; most of the time driving the Mares.

Mr. Hanna felt too sick to work today.

10th. Saturday. Fine day. Breakfasted early. Bob, Peter, and the 2 Indian boys planted potatoes. Mr. Hanna hauled the potatoes to the field; then proceeded to Mr. Pearson's and got the pig; then hauled Posts, and rails; and ploughed furrows to finish the potatoe ground.

Morris and I assisted in planting potatoes, but I was called away by getting home the pig to weigh it—found it weighed 2 lbs less than the one that ran away, but I told William I would call it even. Old Mr. Miller called and kept me at the house until after dinner: he and Frank dined with us. Frank came to tell us he had killed a calf and we could get some veal. Mai rode over and brought home 23 lbs at . . . cts. per lb. We planted about 8 bus. potatoes during the day.

I paid the 2 Indian Boys, each, 50 cts: making \$1.00.

Mr. Bradley called to see us, and brought home some mended Boots.

13th. Tuesday. Fine day. Breakfasted early. Mr. Hanna yesterday and to-day bored holes in logs and set fire to them. Joe and Abe came, and planted potatoes in the morning and picked off the Blue grass and stones from ploughed ground in the afternoon. Joe also churned Butter and Abe weeded the corn for some time. I paid Abe, for yesterday and today, 25 cts.

John Cornelius came late with his oxen, 2 yokes, and his plow. I loaned him a plough point, and he commenced plowing in good style, in the meadow, along the North line. He cut up nearly an acre. I am to pay him \$5.00 per acre.

Morris and I worked with the Indians. He drove the mares most of the time harrowing a number of furrows shut, as we did not have potatoes enough to fill them, and are going to plant Turneps, cabbage, etc in the ground.

I made myself generally useful: made a rude rake for drilling the ground for planting in seeds. Opened furrows where I found the ground caved in; removed stones off the potatoe ground; weeded corn; harrowed; hauled Stones, etc.

Mr. Izett and Mr. Lynch called and sat awhile.

30th. Friday. Fine day. Breakfasted early. Mr. Bradley and Mr. Hanna mowed until noon, then raked the Hay into winnows, and set it in Cocks. I replaced teeth in a rake; prepared the Hay bed of wagon for setting it on the wheels; removed fencing around the Hay Shed and cleaned out the manure and got it ready for placing the new Hay in it; then raked the Hay into winnows. Took the Children down in the afternoon and showed them how to make winnows and they helped considerably. In the evening walked to the beach and met Mr. Pearson and engaged him to cut Hay. Found Bob had gone to Coupeville with Mr. Buzby, so could not engage him.

July 1st. Saturday. Fine day. Breakfasted early. Mr. Bradley and Mr. Hanna mowed in the forenoon. I mowed a wagon path from the Bars to gate of Calf pasture, etc. besides attending to Jno. Cornelius resuming his plowing, and tying the Gates to prevent Big Horn from breaking through as she had broken through the Stable door and gate to Calf pasture. Mr. Hanna and I then hauled 3 loads of Hay from the plowed ground to Hay shed, when Mr. Hanna made Haycocks and I

assisted the children who had been making winnows of the dried Hay. Hanna and I also hauled 2 bales of Old Hay into Calf pasture for feed, and a quantity of new mowed grass for the Calves. Mr. Bradley mowed until I sent him my fork, when he made Hay cocks. We all then went down to the Hay Shed and got it ready, by removing Rosetta's Stand and some bales of old Hay to one side to fill shed with Hay. After supper Mr. Hanna and I tried to fix up the old rigging for hauling Hay, as it did not fit well this morning and we improvised a wagon to haul the Hay out of Cornelius' way.

Wm. Mountz called and chatted for awhile.

7th. Friday. Fine day. Breakfasted early. Bradley, Hanna, and Bryant mowed all day. Wm. Pearson mowed until afternoon when I called on him to drive the wagon.

At dinner time, the Schooner "Wester" was reported as approaching my landing; I went down and waited her arrival. She brought me Lumber, also 4 doors and 10 sets of window sash. Also Doors, Window Sash, and Baling Rope for Capt. Barrington. Also a sack, containing Boots and shoes for Mr. Izett.

While loading the wagon, a boat arrived bringing Mr. Mitchell, the Carpenter, who is going to work for me at \$3.50 per diem.

The wagon hauled up all the doors and windows, and Mr. Mitchell's Toolchest and baggage. Leaving mine at the house, Mr. Pearson and I proceeded with Capt. Barrington's to Oak Harbor. I delivered the things to the Captain, and bought 2 sacks Salt at \$2.00 each, and 80 lbs. Fresh Beef. The Hay Rake I had engaged from Phillips had not arrived. I engaged Capt. Barrington to bring from Victoria 2 Stone Jars, and a small bundle from Mrs. Shain's house, in that City, when he goes there again.

### *Hop Culture Brings Prosperity to Puyallup.<sup>2</sup>*

The growing of hops was for many years extremely profitable in both eastern and western Washington. The opening of new agricultural areas, however, resulted in the introduction of cereal crops on a large scale. Increasingly the Inland Empire came to be known as a farmer's paradise where fortunes were to be made from the soil, and where crop failures were rarely experienced. For a time during the early eighties the Walla Walla region was the grain center. The next few years saw a rapid development of the "Big Bend" section and the Palouse country began to come into its own. In 1895 Whitman County alone produced 7,238,217 bushels of wheat, 998,300 bushels of oats, and 1,476,906 bushels of barley. See Earl Zimmerman, "Introductory Study of the Development of Agriculture in Eastern Washington," MS in the University of Washington Library; Bureau of Statistics, Agriculture, and Immigration, *First Annual Report* (Olympia, 1896), pp. 218-20.

<sup>2</sup> From "Hop-Picking in Puyallup," in *Harper's Weekly* (October 20, 1888), XXXII, 795.

## HOP-PICKING IN PUYALLUP.

Two small streams heading in the glaciers of Mount Tacoma unite and form the Puyallup River, a small watercourse emptying into Commencement Bay, Washington Territory, on the border of Puget Sound. Several similar streams water valleys like that of the Puyallup, and for some reason all of these are famous grounds for hop-raising. The valley of the Puyallup is about thirty miles long, and its entire area is either devoted to hop culture or is being cleared preparatory thereto. The soil of the valley is a warm, rich, black loam, and its constituents are so peculiarly adapted to the uses that it has been put to that a failure of the crop is a thing unknown. The average yield is fifteen hundred pounds, but one ton of hops to the acre is by no means an exceptional crop. The cost of cultivation is locally set down at prices ranging from eight to ten cents a pound, and as the average price is more than twenty cents per pound, the profit of a Puyallup hop ranch may be easily reckoned.

Hop culture in these parts had a great boom in 1882, when, owing to the failure of the crop in Europe, prices all over the world went up. The Puyallup growers were struggling with adversity, barely earning a living, when they suddenly found themselves rich beyond the dreams of avarice. Prices mounted from a few cents per pound to thirty-five cents, and even one dollar. Families that had been rubbing along on the barest necessities of life were made rich in a single season. Individual crops that year brought from \$10,000 to \$60,000, and in one instance at least a grower sold his hop harvest for \$100,000. Bachelors sought out wives, humble ranchers built handsome houses, prosperity bloomed and bourgeoned throughout the length of the valley, and more than one happy couple spent much time ransacking the shops of Tacoma in search of gems and "articles of bigotry and virtue" to suit their altered circumstances in life. It so happened, too, that that very year the discouraged inhabitants of Josephine County, Oregon, a famous hop-growing region, had pulled up their vineyards and planted other crops, the hop market being voted too unprofitable for them. The Washington Territory hop-growers had things all their own way for a time.

Since that golden era hop culture has flourished mightily in the valleys of the Puyallup and the White rivers. A man with twenty acres of hop-bearing land is counted rich in Puyallup Valley. The prices of hops fluctuate more, it is said, than those of any other agricultural product. But the yield is certain, the product well known and well liked in the world's markets, and there is no failure, no blight or disease. Slips planted in the early spring bear well before the end of the long warm season. The hop gardens present a most beautiful and attractive sight when the season for picking begins. The vines are trained on upright poles about fifteen feet high, and the brilliant greenery, grace-

ful festoons, and delicate tendrils, lush and luxuriant, form a stately array in their serried ranks. The picking, usually begun in October, is chiefly done by the Indians, who flock hither in hop time from hundreds of miles away up and down the coast. In their high-prowed canoes, each fashioned from a single cedar log and ornamented with barbaric art, they navigate the tortuous waters of the Sound and its affluents, and bag and baggage, wives and children, migrate to the hop regions for harvest-work. The pickers work in gangs, but one Indian is recognized as the captain of each box. He receives at the drying-house one silver dollar, cash in hand paid, for each boxful delivered. The drying-houses are usually picturesque objects in the verdant landscape, being browned by the smoke of the slow fires that smoulder in the lower floor; for the hop must be dried slowly, in order to insure the full richness of its quality, and the Washington Territory hops are among the richest in the world. A deep draught of the delicious aroma that exhales from the great masses of slowly drying hops in the larger houses is almost intoxicating. It is suggestive of food and drink and perfume.

On the horizon of this beautiful picture in the hop vineyard looms, cloud-like, the ever-snowy peak of Tacoma, nearly 15,000 feet high. In the foreground is the tented village of the nomadic hop-pickers, close by the milky stream that issues from the glaciers, all with a background of intensely green columns of hop vines, backed again by the sombre verdure of the firs and pines. These form a picture which, once seen, can never be forgotten. When the slow process of drying, pressing, and baling the crop is over, the army of harvesters strikes its tents and melts away, and winter closes over the brown fields as it was wont.

### *Irrigation Works Miracles in Eastern Washington.<sup>3</sup>*

The most successful irrigation projects in Washington prior to 1900 were those in Yakima and Kittitas counties. Short ditches were constructed in the Methow and Okanogan country also, and small acreages were put under water in Stevens, Klickitat, Douglas, and Walla Walla counties.

Small improvements were made by individual effort. Later the organization of joint stock companies made possible the building of more extensive irrigation canals. During the eighties several ambitious projects were undertaken. In 1885 the Ellensburg Water Company, incorporated with a capital of \$40,000, began work on the "Town Ditch." By 1890 seventeen miles of this canal had been completed, carrying water to 2,000 acres of improved farm land. About the same time, the Moxee Company, representing outside capital, built a \$40,000 canal, eighteen feet wide and three feet deep, which served several thousand acres. By 1890 nearly 50,000 acres of land in central and eastern Washington were cultivated by irrigation.

In 1889 the Yakima Canal and Land Company was organized with a capital of one million dollars to undertake a far more spectacular scheme. The plan called for ninety-eight miles of canal and large storage reservoirs which together would

<sup>3</sup> From Kirk Munroe, "Eastern Washington and the Water Miracle of Yakima," in *Harper's Weekly* (May 19, 1894), XXXVIII, 466.

carry water to some 200,000 acres. Work on the project, which was to cost \$600,000, began in 1891. The company failed to complete it, however and turned it over to the government in 1905 only half finished. After the turn of the century federal agencies gradually assumed the responsibility for the reclamation of arid lands. See Rose Boening, "History of Irrigation in the State of Washington," *Washington Historical Quarterly* (October, 1918, and January, 1919), IX, 259-76; X, 21-45.

#### EASTERN WASHINGTON AND THE WATER MIRACLE OF YAKIMA.

Our Westward-bound traveller, whose very anticipations of the "Evergreen State," confirmed at Spokane, are being widely dispelled by his surroundings, does not hesitate to call the parched wastes, stretching away as far as he can see on either side of him, desert lands. Not only that, but he imagines them to be so utterly worthless and unclaimable that he wonders what earthly use white men have for that country anyway. He catches no glimpse of the prolific wheat-fields of the Palouse region, just south of the railroad, in which the average yield, under a natural water supply, is thirty bushels to the acre. Nor does he see anything of the equally fertile Big Bend wheat lands that lie to the north; for, with the usual perversity of railroads, the Northern Pacific has here chosen to traverse the most unattractive section of the State. To one who in August scans its scorched and arid leagues it is past belief that rain shall ever visit them, while the statement that the greatest losses known to its farmers are caused by floods would be received with scoffing incredulity. It is nevertheless true that eastern Washington suffered a loss of between 12,000,000 and 15,000,000 bushels of wheat, that were awaiting transportation, from the prolonged rains that flooded this very section of the country toward the close of 1893.

There is no thought nor hope of rain during the summer, and our traveller, fretting under manifold discomforts, cannot find words strong enough to express his disgust and disappointment. Even an approach to the majestic Columbia brings no relief, for its low banks are verdureless to the water's edge. After it has been crossed and left behind there is no apparent change for the better in the succeeding hundred miles. To be sure, there is another river to be seen after a while, and the dust-enveloped train seems to be following its course; but the glare and heat are unabated, while on both sides the sage-brush still flaunts its ashen-hued mockery of foliage. Under these conditions it is so irritating to hear some fellow-sufferer declare this valley of the Yakima to be one of the most fertile sections of the State, and the surrounding wastes to be the coming hop-yard of the world, that one is moved to make retort and deride a proposition of such manifest absurdity.

That is what I did toward the close of an intensely hot and wearisome day of last August, and when I was finally persuaded to stop off at North Yakima, to see for myself, it was rather with a view to con-

founding this particular bit of braggadocio by its own testimony than with the hope of being shown anything worthy of attention.

The bus ride from station to hotel revealed nothing of special interest, except that the street was very wide, and that its dust had been thoroughly laid by a copious watering; but on leaving the vehicle I must confess to a feeling of amazement at my surroundings. Barren hills and sagebrush were still to be seen on the outskirts of the little city, but only by glimpses through a grateful screen of rustling foliage. The ripple of running waters was in the air, and it came from clear streams that lined both sides of every street between roadway and sidewalk. The same streets were filled with shade, from end to end, for though the city is very young, the growth of its shade trees, whose roots have never know thirst, has been rapid beyond belief. This pleasant bordering of the thoroughfares is completed by bands of verdant sward. Every house in town stands by itself, embowered by fruit trees, in yards green with grass or gay with a riotous growth of roses. Every street rivulet is a miniature irrigating canal, from which a little lateral reaches to each garden or door-yard, and every householder may use as much water as he pleases. In addition to this system of irrigation, that is as widespread as the city itself, there is a distinct high-pressure water service for fire purposes and domestic use.

While the North Yakima of to-day, containing a population of 4000 souls, is thus a place of abundant waters, grass, trees, flowers, and pleasant houses, only eight years have elapsed since its site was as barren a bit of sage-brush desert as existed in eastern Washington. The region of which it formed a part was a poor grazing country, in which often more cattle were starved to death than grew fat, and for agricultural purposes it was considered worthless. Its lands could hardly be given away, and few persons were found so poor as to be willing to accept them. The valley of the Yakima was considered to be cursed by the hottest of suns, the bluest of skies, and a drought rarely broken between April and November. In 1885 the Northern Pacific dragged its dusty length through this despised desert, and a station was established at North Yakima. About the railroad tanks, the scattered dwellings, or wherever there was water, seeds dropped by chance, or planted with faint hopes that they would germinate, sprang up with the vigor and rapidity of Jack's beanstalk. Thus did the land of the Yakima seize every opportunity for redeeming its name from the universal obloquy attached to it. Very soon chemists began to analyze the powdery soil, and found it to be a volcanic deposit containing every element of fertility. Artesian wells were sunk into it and through it. Some of them yielded water, while others did not; but all showed the soil to be of inexhaustible depth, ranging from 20 to 100 feet, and irrigation was declared to be the thing needful to transforming the Yakima Valley

from a desert into one of the garden spots of the earth. There was slender capital available for such a purpose; but with such as could be secured irrigation was undertaken, at first by means of water-wheels established on the river-banks and discharging into pipes or rude troughs that led to the narrow fields. Then came such short canals as small companies of the interested land-owners could afford to dig and maintain. Finally, and so recently that it is not yet finished, came the great artificial waterway known as the Sunnyside Canal, one of the most extensive irrigating propositions in the West. This canal, which has its head-gates a few miles below the city, on the east bank of the Yakima, from which it takes its water, is two miles long, 60 feet wide on top and 32 at the bottom, is eight feet deep, and carries 700 cubic feet of water per second. At the close of the irrigating season of 1893, 48 miles of the main canal, 14 miles of the branch canals, and over 200 miles of the laterals were in active operation. This single enterprise will convert, or rather is converting . . . about 75,000 acres of absolutely barren and unproductive desert into as valuable an agricultural area as can be found in the United States.

Such of these desert lands as can never be brought under the influence of water are worthless. Those classed as "irrigable," because they come within the scope of proposed canals, are hired at about five dollars per acre. Lands already within reach of the life-giving waters, and which need but the opening of a floodgate to render them incredibly prolific, are sold at from \$40 to as high as \$150 per acre, the average price being \$65. The canal company offers such lands on easy terms, only one-fifth of the purchase money being required to bind the bargain, while the remaining four-fifths may be paid in instalments at the end of as many successive years. In addition to the purchase-money, all land "under the canal" is taxed with an annual maintenance fee of one dollar per acre.

Twenty dollars per acre will clear the land of sagebrush, its only wild growth, and provide it with irrigating ditches, when it is at once ready for cultivation, and will begin to yield an income within two months if planted in vegetables or alfalfa. If set out with hop-vines, these will yield 1000 pounds to the acre at the end of the first season, and 1800 to 2000 the second year, and after that from 2000 to 2400, which readily bring from 18 to 22 cents per pound, while the entire cost of raising a crop, including picking, drying, and baling, together with interest on the price of the land, rarely exceeds 10 cents per pound. With irrigation an accomplished fact, the very heat, the unbroken droughts, and cloudless skies that prevail east of the Cascade Mountains, and once combined to make the desert a desert, have become most potent agents of prosperity. Owing to them forage crops may be cured at any time in the open air with absolute certainty. Grain knows neither

blight, rust, nor mildew. Melons and small fruits attain a luscious maturity rivalling that of California. Peach-trees are laden with perfect sun-kissed fruit at the end of their second year. Prunes come into bearing in three years, apples and pears in from three to five years, and grapes at the end of a single season. The growth of alfalfa, the great forage crop of the West, is so rapid under the favoring conditions of rich soil, abundant water, and steady heat, that five crops of from one and a half to two tons per acre may be cut from the same piece of land during a six months' season. For this hay there is an ever-growing home demand at from \$8 to \$10 per ton.

With all its diversity of generous yields, the glory of this reclaimed section of the great desert lies in its hops. Nowhere else, save in the Sonoma district of California, are hops grown to such size and perfection. Not only does the Yakima product enjoy all the advantages of soil and moisture possessed by its kin of the Puyallup Valley across the mountains, but to it the ravaging hop-louse is a stranger. Steady dry heat, undimmed sunshine, are fatal to the existence of this pest, and thus what was once regarded as the curse of the Yakima Valley is now known to be one of its greatest blessings. So eminently suited is this region to the perfect growing of hops, and so rapidly is the average of vines increasing, that, in spite of the very recent introduction of the crop, Yakima can already boast of the largest single hop-yard in the world. It contains 600 acres of vines, and exceeds the next in size, which is to be found in Alameda County, California, by 250 acres, and the third largest, which is in the great Susqualince ranch, not far from Seattle, 260 acres—these ranches containing 350 and 340 acres respectively.

I did not believe more than half of what I was told and would not have been surprised to find that even that half was stretched. Still, I was open to conviction, and so, on the following morning, after being provided with a voluminous dust-coat, which is as indispensable during the summer of that region as is an overcoat in winter, I was taken on a comprehensive tour of the surrounding country. The moment we left the watered streets of the town the dust-clouds of our own raising became gigantic and overwhelming. Irrigation is kind to the Yakima country, but it has never undertaken to rule the highways, in which dust, choking, penetrating, and suffocating, reigns triumphant.

The wearing of a particular outer garment is a farce, for the Yakima dust not only penetrates its every fold, but sifts through it at will. The impalpable chocolate-colored powder of the roadway was about six inches deep, and was lifted by and poured from the wagon-spokes like water by a mill-wheel. The fresh morning breeze whirled it aloft in such a manner that our enveloping cloud would have proved an ample guide by day for the children of Israel. While the vehicle was in motion

it was seldom that we on its seat could catch a glimpse of our horses' heads. Not being an agriculturist gone daft over the glories of Yakima, I said unpleasant things about the dust as often as I dared open my mouth, but my companion, who owned an immensely profitable hop ranch in that vicinity, only noticed it by remarking, "How's that for soil?"

Everything was all right—whenever we halted, and gave the dust-clouds a chance to settle or slowly drive away, when, as by the uplifting of a curtain, were disclosed broad fields of alfalfa, in which sleek cattle stood knee-deep, and areas of golden-crowned hop-vines, tall, thickset, and forming jungles in which one might become lost and wander for hours without discovering an exit. Vineyards of a lusty growth, not higher than a man's knee, but heavily laden with ripening fruit, stretched away in parallel rows until merged by perspective into solid beds of green. Thrifty orchards of young trees shaded pleasant cottage houses, very humble in most cases, but surrounded by unmistakable evidences of comfort and plenty.

Many of the field boundaries and roadways were marked by lines of cottonwood, poplar, or other quick-growing shade trees. Birds sang and flowers bloomed on all sides. Everywhere were the ripple and glimmer of water. The road-side canals and lateral ditches were brimming full, and it gurgled merrily through little floodgates, giving access to the green fields wherever it found them open.

Save for the occasional intrusion of narrow belts of unwatered sand and melancholy sage, it would have been beyond belief that this smiling landscape could ever have formed a part of the Great American Desert. These evidences were, however, irrefutable, and in contrasting them with their environment one could not but marvel at the miracle thus attested.

### *The Patrons of Husbandry Carry Their Program to the Far West.*<sup>4</sup>

The Granger movement, founded by Oliver H. Kelly in 1867, spread rapidly through the Middle West during the next few years. It reached Washington Territory in August, 1873, when N. W. Carretson established the Waitsburg Grange in what was then Walla Walla County. Seven other local granges were organized in the county during that year. By 1888 there were locals in some twenty counties of the territory. The Washington State Grange was organized immediately following the state's admission to the Union in 1889.

The passages which appear below suggest the Grangers' ideas concerning the farmer's place in society, and the political measures which the organization supported. A sketch of early Washington Grange history appears in the *Grange News*, jubilee edition (Seattle, 1913).

<sup>4</sup> From Washington State Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, *Journal of Proceedings, Third Annual Session* (East Portland, Oreg., 1891), pp. 17-19, 51-67.

The Worthy Master then delivered his annual address: . . .

Brothers and sisters: I congratulate you on the fact that the Order in our State is in a fairly prosperous condition. We have not gained in numerical strength as rapidly as we could wish, but we have taught the farmer in this country that they can organize among themselves and can wield an influence in their behalf when united. While the farmers have been gaining this knowledge, the politicians have learned the power of united husbandmen, and the dishonest ones among them are by no means comforted by the uneasiness among their old supporters. There has also been kindled in the hearts of not a few a thirst for knowledge and an inspiration to work which augues [augurs] well for the future.

We may be proud of our organization. Proud of it because of its national characters. It exists in thirty-six states. In fact, it knows no North, no South, no East nor West. It is composed of the very best people in our land; of men and women whose innate love of justice and hatred of oppression, first prompted our organization; a people whose occupation is the basis of all national as well as individual prosperity; of those who own their own homes and the acres they till and are from choice, as well as necessity, the friends of law and order and good government. We have no communism no socialism in our ranks. No anarchist can be found among us. But our order is made up of men and women willing to work hand in hand with other orders and associations for the good of our country and the up-building of mankind.

One of the great purposes of the Grange is to place the farmer in his proper place in the social and political world by a decided improvement in his moral powers and mental attainments. Mental and moral worth when coupled with strength of purpose, mount up in spite of opposition and will come to the front and make its mark in a free country like ours. The fact that we find others ahead of us in the race of life is no reason we should conclude that they have climbed into our places and that the only way for us to rise is to oust them. The road of advancement is broad enough for all, and our hope of ultimate success depends more on our own moral and mental progress than the retarding of others. The question may be asked "Why have farmers fallen so far behind in the race?" To this I would say he has exercised his physical powers to the neglect of his mental faculties, has spent too many hours each day in the field to the neglect of his political duties, has slighted his educational advantages and allowed his social privileges to slip past unheeded while others have improved their opportunities. But the awakening has come to many of us. Let us, through our Grange arouse every farmer and urge upon him mental activity and moral purpose. Let every farmer wake up and think on the questions of the day, reading as much as possible, remembering that he is called upon to have an opinion of his own on all questions. So, likewise, let him have a purpose in life and follow it, laying hold upon every educational advantage and social privilege for himself and family, giving the young people the advantage of the Grange for it is a school for the young as well as the old.

The Grange now resumed work under the call of new business.

Resolution by Bro. Frank Lee relating to certain lands withheld from settlement; referred to Committee on Legislation. By the same brother relating to an act of the last Legislature exempting notes, bonds, etc., from taxation; to the same committee. Reports of committees was [were] then presented as follows: The Committee on Resolutions reported back the preamble and resolutions offered by Bro. Jewett, and recommend their adoption, as follows:

WHEREAS: It is the sentiment of this Grange that the outlying field work—the breaking of new soil and the extension of the borders of the Grange farm is of the first importance in securing the continued prosperity of the Grange Home, and as one of the most effective tools for this purpose is the distribution, in untilled sections, of the best Grange literature; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Executive Committee be asked and empowered to set aside as large sums as possible for the especial purpose of procuring and distributing Grange literature, and that the State Grange Secretary be empowered to use as large a portion of such sums as the committee shall deem can be applied by him to advantage.

Concurred in unanimously.

*Worthy Master*: Your Committee on Legislation have had under their consideration the following, presented by Bro. Buchanan of LaCentre Grange, and would recommend its adoption:

*Resolved*: That we favor a just and fair Railroad law to prevent extortion and discrimination in rates as well as all kinds of abuse of power.

Concurred in also.

Your committee report back the resolution of Emery Harris in regard to the law on revenue and taxation and move that it be laid on the table.

Concurred in.

By request, Bro. Dewey made some very interesting and instructive remarks about Grange literature.

Recess was declared until 7:30 o'clock.

#### THIRD DAY—THURSDAY JUNE 4TH

Grange reassembled at 8 o'clock and was duly opened by the Worthy Master in the Fourth Degree. Roll call; quorum present. The minutes of yesterday were read and approved.

The delegate from Spring Creek Grange not being present, George W. Millian was, on motion, appointed to fill the vacancy.

On motion it was ordered that no person but the mover of a question be allowed to speak more than five minutes to each question.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

*Worthy Master and Members of Washington State Grange*: Your Committee on Legislation beg leave to submit the following report: On the resolution introduced by Bro. Buchanan of LaCentre Grange, which reads as follows:

*Resolved*, That we are in favor of tax on inheritances. The farther removed the kinship the greater the tax. Also, the greater amount inherited the higher the rate per cent. of tax.

Your committee would recommend its adoption.

Adopted.

Also, from LaCamas Grange by Sister Still.

*Resolved*, By LaCamas Grange, that we approve the action of the Governor in opposing the appropriation of \$50,000 for a Mineralogical survey.

Your Committee, by unanimous vote would recommend its adoption.  
Concurred in.

By Bro. Frank Lee.

*To the Honorable Secretary of the Interior:* It having come to the knowledge of the Washington State Grange assembled at Goldendale, that the odd numbered sections in Township 2 north, range 13 east, of the Willamette Meridian, are withheld from settlement in favor of Indians, and there are but few, if any, Indians located on this land, while it is true that many white settlers have valuable improvements on many of these odd numbered sections. Therefore it would be deemed an act of justice by the State Grange if you would cause this land to be opened to settlers who have made these improvements, and these settlers be allowed to enter these lands under the general land laws of the United States, and if any are so entitled, to enter under the Forfeiture Act of September 30, 1890.

We, your committee, do recommend the adoption of the foregoing resolution.  
Adopted.

By the same:

WHEREAS, The framers of the Revenue law, enacted by our last Legislature, either through oversight or intentionally, so framed the law that it has been interpreted by the Attorney General in a manner to exempt notes, accounts, mortgages, and other property of like nature from taxation, thereby placing almost the entire burden of taxes on the farmers, and

WHEREAS, The Constitution expressly forbids the enactment of special laws, favoring special classes, and

WHEREAS, This new law shows on its face that it is unconstitutional and void. Therefore be it

*Resolved,* By the State Grange of Washington, that we condemn such law in the most emphatic manner, and that the Legislative Committee be instructed to thoroughly investigate the matter and inform the Subordinate Granges what, in their opinion, is the means of getting relief and redress.

Your committee, by unanimous vote, would recommend its adoption.

Concurred in.

Resolution from LaCentre Grange by Bro. Buchanan.

*Resolved,* That the formation of combinations and trusts for the purpose of controlling prices, should be, by Congress, declared a crime, and any person, if convicted of entering into any such combination for such purpose, should be punished, both by fine and imprisonment.

Your committee recommend its adoption.

Recommendation concurred in.

By the same:

*Resolved,* That we are opposed to the removal of the internal revenue tax on tobacco and spirits.

Your committee would recommend its passage.

Concurred in.

From Klickitat Council Patrons of Husbandry.

WHEREAS, By act of Congress, passed August 13, 1870, a portion of the public lands situated in this State were granted to the Northern Pacific Railroad, and by provisions of such act the purchase price of all the even numbered sections embraced in such grant was increased from \$1.25 per acre to \$2.50 per acre. And . .

WHEREAS, No railroad has been constructed through the portion of lands restored by the act of Congress aforesaid and the price of all government lands situated therein is now reduced to \$1.25 per acre; and

WHEREAS, This act failed to provide any measure of relief or for the payment of any rebate of \$1.25 per acre to be paid to the settlers who have paid \$2.50; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the State Grange does hereby instruct its delegates to the next session of the National Grange to present resolutions asking their support, and that they instruct the National Congressional Committee, Patrons of Husbandry, to endeavor to secure action by the Congress for the payment of a rebate of \$1.25 per acre to all settlers who have heretofore paid to the government \$2.50 per acre for any lands situated within the limits of an railroad grant now declared forfeited by the act of September 29th, 1890, and price of same reduced from \$2.50 to \$1.25 per acre. Also, that each member of the Washington State delegation in Congress be furnished a copy of these resolutions and asked to aid in securing the passage of such laws by Congress as will effectually carry out the objects herein asked for under seal of the State Grange.

Your committee by unanimous vote recommend the adoption of their Preambles and resolution.

Concurred in.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

*Worthy Master*: Your Committee on Resolutions beg leave to submit the following report, viz: That we would unanimously recommend the adoption of the following resolution from Maple Grove Grange introduced by Bro. Goddard.

WHEREAS, Believing the present system of electing United States Senators detrimental to the best interests of honest government; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That we are unanimously in favor of amending the Constitution of the United States so as to provide for the election of the United States Senators by a direct vote of the people.

Adopted.

We would recommend that the resolutions from LaCentre Grange favoring the curtailing of Ritualistic work be indefinitely postponed.

Recommendation sustained.

We recommend that the resolution from Maple Grove Grange and introduced by Bro. Goddard be adopted.

WHEREAS, Believing the License System and the use of intoxicants the greatest curse to mankind. Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That we as Patrons of Husbandry will labor earnestly to have this curse of all curses removed from this fair land.

Recommendation sustained.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOOD OF THE ORDER

*Worthy Master*: Your Committee on Good of the Order respectfully submit their report as follows: That they have examined, and as carefully as time would permit, considered the resolutions referred to us for our consideration and note the same: Resolution from LaCamas Grange introduced by Sister Still. We recommend its adoption.

Recommendation concurred in.

*Resolved*, By the State Grange of Washington, assembled at Goldendale, that we denounce the action of the Chamber of Commerce of Tacoma, in a resolution offered by Nelson Bennett of said Board, in sending an invitation to the National Brewers' Association to visit the State; and we call upon all good men and women everywhere to unite in banishing that great destroyer, alcoholic drink, from our land, for we do sympathize with all attempts for the moral improvement of all the people; and that we regard the temperance societies of the land, which are working by moral suasion for the advancement of the cause, as deserving of the consideration of good men and women everywhere.

Recommendation sustained.

#### REPORT OF W. M. IN THE GRANGE FOR WASHINGTON

Maple Grove Grange reports proceeds from literary entertainments and social parties, \$75.75, which was used to help defray expense of building and furnishing hall.

La Centre Grange reports \$48.90 raised from entertainments, which was used for hall decoration and purchasing organ.

La Camas Grange reports \$30 proceeds of entertainments; also celebration, May 6th, as Flora's day.

St. John's Grange reports that they have made but little progress, not fully understanding the work, but report a willingness for duty as they advance in the noble work.

Washington Grange reports the sisters ever ready to join heart and hand in the good work.

Preston Grange reports \$10 from sale of fancy work; also, \$9 from sale of ice cream. Oyster suppers and sociables have been given and the proceeds used for furnishing hall, buying dishes and purchasing organ. Also \$10 raised for State Lecturer fund, besides a special collection taken up for Nebraska sufferers.

Mt. Pleasant Grange reports \$35 raised from entertainments. Also gave through the winter months weekly sociables, free to all, which have resulted in much good.

Cape Horn Grange reports \$226.13 as the result of Woman's Work, and it has been applied to building hall, furnishing the same and aiding Nebraska sufferers.

No. 6 Grange reports \$60, the proceeds of entertainments, to be applied toward beautifying Grange Home. Have purchased paraphernalia for our Grange. Also celebrated Children's day very successfully.

Enterprise Grange reports the sisters earnest in the good work. Have celebrated Children's day, as well as entertaining their friends and neighbors in a very successful manner, with a resolve to do much more in the future.

Glenwood Grange reports much good work done through the sisters; that they manifest an earnestness in Woman's Work that promises much good.

Pleasant Valley Grange reports their Grange Home made sorrowful by the destroyer, Death, but are now laboring with bright hope for the future. Have made glad the hearts of the young people by celebrating Children's day.

Many other Granges in the State are earnestly engaged in the noble work that have not made any special reports.

The sick have been visited and cared for and much distress relieved; inattentive members reclaimed and interested; the education of the children has received special attention; singing schools organized, and it is through these methods that we hope to interest the young people—by instilling our principle through the beauty of our Grange songs—hoping in this way to reach the young of our land and bring them within the shelter of our Grange Homes.

## CHAPTER XIV

### THE GROWTH OF MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE

*Joseph L. McDonald Describes Maritime Commerce and Shipbuilding  
on Puget Sound, 1871.*<sup>1</sup>

Washington's virgin forests were the basis of the territory's commerce and industry. Sawmills not only cut spars for the Orient but furnished the timber for a thriving local shipbuilding industry. The heavy excess of exports over imports continued throughout the territorial period.

Spars of stately proportions are abundant and are exported in cargoes; the governments of the leading maritime countries have, for years, obtained spars here for their navies. The fleets of the world may enter our waters, ride in perfect security, and procure repairs in hull or spars at short notice at low figures.

"The lumber of Puget Sound, in proportion to its population, is already enormous. There is not more [than] 12,000 to 15,000 inhabitants resident upon the Sound and its tributaries. This population exports more than 155,000,000 feet of lumber annually, besides 20,000,000 laths and shingles, and a large amount of piles and spars. These products of the forest are sent to California, South America, the Sandwich Islands, Australia, China and Europe. Large quantities of spars have been shipped to Europe, many of which were furnished by contract for the French navy; those designed for lower masts were required to be, when hewn into octagonal shape, 120 feet long and 42 inches diameter at a point forty feet from the lower end. Perhaps no other existing forests could furnish spars of such gigantic size, and certainly not at the prices for which they can be afforded upon Puget Sound."—*Garfield*.

This branch of industry operates twenty saw-mills of different capacities, and 150 logging camps and other establishments, which, combined, creates remunerative demand for farming produce, oxen, beef, pork, lard, butter and fish, while skilled labor is better rewarded than in any other country. Annexed are the statistics of Puget Sound collection district for the year ending June 30, 1879:

IMPORTS. — Value of goods imported from foreign countries, \$33,105. Amount of duties collected, \$14,326.

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<sup>1</sup> From J. L. McDonald, *Hidden Treasures, or Fisheries Around the North-West Coast* (Gloucester, Mass., 1871), pp. 67-73.

EXPORTS OF DOMESTIC PRODUCE. — Value exported in American vessels, \$291,000; in foreign vessels, \$149,905; total export to foreign ports, \$440,915, viz.: live animals of all kinds, \$43,713; lumber of all kinds, \$266,288; all other articles, \$130,914.

TONNAGE BELONGING TO THE DISTRICT

62 sailing vessels, .....	tons	13,711.09
19 steamers, .....	"	2,015.87
8 scows and barges, .....	"	140.77
89	Total tonnage,.....	15,867.73

VESSELS CLEARED DURING THE YEAR — American vessels for foreign countries: 115 steamers, 4 ships, 13 barks, 2 brigs, 13 schooners and 2 sloops. Total: vessels, 149; tons, 55,606.25; crew, 2,105. Foreign vessels for foreign countries: 6 steamers, 16 ships, 6 barks, 3 sloops. Total: vessels, 31; tons, 19,227.42; crew, 456. American vessels coastwise: 29 steamers, 11 ships, 18 barks, 1 brig, 9 schooners. Total: vessels, 68; tons, 31,779.74; crew, 1,092. Total number of vessels cleared, 248; tons, 106,613.41; crew, 3,653.

VESSELS ENTERED DURING THE YEAR.—American vessels from foreign countries: 95 steamers, 1 ship, 10 barks, 1 brig, 18 schooners, 22 sloops. Total: vessels, 147; tons, 39,840.06; crew, 1,852. Foreign vessels from foreign countries: 6 steamers, 7 ships, 3 sloops. Total: vessels, 16; tons, 5,366.57; crew, 62. American vessels coastwise: 39 steamers, 18 ships, 43 barks, 3 brigs, 6 schooners. Total: vessels, 109; tons, 55,561.18; crew, 1,853. Total number of vessels entered, 272; tons, 100,767.81; crews, 3,502.

In the coasting trade belonging to other ports there are 1 ship, 12 barks, 1 brig, 4 schooners. Total: vessels, 18; tons, 7,761.25.

The value of shipments coastwise cannot be obtained from any other source than the mills from which the lumber is shipped, as the vessels do not clear from this port unless sailing under a register. The year's shipments coastwise is estimated at three millions of dollars; being an increase over the preceding year of nearly three hundred thousand dollars. Imports coastwise cannot be ascertained, as the vessels are not obliged to report at the Custom House, except in certain cases.

*Shipbuilding* has been inaugurated on Puget Sound. The dense forests of firs fringing our waters, the tall trees, the close grain, the bending elasticity, and the cheapness of the material, renders this valley the shipyard of the north Pacific coast. In 1867, the board of marine underwriters of San Francisco instituted an inquiry into the facilities for, and the cost of shipbuilding on the northwest coast, as compared with eastern shipyards. The facts developed by these enquiries were, that vessels could be built of the timber found on that coast, all other finish being the same, at a less price than on the Atlantic seaboard or the British islands. The committee appointed reported that "The growth of the business has also been hindered by grave doubts as to the strength and durability of our firs when used as ship timber. The predilections of all American and English shipwrights are naturally for oak; but oak has been scarce, or rather the oak of this coast has generally been found worthless for these purposes, while only the laurel has been found suitable as a substitute for it. Sufficient time has, however, elapsed to prove to us that we have several kinds of ship timber in the greatest abundance, and of a size and quality in every way better adapted for ship

building than the timber used for many years back on the coast of Maine or the British Provinces.

"The red and yellow fir trees, which constitute about one-half of the dense growth of timber of Oregon and Washington Territory, have become celebrated throughout the world for their magnificent proportions and the serviceable quality of the spars and lumber supplied from them. They frequently furnish sticks 150 feet long, 10x18, and even 24x24 inches square, without a particle of sap, without a rent or check, perfectly sound and straight. Planks of this timber, 60 and 90 feet long, are readily obtainable, thus avoiding the necessity for more than one-third to one-half as many butts or scarfs in a ship's sides, decks, or fore-and-aft timbers as are required in Eastern or European vessels. As to the strength of these woods many mechanics think it fully equal to that of the Eastern white oak, and they all agree that if oak be stronger, nothing is easier than to use enough more of our fir to make up the difference in strength. In some other respects the fir has the advantage over oak. It contains just enough pitch to enable it to hold iron fastenings with a tenacity so great that bolts and spikes generally break before they will draw out of it. Iron never becomes 'sick' when embedded in it, as it does when corroded by the acid which saturates all kinds of oak. As to its durability, we know that although it has not yet been tested as the sole material of a guano or pepper ship, yet it has been extensively used for new timbers, planking, ceiling, decks, keelsons and stancheons, in large vessels repaired on the coast; it has been the sole material used in building our coasting and river schooners; it has built the *Chrysopolis*, *Yosemite*, *Capital*, *Geo. S. Wright*, *John T. Wright*, and many other river steamers. It has been used in doubling and rebuilding all the old steamers on this coast, and *we have never yet met a ship-master who, during our fifteen years of this experience, has complained of its want of durability.*"

The gravelly prairies adjacent to the sound are thinly timbered with pasture oak; this timber is close grained and elastic; the trunks of those trees are generally too short for keel pieces, keelsons, beams or planks, but are long enough and well adapted for stem, stern and rudder posts, windlass barrels and pall-bitts, catheads, davits, chocks, jaws and cleats; the limbs and branches afford good materials for boatbuilding. Ash abounds on our river bottoms convenient to the shores; this wood is suitable for staves, hoops, hanks, oars and paddles. Elm in moderate quantities is also convenient, from which blocks and dead-eyes may be manufactured; thus the most desirable materials for shipbuilding are latent on our borders. The smaller saw-mills, propelled by water-power and economically managed, manufacture short lumber of different dimensions at low figures; rough fir lumber under fifty feet in length, suitable for beams, timbers, rails, stem, stern and rudder posts, may be obtained at those establishments at six dollars; keel-pieces, keelsons, bends, plank, clamps and ceilings of fir, neatly dressed, may be had at ten dollars in

either side. Aft this saloon are store room, wash room, water closet, etc., and a gangway to the poop-deck. The main saloon, in the middle of the house is 12x18 feet. It has three state-rooms, six feet square on the port side, and two state-rooms and pantry on the starboard. Forward of the saloon, and between the passage leading from the waist, is a state-room around the mizzen mast, which passes up through the house. On the starboard and port of the entrances are the two state-rooms for the mates. The cabin, as will be seen, is convenient and comfortable. The forward house is 12x44 feet, containing a fore-castle of 18 feet for the men; the remainder is divided up into galley, petty officers' quarters, carpenter's shop and sail-room. Almost everything involving the labor of the artisan was prepared on the ground, and all the iron and brass works, together with the composition bolts, were gotten up at the foundry connected with the firm's Port Madison mill.<sup>2</sup>

*Governor Watson C. Squire Reports the State of Manufactures and Commerce, 1884.*<sup>2</sup>

By 1884 a rapid growth in manufacturing industries had taken place. Sash-and-door plants, brickyards, breweries, tanneries, boot and shoe shops, boiler works and iron foundries—all contributed to the rise of a diversified system of local production. Outside capital was attracted in larger amounts, and local banks offered more ample credit facilities.

Several reports prepared by the governors for the Secretary of the Interior summarized the resources of the territory. It is quite likely that in some cases the estimates given represented hope rather than actual achievement. Nevertheless, these statements, of which the selection here presented is typical, represent an honest effort to give statistical information.

#### MANUFACTURES

The manufacturing interests of Washington Territory have attained a highly gratifying degree of improvement, that of lumber taking the lead. Commencing with this particular industry the following named immense establishments, located on Puget Sound and its estuaries and tributaries are noted, the figures quoted being taken from reports forwarded to this office by the managers of the respective companies.

The Puget Mill Company, incorporated with a capital stock of \$2,000,000, has mills at Port Gamble, Kitsap County; Port Ludlow, Jefferson County, and Utsalady, Island County, and report their output for the year ending June 30, 1884, as 57,000,000 feet of lumber, with a value of \$741,000; 2,700,000 shingles, valued at \$8,800; 18,000,000 laths, valued at \$36,000; 225,000 pickets, valued at \$2,700; 60,000 wool slats, valued at \$360; and 3,000 piles, valued at \$11,500; total value, \$800,410.

The Tacoma Mill company, incorporated, with a capital of \$1,000,000, reports as follows: Lumber, 33,000,000 feet, value, \$426,000; spars, 600, value, \$12,500; laths, 6,500,000, value, \$16,250; pickets, 350,000, value, \$2,800; wool slats, 150,000, value \$900; total value, \$458,450.

Tacoma Planing Mill Company; value of products, \$40,000.

<sup>2</sup> From *Report of the Governor of Washington Territory for the Year 1884* (Washington, D. C., 1885), pp. 27-31.

The Washington Mill Company, Seabeck, reports as follows: 180,000 feet of lumber, 41 spars, 400,000 laths, and 200,000 lineal feet of piles; total value, \$249,230.

The Stetson and Post Mill Company, report 18,000,000 feet of lumber and 4,000,000 laths, of the value of \$256,401.44; and doors, sash, blinds, and moldings of the value of \$87,213.80; total value, \$343,615.24.

The Port Discovery Mill Company, of Port Discovery, reports 25,000,000 feet of lumber, 12,000 piles, and 8,000,000 laths, of a total value of \$346,000.

The Port Blakely Mill Company, located at Port Blakely, Kitsap County, reports a production of 44,495,425 feet of lumber, 8,917,700 laths, 2,137,250 shingles, 465 spars, large and small, 3,475 piles, being a total production of 47,351,527 feet, board measure. One hundred and sixteen vessels for coast and foreign ports were loaded at the mill for the year ending June 30, 1884.

The Seattle Lumber and Commercial Company, located at Seattle, reports a production of 7,500,000 feet of lumber, and 10,044,000 laths, of the value of \$98,400; and doors, windows, moldings, brackets, blinds, counters, &c., of the value of \$44,700; total value, \$143,100.

The Port Madison Mill Company, has made no return to this office, but it has the capacity of a daily output of 125,000 feet.

The Yesler Mill Company, of Seattle, manufactures doors, sash, blinds, moldings, brackets; etc. Its mill has a capacity of 25,000 feet per day. No report.

The Michigan Mill Company, Seattle, has a capacity for cutting 50,000 feet of lumber per day; also manufactures sash and doors.

The Western Mill Company, Seattle, reports product for the year ending June 30, 1884, as follows: 3,000,000 feet of lumber and 1,000,000 laths. Total value of production, \$40,000.

The Hall & Paulson Furniture Company, Seattle, has a capital stock of \$100,000; produces furniture and rough-dressed lumber, 20,000 feet per day; value of furniture manufactured annually, \$60,000.

Seattle Barrel Factory; products for year ending June 30, 1884, reported as being 220,000 barrels; value \$45,000.

The Washington Iron Works, Seattle, capital stock, \$100,000, of which \$55,000 are paid up, reports having paid in wages for the year ending June 30, 1884, the sum of \$31,176.95, value of products, \$80,500; consumption of iron during that time, 1,000 tons of pig-iron and 500 tons of manufactured iron.

The Puget Sound Furniture Company, Seattle; capital stock \$50,000; estimated annual product, \$50,000.

In addition to the above manufacturing industries in Seattle, from which special reports have been received, there are in that city other mills, foundries, iron works, and furniture factories, from which no reports have been received, and in addition to these brass foundries, boiler works, copper shops, match, stair, ice, and soda factories, brick-yards,

breweries, fisheries (the latter noted elsewhere), book binderies, gas and water works, ship and boat building yards, and other minor industries, the wage-roll of which, by careful and reliable computation, footed up, in 1883, the sum of \$768,750.

Arrangements are already made for the erection of several other large lumber mills on Puget Sound.

*Salmon packing.*—The business of canning and packing salmon for foreign and domestic markets has already assumed large proportions, with the capacity for unlimited advancement as the demand for these goods may increase. The three factories in Pacific County packed for the year ending June 30, 1884, 65,000 cases, of a total value of \$293,400.

In addition to the above there are nine other canneries on the Washington Territory side of the Columbia River, in Wah[k]iakum and Cowlitz Counties, which report a pack of 131,000 cases, with a value of, say, \$590,000. To these are to be added the branch establishments of the Aberdeen and Washington Companies, on Gray's Harbor, the Tacoma Company, at Tacoma, and the Puget Sound Canning and Packing Company, at Milton, King County, and the salmon-packing establishments of H. E. Levy, at Seattle and Semiahmoo, from which no returns have been received at this office, except from the Tacoma Cannery and H. E. Levy's packing establishments, which show an aggregate business of \$56,500. It will be seen that this branch of industry represents a production of nearly \$1,000,000 in value per annum.

*Ship-building.*—Prominent among the manufacturing industries of Western Washington is that of ship-building. The subject is treated exhaustively by Hon. Elwood Evans, in his address delivered at the Centennial Exposition in 1876. Among other things he says: "Numerous ships, barks, schooners, and steamers have been built of Puget Sound timber, and the number is annually increasing. A list of them would include the fastest and best vessels afloat, alike creditable to this Territory and its shipwrights." From the records of the customhouse of the Puget Sound district, which have been kindly placed at the disposal of this office by the Hon. A. W. Bash, it is learned that there have been built at the various ship yards on Puget Sound, since January 1, 1873, a total of 163 vessels, steam and sail, with a total tonnage of 25,491 tons. Of the above number 53 were rated as deep-sea vessels, with a total tonnage of 21,619 tons. Much might be said in favor of the superior advantages offered for ship-building on the waters of Puget Sound; the strength and durability of the timber of this section; in fact, its proved superiority and cheapness over that of other regions is established. It is, perhaps, sufficient to say that the industry of ship-building is capable of indefinite expansion on the shores of Puget Sound.

*Pig-iron.*—It is an established fact that bog-iron ore of the best quality exists in practically exhaustless quantities throughout the Puget Sound Basin, notably so in Jefferson, King, and Pierce Counties. Very exten-

sive ore-smelting works have been erected in Jefferson County, the capital stock of the company being fixed at \$500,000.

Magnetic iron ore from Texada Island in the British Columbia Archipelago, and lime rock from San Juan Island, in the American group, the latter used as a flux, are combined, producing an excellent article. This industry is in its infancy, but promises great results. Movements looking to the establishment of iron works in King County and Pierce County are well under way.

As part of the great manufacturing system to be developed in Washington Territory, its crude iron fields must, in the nature of things, assume immense proportions in the near future.

*Flour.*—Scattered throughout the western portion of the Territory are numerous custom flouring mills, while in the eastern division this industry has assumed very considerable importance. It is entirely safe to predict that, with the completion of the Cascade Branch of the Northern Pacific Railroad and the adjustment of transportation facilities for the Territory, great flouring mills, utilizing the immense wheat production of Eastern Washington, will place this industry in the front rank of Washington's great resources.

*Water-power.*—There are numerous fine sites for the employment of water-power, notably at the Cascades and Priest's Rapids on the Columbia River, at Prosser on the Yakima, also on the Tumwater, the Nooksack and the Snoqualmie Rivers.

*Dairying.*—This business has been successfully though not largely conducted. Excellent articles both of butter and cheese have been produced. Thus far but few cheese factories have been established, though they have been proved to be profitable.

*Grazing.*—A large portion of the area of the Territory, especially of Eastern Washington, is admirably adapted to grazing. White clover seems to be indigenous to the western portion wherever a clearing is made; and in the eastern portion bunch grass abounds everywhere. The regions are mostly well-watered and the winters mild. Large herds are driven east, principally to Wyoming. I am glad to state that thus far there has been no complaint of pluro-pneumonia among the herds of this country.

*Wool growing.*—Large bands of sheep are reared in the eastern part of the Territory, and they thrive well west of the Cascade range. The quality of wool produced is said to be equal to the best in California or Oregon, and the mutton is unsurpassed. The wool clip for 1884 is estimated at 8,000,000 pounds.

#### COMMERCE

The commercial relations of Washington Territory are widely diversified. The remark of the collector of customs for Puget Sound district to the effect that only two ports of the United States exceed Port Town-

send, the port of entry for this district, in American ocean steam vessels for foreign trade, to-wit, New Ycrk and San Francisco, forcibly suggests this fact.

The extensive ramifications of the trade of the eastern division of the Territory is further made apparent by the fact that vessels have cleared during the year for which this report is rendered for ports in British Columbia, Mexico, Hawaii Islands, Australia, Fiji Islands, China, Japan, South America, England, Ireland, Central America, and Peru. Besides, a coastwise trade with California and Alaska furnishes an important factor in the premises. The surplus grain, wool, and salmon of the eastern and southern portions of the Territory have hitherto been principally shipped by the way of the Oregon custom-house at Portland and Astoria, and no separate account has been taken of its productions, which, for the purpose of a full showing, would belong to the credit of this Territory. Thousands of cattle are being driven or shipped by rail direct to the East without any custom-house record being taken of their numbers and value; and shipments of grain for this season have been made by rail in the same direction; so that the aggregate exports of the Territory cannot now be accurately computed.

The amount of freight handled at Tacoma by the Northern Pacific Railroad, to wit, 232,298.4 tons received (including coal), and 26,002.8 tons forwarded, for the year ending June 30, 1884; and the further fact that the Oregon Improvement Company handled 50,000 tons of commercial freight during the year at their docks and warehouses in Seattle, besides 235,167 tons of coal are important items in the group of facts connected with this subject, which must challenge marked attention.

The list of eighty-four steam vessels, ranging in size from the five-ton propeller to the splendid steamer Olympian, now registered at the office of the collection district of Puget Sound (all of which are employed in the domestic freight and passenger traffic of Puget Sound alone), furnishes another suggestive item in this connection.

It is believed that this commerce is on the eve of a further expansion and that the day is not far distant when, the Cascade branch of the Northern Pacific Railroad being completed, exchanges will not only be more frequent and extensive between the eastern and western portions of the Territory, but that direct communication by ocean steamers will be established between Puget Sound and the ports of Asia, making the route a grand highway of international traffic.

#### CUSTOM-HOUSE STATISTICS, PUGET SOUND

The number of vessels documented of Port Townsend, port of entry for the Puget Sound collection district, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1884, was 164, of which number 86 were sailing and 78 steam, with a total tonnage of 47,332 tons. There were entered and cleared in the same district at the custom-house for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1884, 1,778 vessels, with an aggregate tonnage of 998,513 tons. Of this num-

ber 345 vessels were coastwise, having 326,125 tons, and 1,443 were foreign, with a tonnage of 672,388 tons.

At least one-third of the Puget Sound tonnage is of licensed vessels running to San Francisco and other coast ports. They are not required to report as to the custom-house, and are not included in the above estimate. Adding these to the above to obtain the aggregate tonnage of Puget Sound, it is found to consist of 2,384 vessels, with a tonnage of 1,331,351.

Only two ports in the United States (New York and San Francisco) exceed Port Townsend in American ocean steam vessels in foreign trade.

*Collections*

Total collections for fiscal year:	
1880 .....	\$18,448.94
1881 .....	26,579.39
1882 .....	45,777.72
1883 .....	56,211.85
1884 .....	67,256.45
Average monthly entrances and clearances for 1884.....	149
Average monthly entrances sailing coastwise not reported.....	50
<b>Total monthly .....</b>	<b>199</b>
In 1883 the average entrances and clearances monthly was.....	113
Average coastwise entrances not reported.....	38
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>151</b>
Total value exports foreign trade for fiscal year 1883.....	\$1,770,219
Total value exports domestic and coastwise for fiscal year 1883.....	6,000,000

In addition to the above, there were exported during the fiscal year 1883, hops to the value of over \$1,000,000, making an aggregate of exports of nearly \$9,000,000.

*Exports 1884*

Total value exports for foreign trade for fiscal year 1884.....	\$1,946,394
Total value exports domestic and coastwise for fiscal year 1884.....	6,000,000

The proportion of American to foreign bottoms in the Puget Sound collection district trade is 1 foreign to 23 American.

*Washingtonians, Proud of Their Resources, Defend Themselves Against Eastern Criticism.\**

The economic life of the American frontier was always characterized by the predominance of two types of men: the homeseeker and the capitalist. Both groups contributed to the development of the country, although they did not always work in harmony. In Washington handsome profits, earned from the exploitation of natural resources, flowed out of the territory into the hands of absentee entre-

\* "In Defense of Washington," in the *Illustrated American*. (September 2, 1893), XIV, 283.

preneurs. Citizens of the territory urged the reinvestment of returns from successful enterprise in the region itself. Although this conflict of purpose found expression in sporadic criticisms of the railroad, the real estate speculator, and the big lumber operator, most Westerners, recognizing their need of capital, identified their interests with those of the Eastern investor. J. E. Ballaine's letter to the *Illustrated American* suggests this point of view.

#### IN DEFENSE OF WASHINGTON

*Editor of THE ILLUSTRATED AMERICAN:*

Your issue of August 5 gives the State of Washington a stab not warranted or even excused by facts. Commenting upon an alleged investigation made by the *Baltimore Sun*, THE ILLUSTRATED AMERICAN concludes that "the statements of real estate companies, railroad corporations, and investment concerns directly interested in the seduction of capital and population into the new State, regarding the resources and products of Washington, are gross and fraudulent exaggerations."

I am sure that THE ILLUSTRATED AMERICAN would not willfully vilify the people or the resources of any portion of the republic, and take it for granted, therefore, that you will be generous enough to correct any wrong statements you have published from jealous and misleading authority.

In the outset, it may be necessary to say that Washington State has in the last few years gone through a wonderful development, or "boom," if you please. The very fact of its having a boom is sufficient evidence that the State is rich in resources, for booms are not planted in Sahara deserts or Arctic regions. The great rush of immigration has been largely in advance of industrial development, but the equilibrium between commercial and other pursuits is now so nearly established that the balance of trade in favor of the State will this year amount to several million dollars. If Washington's resources were "gross and fraudulent exaggerations," this equilibrium could not have been found so soon. The growing crop of wheat on 800,000 acres will yield over 20,000,000 bushels. The part already harvested this year averages above 30 bushels to the acre, and, on the same basis, the 800,000 acres in wheat would yield 24,000,000 bushels. Hence, 20,000,000 bushels is rather below than above the correct figure. Eastern Washington has shipped since June 1, 300,000 crates of berries, besides the quantity used at home. A dozen train loads of peaches, plums, cherries, and apricots were sent East during the month of July, and the trees are still loaded. The Northern Pacific Railroad has hauled an average of 600 cars of shingles every month since January 1 of the present year, from Puget Sound to Eastern cities, and 200 car loads a month for the same time have been shipped by water to Hawaii, Australia, South America, and Europe. The hops of 1893 in the State, according to commercial figures, will be worth \$1,200,000. The lumber output goes into the millions. Flouring mills all through the agricultural districts are exporting tons and tons of flour. The wool clip waiting to be

sold is good for \$900,000, even at free trade prices. The horses and cattle and sheep and hogs of Washington are among the principal sources of supply for the markets of Chicago, Kansas City, St. Louis, and Milwaukee. Two thousand men are engaged at coal mining, and the extent of coal in the Cascade mountains would keep 500,000 men employed digging it out for one thousand years, if the geological surveys of the United States are reliable.

That is a pretty good showing for a young State. But the resources yet latent tower up by comparison as Shasta is above a mole hill. Half of Washington is agricultural. Two-thirds of the agricultural belt has grown crops for ten years without a sign of failure, and the other third requires irrigation. Water in abundance for irrigating purposes may be and is taken from the Columbia, the Snake, and other rivers, so that orchards and vineyards almost unsurpassed in productiveness are easily cultivated. The experience of southern California in irrigation has demonstrated that Washington can utilize every township of her now unproductive area, which, by the way, is confined to a strip adjoining the Columbia near the central part of the State, and is thus advantageously situated for reclamation. West of the Cascade mountains is one solid mat of giant timber, the fame of which is so wide and well established as to need no further comments from any source. Iron mines and coal mines are scattered through that timber from end to end.

These statements may be disputed, but not disproved. It is very easy for Eastern people who never have been out of their native county to sneer at the Northwest. The facts are on the side of the new region just the same. If Washington were not all it is claimed to be, why would four transportation railroads — the Northern Pacific, the Canadian Pacific, the Great Northern and the Union Pacific — make hard fights to get here, after thorough investigation, and then choose their terminals here? Why would such men as D. O. Mills, Whitelaw Reid, the Vanderbilts, James J. Hill, Russell A. Alger, the Rockefellers, and Phil. D. Armour give careful inspection personally to every corner and part of the State, and then invest millions here in preference to other places, if Washington were not already a great State, and certain to be a hundred times greater?

As to the population of Washington, it is doubtful if any other portions of the great republic are so intensely and purely American. Here are the sons and daughters of the best blood in the Mississippi valley, the South, and New England. Less than one-half of one per cent. are illiterate. Only a hundredth part of one per cent. are criminals. It is preeminently a State of young men and young blood, not of worn-out staggers who have failed elsewhere. The commerce, banking, law, journalism, politics and every other kind of business are in the hands of men whose average age does not exceed thirty-five years. They come from everywhere, and by commingling of views they are superlatively metropolitan. Their combined ideas produce the best from every State of the Union and every nation of Europe. Their schools are the best, because

modelled after the very best, and the professors come direct from the leading chairs of the leading colleges. Their churches are patterned from the choicest architecture of the wide world. Their public and private houses have the latest conveniences of steam and electrical inventions. Their cities are woven in networks of the most substantial and best equipped street railways.

And yet the State is going right on. Every day witnesses the organization of a vast company to build mills and factories, improve orchard lands, develop mines, project new lines of steamships, or do something that only vim, confidence, and ingenuity can accomplish.

In the light of all these blazing facts it seems that Easterners ought to begin letting up on their abuse of the Northwest. THE ILLUSTRATED AMERICAN, at least, should be broad enough and patriotic enough to admire the genuine American spirit and recognize rich resources wherever found in the domains of the republic. The peevish spite of the East towards the West is too much like the contemptible slurs hurled at all Americans by our old-maidish cousins in England.

The Eastern States are not going to be hurt by the development of Washington or any other Western State. We are all Americans. We have a common cause. Our brothers and sisters are scattered from ocean to ocean. We revere alike the institutions of this incomparable nation. Now, let the East refrain from her unjust criticisms and we shall be one great and happy family, as nature ordained we should.

I request you to publish this as a matter of justice. You have been misled in an attack that damages Washington, and certainly your American spirit will prompt you to repair the injury. I am not a real estate boomer. I am merely a youngster who was raised in Washington State, and I dislike to see it misrepresented.

J. E. BALLAINE.

*Colfax, Wash., August 7, 1893.*

## CHAPTER XV.

### APPEALS TO TOURISTS, IMMIGRANTS, AND SPORTSMEN

#### *A Loyal Pioneer Comments on the Weather.*<sup>1</sup>

Territorial governors in their official reports made frequent reference to the "mild" or "genial" climate of Puget Sound. The weather here, as one of them put it, was "neither too hot nor too cold, too dry nor much too wet!" Tourists, according to their birthplace, commented on it; a New Englander noted its comparative evenness, but missed the "clear and crisply-cold winter days and snow-covered lands . . . 'he delicately fretted architecture of the leafless trees, the sunsets, the nerve-giving tonic of the air'" (Bowles, *Across the Continent*, p. 212). Certainly the weather was something of which immigrants and tourists took account, and territorials made such explanations as they thought necessary to make the prospect of life in Washington seem inviting to prospective settlers.

Much ignorance, not unmingled with some prejudice and incredulity, existed abroad for many years in regard to the climate of Washington. And this notwithstanding the earnest efforts of the first settlers and the pioneer press to enlighten the outside world. But it would not be enlightened, for the reason that many intelligent Eastern people obstinately persisted in thinking that it ought, and therefore must rain, hail, snow and freeze here nine months in the year; such weather being the natural sequence of its high northern latitude. In vain were they assured of the contrary; it could not be other than they thought and believed. It was idle for scientific and scholarly men, some of whom kept meteorological records in early days, to assert that the most equable and healthful climate on the globe was found on Puget Sound; few or none would credit it. Many who located permanently here were skeptical until years of observation and experience convinced them; and not a few, even to this day, retain the delusion that the actual rainfall is much greater in duration and quantity than the records give evidence of.

Some forty years ago a cultured and sensible lady of Olympia, who had then been in the Territory but a few weeks, but who had come to stay, heard so many conflicting and exaggerated reports of the winter rains that she could believe none of them. Many people informed her that "it rained incessantly for six months," and she did not credit it. De-

<sup>1</sup> From Charles Prosch, *Reminiscences of Washington Territory; Scenes, Incidents and Reflections of the Pioneer Period on Puget Sound* (Seattle, 1904), pp. 65-8.

sirous of getting the truth, she concluded to keep a weather diary. At the commencement of the rainy season she entered upon her self-imposed task, faithfully recording each morning and evening the condition of the weather. For six months she kept the record, never omitting in a single instance the daily entries. Then she exhibited the result, to the confusion of the grumblers and to her own satisfaction. It had been an ordinary winter, with the usual amount of rain. This lady's diary showed that there had actually been more sunny than rainy days during that "horribly wet winter," as many others termed it. And so it is with our most disagreeable winters; they are never so bad as some people imagine them to be.

In 1862 a genial doctor named Price came to Puget Sound from the East and temporarily located in Steilacoom. For some months he skir-mished around for practice, but the population was too sparse and the climate too healthy to afford him a livelihood at his profession. After drifting to and fro on the Sound for a year or two, visiting in turn the towns and mill ports from Olympia to the straits, and meeting nowhere sufficient encouragement to induce him to settle permanently, Dr. Price departed for Southern California. For three years he remained in that sunny clime—three years of uninterrupted drouth, during which every blade of grass and every shrub shriveled and died from lack of moisture. Thousands of sheep and cattle met the same fate from the same cause—lack of life-giving and life-sustaining rains. Of patients the doctor found enough there, but he wanted something more than patients. The incessant sun and dust and parched vegetation soon became monotonous, and he longed for the verdant fields and forests of Puget Sound, with its refreshing rains and numberless streams. At the close of the third winter in the Sunny South Dr. Price turned his steps northward, arriving in Olympia in March. On the morning after his arrival the sky, which had been clear for several days, gradually assumed a leaden hue from gathering clouds, and soon a gentle rain commenced falling. At this moment the writer saw the doctor issuing from the banking house of Mr. George A. Barnes, on Main street. As he stepped out on the sidewalk he removed his broad-brimmed sombrero from his head, reverently turned his face toward heaven, and said:

"Thank God, I am once more in a country where it rains!"

"Hello, doctor," said I, instantly recognizing my old medical friend, "what does that mean?"

"Why, it means, Mr. Prosch," replied the doctor as he cordially grasped my hand, "that for three years I have lived in that God-for-saken country, Southern California. It has not rained there in all that time, and I want no more of it. I would not receive that entire region as a gift if compelled to live there."

Among the residents of Olympia upwards of thirty-five years ago, was a highly cultivated lady from Connecticut, where she had lived all her days to the time of coming to this Territory to rejoin her hus-

band. She had been two years in Olympia when circumstances demanded her return to her home in the East. The two years she had passed here were characterized by no exceptional weather; the summers were warm and dry, and the winters wet and mild, with neither ice nor snow to mark them as differing from our ordinary winter seasons. On the eve of the departure of this lady, at her request, I called, accompanied by my wife, to bid her adieu. Rarely have I witnessed grief so poignant as our parting friend exhibited on this occasion. Amid sobs she gave expression to her sorrow at being compelled to leave a climate so delightful, exclaiming:

"I cannot tell you how deeply I dread a return and exposure to another Connecticut winter! The contemplation of it fills me with unspeakable terror!"

It was late in the autumn, and wintry blasts, snow and ice had already visited the home she was going to. Unhappily for her, she was very susceptible to extreme cold, while our equable climate was just suited to and enjoyed in the largest measure by her. Our rains had no disagreeable feature for her when contrasted with the winters of her native state. Her residence of two years here had not effaced the recollection of the terrible winters she had passed through in the East; the thought of returning brought them back to memory as vividly as if but a day had elapsed since she last experienced their severity. To others the sultry summer heat of the Eastern states is a source of as much dread as the winters were to this lady, and the absence of both here is soon discovered by intelligent people who are not insensible of heat and cold.

Mrs. Dr. Warbass, long of Olympia but later a resident of Seattle, was another estimable lady who always regarded our winters in a more favorable light than many of her friends and acquaintances. Indeed, she was slow to admit that there was any very disagreeable weather in Washington, and was always an earnest defender of it. About thirty-five years ago she visited her friends and relatives in the East, and there heard the climate of Washington assailed and grossly misrepresented. She stoutly denied that it was as bad as some had described it. "Well," one remarked, "it rains a great deal in Washington Territory." Mrs. W. admitted that it rained a great deal here, "but," she added, "our rains are dry rains." And there was a measure of truth in what she said; for, during many of our winters, the rains have come in the form of mists so light and warm that outdoor work has been prosecuted without cessation through the entire season by men in their shirt sleeves.

Apropos of the "dry rain," it is related that a gentleman walking through a rural district on a rainy day overtook a boy going the same way, and remarked to the juvenile that it was disagreeable weather.

"Yes, sir," replied the youth, "this is a wet rain."

Struck by the emphasis placed by the youngster on the word "wet," the gentleman asked:

"Did you ever know or hear of a dry rain?"

"Yes, sir," answered the boy.

"When and where was it?"

"The rain of Sodom and Gomorrah," promptly replied the juvenile.

Our rains are not so dry as that of Sodom and Gomorrah, nor are they so wet as those of California and Oregon, not to mention the frequent destructive rains of the Eastern state, where they are often productive of devastating freshets, a thing unknown here.

### *Western Businessmen Advertise the Territory.<sup>2</sup>*

"Booster" literature should always be read with reservations, but some of it, at least, should be read if one would understand Western history. In Washington, as in most Western states, public and private agencies used the arts of the press agent to attract immigrants. Railroads issued travel guides and chambers of commerce printed alluring pamphlets. The legislature created a Bureau of Statistics and Immigration to compile information and distribute it systematically. The following pages from a business directory set forth with characteristic enthusiasm the attractions of the Pacific Northwest for both immigrants and tourists.

#### TOURIST'S GUIDE

The Northwest Coast has not yet become a tourist's Mecca, owing, undoubtedly, to the fact that the beauty, wild grandeur and diversified scenery of water, forest and snow-clad ranges—rivals of the Alps—which are to be found along its entire length, have not been made known, or perhaps it has been thought too distant. The latter, however, seems improbable, when we know that persons have traveled from all portions of Europe for the special purpose of beholding the grand scenery of the Yosemite Valley or the awe-inspiring Geysers. A want of knowledge, then, of our unequaled scenery, must have been the primary cause for the scarcity of the seekers after the picturesque and beautiful. Though Washington may not possess a Yosemite or the Big Trees, it nevertheless has wonders of scenery which should attract any lover of the beautiful and sublime. It is scenery that is unique, and as diversified as it is peculiar. From the moment one enters Western Washington he is surrounded by towering forests of such magnitude that the evergreens of the East sink into insignificance by comparison. Many of the trees are between three and four hundred feet high, and from eight to sixteen feet in diameter. They very forcibly impress one of his diminutive form, as he gazes at their tall, straight trunks, free from branch or leaf for a distance of forty feet from the ground. These

<sup>2</sup> From *Puget Sound Business Directory* . . . (Olympia, Wash., 1872), pp. 52-9.

gloomy forests, which have such a weird effect, are relieved by the bright leaves of the laurel, maple, dogwood and the shrubbery and flora which grow profusely, and give them an appearance of tropical luxuriance. This flora contains many species new to botanists, hence it is very interesting to the lovers of botany. When one emerges from the forests the first objects that greet the eye are the snow-clad peaks of the Cascade and Olympic ranges, which loom in every direction. The effect of these is sublime in the highest degree. If the day is fine and the sun shining brightly, every prominent crevice in the peaks are discernible, and the play of the light upon the snow and its many and quick-changing hues become interesting to the lover of the harmony and wealth of color. This is especially the case in the morning or evening. On such occasions all the hues of the rainbow can be seen at once, sometimes fading into one color and then again transforming until all known hues are developed. Much as has been written of the beauties of the Alps, we doubt if they can excel those of the white-shrouded peaks of the Cascades. The adventurous tourist will find these worthy of all his daring and courage, and if he ascends them and happens to bear any love for the natural sciences, he will find a wealth of flora and fauna which will surprise and charm him. All these mountains show the effect of glacial action, hence possess many peculiar characteristics. The ascent of Mount Vesuvius is deemed something worth boasting of; what then must it be to ascend Mounts Rainier, St. Helens, Baker or Hood—peaks far higher and more strongly marked physically. If the volcanic displays of Vesuvius is the attraction that lures tourists, they will find Mounts Rainier and St. Helens also interesting, they being active volcanoes, though at rest since 1842; nevertheless the craters are objects of interest. Tourists will find these mountains wealthy in new species of animals and flowers. Of the former the most interesting are the mountain sheep and goat, about which extraordinary stories are told by hunters and Indians as to their swiftness, nimbleness and elasticity. Only a few of these have been killed.

An object of interest to tourists is the large number of mounds, varying in size from what might be called a small earth blister to one several feet high, and containing over an acre, which dot the prairies very thickly in many places. The origin of these is assigned by some geologists to the action of fishes, by another to the uprooting of trees, but the most probable theory is that they were caused by the action of whirl-pools, when the Puget Sound basin formed a portion of the great bed of the sea extending from British Columbia to San Francisco. This seems to be verified by the gravelly nature of the soil, which would indicate that it was once covered with water. Near the Cathlapootle River, in Central Washington, there are a few mounds, but they seem to have been caused by the passage over wet ground of a mass of lava from Mount St. Helens, and elevated by the gas produced by the action

of the heat upon the water. In Eastern Washington are still other varieties of mounds, and these, with the terraces which rise one above another, give the country very marked topographical characteristics. Whatever may be their origin, they give the landscape a strong peculiarity or individuality, and are interesting to the geologist. The terraces found principally in Eastern Washington, rise tier upon tier, one above another, to the number of eighteen or twenty in several instances. These seem to have been formed in the volcanic period, and to have undergone no change in conformation by the action of glaciers, though the country must have been under their control for many centuries.

The tourist will find the Territory unequaled for hunting and fishing, every nook and cranny of the mountains and forests being the home of game, either quadruped or feathered, while the streams are stocked with glittering mountain trout of the most excellent flavor. Besides the trout, varieties of salmon can be caught during any month of the year after April. Salmon fishing is excellent amusement and calls out all the dexterity of the disciple of Izaak Walton, as this fish is very spirited and makes a gallant struggle for existence. He who desires to indulge in salt water fishing can find that sort abundant and varied enough from the head of Puget Sound to the Straits of Fuca. Trolling is a favorite way with many of fishing on the Sound. Trout of brilliant hues are also common in all the lakes, and afford good amusement. Go where you will in the Territory you will find excellent fishing, and he must be a poor fisherman indeed who cannot bring home a load in the evening.

The hunting is unlimited. The sportsman will find in the forests several species of deer, the black bear, cougar or American lion, several species of the wild-cat, and along many of the water-courses the beaver, land otter and kindred animals. The feathery tribe is abundant in every portion of the country. There are five species of the blue grouse, two varieties of pheasant, three of wild geese, ten of duck, besides innumerable quantities of other forest and aquatic birds. From among these the sportsman can select his choice for a day's gunning, and in every case he will meet with success, owing to the abundance of the birds and the facility of approaching them, as they are comparatively but little hunted. Thousands of wild ducks can be found in the autumn along the marshy banks of the rivers, while the goose frequents the sedgy borders of lakes and wheat fields after the crops have been garnered. The albatross, loon, ganet and other aquatic fowl are common along the Sound, and the swan in large numbers frequent the Lower Columbia, so that there is variety enough for all classes of hunters. Bear hunting is perhaps the most exciting, for bruin when wounded or closely pursued by dogs will show fight. The bear most common is

the small black species, and he is no match for a man armed with a good rifle and hunting knife, hence the sport, though exciting, may be called harmless to the hunter at least. Bear may be found in almost any portion of the forests during the season of berries, as they subsist upon them and a few roots. Hunting the cougar is also excellent sport, and with dogs devoid of danger, as it will take to a tree when pursued and there falls a victim to the ready rifle. This animal never attacks man unless wounded or defending its young. The most interesting hunting is pursuing the deer, which are very numerous and of different species. These species or varieties have their particular places of resort and rarely leave them. Some frequent the groves which border the prairies, while others keep to the heavy forests which the sunlight but dimly penetrates, and there among the luxuriant vegetation and in the cool shade browse in hundreds. In the winter deer are very plentiful along the coast, as they are driven from the mountains by the snow, but at any season of the year they are plentiful enough to afford all the sport desired. They are generally hunted with dogs, and a man having a small pack can always depend on securing a good number in a day. The elk, another species of the corvidae, is an inhabitant of the mountain ranges. This is one of the largest varieties of the family and also one of the most beautiful. It affords excellent sport for the keen huntsman who enjoys a little toil and wishes to test his powers of endurance, as he will often be forced to follow it several miles unless he avails himself of a "first view."

Besides these sports the Territory is also interesting to tourists and pleasure seekers from its splendid prairies covered with groves, laid out by the greatest of landscape gardeners—Nature. These groves rival in beauty the finest of natural parks, and the latter sink into insignificance in comparison of extent. When first seen, as in Pierce County, the effect is enchanting. Before you stretches the level, gravelly prairie, decked with innumerable wild flowers, while its borders are fringed with evergreens and deciduous trees which harmonize most agreeably. In one part a semi-circular cluster of trees can be seen, in another it is either a single, double or triple straight line extending for a mile or two, that meets the eye, in another portion the copse is of a crescent or cone-like form, but in all cases the grove harmonises with those surrounding it. To add to the beauty, a cluster of crystalline lakes, upon which the sunbeams dance and glisten, meets the vision in several places. A ride or a drive through these natural parks, is a feast of scenery to be found nowhere else in the world. In the first place there is the enjoyment of having a beautiful turf road, which cannot be excelled, beneath you; before you spread miles of flower beds, which perfume the air, their brilliant hues being contrasted and made more striking by the quiet shades of the evergreen groves or dark green of the oaks, while the towering snow-clad peaks, with their cool, refreshing

appearance, make up a grand background and complete a tableaux which would be difficult to surpass.

For bathing, its facilities are superior to Cape May, Newport or Long Branch. Shoalwater Bay or Gray's Harbor outrank any Eastern summer resort in picturesqueness of location, while their splendid beaches are unapproachable. Add to these a milder climate and ample opportunities for hunting or fishing, and the difference between them will not even bear a comparison.

The Niagara of the Pacific Coast—the Snoqualamie Falls—is situated in the Territory, and but a day's travel from the sea-coast up the Snoqualamie River. This cataract is a fine body of water, ranging from twenty to eighty feet in width, according to the stage of the river, and leaps down a precipice of two hundred and seventy feet, where it mingles again with a stream until its waters reach the Sound. Though not, of course, equal to the celebrated falls of the country, yet their altitude, picturesqueness and beauty of surroundings render them an object of interest. No hotel or hostelry has yet been erected near it to accommodate tourists, but undoubtedly one will be built as soon as the travel demands it. The visitor with plenty of leisure time will find a canoe trip up the river leading to it a real pleasure tour, for by that means he will have an opportunity of beholding the scenery, and if fond of hunting can indulge in it to his heart's content.

By visiting the Territory the tourist will meet a race fast dying away before the advance of civilization. Their manners, customs, mode of thought and religion would interest any lover of ethnology, and would repay a study. The person who has "done Europe" and thinks his travels and experience complete, will find this people interesting, and he cannot anywhere discover a place he can so readily distinguish between barbarism and civilization, for here both are neighbors. A sight certainly worth seeing is a fleet of Indian canoes scudding down the Sound en route for the fishing grounds. These canoes are of all sizes, from the tiny shell to that sixty feet in length, and decked out gaily in all the varieties of red and yellow paint, which remind one of the war canoes of the ancient Northmen. The beauties of the country should attract all who delight in grandeur and variety of scenery. Nowhere in the world can be found a grander tableaux of water, forest, and snowy mountains than is to be witnessed from the bosom of Puget Sound. Before you spreads an inland sea, tranquil as a lake, over which move white-winged vessels, Indian canoes, ocean steamers and river boats, which give it life and character; in the middle ground lie the gloomy perennial forests, extending away into the distance, until they become a mere mass of black or dark blue, and in the back-ground are the rugged, many-peaked mountain ranges, whose summits, wrapped in their eternal shroud of snow contrast with the gloom beneath them and give the whole landscape a light, purity and charm that is enchant-

ing. All the accessories of a great picture can be found in almost any portion of Western Washington. We have seen from one spot a landscape which expressed repose and action, tranquility and energy, picturesqueness and grandeur, and the whole blended harmoniously together.

When the North Pacific Railroad is built, tourists, naturalists and mere pleasure-seekers will undoubtedly visit the Territory, as the traveling accommodations then will be all that is needed. In describing some of the advantages of the Territory as a resort for tourists, we have merely referred to them in general, for to enter into detail would require more space than we have at hand in this work, which is intended only to deal with general facts. He who seeks pleasure and recreation, and not the hot-house commodity furnished in the fashionable watering places, will find what we have said of the Territory sufficient to lure him here, and if he comes once he will be sure to call again.

The best time of year to visit the country is about June or July, as it is then in its full attire of summer flowers, the skies are blue, the days balmy, without being hot, and the feathery game is grown to a size worth bagging. The best route to the country is by steamer from San Francisco to Portland—giving tourists an opportunity of enjoying the beauties of the Columbia and Willamette rivers—thence to Kalama by steamer, and from there overland by cars and stage. The trip should embrace the whole of Puget Sound, and when that is done Eastern Washington can be visited with pleasure.

#### NOTES TO IMMIGRANTS

The first inquiries which a person desiring to change his residence from one State to another would naturally be, what advantages does the State to which I wish to emigrate possess over my own? Is it more fertile, more healthy, does it possess a more genial climate, are its resources and commercial and manufacturing advantages greater? Is it easier for the poor laborer to earn a livelihood or the poor farmer to obtain land? What facilities are offered for education and attending church? And finally, what is the character of the population, in order that I may know who are to be my future neighbors and what class of persons I shall mingle with? The person thinking of changing his home should make these inquiries, and if the advantages are in favor of the State to be adopted, one should avail himself of them. There is no portion of the country, perhaps, that offers all the advantages to an immigrant equal to this Territory. The lands along the water courses are extremely fertile, and these are very numerous; its tide lands make the finest gardens in the world when dyked, and produce extensive crops of hay either in the cultivated or natural state. Its timber lands are useful both for agricultural and commercial purposes, and its

beautiful prairies afford good pasturage for all domestic animals. These lands, of all grades, can be found in the Territory. They can be purchased, pre-empted or taken up under the Homestead Act, so that he who desires to labor, and is willing to make a home for himself, can find the means in this genial country. The person desiring to take up a farm along the courses of rivers can find plenty of room and land on any of the streams from the Lumni and Skagit on the north to the lower portion of the Columbia. Timber land can be found anywhere, except near the milling towns, and if it is adjacent to the water is valuable, as loggers get about five dollars a thousand for piles, and they select such land as will afford them ready facilities of getting their timber to the water. Loggers pay two dollars and a half for stumpage, so that a person having a heavily timbered farm can receive a double compensation for it—first from the lumber and then from the products raised. Some of this class of land is difficult and expensive to clear, but a large quantity of it is comparatively easy and inexpensive.

The principal prairies are in Eastern Washington, and they are undoubtedly the best grazing lands in the world, being covered with the large and abundant bunch grass, which retains its nutrition the year around. These prairies are traversed by thousands of domestic animals, who roam at large with little or no care from their owners. The stock-raiser partakes more of the character of the old feudal barons, who depended entirely on their herds for an income, than other persons. He has a large tract of country to supply his cattle with food, he has for himself a comfortable home or cabin, according as he may be a benedict or a bachelor. The immigrant desirous of following that business will find ample room, and plenty of demand for his cattle at a good price. The smaller prairies afford excellent opportunities for the man desirous of engaging in the wool business. Wool brings a good price, mutton is always sought for in the market, and wild animals destructive to sheep are scarce, three reasons why the raising of sheep should be profitable. Here then is land of all varieties, and it depends on the temperament of the immigrant which he will choose. Each is plentiful and can be obtained comparatively at a mere song. Were an immigrant or one proposing to immigrate to ask, where can I find a good farm? we would say, almost anywhere in Washington Territory. Go where you may you can find land in its primitive state or under cultivation. These few sentences will give persons an idea of the country without entering into a labored statement of the facts. As to the healthfulness of the country it is not equaled by any portion of the Union. The large number of swiftly moving water courses, the lack of stagnant pools, the exhilarating breezes of the Pacific Ocean, which permeate the whole of Western Washington, and the pure, cooling air from the mountains, unite to expel all miasmatic diseases, hence sickness is comparatively exceptional.

The truth of this statement can be learned at any time by reference to the report of the Surgeon General of the United States.

The resources of the country are yet undeveloped. Commerce, with the exception of the lumber and coal trade, is dormant, and manufactories are comparatively unknown, despite the magnificent power at command and the large market for the sale of manufactured goods. The Territory does the largest lumber trade in the world, and a fleet of white-winged ships, laden with spars, masts and lumber can be seen daily treading their way through the waters of the Sound. The minerals of the Territory, which are rich and varied, with the exception of coal, have not been developed at all, hence capitalists have now an opportunity of monopolizing the copper or iron mines so numerous throughout the country, and by working them furnish employment to many persons. The laboring man can earn a livelihood with more facility and live cheaper than in other portions of the country. The railroads, mills, logging camps, farms and fisheries offer him employment at good wages, while he can purchase food at as cheap rates as elsewhere. House rent is comparatively small, churches are plentiful, and the facilities for education are excellent, as the law provides that children whose parents are unable to pay for their tuition are to be taught gratis. This enables poor persons to educate their children in the branches taught in the common school for naught, a blessing for which they should be grateful. Those desiring to furnish their children an ample education, can find ample facilities throughout the Territory, all the towns being supplied rather liberally with private and public schools, while the Territorial University, at Seattle, will compare favorably with similar institutions in older States.

The population of the Territory is composed largely of natives of the New England and Middle States, but like every other portion of the country representatives of European nationalities are located here. Perhaps a more orderly, law-abiding population cannot be found in America. Private and benevolent societies are numerous and large in numbers. All the principal denominations have churches throughout the Territory, so that the immigrant can find here, as well as in his native land, the consolations of his faith.

While thus general in showing the advantages of the country, we would not advise all who can better their conditions to flock here unless they are willing to toil, and are possessed of the courage and endurance to hew themselves a home out of the forest and labor for the advancement of the country. Those persons engaged in the lighter occupations, such as book-keepers and clerks, will not find much employment until the commerce of the Territory is more developed. A few can of course always find ready employment, but the number must be comparatively small for a few years. Mechanics, carpenters, masons and blacksmiths are the most needed, as they are useful in every new community.

Gentlemen of leisure, *flaneurs*, and their kindred, are not wanted. The country is too young to support drones, hence they had better not visit it, for they will be compelled to return in a short time by the force of public opinion if not by dire necessity. People wanted, then, are the earnest and hardworking, who have an object in life and wish to make preparations for their families and old age. Those who come need not expect to find all they desire immediately; they must be content, if they take farms, to live somewhat isolated for a short time, unless they have the means to purchase land in the more thickly settled districts. But this isolation must be for a short time only, as these fertile lands cannot remain long unsettled. The inhabitants of Europe and the Eastern States are seeking more elbow room, and here they must come. He is the best off then who comes first and has the privilege of making a selection of the lands. The North Pacific Railroad, which is to traverse the entire length of the Territory will soon be built, and this will afford settlers an opportunity to bring or send their produce to market. By a study of the preceding chapters persons will find that Washington possesses all the elements of a great and prosperous future State, and offers superior inducements to those seeking homes.

#### *Hazard Stevens Describes His Ascent of Mt. Tacoma, 1870.<sup>3</sup>*

In 1833 Dr. William F. Tolmie, a medical officer and botanist in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, made the first partial ascent of Mt. Rainier. Nearly a quarter of a century later Lieutenant A. V. Kautz of the United States Army attempted to scale the main peak, but was compelled to turn back without reaching the summit. General Hazard Stevens and P. B. Van Trump made the first successful ascent in 1870. A part of Stevens' account of the climb is presented in the following pages.

In October, 1870, S. F. Emmons and A. D. Wilson of the United States Geological Survey reached the crest of the mountain. By 1892 thirty-eight persons, including three women, were reported to have made the ascent. See Caroline L. Tolbert, *History of Mount Rainier National Park* (Seattle, 1933), pp. 26-9.

The controversy over the name of the peak discovered by Captain George Vancouver and by him named Mount Rainier, is one of Washington's traditions. Writing in 1894, Kirk Munroe explained the awkward position in which Eastern visitors often found themselves. In Seattle it must be *Mt. Rainier*; in Tacoma, *Mt. Tacoma*. On neutral territory, one might refer to "Mt. Tacoma, or Rainier, as it is called," or *vice versa*. Trying to be helpful, Munroe suggested that perhaps a compromise name might be found; for example, *Taconier* or *Raicoma*. See *Harper's Weekly* (January 13, 1894), XXXVIII, 35-8.

. . . Nothing can convey an idea of the grandeur and ruggedness of the mountains. Directly in front, and apparently not over two miles distant, although really twenty, old Tahoma loomed up more gigantic

<sup>3</sup> From "The Ascent of Tahoma," in the *Atlantic Monthly* (November, 1876), XXXVIII, pp. 521-8.

than ever. We were far above the level of the lower snow-line on Tahoma. The high peak upon which we clung seemed the central core or focus of all the mountains around, and on every side we looked down vertically thousands of feet, deep down into vast, terrible defiles, black and fir-clothed, which stretched away until lost in the distance and smoke. Between them, separating one from another, the mountain-walls rose precipitously and terminated in bare, columnar peaks of black basaltic or volcanic rock, as sharp as needles. It seemed incredible that any human foot could have followed out the course we came, as we looked back upon it.

After a few hours more of this climbing, we stood upon the summit of the last mountain-ridge that separated us from Tahoma. We were in a saddle of the ridge; a lofty peak rose on either side. Below us extended a long, steep hollow or gulch filled with snow, the farther extremity of which seemed to drop off perpendicularly into a deep valley or basin. Across this valley, directly in front, filling up the whole horizon and view with an indescribable aspect of magnitude and grandeur, stood the old leviathan of mountains. The broad, snowy dome rose far among and above the clouds. The sides fell off in vertical steeps and fearful black walls of rock for a third of its altitude; lower down, vast, broad, gently sloping snow-fields surrounded the mountain, and were broken here and there by ledges or masses of the dark basaltic rock protruding above them. Long, green ridges projected from this snow-belt at intervals, radiating from the mountain and extending many miles until lost in the distant forests. Deep valleys lay between these ridges. Each at its upper end formed the bed of a glacier, which closed and filled it up with solid ice. Below the snow-line bright green grass with countless flowers, whose vivid scarlet, blue, and purple formed bodies of color in the distance, clothed the whole region of ridges and valleys, for a breadth of five miles. The beautiful balsam firs, about thirty feet in height, and of a purple, dark-green color, stood scattered over the landscape, now singly, now in groves, and now in long lines, as though planted in some well-kept park. Farther down an unbroken fir forest surrounded the mountain and clad the lower portions of the ridges and valleys. In every sheltered depression or hollow lay beds of snow with tiny brooks and rivulets flowing from them. The glaciers terminated not gradually, but abruptly, with a wall of ice from one to five hundred feet high, from beneath which yeasty torrents burst forth and rushed roaring and tumbling down the valleys. The principal of these, far away on our left front, could be seen plunging over two considerable falls, half hidden in the forest, while the roar of waters was distinctly audible.

At length we cautiously descended the snow-bed, and, climbing at least fifteen hundred feet down a steep but ancient land-slide by means of the bushes growing among the loose rocks, reached the valley, and

encountered a beautiful, peaceful, limpid creek. Van Trump could not resist the temptation of unpacking his bundle, selecting one of his carefully preserved flies, and trying the stream for trout, but without a single rise. After an hour's rest and a hearty repast we resumed our packs, despite Sluiskin's protests, who seemed tired out with his arduous day's toil and pleaded hard against traveling farther. Crossing the stream, we walked through several grassy glades, or meadows, alternating with open woods. We soon came to the foot of one of the long ridges already described, and ascending it followed it for several miles through open woods, until we emerged upon the enchanting emerald and flowery meads which clothe these upper regions. Halting upon a rising eminence in our course, and looking back, we beheld the ridge of mountains we had just descended stretching from east to west in a steep, rocky wall; a little to the left, a beautiful lake, evidently the source of the stream just crossed, which we called Clear Creek, and glimpses of which could be seen among the trees as it flowed away to the right, down a rapidly descending valley along the foot of the lofty mountain-wall. Beyond the lake again, still farther to the left, the land also subsided quickly. It was at once evident that the lake was upon a summit, or divide, between the waters of the Nisqually and Cowlitz rivers. The ridge which we were ascending lay north and south, and led directly up to the mountain.

We camped, as the twilight fell upon us, in an aromatic grove of balsam firs. A grouse, the fruit of Sluiskin's rifle, broiled before the fire and impartially divided, gave a relish to the dry bread and coffee. After supper we reclined upon our blankets in front of the bright, blazing fire, well satisfied. The Indian, when starting from Bear Prairie, had evidently deemed our intention of ascending Tahoma too absurd to deserve notice. The turning back of Mr. Coleman only deepened his contempt for our prowess. But his views had undergone a change with the day's march. The affair began to look serious to him, and now in Chinook, interspersed with a few words of broken English and many signs and gesticulations, he began a solemn exhortation and warning against our rash project.

Tahoma, he said, was an enchanted mountain, inhabited by an evil spirit, who dwelt in a fiery lake on its summit. No human being could ascend it or even attempt its ascent, and survive. At first, indeed, the way was easy. The broad snow-fields, over which he had so often hunted the mountain goat, interposed no obstacle, but above them the rash adventurer would be compelled to climb up steep slopes of loose, rolling rocks, which would turn beneath his feet and cast him headlong into the deep abyss below. The upper snow-slopes, too, were so steep that not even a goat, far less a man, could get over them. And he would have to pass below lofty walls and precipices whence avalanches of snow and vast masses of rock were continually falling; and these would

inevitably bury the intruder beneath their ruins. Moreover, a furious tempest continually swept the crown of the mountain, and the luckless adventurer, even if he wonderfully escaped the perils below, would be torn from the mountain and whirled through the air by this fearful blast. And the awful being upon the summit, who would surely punish the sacrilegious attempt to invade his sanctuary,—who could hope to escape his vengeance? Many years ago, he continued, his grandfather, a great chief and warrior, and a mighty hunter, had ascended part way up the mountain, and had encountered some of these dangers, but he fortunately turned back in time to escape destruction; and no other Indian had ever gone so far.

Finding that his words did not produce the desired effect, he assured us that, if we persisted in attempting the ascent, he would wait three days for our return, and would then proceed to Olympia and inform our friends of our death; and he begged us to give him a paper (a written note) to take to them, so that they might believe his story. Sluskin's manner during this harangue was earnest in the extreme, and he was undoubtedly sincere in his forebodings. After we had retired to rest, he kept up a most dismal chant, or dirge, until late in the night. The dim, white, spectral mass towering so near, the roar of the torrents below us, and the occasional thunder of avalanches, several of which fell during the night, added to the weird effect of Sluskin's song.

The next morning we moved two miles farther up the ridge and made camp in the last clump of trees, quite within the limit of perpetual snow. Thence, with snow-spikes upon our feet and Alpine staff in hand, we went up the snow-fields to reconnoitre the best line of ascent. We spent four hours, walking fast, in reaching the foot of the steep, abrupt part of the mountain. After carefully scanning the southern approaches, we decided to ascend on the morrow by a steep, rocky ridge that seemed to lead up to the snowy crown.

Our camp was pitched on a high knoll crowned by a grove of balsam firs, near a turbulent glacial torrent. About nine o'clock, after we had lain down for the night, the firs round our camp took fire and suddenly burst out in a vivid conflagration. The night was dark and windy, and the scene—the vast, dim outlines of Takhoma, the white snow-fields, the roaring torrent, the crackling blaze of the burning trees—was strikingly wild and picturesque.

In honor of our guide we named the cascade at our feet Sluskin's Falls; the stream we named Glacier Creek, and the mass of ice whence it derives its source we styled the Little Nisqually Glacier.

Before daylight the next morning, Wednesday, August 17, 1870, we were up and had breakfasted, and at six o'clock we started to ascend Takhoma. Besides our Alpine staffs and creepers, we carried a long rope, an ice-axe, a brass plate inscribed with our names, our flags, a large canteen, and some luncheon. We were also provided with gloves,

and green goggles for snow-blindness, but found no occasion to use the latter. Having suffered much from the heat of the sun since leaving Bear Prairie, and being satisfied from our late reconnoissance that we could reach the summit, and return on the same day, we left behind our coats and blankets. In three hours of fast walking we reached the highest point of the preceding day's trip, and commenced the ascent by the steep, rocky ridge already described as reaching up to the snowy dome. We found it to be a very narrow, steep, irregular backbone, composed of a crumbling basaltic conglomerate, the top only, or backbone, being solid rock, while the sides were composed of loose broken rocks and *debris*. Up this ridge, keeping upon the spine when possible, and sometimes forced to pick our way over the loose and broken rocks at the sides, around columnar masses which we could not directly climb over, we toiled for five hundred yards, ascending at an angle of nearly forty-five degrees. Here the ridge connected, by a narrow neck or saddle, with a vast square rock, whose huge and distinct outline can be clearly perceived from a distance of twenty-five miles. This, like the ridge, is a conglomerate of basalt and trap, in well defined strata, and is rapidly disintegrating and continually falling in showers and even masses of rocks and rubbish, under the action of frost by night and melting snow by day. It lies imbedded in the side of the mountain, with one side and end projected and overhanging deep, terrible gorges, and it is at the corner or junction of these two faces that the ridge joined it at a point about a thousand feet below its top. On the southern face the strata were inclined at an angle of thirty degrees. Crossing by the saddle from the ridge, despite a strong wind which swept across it, we gained a narrow ledge formed by a stratum more solid than its fellows, and creeping along it, hugging close to the main rock on our right, laboriously and cautiously continued the ascent. The wind was blowing violently. We were now crawling along the face of the precipice almost in mid-air. On the right the rock towered far above us perpendicularly. On the left it fell sheer off, two thousand feet, into a vast abyss. A great glacier filled its bed and stretched away for several miles, all seamed or wrinkled across with countless crevasses. We crept up and along a ledge, not of solid, sure rock, but one obstructed with the loose stones and *débris* which were continually falling from above, and we trod on the upper edge of a steep slope of this rubbish, sending the stones at every step rolling and bounding into the depth below. Several times during our progress showers of rocks fell from the precipice above across our path, and rolled into the abyss, but fortunately none struck us.

Four hundred yards of this progress brought us to where the rock joined the overhanging edge of the vast *névé* or snow-field that descended from the dome of the mountain and was from time to time, as pressed forward and downward, breaking off in immense masses,

which fell with a noise as of thunder into the great canyon on our left. The junction of rock and ice afforded our only line of ascent. It was an almost perpendicular gutter, but here our ice-axe came into play, and by cutting steps in the ice and availing ourselves of every crevice or projecting point of the rock, we slowly worked our way up two hundred yards higher. Falling stones were continually coming down, both from the rock on our right and from the ice in front, as it melted and relaxed its hold upon them. Mr. Van Trump was hit by a small one, and another struck his staff from his hands. Abandoning the rock, then, at the earliest practicable point, we ascended directly up the ice, cutting steps for a short distance, until we reached ice so corrugated, or drawn up in sharp pinnacles, as to afford a foothold. These folds or pinnacles were about two or three feet high, and half as thick, and stood close together. It was like a very violent chop sea, only the waves were sharper. Up this safe footing we climbed rapidly, the side of the mountain becoming less and less steep, and the ice waves smaller and more regular, and, after ascending about three hundred yards, stood fairly upon the broad dome of mighty Takhoma. It rose before us like a broad, gently swelling headland of dazzling white, topped with black, where the rocky summit projected above the névé. Ascending diagonally towards the left, we continued our course. The snow was hard and firm under foot, crisp and light for an inch or two, but solidified into ice a foot or less beneath the surface. The whole field was covered with the ice-waves already described, and intersected by a number of crevasses which we crossed at narrow places without difficulty. About half-way up the slope, we encountered one from eight to twenty feet wide and of profound depth. The most beautiful vivid emerald-green color seemed to fill the abyss, the reflection of the bright sunlight from side to side of its pure ice walls. The upper side or wall of the crevasses was some twelve feet above the lower, and in places overhung it, as though the snowfield on the lower side had bodily settled down a dozen feet. Throwing a bight of the rope around a projecting pinnacle on the upper side, we climbed up, hand over hand, and thus effected a crossing. We were now obliged to travel slowly, with frequent rests. In that rare atmosphere, after taking seventy or eighty steps, our breath would be gone, our muscles grew tired and strained, and we experienced all the sensations of extreme fatigue. An instant's pause, however, was sufficient to recover strength and breath, and we would start again. The wind, which we had not felt while climbing the steepest part of the mountain, now again blew furiously, and we began to suffer from the cold. Our course,—directed still diagonally towards the left, thus shunning the severe exertion of climbing straight up the dome, although at an ordinary altitude the slope would be deemed easy,—brought us first to the southwest peak. This is a long, exceedingly sharp, narrow ridge, springing out from the main dome for a mile into mid-air. The ridge

affords not over ten or twelve feet of foothold on top, and the sides descend almost vertically. On the right side the snow lay firm and smooth for a few feet on top, and then descended in a steep, unbroken sheet, like an immense, flowing curtain, into the tremendous basin which lies on the west side of the mountain between the southern and northern peaks, and which is inclosed by them as by two mighty arms. The snow on the top and left crest of the ridge was broken into high, sharp pinnacles, with cracks and fissures extending to the rocks a few feet below. The left side, too steep for the snow to lie on, was vertical, bare rock. The wind blew so violently that we were obliged to brace ourselves with our Alpine staffs and use great caution to guard against being swept off the ridge. We threw ourselves behind the pinnacles or into the cracks every seventy steps, for rest and shelter against the bitter, piercing wind. Hastening forward in this way along the dizzy, narrow, and precarious ridge, we reached at length the highest point. Sheltered behind a pinnacle of ice we rested a moment, took out our flags and fastened them upon the Alpine staffs, and then, standing erect in the furious blast, waved them in triumph with three cheers. We stood a moment upon that narrow summit, bracing ourselves against the tempest to view the prospect. The whole country was shrouded in a dense sea of smoke, above which the mountain towered two thousand feet in the clear, cloudless ether. A solitary peak far to the southeast, doubtless Mount Adams, and one or two others in the extreme northern horizon, alone protruded above the pall. On every side of the mountain were deep gorges falling off precipitously thousands of feet, and from these the thunderous sound of avalanches would rise occasionally. Far below were the wide-extended glaciers already described. The wind was now a perfect tempest, and bitterly cold; smoke and mist were flying about the base of the mountain, half hiding, half revealing its gigantic outlines; and the whole scene was sublimely awful.

It was now five P. M. We had spent eleven hours of unremitted toil in making the ascent, and, thoroughly fatigued, and chilled by the cold, bitter gale, we saw ourselves obliged to pass the night on the summit without shelter or food, except our meagre lunch. It would have been impossible to descend the mountain before nightfall, and sure destruction to attempt it in darkness. We concluded to return to a mass of rocks not far below, and there pass the night as best we could, burrowing in the loose débris.

The middle peak of the mountain, however, was evidently the highest, and we determined to first visit it. Retracing our steps along the narrow crest of Peak Success, as we named the scene of our triumph, we crossed an intervening depression in the dome, and ascended the middle peak, about a mile distant and two hundred feet higher than Peak Success. Climbing over a rocky ridge which crowns the summit, we found ourselves within a circular crater two hundred yards in

diameter, filled with a solid bed of snow, and inclosed with a rim of rocks projecting above the snow all around. As we were crossing the crater on the snow, Van Trump detected the odor of sulphur, and the next instant numerous jets of steam and smoke were observed issuing from the crevices of the rocks which formed the rim on the northern side. Never was a discovery more welcome! Hastening forward, we both exclaimed, as we warmed our chilled and benumbed extremities over one of Pluto's fires, that here we would pass the night, secure against freezing to death, at least. These jets were from the size of that of a large steampipe to a faint, scarcely perceptible emission, and issued all along the rim among the loose rocks on the northern side for more than half the circumference of the crater. At intervals they would puff up more strongly, and the smoke would collect in a cloud until blown aside and scattered by the wind, and then their force would abate for a time.

A deep cavern, extending into and under the ice, and formed by the action of heat, was found. Its roof was a dome of brilliant green ice with long icicles pendent from it, while its floor, composed of the rocks and débris which formed the side of the crater, descended at an angle of thirty degrees. Forty feet within its mouth we built a wall of stones, inclosing a space five by six feet around a strong jet of steam and heat. Unlike the angular, broken rocks met with elsewhere, within the crater we found well-rounded boulders and stones of all sizes worn as smooth by the trituration of the crater as by the action of water. Nowhere, however, did we observe any new lava or other evidences of recent volcanic action excepting these issues of steam and smoke. Inclosed within the rude shelter thus hastily constructed, we discussed our future prospects while we ate our lunch and warmed ourselves at our natural register. The heat at the orifice was too great to bear for more than an instant, but the steam wet us, the smell of sulphur was nauseating, and the cold was so severe that our clothes, saturated with the steam, froze stiff when turned away from the heated jet. The wind outside roared and whistled, but it did not much affect us, secure within our cavern, except when an occasional gust came down perpendicularly. However, we passed a most miserable night, freezing on one side, and in a hot steam-sulphur-bath on the other.

The dawn at last slowly broke, cold and gray. The tempest howled still wilder. As it grew light, dense masses of driven mist went sweeping by overhead and completely hid the sun, and enveloped the mountain so as to conceal objects scarce a hundred feet distant. We watched and waited with great anxiety, fearing a storm which might detain us there for days without food or shelter, or, worse yet, snow, which would render the descent more perilous, or most likely impossible. And when, at nine A. M., an occasional rift in the driving mist gave a glimpse of blue sky, we made haste to descend. First, however, I de-

posited the brass plate inscribed with our names in a cleft in a large boulder on the highest summit,—a huge mound of rocks on the east side of our crater of refuge, which we named Crater Peak,—placed the canteen alongside, and covered it with a large stone. I was then literally freezing in the cold, piercing blast, and was glad to hurry back to the crater, breathless and benumbed.

We left our den of refuge at length, after exercising violently to start the blood through our limbs, and, in attempting to pass around the rocky summit, discovered a second crater, larger than the first, perhaps hundred yards in diameter. It is circular, filled with a bed of snow, with a rocky rim all around and numerous jets of steam issuing from the rocks on the northern side. Both craters are inclined—the first to the west, and the latter to the east with a much steeper inclination, about thirty degrees. The rim of the second crater is higher, or the snow-field inside lower, than that of the first, and upon the east side rises in a rocky wall thirty feet above the snow within. From the summit we obtained a view of the northern peak, still partially enveloped in the driving mist. It appeared about a mile distant, several hundred feet lower than the centre peak, and separated from it by a deeper, more abrupt depression or gap than that separating Crater and Success peaks. Like the latter, too, it is a sharp, narrow ridge springing out from the main mountain, and swept bare of snow on its summit by the wind. The weather was still too threatening, the glimpses of the sun and sky through the thick, flying scud, were too few and fugitive, to warrant us in visiting this peak, which we named Peak Tahoma, to perpetuate the Indian name of the mountain.

Our route back was the same as on the ascent. At the steepest and most perilous point in descending the steep gutter where we had been forced to cut steps in the ice, we fastened one end of the rope as securely as possible to a projecting rock, and lowered ourselves down by it as far as it reached, thereby passing the place with comparative safety. We were forced to abandon the rope here, having no means of unfastening it from the rock above. We reached the foot of the rocky ledge or ridge, where the real difficulties and dangers of the ascent commenced, at 1:30 P. M., four and a half hours after leaving the crater. We had been seven and a half hours in ascending from this point to the summit of Peak Success, and in both cases we toiled hard and lost no time.

We now struck out rapidly and joyfully for camp. When nearly there Van Trump, in attempting to descend a snowbank without his creepers, which he had taken off for greater ease in walking, fell, shot like lightning forty feet down the steep incline, and struck among some loose rocks at its foot with such force as to rebound several feet into the air; his face and hands were badly skinned, and he received some severe bruises and a deep, wide gash upon his thigh. Fortunately the

camp was not far distant, and thither with great pain and very slowly he managed to hobble. Once there I soon started a blazing fire, made coffee, and roasted choice morsels of a marmot, Sluiskin having killed and dressed four of these animals during our absence. Their flesh, like the badger's is extremely muscular and tough, and has a strong, disagreeable, doggy odor.

Towards the close of our repast, we observed the Indian approaching with his head down, and walking slowly and wearily as though tired by a long tramp. He raised his head as he came nearer, and, seeing us for the first time, stopped short, gazed long and fixedly, and then slowly drew near, eying us closely the while, as if to see whether we were real flesh and blood or disembodied ghosts fresh from the evil demon of Takhoma. He seemed both astonished and delighted to find us safe back, and kept repeating that we were strong men and had brave hearts: "Skookum tilicum, skookum tumtum." He expected never to see us again, he said, and had resolved to start the next morning for Olympia to report our destruction.

The weather was still raw and cold. A dense cloud overhung and shrouded the triple crown of Takhoma and made us rejoice at our timely descent. The scanty shelter afforded by the few balsam firs about our camp had been destroyed by the fire, and the situation was terribly exposed to the chilly and piercing wind that blew from the great ice-fields. Van Trump, however, was too badly hurt to think of moving that night. Heating some large stones we placed them at our feet, and closely wrapped in our blankets slept soundly upon the open ground, although we awoke in the morning benumbed and chilled.

We found many fresh tracks and signs of the mountain-sheep upon the snow-fields, and hair and wool rubbed off upon rocks, and places where they had lain at night. The mountain-sheep of Takhoma is much larger than the common goat, and is found only upon the loftiest and most secluded peaks of the Cascade Range. Even Sluiskin, a skillful hunter and accustomed to the pursuit of this animal for years, failed to kill one, notwithstanding he hunted assiduously during our entire stay upon the mountain, three days. Sluiskin was greatly chagrined at his failure, and promised to bring each of us a sheep-skin the following summer, a promise which he faithfully fulfilled.

The glacial system of Takhoma is stupendous. The mountain is really the grand focal centre and summit of a region larger than Massachusetts, and the five large rivers which water this region all find their sources in its vast glaciers. They are the Cowlitz, which empties into the Columbia; the White, Puyallup, and Nisqually rivers, which empty into Puget Sound sixty, forty, and twelve miles respectively north of Olympia; and the Wenass, which flows eastward through the range and empties into the Yakima, which joins the Columbia four hundred miles above its mouth. These are all large streams from seventy to a hundred

miles in length. The White, Puyallup, and Cowlitz rivers are each navigable for steamboats for some thirty miles, and like the Nisqually show their glacial origin by their white and turgid [*sic*] water, which indeed gives the former its name.

The southwestern sides of the mountain furnish the glaciers which form the sources of the Nisqually, and one of these, at Sluiskin's Falls, has been already described. The main Nisqually glacier issues from the deep abyss overhung by the vast rock along the face of which our route of ascent lay, and extends in a narrow and somewhat crooked canyon for two miles. The ice at its extremity rises in an abrupt wall five hundred feet high, and a noisy torrent pours out with great force from beneath. This feature is characteristic of every glacier. The main Cowlitz glacier issues from the southeast side, just to the right of our ridge of ascent. Its head fills a deep gorge at the foot of the eastern front or face of the great mass of rock just referred to, and the southern face of which overhangs the main Nisqually glacier. Thus the heads of these glaciers are separated only by this great rock, and are probably not more than half a mile apart, while their mouths are three miles apart. Several smaller glaciers serve to swell the waters of the Cowlitz. In like manner the glaciers from the western side form the Puyallup, and those from the northern and northwestern sides the White River. The principal White River glacier is nearly ten miles long, and its width is from two to four miles. Its depth, or the thickness of its ice, must be thousands of feet. Streams and rivulets under the heat of the sun flow down its surface until swallowed by the crevasses, and a lakelet of deep blue water an eighth of a mile in diameter has been observed upon the solid ice. Pouring down from the mountain, the ice by its immense weight and force has gouged out a mass upon the northeastern side a mile in thickness. The geological formation of Tahoma poorly resists the eroding power of these mighty glaciers, for it seems to be composed not of solid rock, but of a basaltic conglomerate in strata, as though the volcanic force had burst through and rent in pieces some earlier basaltic outflow, and had heaped up this vast pile from the fragments in successive strata. On every side the mountain is slowly disintegrating.

What other peak can offer to scientific examination or to the admiration of tourists fourteen living glaciers of such magnitude, issuing from every side, or such grandeur, beauty, and variety of scenery?

*Scientific Societies and Mountain Clubs Petition the Establishment of a National Park in Washington.<sup>4</sup>*

From the time of Hazard Stevens' first ascent Mount Rainier has been an attraction to naturalists and sportsmen. John Muir, the famous botanist, climbed the peak in 1888. Other well-known scientists studied the geology, the flora, and the fauna of the area. In 1894 national and local leaders united in a movement to preserve the mountain and its environs from exploitation and vandalism by making it a national park. The American Association for the Advancement of Science, the National Geographic Society, the Appalachian Club, and the Sierra Club joined in support of a memorial to that end, which Watson Squire presented to Congress. Excerpts from this memorial appear below.

In 1897 the Washington senators, John L. Wilson and James Hamilton Lewis, took up the project, and a bill was introduced in Congress in April, 1898. Little opposition to it was encountered in the Senate. Objections expressed by House members on grounds of expense were soon overcome, and the bill received President McKinley's signature on March 2, 1899. See John P. Hartman, *The Creation of Mount Rainier National Park* (Seattle, 1935).

*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:*

At a meeting of the Geological Society of America, in Madison, Wis., August 15, 1893, a committee was appointed for the purpose of memorializing the Congress in relation to the establishment of a national park in the State of Washington to include Mount Rainier, often called Mount Tacoma. The committee consists of Dr. David T. Day, Mr. S. F. Emmons, and Mr. Bailey Willis.

At a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in Madison, Wis., August 21, 1893, a committee was appointed by that body for the same purpose as above mentioned, consisting of Maj. J. W. Powell, Prof. Joseph LeConte, Prof. I. C. Russell, Mr. B. E. Fernow, and Dr. C. H. Merriam.

At a meeting of the National Geographic Society, held in Washington, D. C., on October 13, 1893, there was appointed a committee for the purpose above mentioned, consisting of Hon. Gardiner G. Hubbard, Hon. Watson C. Squire, Mr. John W. Thompson, Miss Mary E. Waite, and Miss Eliza R. Scidmore.

At a meeting of the Sierra Club, held in San Francisco, December 30, 1893, a committee for the same purpose was appointed, composed of Mr. John Muir, President D. S. Jordan, Mr. R. M. Johnson, Mr. George B. Bayley, Mr. P. B. Van Trump.

At a meeting of the Appalachian Mountain Club, held in Boston, April 11, 1894, a similar committee was appointed, consisting of Mr. John Ritchie, jr., Rev. E. C. Smith, Dr. Charles E. Fay.

<sup>4</sup> From "Memorial from the Geological Society of America Favoring the Establishment of a National Park in the State of Washington," 53d Congress, 2d Session, Senate Mis. Doc. No. 247 (Serial 3171).

The committees thus appointed were instructed by the several bodies to which they belong to cooperate in the preparation of a memorial to Congress, setting forth the substantial reasons for the establishment of such park.

Pursuant to their instructions the committees present the following memorial to the Congress, and pray that such action may be taken by the honorable Senators and Representatives as will secure to the people of the United States the benefits of a national park which shall include the area mentioned above. In support of their prayer they beg to submit the following statement:

By proclamation of the President, in compliance with the statutes provided therefor, a Pacific Forest Reserve has been established in the State of Washington, the western portion of which is nearly coincident with the tract of land to be included in the national park for which your memorialists pray.

The western part of this reserve includes many features of unique interest and wonderful grandeur, which fit it peculiarly to be a national park, forever set aside for the pleasure and instruction of the people. The region is one of such exceptional rainfall and snowfall that the preservation of its forests is of unusual importance as a protection against floods in the lower valleys; but the scenic features, which mark it out for a national park, attract tourists, who set fire to the timber. This destruction goes on notwithstanding it is a forest reserve, and will continue until protection is afforded by adequate supervision of the area, whether as a reserve or park.

The boundaries of the proposed national park have been so drawn as to exclude from its area all lands upon which coal, gold, or other valuable minerals are supposed to occur, and they conform to the purpose that the park shall include all features of peculiar scenic beauty without encroaching on the interests of miners or settlers.

#### ACCESSIBILITY

None save those who can march and camp in the primeval forest can now visit Mount Rainier; but it is the wilderness, not the distance, that makes it difficult of approach. On the west the distance up the Nisqually River from the railroad at Yelm Prairie to the reserve is but 40 miles. Though heavily timbered, the valley of the Nisqually affords an easy route for a railroad. The Cowlitz valley also offers a line of approach without difficulty by rail, it being about 50 miles from the railroad to the reserve.

On the northwest the railroad at Wilkeson is but 23 miles from the summit of Mount Rainier, and the glaciers can be reached by riding 25 miles through the great forest.

On the north the Cascade branch of the Northern Pacific Railroad crosses the range, only 13 miles in a direct line and 19 miles along the summit from the northern limit of the reserve.

On the east the city of North Yakima is but 62 miles from the summit of Mount Rainier.

The proposed park covers a mountain region which lies across the line of travel from east to west. The railroad winds northward; the travel down the Columbia river turns southward to avoid it. The great current of tourists which flows north and south through Portland, Tacoma, Seattle, Vancouver, and Alaska passes to the west within sight of Mount Rainier, and when the grand old mountain is obscured by clouds the travelers linger to see it, or, passing regretfully on their way, know that they have missed the finest view of their trip.

When a railroad is built up the Nisqually or Cowlitz valley to the park and connection by stages is assured northward to the Cascade branch of the Northern Pacific Railroad and eastward to Yakima, the flood of travel will be diverted through the park.

#### ROUTES WITHIN THE RESERVE

The point which combines accessibility with surroundings of great beauty, and which is therefore most appropriate as a hotel site, is southeast of Mount Rainier, on one of the spurs of the Tootoosh Mountains, near the Cowlitz Valley. To open this region to travel it would be sufficient to establish the hotel and its connections down the Nisqually or Cowlitz Valley, together with trails to points of interest within the park. From the hotel a principal trail would extend north to the Emmons and White River glaciers, which would thus be easily accessible, and thence the railroad at Wilkeson could readily be reached on horseback over the old Northern Pacific trail. In the future, stage roads or possibly a railroad would be extended over the Cowlitz Pass to the eastern slope, North Yakima would be reached via the Tieton or Tannum Valley, and Tannum Lake would become a favorite resort.

But the highway which would challenge the world for its equal in grand scenery would extend from the Cowlitz Pass northward along the crest of the range to the Cascade branch. The distance is 50 miles, 31 in the park and 19 beyond it to the railroad. Within the reserve the summit is open and park-like. On the east is a sea of mountains; on the west is a bold descent of 3,000 feet to the valleys of Cowlitz and White rivers, beyond which Tacoma rises in overpowering grandeur, 8,000 feet above the road and only 12 miles distant.

Your memorialists respectfully represent that—

Railroad lines have been surveyed and after the establishment of a national park would soon be built to its boundaries. The concessions for

a hotel, stopping places, and stage routes could be leased and the proceeds devoted to the maintenance of the park. The policing of the park could be performed from the barracks at Vancouver by details of soldiers, who would thus be given useful and healthful employment from May to October.

The establishment of a hotel would afford opportunity for a weather station, which, in view of the controlling influence exerted by Mount Rainier on the moisture-laden winds from the Pacific, would be important in relation to local weather predictions.

Your memorialists further represent that this region of marvelous beauty is even now being seriously marred by careless camping parties. Its valuable forests and rare animals are being injured and will certainly be destroyed unless the forest reserve be policed during the camping seasons. But efficient protection of the undeveloped wilderness is extraordinarily difficult and in this case practically impossible.

Therefore, for the preservation of the property of the United States, for the protection from floods of the people of Washington in the Yakima, Cowlitz, Nisqually, Puyallup, and White River valleys, and for the pleasure and education of the nation, your memorialists pray that the area above described be declared a national park forever.

For the National Geographic Society:

GARDINER G. HUBBARD,  
*President.*

For the American Association for the Advancement of Science:

J. W. POWELL,

For the Geological Society of America:

BAILEY WILLIS.

For the Sierra Club:

JOHN MUIR.

For the Appalachian Mountain Club:

JOHN RITCHIE, JR.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 27, 1894.*

## CHAPTER XVI.

# COMMUNITY LIFE IN WASHINGTON TOWNS AND CITIES

### *Territorial Towns Put Their Best Foot Forward.*<sup>1</sup>

Washington's territorial towns were typical Western communities. They prided themselves on their numerous contacts with California and the East, and thought of themselves as in all essentials the equals of towns of comparable size anywhere in the country. Merchants advertised shipments of fine goods received from distant markets, and followed the national trends in fashion. Telegraphic reports appeared in territorial newsheets. Social organizations kept in touch with developments in other regions.

Town life thus offered something of the refinements and the cultural enrichment that were found in the older States. The pattern of social living is suggested in the pages here quoted from a Puget Sound Business Directory, and from promotion literature prepared for the Northwestern Industrial Exposition.

#### OLYMPIA

Olympia, the Capital of Washington Territory and county seat of Thurston County, is situated at the head of Puget Sound, on a peninsula formed by Budd's Inlet, an arm of the Sound. This peninsula is about one mile and a half in length, and forms the limits of the city proper, though several additions have been made, which extends its limits for several miles more. Olympia has a population of about 1,800, is handsomely situated, possesses fine broad streets, shaded by the beautiful maple peculiar to the country. It has several churches, two public schools and two or three private ones, a female academy, several societies, seven newspapers, and many handsome private residences. The country back of it is heavily wooded, and the shores of the inlet are steep and bold, until they reach within a quarter of a mile of the city, when they shoal suddenly. A large mud-flat extends for a distance of a mile and a half at low tide, and this is the greatest drawback to the place. At high tide the water is deep enough for any class of vessels, but at low water small boats even are left beached. The consequence of this is that steamers have to come in at high tide and leave on the next. Should the city reach the importance that is anticipated for it, this defect to navigation can be readily overcome by means of a break-water or a dock. Being the head

<sup>1</sup> From *Puget Sound Business Directory* (Olympia, Wash., 1872), pp. [82-4, 107-8, 144, 153-7]; *Business Directory of the City of Seattle for the Year 1876* (Seattle, 1876), pp. 16-33.

of navigation, the principal steamers plying the length of the Sound make it their headquarters. It is also important from its position as the entrepot between the Sound country and Oregon, and the only city of importance in an extensive region of country. The stages for the Columbia River leave daily, and the steamer running to Victoria and intermediate ports semi-weekly, besides many other crafts plying between the various Sound ports. In aspect the city is decidedly pleasing, private residences being handsome and numerous, and all wear an air of neatness and comfort. Each dwelling has a flower garden attached and the number and brilliancy of the flora are very striking and strongly suggestive of the refinement of their cultivators. Perhaps there is not a city on the coast so arcadian in appearance, a circumstance which gives it a unique charm. It contains five churches, the Methodist, Episcopal, Presbyterian and Baptist being in charge of regular pastors, and the Catholic holding meetings only occasionally. The inhabitants are generally church-goers, a fact which bespeaks much for their moral culture and explains why crime of any kind is a rare occurrence. The schools are of a superior order and well attended. Education is a matter in which all are interested, as may be inferred from the number of schools. There are three hundred and twelve children in the district, and of this number one-half attend the public schools; the remainder are scattered among the private institutions. There is not another city of equal population in the world that publishes so many newspapers, there being two dailies and five weeklies. If the number of newspapers published in a country or city are taken as mental photographs of the intelligence of the people, then the populace of Olympia must take the first rank intellectually. These papers, though not equal in size to those of large cities, nevertheless display all the activity of more pretentious journals, and devote much space and attention to local matters, just what they should do. Every item of any importance is given in detail, hence we doubt if the people of any section of the country are better acquainted with all matters transpiring in their midst than those of Washington Territory. Though the population is small the papers are well supported, a kindness which the latter reciprocate by carefully guarding the interests of the people. The city has two libraries, that of the Territory and one belonging to the Good Templars. Both of these contain over six thousand volumes, and are open to the public. The Good Templars also have a reading room, liberally supplied with newspapers, to which the general public are welcome.

Of the principal societies there are representative Lodges, in good financial condition and well attended. The city has three active organizations in a band, a base ball and boat club. During the summer season the former plays twice a week in the public park, the citizens raising a subscription to pay for such refined amusement. These outdoor concerts, which are given in the evening, when the labors of the day are o'er, are well attended by an attentive and appreciative audience. The clubs also have friendly contests among themselves, or test their skill

against clubs of neighboring cities, and so keep up an active interest in their welfare. Improvements are constantly being made, and private residences and stores are constantly being erected. The number of improvements this year, however, has not been so numerous as they should, as persons did not like to invest their money until the terminus of the Northern Pacific Railroad at that point was located. This has now been settled, hence the people will know how to act, as the speculations and anxieties incident to it are past.

There are five manufactories in the city — a boot and shoe manufactory, two soap manufactories, one foundry and a lumber and sash and door manufactory. This is a small number, owing to the superior facilities of Tumwater, only a mile and a half distant, where they are numerous. Olympia is connected with Tumwater by a bridge five hundred and twenty feet long, which spans the channel formed by the union of the Des Chutes River with Budd's Inlet. Its peninsula conformation also separates it from the western shore, but communication is established by means of a well built, substantial bridge 2,030 feet long. The commerce of Olympia is not very extensive as yet, and is confined to the region of country extending from its location to Gray's Harbor.

The principal stores keep a fine assortment of goods, and of a character to suit all classes of people. A well established bank is also located in the city, and travelers will find the hotels comfortable. The population is the most quiet, perhaps, on the continent; riotous drunkenness is rarely seen on the street, and assaults, shooting affrays and kindred crimes are comparatively unknown. A moral tone, stringent in its judgment, seems to pervade the community and to condemn all riotousness.

The scenery visible from the city is charming and grand. Facing northward that beautiful body of water, the Sound, tranquil as a lake and crystalline as a mirror, its borders heavily fringed with evergreens and relieved by the ever-pleasing snowy Olympic Range in the background, is seen, and makes a tableau that can be witnessed from few cities. On summer evenings the scene from the city is delightful. Flitting up and down the bay, gracefully gliding along, or churning the water with ponderous wheels, are fragile canoes of the natives, the white-winged yachts laden with merry parties, and handsome steamers, and contrasting, yet harmonizing with the general landscape, make a picture possessing grandeur and repose, tranquility and movement. Nature has certainly been kind to Olympia in beauty of surroundings.

The early history of the city may be expressed in a few words. The first settlement was made by Mr. Edmund Sylvester, now a merchant of the place, in 1846, and he resided on his claim until the breaking out of the gold excitement in California, when he hied to the new-found Eldorado and tarried there nearly two years. On his return he found that some more adventurous pioneers had joined him and located convenient to him. The site of the present city was laid out in 1851, and as vessels began to frequent it in quest of lumber for the San Francisco market, a

few stores were started to supply the logging camps, and from this small beginning it has grown in importance daily. A saw mill had also been erected at Tumwater by Col. Simmons and his party, who had crossed the plains from Illinois in 1844, and this also aided the development of the place by furnishing employment to several persons. The road leading to Tumwater was opened in 1852, and a weekly mail, on horseback and by canoe, kept communication open with Oregon and the outside world. The first mail was carried down the Sound in 1854, by the steamer Major Tompkins, for in the few intervening years several towns had sprung up, extending as far north as Port Townsend. The *Columbian* was issued in September, 1852, and was the only paper north of Oregon. Its printers were Wiley & McElroy. The first church was built by the Catholics in 1852, and the first school-house was opened in 1853. In the autumn of the latter year Gen. Isaac I. Stevens, who had surveyed an overland route for the North Pacific Railroad, was made Governor of the Territory, and he chose Olympia as the Capital, it being centrally located. Since then the city has quietly, though steadily, grown, and is constantly improving. It has not sprung up like the mushroom towns on certain railroads, but it has improved more steadily and permanently than any of them. That its future is a bright one is evident from its position, importance, and the extensive area of agricultural land which surrounds it and depends upon it for a market.

#### STEILACOOM

Steilacoom, situated on the Sound, twenty-four miles from Olympia, is the county seat of Pierce county, and contains about three hundred inhabitants. It was located in 1851, and for many years was a prominent and quite promising town, being the headquarters of the United States military force stationed in the Territory. Many of the Generals made famous in the civil war, on both sides, received their first practical education in the military art in this place. The town has been relinquished as a military post for several years, and the extensive barracks, which occupy a lovely vale a mile and a half from town, are now used as an insane asylum. The Penitentiary is also located here, but a new one will soon be built on an island in the Sound, distant about five miles from the main land. This will prevent any reasonable possibility of the escape of the convicts.

There are three churches, two school houses and a Masonic Hall in the town, and though unpretending are substantial structures. The Sisters of Charity have an academy, complete in all appointments necessary to give a thorough education. An orphanage is attached to it, and there the little waifs are nurtured with all the care they could expect from fond parents. The commerce of the town is not very extensive, and is confined principally to the surrounding country, though large quantities of hoops, staves and lumber are exported to San Francisco, so that a regular line of vessels is constantly plying between both places. A manu-

facturing establishment for the purpose of extracting oil from dog-fish and other inhabitants of the deep, has recently been started on an island near the town. The association inaugurating this enterprise is known as the North Pacific Commercial Company, and has a capital of \$200,000. Weirs for the capture of the fish have been put in position, and machinery for the establishment erected and in active operation. A grist mill and tannery are in active operation outside the town, and are constantly employed.

The county of which Steilacoom is the seat, being principally prairie land, large numbers of sheep are raised, and extensive quantities of wool are exported annually both to Portland and San Francisco. Were a woolen factory started in the place, the probabilities are that it would pay, as wool is plentiful and excellent water power can be found on Steilacoom Creek, which empties into the Sound. The harbor is large, with bold and heavily wooded shores, and good anchorage ground; it is free from storms, clear of rocks, and perfectly safe for even the smallest canoe. The steamers plying on the Sound call at Steilacoom, so that it is always easy of access. A fine road over the prairies also connect[s] it with Olympia and Tacoma, the latter some twelve miles distant. For beauty of surrounding scenery it is difficult to match Steilacoom. The country back of it is an open prairie, decorated irregularly with fine natural groves, and profusely covered in every part with brilliant flowers. A chain of lakes, the principal of which is American Lake, adds much to the interest of the landscape, as they are crystalline in purity, and being within four miles of town are easy of access. A ride or drive over the prairie—which is not affected by the severest rains—is pleasure indeed. Beneath you is the elastic turf, before you a broad plain, brilliant in its floral robe, and back of it the towering peaks of the Cascades, whose summits rise above the heavy, fleecy cumulus clouds, which look like immense fields of snow. The Olympic Range, which stretches away to the north, is also visible, and at intervals the blue waters of the Sound. Steilacoom should become a fashionable summer resort, for it possesses all the requirements, with the exception of surf bathing. But then it has so many advantages that this could be overlooked, and at best the surf is sought only because it is fashionable. Bathing, boating, fine riding or driving, a retired and quiet place and magnificent scenery are elements that should attract those who flee from the heat of the cities to enjoy their *dolce far niente*. When the advantages of Steilacoom are known, it will become the Newport of the Northwest.

#### MILLING TOWNS

Along the entire length of the Sound are scattered towns containing from one hundred to three hundred inhabitants, in which no business but that of lumber is carried on. These mills are owned principally by firms in San Francisco, many of whom are quite wealthy in lands. Several own from forty thousand to one hundred thousand acres of timber

land, and some even more. A few of the mill companies purchase the hewn timber from those who make a business of logging, and manufacture into lumber, while others hire their own loggers and so avoid the payment of the stumpage demanded by the Federal Government or the railroad corporation. The proprietors of the mills own the site of the town in which their establishments are situated, and no business but such as they choose is permitted on their property. They generally own the store, hotel or boarding house, so monopolize whatever money may be spent by the employes. Saloons or drinking establishments of any kind are not allowed in some places, hence the laborers are not in that impoverished condition which is peculiar to the same class in cities. The towns are generally situated in some sheltered nook, with deep-water in front, and often are imperceptible until you come directly abreast them. All are furnished with a school-house and a church or a public hall in which religious services are held. Shipbuilding is carried on at every town, and often two or three crafts of various kinds are on the stocks at once. Some of the fastest and handsomest vessels on the Pacific Coast have been built on the Sound, and shipbuilding is increasing continually. The number of ships awaiting cargoes in the towns is a matter of surprise to strangers, the contrast being so great between the small forest of masts and the few scattering houses discernible. Were it not for the heavy puffing of the steam the towns would seem to be arcadian hamlets. The mill companies own their own ships, so they have a double advantage. The lumber is shipped to all parts of the world, and the demand cannot be supplied.

#### KALAMA

Kalama, the headquarters of the officers of the Pacific Division of the North Pacific Railroad, is situated on the Columbia River, and is the principal town in Cowlitz County. It was first laid out in February, 1870, and in a few months thereafter had a population of five hundred, mostly resident inhabitants engaged in business. With these were a large number of persons seeking the place in search of labor, so that its population in three months after being selected as a town site amounted to one-third more than the above figures. In May, 1870, a newspaper, the *Kalama Beacon* was started, the plant having been brought from the East for its special purpose, as it was to be the railroad organ. For a few weeks after the establishment of the city—for it is now one—only tents could be seen, but they have long since given way to good, substantial, though primitive, wooden buildings, which are suitable enough for the business transacted, even if they are not architecturally pretentious. The only buildings in the city of any importance are the headquarters of the railroad officials and the Kazano House, which occupy the hillside overlooking the city. The Railroad Company have had two large plain structures erected near the river, which are to be used for a car shop and a machine shop. All the cars to be used on the Pacific Division of the

road—estimated at three hundred and fifty—are to be constructed in the former, while the latter is to be used principally for repairing machinery. The business houses are well supplied with goods, and the leading ones do a general merchandise trade. The city was incorporated and assumed a municipal form of government in 1871. Its population is now about three hundred, exclusive of transient railroad employes. It possesses a public and private school and an Episcopal and Methodist Church. It has six stores, engaged in a general merchandise business, one dry goods store, three good hotels and two restaurants. The trades are represented proportionately. The site gives a good view of the surrounding country, as it steepens rapidly from the river. The water near its wharves—which are excellently built and commodious—is deep enough to float the largest class of ships. To reach the dock vessels have to round a small island a few yards distant. Further out in the river is another small island, so it is supposed the branch of the railroad which is to connect with Portland will cross the river at this point. Cars are now running northward as far as Oloqua daily, a distance of twenty-five miles, and it is expected they will run a distance of sixty-five miles by October.

A town site, to be called Cooke City—after Jay Cooke—has been laid out on the Oregon side of the Columbia River, directly opposite Kalama, as two railroad branches are expected to center at that point, previous to crossing the river to the Washington side. The location is a good one, the land sloping back from the river, giving a fine view of the surrounding country. The land in the vicinity is excellent for agricultural purposes, and a site for fisheries can be found near it. These towns show the progressive power of railroads, and ere many years doubtless the above embryo city will be a place of importance.

#### VANCOUVER

Vancouver, the chief town in Clarke County, is situated on the Columbia River, and is distant from Portland, Oregon, about twelve miles by water and half that number by land. It is located in the midst of a good agricultural country and is surrounded by charming scenery. It contains several stores, one hotel, half a dozen schools, and all the leading denominations have churches there. The business of the place is rather limited, owing to the sparseness of population in the adjoining agricultural districts, and being o'ershadowed by the metropolis of Oregon, which affords more ample scope for a market. The rural inhabitants do not seem to be impressed with the idea that their own chief town should be encouraged, hence, instead of trading there and trying to encourage business, they seek another market, which must become detrimental to them finally, if continued. The Columbia River is navigable as far as Vancouver for sea-going ships, but the city having no manufactories or mills this great commercial advantage is not utilized. There is ample room and excellent water power adjacent, so that manufactories would find it an eligible location, and having a large area of country to

deal with, could find a ready market for products. If somewhat backward in commercial enterprise, it is one of the leading towns of the coast in educational matters, and may be called the Athens of Western Washington. The Sisters of the House of Providence have there an excellent academy, complete in all its appointments, which was established as long ago as 1856, when the town could not have been more than a mere hamlet, and is, therefore, the oldest higher institution in the Territory. This is always well attended by pupils, not only from the adjoining country but by many from Oregon. The Sisters have also a Hospital under their charge; this is located some distance from the school and has no communication with surrounding buildings. The Catholics have also a good college for boys, under the charge of experienced teachers—the young clergymen of the mission—and attached to it is a large and well chosen library. The Vancouver Seminary, under the charge of the Methodists, has an average attendance of forty pupils. The Episcopal denomination has a female academy, containing an average of about fifteen pupils. The city has a very substantial and commodious public school, at which an average of eighty pupils attend, a good attendance, it may be stated, when there are only one hundred school children in the district. The entire number of school children in the county is about one thousand three hundred, and the county is divided into twenty-nine districts, and has twenty-six school-houses. This is a large number of children for the population, the latter being estimated at three thousand, of which Vancouver has nearly one-third.

There are two newspapers published in the city; one is issued weekly, the other monthly; the latter is devoted to agricultural matters, and the former is political.

Of societies there are several in the place. The Masons, Odd Fellows, Good Templars and a Hibernian Benevolent Society, are in good financial condition and comparatively numerous.

The scenery visible from Vancouver, like every other portion of Western Washington, is charming, as the three great elements of a fine picture, water, forest and towering mountains, are present. The city is situated on a gradually sloping plateau, which inclines toward the river, and is comparatively free of timber except along the river margin. The country surrounding it is heavily timbered with fir, spruce, pine and some deciduous trees. Extending from the Columbia to the Cascade Range some forty miles distant, are the evergreen forests, whose sombre hue is relieved by the snowy mountain peaks, the principal of which in this region is Mount Hood.

The Federal Government has long since occupied Vancouver as a military station, and it is the principal one in the Department of the Columbia. The barracks are situated on a handsome plateau back of the city, and are usually occupied by from one to three companies of infantry and a detachment of the ordnance corps. Being the headquarters of whatever regiment is located there, the clear notes of the bugle, the

roll of the drum or the strains of the regimental band may be heard at any hour of the day or evening, and these give the place a decided character.

Vancouver is the oldest town in the Territory, having been located by the Hudson Bay Company when they first occupied the country, and for a long time it was their principal trading post, as it occupied a central position between the posts along the Sound and those in Eastern Washington. In 1835 a mission was opened there by Father Blanchet, now Archbishop of the northwestern diocese, and it has been occupied as a mission since. This mission claimed six hundred and forty acres of land under the laws of Congress of 1848, when the United States had been ceded the country by the British Government, but its claim having been disputed it was not known until recently to whom the town site belonged, hence, the property being rather insecure, it was not speculated upon as in other cities, and this may have had a somewhat retarding effect on the place. The city, some years after its vacation by the Hudson Bay Company, was a place of importance, and made pretensions to be the metropolis of the Columbia River, but the concentration of capital in Portland and the rapid settlement of Oregon caused it to lag behind and finally settle down to its present position. Had the inhabitants displayed the same enterprise as those of the neighboring city, Vancouver might have reached the goal of its ambition. It promises in the future to become an important point, especially if the North Pacific Railroad passes through it, as expected. The country surrounding it can be utilized for agricultural and grazing purposes, and as population flows in the city must keep pace, hence its future would seem to indicate prosperity.

#### SEATTLE IN 1876

Four years ago—1872—Seattle could claim but a short 2,000 inhabitants, but 575 buildings of all kinds, and but comparatively few business houses. Seattle was at that time in a position of semi-vassalage to Portland, from which place a very large amount of merchandise of all kinds was annually shipped to supply her increasing demands. She had no direct line of steamers to and from San Francisco, had but one partially developed coal mine, and was in a condition of doubt as to her future prospects. The subsequent struggle for the terminus of the Northern Pacific Railroad, which resulted in its being located at Tacoma, was a severe blow to the interests of Seattle—and from the effects of which she did not fully recover for two years. Since that time has followed a period of general business stagnation, which has extended itself throughout the entire United States. Seattle, in common with the Pacific coast towns, has felt this prevailing depression, but while many of her rivals have decreased alike in population, value and business, Seattle has steadily, though at times slowly, increased in wealth, improvement and public confidence, until now in four years, she has 3,600 inhabitants; she has

three Coal mines in active operation instead of one, has direct steamer communication with San Francisco every ten days, has more than 1,000 houses, and has a property valuation of more than double that of 1872. From a place of comparative inactivity, she has developed into a city bustling with life and enterprise. Brick buildings are being erected; expensive, thorough, and valuable improvements are being made upon the streets, coal mines are being opened and successfully worked, and the first section of the Seattle & Walla Walla Railroad is built, with the almost certain assurance of its early completion through from this place to Walla Walla. With this road completed, the dullest mind can easily see that Seattle will soon become the very foremost City north of San Francisco.

The most apparent evidences of thrift are the large number of manufacturing interests represented here. We have two foundries, which do an immense amount of work—every kind of casting usually done in first-class foundries being executed. Nearly the entire work of the Sound is brought to Seattle—steamer repairing, mill work, &c., finds its way to these shops, which are thus enabled to constantly employ a large force of men, thereby bringing money to the place, and doing a large business at remunerative rates. Work of this kind has increased, perhaps, more than any other manufacturing interest of this city.

Among other enterprises, are two breweries, conducted respectively by Messrs. Slorah & King, and Picht & Mehlhorn. A large quantity of the best quality of beer is manufactured by these firms, both for home consumption and for shipment to all parts of the Sound.

The ship building interest has also received some addition from Seattle capital; although it is to be admitted with regret that it has not engrossed our business men to an extent commensurate with other investments. One fine barkentine has been constructed and rigged at this place during the present season; and arrangements are now making by which the building of a large deep sea bark will be commenced in a short time. The building of a large and adequate ship-yard, and the construction of both coasting and deep sea vessels, either by an incorporated company or individual capital, could not fail, if managed with ordinary financial discretion, to yield a handsome dividend upon the money invested. There are many cogent reasons why this field of business could be successfully entered upon, and without a single detractive consideration. Recent thorough investigation by the Board of Underwriters in San Francisco has conclusively proven that our Washington Territory material for the building of wooden vessels for deep sea carrying, is superior to any other timber. Recently every encouragement has been given this place for entering this field and successfully competing with other and older competitors.

*Street Improvements*

Until within a short time the streets of this city have received comparatively little improvement. This matter, which is of so much importance in our rapidly growing community, seems to have been overlooked and neglected in our city. Extensive and permanent street improvement is one of the very best evidences of confidence in the future growth of a place, and is one of the most necessary and best appreciated of any public work. During the present season more monies have been expended upon our streets than in the past five years. A system of grade has been established upon our streets, and what has been done this year has been in conformity with this system. The wisdom of this course cannot be too strongly commended; for when streets are graded in this way, although the cost may be great, the work is more complete, and above all, is final and not to be re-established. In nearly every instance, the value of the property increased more than the expense of the improvement. The costly grade upon Front street has more than re-paid every property holder fronting upon it, in directly benefitting and enhancing such property. Above \$12,000 have been expended on street work this year in Seattle. This fact alone is worthy of note, showing the entire confidence in our future by the people. By this wise measure, Front street has been made into a magnificent thoroughfare, which is alike a benefit to the public and a credit to the city. In a very few years it will be necessary to grade all our streets, opening out magnificent drives and broad avenues, increasing the value of property, beautifying the city, and thus keeping pace with augmenting commercial demands and the suggestions of cultivated taste.

*Steamboats and Sailing Vessels*

During the last two years a large amount of capital has been invested in steamboats. The Otter, Wenat, Nellie, and Fanny Lake, have all been brought here or built at Seattle. The number has been doubled within the past three years. Seattle is now the headquarters of more vessels than all the other ports on the Sound. The amount of business done in this way, as compared with former years, is simply enormous. Five years ago, \$3,000 would cover the entire value of vessels owned in Seattle; at present \$60,000 would not reach such investment. The enterprise of our merchants in extending their business relations to all parts of Puget Sound, and the concentration of capital at this point, has necessitated increased steam communication, which in time has been the means of building up and stimulating business of all other kinds here. The fleet of sailing vessels which come here for coal and lumber is largely in excess of any previous twelve months. The coal mined and sent below from here stands higher in the market than any other coast production. This feature alone will always fill our bay with the

"white-winged" carriers of the ocean. And as facilities of production and demand increase, in equal manner will our maritime importance be augmented.

Seattle has one tannery, which produces a fair quantity of leather of very good quality, supplying a local demand, and keeping at home money which would otherwise be sent abroad for dressed leather. We observe, however, that a very large number of green and dried hides are shipped to San Francisco from this place. There is no reason why the manufacture of the raw material into the dressed merchantable article should not be followed here as well as in other places. It is a business which, if pursued with ordinary business ability, nearly always pays handsomely. There is certainly a fine opportunity for such a business to be carried on in Seattle on a large scale.

Boiler makers find a large amount of work to do in this city. There are at present two firms here, which are constantly employed in filling orders for parties in Seattle and other parts of the Sound, the entire work for which finds its way to this place.

One ship yard, by Wm. Hammond, is always crowded with work. Vessels are brought here from all the mill ports and towns on Puget Sound for repairs. A large force of ship carpenters and joiners find constant employment in the yard, where there are always vessels being built or necessary alterations and repairs being made to those already in service.

Seattle has two sash and door factories which are doing a large business. The local demand is immense, as a great number of new dwellings and business houses are being erected. All kinds of work usually done in such manufactories is turned off here by the latest and most labor-saving machinery. Besides supplying our own market with an excellent article, these factories are continually filling large orders from all parts of the Sound.

Two machine shops do all the work in that line for the city and surrounding communities. One is owned by Mr. G. W. Bullene, and the other by the Seattle Coal and Transportation Company. The latter shop is employed generally in repairing and making necessary machinery for that company, while Mr. Bullene does all kinds of job and contract work, from that of the simplest nature up to the manufacture of steam engines of any desired size and power. Although usually all the mill companies have machine shops, a very fair proportion of their work is brought to this place. The large number of steamers plying on the Sound, find this the most convenient, as well as the most economical place for such work. The latest and most expensive styles of machinery have been introduced into these shops, and workmen of capacity and experience are employed.

During the past year a considerable amount of furniture has been made by Messrs. Hall & Paulson, such as chamber sets, chairs, stands, tables, &c., &c. The wood, which grows in such spontaniety along our river bottoms, is susceptible of receiving a very high polish, and when manufactured into household furniture of tasty design and proper finish, is very little, if any, inferior to the more notorious woods of the Eastern States. The fact that furniture of equal beauty, equal durability and strength can be made here and sold for less money than Eastern importations, should especially stimulate this kind of enterprise; and it is pleasing to note that the above-named firm have taken the initiative in a field which promises not only success to themselves, but which is also another step in the direction of home manufactures.

The status of a town can usually be accurately ascertained by the appearance of its places of business. If they are poorly kept, are in a semi-dilapidated condition, it is fair and natural to assume that business is waning, and that life and public spirit is wanting. Seattle is about the only positive exception to this rule that we ever saw. Within the present year, however, there seems to have been a different policy pursued with regard to both places of business and private residences. Large and more imposing structures have been erected in lieu of the small and comparatively inconvenient buildings. The policy of crowding as much as possible on the least space—the lack of display and taste—has given way, in a measure, at least to outward appearances, to neater arrangements and to more attractive and elegant styles. Nor is there anything more pleasant to contemplate than this reconstruction, as there is nothing which will ultimately be found to establish confidence and increase our population in a greater and more rapid degree, than these attentions to the demands of convenience of structure and elegance of appearance.

The public schools of this city should certainly be objects of pride and gratification to every citizen of Seattle. As the place has grown in population and the demand for increased educational facilities has become imperative; adequate buildings have from time to time been erected for these purposes, until we now have beside the central school house, one in the southern part of the city, one in the northern limits, and another (erected this summer) in Belltown, all of which are in the hands of competent teachers, and under the general supervision of Prof. Ingraham, principal of the central school. In these three school houses are employed five teachers who, in the aggregate, have charge of 479 children. The public school system is the very heart of American liberty and government, and it is a matter of congratulation that in this city they are in such a state of thrift and popularity.

The Seattle Gas Light Company was incorporated three years since, and has expended a large amount of money in purchasing the necessary material, and in constructing their works, etc. The company is at present

in a condition of thrift; although a very large proportion of their receipts are constantly being expended in making improvements about their works and in increasing the amount of gas manufactured. This, we believe, is the only gas works in Washington Territory, and is a permanent tribute to the city, and the energy of our business men.

Seattle has one firm in the manufacture of soda water, and also one firm engaged in the manufacture of root beer, both of which find ready sale in the city and around the Sound, for their liquids. Also we have two different establishments where a large amount of soap of a good quality is manufactured for export and home use.

The need of medical attention and proper care for the many who are annually injured in the logging camps and saw mills around the Sound, induced Dr. G. A. Weed some two years ago to establish a hospital for the reception and treatment of patients from the city and the surrounding communities. This hospital has received and discharged somewhere in the neighborhood of two hundred patients. It supplies a want long felt, and it is in a most prosperous condition at this time.

Two different firms are engaged in the manufacture of spring beds—quite a number being sold in this city and elsewhere on the Sound.

A flouring mill was established in Seattle about two years ago, by Mr. I. W. Buzby, which supplies a need long felt. A fine quality of flour is manufactured here, besides constantly manufacturing all kinds of feed, etc. The capacity of the mill will shortly be increased to a double run of burrs, besides adding other improvements, and it is at present in a prosperous condition.

There is one saddlery and harness making establishment in Seattle, owned by C. L. Mitchell, where the local demand is supplied with a very fair article.

The Seattle saw mill is owned by J. M. Colman, has a capacity of 55,000 feet per day of 12 hours. Its usual average is about 45,000 per day, and from 30 to 40 men employed in it. But a comparatively small amount of lumber is shipped from this mill to San Francisco, as the demand for material for building purposes here is so great, that the largest part of its productions find ready market here.

The Puget Sound Candy Manufactory is owned by Mr. A. W. Piper, who makes all kinds of plain and fancy candies. This establishment supplies the local demand, beside shipping large quantities to all points of any importance around the Sound.

Mr. C. W. Lawton owns a horticultural establishment near the city, which contains all kinds of bulbs, hot house, and out door plants, a full stock of common and rare flowers; besides having a large number of all kinds of fruit trees, some of which are of the most choice varieties. This gentleman has expended a considerable sum of money, and bestowed his entire time for several years upon his premises, and has cause for pride in the success of his undertaking.

Seattle has three daily and weekly newspapers. One of the dailies, the *Intelligencer*, is published every morning, Sundays excepted, and the *Dispatch* and *Tribune* are published every week day evening. Our city is thus abundantly supplied with newspaper literature, and it is the fault of the people, if they fail to keep themselves thoroughly acquainted with both foreign and domestic matters of interest. If the three greatest factors of public intelligence and moral culture—the press, public schools, and churches—indicate anything, every citizen of this enterprising town has abundant reason for congratulation.

A good quality of brick is made in three different yards near the city. The demand for this kind of building material is rapidly increasing. Within the last year more brick have been used in constructing business houses, than in all of Seattle's previous history; and as the city increases in size, brick structures will take the place of less costly and less permanent wooden buildings.

We can see no reason why the business of catching and canning salmon and other salt-water fish could not be carried on here as well as elsewhere. Salmon both in barrels and cans bring excellent prices in San Francisco and New York. In the East this excellent fish has been pursued and taken until it is at present practically extinct. The streams are being slowly restocked by the trans-shipment of eggs across the continent by the United States Fish Commissioners. This experiment, be it ever so successful, will require a considerable lapse of time to produce salmon in their rivers in sufficient number to in any way affect the market upon this coast. It has been alleged, and with much evidence of correctness, that the source from which the supply of canned and barrelled salmon is procured on this coast at present, is failing, and that in a comparatively short time it will be exhausted. We refer to the Columbia river. For the last seven years the number of canneries along that stream have been rapidly increasing, until at this time that business is one of the principal industries of Oregon, and yields, for the amount of capital invested, enormous profits. The same opportunities which were apparent on the Columbia present themselves with equal force and promise of success here. The fish seined in our bay are always of fair size, of fine flavor, fat and juicy, and limitless in number. The run does not continue so long as that of the Columbia river, but is of sufficient length to enable an immense amount of this wholesome and delicious food to be secured. We hope to soon see this matter receiving the attention so important an interest demands at the hands of men of experience and capital, and we shall see what is at present a valueless natural wealth develop into a source of revenue and profit.

*Striking Contrasts Mark the Cities of the Sound.*<sup>2</sup>

In the latter half of the nineteenth century the Industrial Revolution led to a phenomenal growth of cities, both in Europe and the United States. In America this urban movement was not confined to the older states, but took place on the frontier as well. The contrast between rural loneliness and urban concentration was particularly striking in the Pacific Northwest, where cities grew up literally in the heart of the wilderness.

## THE CITIES OF THE SOUND

"My dear sir," said Colonel Nicholas Owings, as we sat on the hotel veranda in Olympia, the capital city, "the State of Washington is too modest. For fear of being considered a braggart, she keeps quiet concerning the very things she has the best right to talk about, and in which a large proportion of mankind is most interested. I don't know why it is, but I sometimes think it is because we who are here have struck such a tremendously good thing that it has made us selfish, and determined to keep it to ourselves. Why, sir, we have better timber and more of it than can be found in the regions of the Baltic; ours is a better dairy country than Holland; it is richer in mineral wealth than California; we raise better hops than New York, and better cereals than any other State of the Union; while in Puget Sound we have not only the grandest harbor of the world, but one so located that it alone furnishes the elements of greatness for our State. Here the trade of America with Asia must centre. Here, even now, are arising the great commercial cities of the Pacific coast. Here, on Puget Sound, is the future seat of the Western empire of wealth."

"Where is it to be located, Colonel?"

"Ah, my dear fellow, if I only knew!"

No one who has sailed over the blue waters of Puget Sound, even though he may not have explored more than one in a score of the countless harbors that indent its 1600 miles of coast-line, can wonder at the Colonel's enthusiasm.

The cities do exist, though, and to the bewildered traveller who visits the sound with a hazy notion that its shores are still a wilderness, broken here and there by rude frontier settlements, they seem to have sprung into being full fledged, with all the metropolitan adjuncts of electric lights and cars, luxurious club-houses and palace hotels, spacious parks, superb business blocks, and miles of handsomely built-up residence streets.

<sup>2</sup> From Kirk Munroe, "Cities of the Sound," in *Harper's Weekly* (January 13, 1894), XXXVIII, 35-8.

Olympia, our newest State capital, but oldest of the cities of the sound, is located at its extreme head, at the mouth of Des Chutes River. Although its first settlement was made so long ago as 1846, the city of to-day is a modern product, dating from the Pacific coast boom of five years ago. It possesses the unique advantage among Puget Sound cities of rising from the water on a gradual slope instead of scrambling up a precipitous bluff. This gentle ascent ends with a parklike plateau, on which, overlooking the city and bay, stands the State Capitol. The present structure is a long two-storied wooden building, painted white, and resembling a comfortable country school-house; but with an appropriation of a million of dollars, and competing architects already submitting their plans, Washington's State Capitol of the future promises to be a thing of pride and beauty.

Olympia has a population of nearly ten thousand energetic people, who, with the general awakening of the recent boom, determined to make their town as attractive as any other. To this end they graded streets, built a fine hotel, and established an electric plant at Tumwater, two miles out of town, where the Des Chutes, by a series of falls, furnishes a superb water-power. From this plant the town is lighted, the motors of its street railways are supplied, and its telephones are operated. About the Tumwater Falls they laid out a romantic park on a site that Mrs. Julia Ward Howe declared to be one of the most beautiful she had ever visited. In the city they erected two of the finest school-houses in the State; and finally, in conjunction with their fellow-citizens of Thurston County, they invested a quarter of a million of dollars in a new court-house. No better illustration of recent progress in Olympia can be given than a photographic comparison of this building with its wooden predecessor. Having done these things, and planned as many more, and having welcomed the Northern Pacific Railway into their city, the Olympians await with confidence the coming of the other railroads, the steamships, and the people that shall render them mighty and prosperous above all other cities of the sound.

. . . I would not intimate that the rivalry between these two most prominent cities of the sound [Tacoma and Seattle] is bitter, or partakes in any degree of the nature of a quarrel. On the contrary, it is most generous, and is conducted with extreme courtesy. They are about forty miles apart by the present connecting line of railroad, and twenty-nine by water. The trip by rail from Tacoma to Seattle, across the Indian reservation that borders on the former city, and through the luxuriant hop fields of the Puyallup Valley, now occupies about one and a half hours, but another line is in process of construction along the coast that promises to shorten the time by one-half. For those who prefer water to rail there are many boats, and you may "Fly by the Flyer,"

as the advertisements say, from city to city in an hour and twenty-five minutes. By means of these several connections the two cities are constantly exchanging visits and courtesies. The fire department and Odd-fellows and knights of various orders that march in either city gladly seize upon every pretext for entertaining similar organizations in the other. The two Chambers of Commerce, while straining every nerve in behalf of their respective cities, are firmly united on all matters pertaining to the Puget Sound regions in general, or the State of Washington at large. The rival yacht clubs of the two cities so arrange their regattas that they may be held alternately in the waters of each. Tacoma's Sunday-schools visit Seattle's Lake Washington for their picnics, while Seattle society turns out *en masse* to attend the annual tennis tournament for the championship of the Northwest—a very notable event that is always held in Tacoma—and the ball with which tournament week ends. Thus, while there is a rivalry, it is a very pleasant one, and the two cities are seeking their destiny along such different lines that there is no reason for it to be otherwise. Each is the terminus of a great transcontinental railroad, Tacoma of the Northern Pacific, and Seattle of the Great Northern. Both have saw-mills, and are ready to supply the world with lumber. Tacoma has an established line of steamers to Japan and China; Seattle hopes to have one in the near future. Thus far they are alike; beyond this they are different.

Seattle, with its population of over 50,000, is the larger of the two by 10,000 inhabitants. It makes the more money and transacts the greater amount of business. Tacoma spends more money, and has a better time. The tourist visits Seattle, but lingers in Tacoma; the drummer stops at Tacoma, but hurries on to Seattle. The most flourishing hotels in Seattle are those located on its business streets. In Tacoma those are most popular that offer the finest views and broadest piazzas. Tacoma is a city of good taste. Seattle shows evidences of good taste. In the latter city a public building was to occupy a most prominent situation. It was designed to be five stories high, with a dome to correspond. For some reason the city fathers decided that three stories would answer every purpose. So they eliminated two of those originally planned, but neglected to reduce the dome by a proportionate number of feet. The result is that as the traveller approaches Seattle by water its most conspicuous object is this three-story building apparently crushed beneath the weight of its five-story dome.

In its *Post-Intelligencer* Seattle possesses one of the four great newspapers of the coast. At Quartermaster's Harbor, Tacoma owns the one dry-dock of the sound. Both cities possess saw-mills that are said to be the largest in the world, but Seattle's greatest mill is located eight miles away, across the sound, where it, and the shipping attracted by it, are hidden from sight. Tacoma's two great mills are so near at hand that

their vessels must come into the harbor, where they make a brave show along the city's water-front. On the other hand, Seattle's wharves, while not empty of shipping, are also lined with light-draught steamers, that carry her trade far up the Snohomish, the Skagit, and other rivers, as well as to all parts of the sound. The San Francisco steamers are impartial in their attentions, and visit both cities. So do the Alaska steamers and those running to Victoria.

The abundance and cheapness of lumber in this region are strikingly shown in all the cities of the sound, where most of the business streets are paved with four-inch planks. The life of such pavements is only two or three years, but even with these frequent renewals it is claimed that they are cheaper than any other. Tacoma has recently made a move toward more permanent roadways by laying a bitumious rock pavement on Pacific Avenue and one other of her principal business thoroughfares.

Although, like most of the sound cities, Tacoma occupies high ground, rising in a sheer bluff from the bay, this fact is not so immediately apparent in her case as in some others. There is a narrow strip of land at the foot of the bluffs that affords space for the railroad and wharves. From this a broad, comfortably graded roadway, a continuation of Pacific Avenue, has been cut from the hill-side, and gives easy access to the city proper. From the first bench thus reached the city climbs to yet other heights, on which are laid out the residence streets, and which command superb water and mountain views. There is no crowding in Tacoma. The city has ample room for growth, and, as a consequence, its dwellings are detached villas surrounded by flower beds. The flowers of this sound region are wonderful in their profusion, the luxuriance of their growth, and the richness of their coloring; while apparently all the people are flower-lovers, for from Victoria to Olympia their cities are filled with gardens of blossoming plants. Even the tiniest and plainest houses are made beautiful by climbing vines and masses of brilliant color. One might imagine that the air would be overladen with the perfume of these millions of flowers; but it is not, for in most cases their excess of color seems to be acquired at the expense of fragrance.

Of course there are evidences in every direction of Tacoma's youth, and of the wilderness with which it is still struggling. Stumps of primeval forest trees yet stand within its limits, and its surface is furrowed by deep ravines, some of which are partially filled, while others are spanned by wooden bridges. In many cases—in fact, in most cases—embankments are held in check by retaining walls of logs, and in one instance a roadway crosses a deep gulch on an arched bridge constructed entirely of logs. The electric railway, twelve miles long, that runs from the city to old Fort Steilacoom, crossing the Tacoma peninsula

and connecting the waters of Commencement Bay with those of the upper sound, threads a forest region so wild that along two-thirds of its length there is no trace of human habitation. In riding over this road I noticed a man on the front platform of the car who carried a gun that he now and then pointed as though aiming at something. Finally he fired. Immediately the car was stopped, and the hunter, walking a short distance ahead, picked up the rabbit he had just killed. Before we reached our journey's end he had also bagged a brace of grouse. On our return trip we saw a deer bound across the track. The motor-man said they often did that, and that a bear on the road-bed was no uncommon sight. Two of Tacoma's leading business men have already established summer camps of Adirondack pattern on the wild shore of the sound made accessible by this woodland railway, and many others will doubtless soon follow their example.

For all its newness, and the wilderness that still frowns upon it, Tacoma contains all the elements of comfort and luxury that are to be found in the cities of the Atlantic coast. Its private residences and public buildings are at once beautiful and substantial. Its schools are noticeably numerous, with buildings externally attractive, spacious, and filled with the most improved of modern appliances. Its two great hotels, designed especially for the accommodation of tourists, leave nothing to be desired in the way of location, arrangement, or service. Of its social clubs the Union, whose house is charmingly situated at the junction of business and residence portions of the town, on the crest of a bluff overlooking a broad sweep of the sound and its islands, might, from the character of its inmates, be called the "University." Here the familiar talk is of Harvard and Yale, Newport and Lenox, New York and Boston, London and Paris. Here, when they run into the city for a breath of its life, gather the wide-awake young fellows from the far East who have cast their lot with this far West, and are booming new town sites in the interior of the State, developing its mines or lumber industry, or experimenting with hop or cattle ranches. All of these talk with a breezy confidence of what they are doing or propose to do that is at once amusing and inspiring. During the recent business depression those who had gone into real estate were particularly hard pushed, and were obliged to strain every nerve to keep their heads above water. In spite of their distress, their confidence in the future of Washington, and that they had a "solid grip" on fortune, was so unshaken that they only made a joke of their difficulties.

In the foregoing paragraphs I have tried, so far as the limits of a hasty sketch will allow, and without the dry aid of statistics, to outline the most salient points of dissimilarity, and sum up the advantages of the two chief cities of the sound. After all, I doubt if any summing

up could be more conclusive than that of a recent visitor to the Rainier Club, who remarked, at the conclusion of a long consideration of the relative merits of the two cities, "Well, gentlemen, if I were a man of wealth seeking a home and investments on Puget Sound, I would live in Tacoma and invest in Seattle."

*Major E. A. Routhe Summarizes the History of Spokane Falls.*<sup>3</sup>

#### SPOKANE FALLS

The career of Spokane Falls was not one of uninterrupted progress. When the mining world of the West was stirred to its utmost center by the discoveries in the Coeur d'Alenes, and the miners from the southern territories rushed pell-mell into the Eldorado, in midwinter—it was one of the longest and severest winters ever experienced in the Northwest—and were snowed in and starved out before spring, their retreat was all but as precipitate as their oncoming had been; and they left with maledictions and execrations upon the Coeur d'Alenes. Most of them had come empty-handed and ill prepared to open and develop mines. Following this tentative endeavor and failure to unlock the great mineral deposits, which have since proved so profitable, the times were dull in Spokane Falls, and the people were greatly depressed. Business came to a stand-still. The period of depression was followed by a new influx of people, and it was not long before the people were again possessed of their old spirit of enterprise and energy.

The development of the mines marked a new epoch in the history of the city. Farmers, merchants and men of capital began to flock to this inviting center. A daily newspaper sprang into existence, a new plat of the town was filed, the water power was developed at several points, the river was bridged and new lines of business sprang up. From a village of 500 within three years it became a place of 4,000, with two daily papers, three flouring mills, a planing factory, several saw-mills, three banks and a large number of mercantile houses, representing various lines of commerce.

New lines of railroad were projected, branches were built, the mines in the Coeur d'Alenes and other points adjacent to Spokane were in a fair state of development, lime kilns were built, quarries of granite were opened and the success of the city was assured. A careful census in June, 1887, gave the city a population of 7,000. Two years later the directory showed 22,000 inhabitants. A handsome city, with more than 30 squares of business houses, three systems of street railway, extensive water-works, electric lights, morning and evening daily papers with Associated Press dispatches, jobbing houses and many other metro-

<sup>3</sup> From *The City of Spokane Falls and Its Tributary Resources*, issued by the Northwestern Industrial Exposition (New York, 1890), p. 6.

politan features were prominent. Few cities could show greater signs of life or more crowded thoroughfares. Trade poured in from a radius of country extending hundreds of miles. All things appeared auspicious for the near future at least.

On a quiet Sabbath evening, August 4, 1889, another cloud came over the city like a pall, and for a time obscured the sunshine of prosperity. Over 30 blocks in the center of the city disappeared in flames. Handsome brick blocks filled with merchandise and business offices went up in smoke. The loss aggregated many millions. The blow was as terrible as it was unexpected. Nothing daunted, though somewhat discomfited, the old spirit of enterprise resumed its former sway. The debris of brick, mortar and iron was brushed aside and within 90 days from the sad day of disaster new buildings of granite and brick towered in many stories from all parts of the burned area. Not a vestige of the ruins remains to be seen. Among these new blocks may be enumerated an opera house six stories high with a hundred foot frontage, a large hotel building five stories high, several brick and granite bank buildings, as fine a post-office building as there is on the coast and many other splendid structures which would reflect credit upon any city in the world. Following the fire there was renewed activity—a greater energy than ever was displayed before. No time was lost by the business men. New supplies of merchandise were ordered immediately by telegraph, tents were erected, new tradesmen from abroad flocked in with their stocks, tents were planted all over the burnt area, and whole squares of new frame blocks were erected just outside the fire limits. In fact, the business center was expanded to twice its former size. There was no depression in real estate. On the contrary, property of every description, from choice corners<sup>s</sup> in the old center to suburban lots, advanced fully 25 per cent. above former prices. The market was active—in short, has continued to be ever since, and with a gradual upward tendency.

There are now more than 100 business blocks, each costing from \$30,000 to \$250,000, standing upon the ashes of the great fire of a year ago. These are built from granite and brick, and present an imposing appearance. Fine pressed brick and granite comprise the material of which the greater number of these buildings are constructed. There will be not less than 1,000 residences costing in the aggregate not less than \$600,000. Since the early days of spring an army of mechanics and laborers have been employed in building this city on a grander scale. It is safe to say that not less than \$5,000,000 will be expended during the present year, and that no city on the continent will be built in a more substantial manner.

Many things conspire to make Spokane Falls "the wonder of the West," as some one expressed it in the *Daily Inter-Ocean* of Chicago. Upon one side lies a vast and rich region of agricultural lands, which is being populated rapidly with the most pushing and intelligent ele-

ment of the farming districts of the East. It comprises many millions of acres in extent, highly productive of grain of all kinds, excepting Indian corn, and affording the finest field in the world for live stock. Indeed, these fine ranges on the west and south have been the sources of supplies for all the region lying west of the Cascade range, and as far east as Central Montana. And yet not more than one fourth of these lands is occupied. Upon the other hand are the timber and mining regions, with inexhaustible bodies of pine, cedar, fir and hemlock upon the foothills and mountain ranges in sight of the city. The lumbering interests are increasing in magnitude and in the near future will be as great as those of Michigan, Wisconsin or Minnesota. The mills in and near the city employ a great number of men the year round, and it is plain that this will become, within a few years, one of the greatest milling centers for grain and lumber in the West. The development of the mines in Coeur d'Alenes, O'Kanogan, Kootenai, Colville, Chewelah, and the opening of the new mines engage a great many thousand men. Most of these make this city head-quarters, and it is here that most of them get their supplies. Within a few months a smelter will be in full operation for the reduction of the ores from the adjacent mining districts.

The facts above narrated, taken into consideration with the further fact that as an inland city, Spokane has no rival nearer than Helena, and that it lies fully 300 miles from the nearest coast cities, warrant the conclusion that this is destined to become one of the largest and most substantial inland cities in the United States. With four transcontinental lines of railway centering here and radiating to as many points on the coast, Spokane is sure to secure terminal rates and thereby be able to supply the interior trade for hundreds of miles in every direction.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### WASHINGTON BECOMES A STATE

#### *A Territorial Governor Points Out the Benefits Attending Statehood.<sup>1</sup>*

The statehood movement in Washington began with the very organization of the territory. In April, 1853, the *Olympia Columbian* optimistically forecast Washington's admission as a sovereign member of the Union. In the national's capital political observers surmised that the territorial period would continue not more than five or ten years.

Such expectations were not to be realized. For thirty-five long years Washington remained a territory. Statehood bills and memorials were repeatedly introduced in the territorial legislature, but the national government refused to take action. In June, 1878, a convention was held at Walla Walla to frame a state constitution, but again Congress failed to pass the necessary enabling act. The situation was complicated by a proposal to create a separate state out of northern Idaho and eastern Washington.

During the eighties the reasons for delay had to do as much with Congressional politics as with the development of the territory itself. The return of the Republicans to power in 1889 led to the passage of the bill which provided for the admission of Washington as a state. See Edmond S. Meany, *History of the State of Washington* (New York, 1927), pp. 266-68; 280 ff.; *Olympia Columbian*, April 16, 1853, and May 28, 1853.

The advantages which will be contingent to our Territory, when introduced as a State, are manifold, and manifest. Our people will become possessed of all the rights enjoyed by the citizens of States, obtain full representation, and the right to vote in both branches of Congress and thus be more likely to secure appropriations for the improvement of our harbors and rivers, the erection of light houses, buoys, life-saving stations and other adjuncts to commerce. We will have power to use the school sections of the public domain, so as to reduce taxation for the support of public schools, and if the same liberality is exercised by Congress which has been extended to some other territories, we will have donated to us five per cent. of the proceeds of the sale of the public lands in the Territory, five hundred thousand acres of the public domain, ten sections for state buildings, all the tide and swamp land and salt springs, within our borders; our productions would not be so easily diverted, as now, to swell the importance and increase the wealth of neighboring States, and by

<sup>1</sup> Gov. William A. Newell to the Eighth Biennial Session, 1881; from *Messages of the Governors of the Territory of Washington to the Legislative Assembly, 1854-1889*, edited by Charles M. Gates (Seattle, 1940), pp. 227-8.

representative influence, a navy yard might be secured for Puget Sound. This accomplished, capital and people would come to our borders in abundance.

Our people are intelligent, hardy, industrious and prosperous, and are abundantly able to conduct for themselves the affairs of a state. The citizens of the counties of Nez Perce, Shoshone and Idaho, in the Territory of Idaho, concurred with but thirty-four dissenting votes in the adoption of the Constitution presented by the people of Washington, preparatory to admission, and they are still anxious for the association. Idaho North is similar to Washington East in physical features, in productions, and the characteristics of its people, who, with our large and rapidly increasing population, will answer all reasonable expectations upon that requirement. The disparity of the present relative population, on either side of the mountains, as compared with that which existed at the time of the adoption of the Constitution involving proportionate representation, with other now objectionable features of that instrument, may be corrected by congressional adjustment.

*Washington's First Elected Governor Addresses His Constituents On Inauguration Day.<sup>2</sup>*

On February 22, 1889, Congress passed the enabling act which authorized the establishment of a state government; but the actual inauguration of the new régime did not take place until November of that year. On November 11, President Harrison, having been notified of the ratification of the constitution and the election of state officials, proclaimed the admission of Washington to statehood. One week later, on the 18th, the inauguration ceremonies were held in front of the capitol building in Olympia.

The eleventh day of November, 1889, will ever be a memorable epoch in our history. It will be known and designated as "Admission day." Its anniversary will be celebrated, and it may very properly be placed among our legal holidays. On that day the Territory of Washington, after an existence of more than thirty-six years, ceased to be, and in its place the State of Washington, the forty-second star in the national constellation, was called into being. Our minority and our deprivation of the most cherished and important rights and privileges of American citizens continued longer than we desired, or was necessary. Many of those around me have looked forward to statehood through years added to years, until they almost despaired of the realization of their hopes. To those whose residence within our commonwealth has extended only through a short period, the inauguration of the first State government may not appear to be of great importance. But to those whose hair has grown white beneath this sky; to those who in early days crossed a con-

<sup>2</sup> Excerpts from the inaugural address of Gov. Elisha P. Ferry, Nov. 18, 1889; from *Messages of the Governors of the Territory of Washington to the Legislative Assembly, 1854-1889*, pp. 280, 282-3.

tinient by long and weary marches; to those who planted the standard of civilization and christianity within its borders; to those, the ever-to-be-remembered pioneers, it is an event of transcendent interest; to those it is the consummation of hopes long deferred yet ever renewed. It is the accomplishment of a result for which they had waited with anxious solicitude, and which they now welcome with joy and satisfaction.

The inauguration of the State government, which occurs to-day, is also a most important event in the history of the commonwealth. It marks the end of one form of government and the beginning of another. So plain is the significance of the present hour, and so evident is its import, that those present, young and old alike, feel the weight of the great event and will in future years proudly refer to the fact that they saw the wheels of government of the State of Washington put in motion for the first time, and that they marked the moment when the last act was performed by which the Territory of Washington passed into history, and the State of Washington entered upon its active governmental career.

The substitution of a State Government for that of the Territory imposes upon the citizens of Washington more solemn duties and graver responsibilities than those to which they have been accustomed. Hitherto the powers of our Legislature to enact laws have been limited and restricted by the organic act and the amendments thereto, and by the various laws that have been passed by Congress relating to the territories. Further than this, Congress reserved the right to annul any law passed by the Territorial Legislature which seemed to be unwise and injudicious. We had no voice in the selecting of our Executive and Judicial officers and none in directing the course of the National Government. Hereafter all will be changed. The powers of our Legislature will be limited only by the Constitution of the United States and that of the State of Washington. Our citizens will be on an equality with those of any other State of the Union, and their wishes will have due weight in determining the policy of the National Government. We should, therefore, exercise a conscientious endeavor to bear well these new responsibilities and discharge faithfully the new duties which are ours, and prove ourselves worthy of the rights which we have secured. Let greater wisdom accompany the greater power that we now possess. Let us discharge the additional duties devolving upon us in a manner that will redound to our credit; advance the welfare and prosperity of our State and add importance and strength to the National Union.

*A News Reporter Describes the Inaugural Ceremonies.*<sup>3</sup>

The inauguration of the new state government was a gala occasion. The report of it here reprinted from the *Washington Standard* suggests the spirit of the day.

## THE INAUGURAL CEREMONIES

Monday was a gala day for Olympia. The occasion was the inauguration of the new State government, and everybody smiled and looked as if he had just received a prize package from a Christmas stocking. It would probably have been difficult for many people to have analyzed their feelings sufficiently to state just why they were so happy or just what advantages would result from the new order of things that justified the brilliant anticipations reflected in their countenances. They did not stop to philosophize over all that was involved in the first acts which set the wheels of State in motion, and it is probably well that they did not do so, or the spirit of exhilaration would have remained much nearer zero. They saw a pageant in gaudy colors; they heard the word of command given in sturdy tones; they fell in line without apparently the slightest conception of the fact that they would be called upon to pay roundly for even this initial step towards complete Statehood, or that the scepter of power was passing into hands controlled by a party who appear to believe that they were born to command.

Pardon the digression reader, but it is the duty of the journalist who honors his profession to always allude to things as they are, and occasionally to strip the veil with which our too emotional natures sometimes drape passing events, and show up the defects which our most popular of idols almost invariably possess. "Time will tell," is a trite saying, and we are willing to base this opinion on the judgment of the future.

Although the heavy rains which preceded inauguration day gave little hope of favorable climatic conditions, the work of preparation went steadily on under the inspiring assurance that the programme outlined would be carried out "rain or shine." Happily, however, the day dawned bright and clear, and before the hour of parade the merry sunshine had banished all apprehension of a damper being placed upon the proceedings from that cause. At 10:30 Grand Marshal Van Epps and aides began forming the procession. It was headed by Mayor Govey and city officials and followed by the Governor and ex-Governor and the incoming State and retiring Territorial officers in carriages. Then came the First Regiment band, the Pioneers of Washington, the Seattle drum corps, Companies B, C, D and E and three troops of cavalry of the Washington National Guards, the Knights of Pythias, the Tacoma band, the Mason Rifles, Cross Bros.' employes with badges, and citizens in carriages, on horses and afoot. The procession passed up Adams street to Thirteenth

<sup>3</sup> From the *Washington Standard* (Olympia, Washington), November 22, 1889.

and thence to Capitol Avenue, thence to the grounds prepared for the ceremonies. Large crowds of people in attendance followed the parade on each side and it was simply three living streams of humanity one as long as the other marching toward the capitol.

The Capitol building had been beautifully decorated for the occasion. Flags, bunting and evergreens covered the whole portico, and the stage erected in front. Above all appeared a streamer bearing the words, "Isaac I. Stevens, first in the hearts of the people of Washington Territory. Elisha P. Ferry, first in the hearts of the people of the State of Washington." In front of the Speaker's stand was another legend which was Greek to all but the old settlers. It ran: "Chinook quanium ancotty, alti chee chaco alki," which by liberal translation may be rendered "Living hitherto in the past, we now begin to live in the future." At the rear of the Speaker's stand was a table on which stood a stuffed gray eagle, and a pretty bouquet of roses, ferns, larkspur, chrysanthemums, violets and geraniums, the gift of Mrs. Simenson. The platform, as the hour approached, began to fill with members of the Legislature and those holding official positions, and promptly as the hour hand approached 12 the Tacoma band, by direction of the Master of Ceremonies Gowey, struck up "America," that grand old anthem which always sends such a thrill through the hearts of all true Americans. The Mayor then said:

*Ladies and Gentlemen:* I have been assigned the pleasant office of bidding you welcome. This I do most heartily and cordially in behalf not only of the citizens of Olympia but as well for the distinguished gentleman whom you have assembled to hear. The significance of this occasion will not be lost by you. We are making history, and in no unimportant way are playing our parts in the great drama of that century, which has given a new seven wonder[s] to the world and here in the United States has added to the number and shown the great government can be increased without discord or commotion. Liberty and peace are our possession, and while we retain them the historian of the future as of the past will gladden his pages with the story of man's grand government of himself. In view of what has been, are we not justified in cherishing the belief that the proudest monument to the memory of the Father of his Country will be the forty-second State of the American Union? It is with peculiar satisfaction that I welcome those who came as Joshua of old to spy out this fair land and their descendants. To them this occasion must ever be memorable as an acknowledgement of their prescience and the crowning of their life's work. Their manhood and courage, their devotion to free government should ever be held in grateful remembrance and to them this day is a justification of the purpose and action of their lives. It gives me pleasure to again say to all who grace our city by their presence that we bid you welcome.

After a brief and impressive prayer by Rev. Dr. Lee, Gov. Moore was introduced and delivered an address partaking quite as much of the nature of a valedictory as one of welcome to the new Executive. It appears in full elsewhere in this number of the *Standard*.

After the rendition of "Hail to the Chief" by the band, Gov. Ferry stepped forward accompanied by Mayor Gowey, and was received with hearty cheers by the 3,000 people assembled on the Avenue. When these had subsided, Mayor Gowey turned to the crowd and simply said:

"Behold your Governor." The Governor then delivered his inaugural address which likewise appears in another part of this paper. After its delivery the oath of office was administered by Judge Hoyt, who afterwards administered the same obligation to Lieutenant Governor Laughton, Secretary of State Allen Weir, State School Superintendent W. R. Bryan, State Treasurer A. A. Lindsley, Attorney-General W. C. Jones, State Auditor T. M. Reed and State Land Commissioner W. T. Forrest. The booming of canon closed the ceremonies on the hill, and the tide of humanity slowly wended its way back to the city intent upon "comfort for the inner man," and every hotel and restaurant was soon tested to its utmost capacity to accommodate the hungry throng.

In the afternoon, the Governor reviewed the militia from the balcony of the Woodruff building, and in the evening, with the State officers held a reception at Columbia Hall. The inaugural ball took place at the close of the reception in Odd Fellows hall.

## APPENDIX

## APPENDIX

# APPENDIX

## ORGANIC ACT<sup>1</sup>

### AN ACT

#### TO ESTABLISH THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT OF WASHINGTON

March 2d, 1853

- SEC. 1. Boundary of Washington territory defined.  
Authority to govern Indians retained.  
Missionary lands confirmed.
- SEC. 2. Executive authority.  
Powers and duties of the governor.
- SEC. 3. Secretary to be appointed.  
His tenure of office and duties.  
To perform the duties of governor in his absence, &c.
- SEC. 4. The legislature.  
Council.  
Representatives.  
The whole not to exceed thirty.  
Apportionment to be made.  
Election, how held, &c.  
When a new election to be ordered.  
Session not to exceed sixty days.
- SEC. 5. Qualification of voters.  
*Proviso* as to right of suffrage.  
*Proviso* as to soldiers, seamen, &c.  
*Proviso* prohibiting persons in the army and navy holding office.
- SEC. 6. Extent of legislative authority.  
No banks to be incorporated or debts contracted.  
Taxes to be uniform.  
Laws to embrace but one object; that to be expressed in the title.
- SECS. 7 & 8. The legislature to provide the manner of electing all inferior officers.
- SEC. 9. Of the judiciary.  
Judicial districts.  
Courts.  
Clerks; clerk's fees, &c.
- SEC. 10. An attorney and marshal to be appointed.  
Their duties and fees to be the same as those of the marshal and attorney of Oregon.
- SEC. 11. Appointment of officers.  
Their salaries.  
Officers of the legislative assembly; their pay.  
The legislature to hold but one session annually.  
Legislature no power to control disbursements for the territory.
- SEC. 12. Existing laws continued in force as far as applicable.

<sup>1</sup>From *Statutes of the Territory of Washington* [First session] (Olympia, 1854), pp. 31-42.

- SEC. 13. When, where, and how the first session of the legislative assembly to be held.  
 Seat of government to be located.  
 Appropriation for public buildings.
- SEC. 14. Delegate, the election and pay of.
- SEC. 15. Removal of cases from the courts of Oregon territory.  
*Proviso.*
- SEC. 16. Certain officers to retain their offices until others are appointed.
- SEC. 17. Of the library.
- SEC. 18. Courts and judicial districts.
- SEC. 19. Certain officers to give bond.
- SEC. 20. Reservation of sections 16 and 36 for schools.
- SEC. 21. Concurrent jurisdiction of the courts in Oregon and Washington territories.

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That from and after the passage of this act, all that portion of Oregon territory lying and being south of the forty-ninth degree of north latitude, and north of the middle of the main channel of the Columbia river, from its mouth to where the forty-sixth degree of north latitude crosses said river, near fort Walla-Walla, thence with said forty-sixth degree of latitude to the summit of the Rocky mountains, be organized into and constitute a temporary government, by the name of the territory of Washington: *Provided,* That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to affect the authority of the government of the United States to make any regulation respecting the Indians of said territory, their lands, property, or other rights, by treaty, law, or otherwise, which it would have been competent to the government to make if this act had never been passed: *Provided, further,* That the title to the land, not exceeding six hundred and forty acres, now occupied as missionary stations among the Indian tribes in said territory, or that may have been so occupied as missionary stations prior to the passage of the act establishing the territorial government of Oregon, together with the improvements thereon, be, and is hereby, confirmed and established to the several religious societies to which said missionary stations respectively belong.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the executive power and authority in and over said territory of Washington shall be vested in a governor, who shall hold his office for four years, and until his successor shall be appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed by the president of the United States. The governor shall reside in said territory, shall be the commander-in-chief of the militia thereof, shall perform the duties and receive the emoluments of superintendent of Indian affairs; he may grant pardons and remit fines and forfeitures for offences against the laws of said territory, and respites for offences against the laws of the United States, until the decision of the president can be made known thereon; he shall commission all officers who shall be appointed to office under the laws of the said territory, where, by law, such commissions

shall be required, and shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That there shall be a secretary of said territory, who shall reside therein, and hold his office for four years, unless sooner removed by the president of the United States; he shall record and preserve all the laws and proceedings of the legislative assembly hereinafter constituted, and all the acts and proceedings of the governor in his executive department; he shall transmit one copy of the laws and journals of the legislative assembly within thirty days after the end of each session, and one copy of the executive proceedings and official correspondence semi-annually, on the first days of January and July in each year, to the president of the United States, and two copies of the laws to the president of the senate and to the speaker of the house of representatives, for the use of congress. And in case of the death, removal, resignation, or absence of the governor from the territory, the secretary shall be, and he is hereby, authorized and required to execute and perform all the powers and duties of the governor during such vacancy or absence, or until another governor shall be duly appointed and qualified to fill such vacancy.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That the legislative power and authority of said territory shall be vested in a legislative assembly, which shall consist of a council and house of representatives. The council shall consist of nine members, having the qualification of voters, as hereinafter prescribed, whose term of service shall continue three years. Immediately after they shall be assembled, in consequence of their first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the members of council of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the first year, of the second class at the expiration of the second year, and of the third class at the expiration of the third year, so that one-third may be chosen every year; and if vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, the same shall be filled at the next ensuing election. The house of representatives shall, at its first session, consist of eighteen members, possessing the same qualifications as prescribed for members of the council, and whose term of service shall continue one year. The number of representatives may be increased by the legislative assembly, from time to time, in proportion to the increase of qualified voters: *Provided*, That the whole number shall never exceed thirty. An apportionment shall be made, as nearly equal as practicable, among the several counties or districts, for the election of the council and representatives, giving to each section of the territory representation in the ratio of its qualified voters, as nearly as may be. And the members of the council and of the house of representatives shall reside in, and be inhabitants of, the district or county, or counties, for which they may be elected, respectively. Previous to the first election, the governor shall cause a census or enumeration of the inhabitants and qualified voters of the several counties and districts of the territory to be taken, by such persons, and in such mode, as the governor shall designate and appoint; and the persons so appointed shall

receive a reasonable compensation therefor. And the first election shall be held at such time and places, and be conducted in such manner, both as to the persons who shall superintend such election and the returns thereof, as the governor shall appoint and direct; and he shall at the same time declare the number of members of the council and house of representatives to which each of the counties or districts shall be entitled under this act; and the governor shall, by his proclamation, give at least sixty days previous notice of such apportionment, and of the time, places, and manner of holding such election. The persons having the highest number of legal votes in each of said council districts for members of the council, shall be declared by the governor to be duly elected to the council, and the persons having the highest number of legal votes for the house of representatives shall be declared by the governor to be duly elected members of said house; *Provided*, That in case two or more persons voted for shall have an equal number of votes, and in case a vacancy shall otherwise occur in either branch of the legislative assembly, the governor shall order a new election; and the persons thus elected to the legislative assembly shall meet at such place, and on such day, within ninety days after such elections, as the governor shall appoint. But thereafter the time, place, and manner of holding and conducting all elections by the people, and the apportioning the representation in the several counties or districts to the council and house of representatives, according to the number of qualified voters, shall be prescribed by law, as well as the day of the commencement of the regular session of the legislative assembly: *Provided*, That no session in any one year shall exceed the term of sixty days, except the first session, which shall not exceed one hundred days.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That every white male inhabitant above the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a resident of said territory at the time of the passage of this act, and shall possess the qualifications hereinafter prescribed, shall be entitled to vote at the first election, and shall be eligible to any office within the said territory; but the qualifications of voters and of holding office at all subsequent elections shall be such as shall be prescribed by the legislative assembly: *Provided*, That the right of suffrage and of holding office shall be exercised only by citizens of the United States above the age of twenty-one years, and those above that age who shall have declared on oath their intention to become such, and shall have taken an oath to support the constitution of the United States, and the provisions of this act: *And provided further*, That no officer, soldier, seaman, mariner, or other person in the army or navy of the United States, or attached to troops in the service of the United States, shall be allowed to vote in said territory, by reason of being on service therein, unless said territory is, and has been for the period of six months, his permanent domicil[e]: *Provided further*, That no person belonging to the army or navy of the United States shall ever be elected to or hold any civil office or appointment in said territory.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That the legislative power of the territory shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation, not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of the United States. But no law shall be passed interfering with the primary disposal of the soil; no tax shall be imposed upon the property of the United States; nor shall the lands or other property of non-residents be taxed higher than the lands or other property of residents. All the laws passed by the legislative assembly shall be submitted to the congress of the United States, and, if disapproved, shall be null and of no effect: *Provided*, That nothing in this act shall be construed to give power to incorporate a bank or any institution with banking powers, or to borrow money in the name of the territory, or to pledge the faith of the people of the same for any loan whatever, directly or indirectly. No charter granting any privileges of making, issuing, or putting into circulation any notes or bills in the likeness of bank notes, or any bonds, scrip, drafts, bills of exchange, or granting any other banking powers or privileges, shall be passed by the legislative assembly; nor shall the establishment of any branch or agency of any such corporation, derived from other authority, be allowed in said territory; nor shall said legislative assembly authorize the issue of any obligation, scrip, or evidence of debt, by said territory, in any mode or manner whatever, except certificates for service to said territory. And all such laws, or any law or laws inconsistent with the provisions of this act, shall be utterly null and void. And all taxes shall be equal and uniform; and no distinctions shall be made in the assessments between the different kinds of property, but the assessments shall be according to the value thereof. To avoid improper influences, which may result from intermixing in one and the same act such things as have no proper relation to each other, every law shall embrace but one object, and that shall be expressed in the title.

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That all township, district, and county officers not herein otherwise provided for, shall be appointed or elected in such manner as shall be provided by the legislative assembly of the territory of Washington.

SEC. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That no member of the legislative assembly shall hold or be appointed to any office which shall have been created, or the salary or emoluments of which shall have been increased while he was a member, during the term for which he was elected, and for one year after the expiration of such term; but this restriction shall not be applicable to members of the first legislative assembly; and no person holding a commission or appointment under the United States shall be a member of the legislative assembly, or shall hold any office under the government of said territory.

SEC. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That the judicial power of said territory shall be vested in a supreme court, district courts, probate courts, and justices of the peace. The supreme court shall consist of a chief justice and two associate justices, any two of whom shall constitute a quo-

rum, and who shall hold a term at the seat of government of said territory annually, and they shall hold their offices during the period of four years, and until their successors shall be appointed and qualified. The said territory shall be divided into three judicial districts, and a district court shall be held in each of said districts, by one of the justices of the supreme court, at such times and places as may be prescribed by law; and the said judges shall, after their appointments, respectively reside in the districts which shall be assigned them. The jurisdiction of the several courts herein provided for, both appellate and original, and that of the probate courts and of justices of the peace, shall be as limited by law; *Provided*, That justices of the peace shall not have jurisdiction of any case in which the title to land shall in anywise come in question, or where the debt or damages claimed shall exceed one hundred dollars; and the said supreme and district courts respectively shall possess chancery as well as common law jurisdiction. Each district court, or the judge thereof, shall appoint its clerk, who shall also be the register in chancery, and shall keep his office at the place where the court may be held. Writs of error, bills of exception, and appeals, shall be allowed in all cases from the final decisions of said district court to the supreme court, under such regulations as may be prescribed by law; but in no case removed to the supreme court shall trial by jury be allowed in said court. The supreme court, or the justices thereof, shall appoint its own clerk, and every clerk shall hold his office at the pleasure of the court for which he shall have been appointed. Writs of error, and appeals from the final decisions of said supreme court, shall be allowed, and may be taken to the supreme court of the United States, in the same manner and under the same regulations as from the circuit court of the United States, where the value of the property, or the amount in controversy, to be ascertained by the oath or affirmation of either party, or other competent witness, shall exceed two thousand dollars, and in all cases where the constitution of the United States, or acts of congress, or a treaty of the United States, is brought in question; and each of said district courts shall have and exercise the same jurisdiction in all cases arising under the constitution of the United States and the laws of said territory, as is vested in the circuit and district courts of the United States; writs of error and appeal in all cases shall be made to the supreme court of said territory the same as in other cases. Writs of error, and appeals from the final decisions of said supreme court, shall be allowed and may be taken to the supreme court of the United States in the same manner as from the circuit courts of the United States, where the value of the property, or the amount in controversy, shall exceed two thousand dollars, and each of said district courts shall have and exercise the same jurisdiction, in all cases arising under the constitution and laws of the United States, as is vested in the circuit and district courts of the United States; and also of all cases arising under the laws of said territory, and otherwise. The said clerk shall

receive in all such cases the same fees which the clerks of the district courts of the territory of Oregon receive for similar services.

SEC. 10. *And be it further enacted*, That there shall be appointed an attorney for said territory, who shall continue in office for four years and until his successor shall be appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed by the president, and who shall receive the same fees and salary as is provided by law for the attorney of the United States for the territory of Oregon. There shall also be a marshal for the territory appointed, who shall hold his office for four years and until his successor shall be appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed by the president, and who shall execute all processes issuing from the said courts when exercising their jurisdiction as circuit and district courts of the United States; he shall perform the duties, be subject to the same regulation and penalties, and be entitled to the same fees, as are provided by law for the marshal of the territory of Oregon, and shall, in addition, be paid the sum of two hundred dollars annually as a compensation for extra services.

SEC. 11. *And be it further enacted*, That the governor, secretary, chief justice, and associate justices, attorney, and marshal, shall be nominated, and, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, appointed by the president of the United States.—The governor and secretary to be appointed as aforesaid, shall, before they act as such, respectively take an oath or affirmation before the district judge, or some justice of the peace in the limits of said territory, duly authorized to administer oaths and affirmations by the laws in force therein, or before the chief justice or some associate justice of the supreme court, of the United States, to support the constitution of the United States, and faithfully to discharge the duties of their respective offices, which said oaths, when so taken, shall be certified by the person before whom the same shall have been taken; and such certificates shall be received and recorded by the said secretary among the executive proceedings; and the chief justice and associate justices, and all other civil officers in said territory, before they act as such, shall take a like oath or affirmation before the said governor or secretary, or some judge or justice of the peace of the territory, who may be duly commissioned and qualified, which said oath or affirmation shall be certified and transmitted, by the person taking the same, to the secretary, to be by him recorded as aforesaid; and afterwards, the like oath or affirmation shall be taken, certified and recorded in such manner and form as may be prescribed by law. The governor shall receive an annual salary of fifteen hundred dollars as governor, and fifteen hundred dollars as superintendent of Indian affairs. The chief justice, and associate justices shall each receive an annual salary of two thousand dollars. The secretary shall receive an annual salary of fifteen hundred dollars. The said salaries shall be paid quarter yearly, from the dates of the respective appointments, at the treasury of the United States; but no such payment shall be made until said officers shall have entered upon the duties of their respective appointments. The members of the legislative assembly

shall be entitled to receive three dollars each per day during their attendance at the session thereof, and three dollars each for every twenty miles' travel in going to and returning from said sessions, estimated according to the nearest usually travelled route. And a chief clerk, one assistant clerk, a sergeant-at-arms, and door keeper, may be chosen for each house; and the chief clerk shall receive five dollars per day, and the said other officers three dollars per day, during the session of the legislative assembly; but no other officers shall be paid by the United States: *Provided*, That there shall be but one session of the legislative assembly annually, unless, on an extraordinary occasion, the governor shall deem it expedient and proper to call the legislature together. There shall be appropriated, annually, the sum of fifteen hundred dollars, to be expended by the governor, to defray the contingent expenses of the territory, including the salary of a clerk of the executive department; and there shall also be appropriated, annually, a sufficient sum to be expended by the secretary of the territory, and upon an estimate to be made by the secretary of the treasury of the United States, to defray the expenses of the legislative assembly, the printing of the laws, and other incidental expenses; and the governor and secretary of the territory shall, in the disbursement of all moneys intrusted to them, be governed solely by the instructions of the secretary of the treasury of the United States, and shall, semi-annually, account to the said secretary for the manner in which the aforesaid sums of money shall have been expended; and no expenditure to be paid out of money appropriated by congress, shall be made by said legislative assembly for objects not specially authorized by the acts of congress making the ap[p]ropriations, nor beyond the sums thus appropriated for such objects.

SEC. 12. *And be it further enacted*, That the laws now in force in said territory of Washington, by virtue of the legislation of congress in reference to the territory of Oregon, which have been enacted and passed subsequent to the first day of September, eighteen hundred and forty-eight, applicable to the said territory of Washington, together with the legislative enactments of the territory of Oregon, enacted and passed prior to the passage of, and not inconsistent with, the provisions of this act, and applicable to the said territory of Washington, be, and they are hereby, continued in force in said territory of Washington until they shall be repealed or amended by future legislation.

SEC. 13. *And be it further enacted*, That the legislative assembly of the territory of Washington shall hold its first session at such time and place in said territory as the governor thereof shall appoint and direct; and at said first session, or as soon thereafter as they shall deem expedient, the legislative assembly shall proceed to locate and establish the seat of government for said territory, at such place as they may deem eligible; which place, however, shall thereafter be subject to be changed by said legislative assembly. And the sum of five thousand dollars, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, is hereby appro-

priated and granted to said territory of Washington, to be there applied by the governor to the erection of suitable buildings at the seat of government.

SEC. 14. *And be it further enacted*, That a delegate to the house of representatives of the United States, to serve for the term of two years, who shall be a citizen of the United States, may be elected by the voters qualified to elect members of the legislative assembly, who shall be entitled to the same rights and privileges as have been heretofore exercised and enjoyed by the delegates from the several other territories of the United States to the house of representatives, but the delegate first elected, shall hold his seat only during the term of the congress to which he shall be elected. The first election shall be held at such time and places, and be conducted in such manner, as the governor shall appoint and direct; of which, and the time, place, and manner of holding such elections, he shall give at least sixty days' notice by proclamation; and at all subsequent elections, the time, places, and manner of holding the elections shall be prescribed by law.—The person having the greatest number of votes shall be declared by the governor to be duly elected, and a certificate thereof shall be given accordingly. The delegate from said territory shall be entitled to receive the same per diem compensation and mileage at present allowed the delegate from the territory of Oregon.

SEC. 15. *And be it further enacted*, That all suits, complaints, process and proceedings, civil and criminal, at law and in chancery, and all indictments and informations, which shall be pending and undetermined in the courts established within and for said territory of Oregon, by act of congress, entitled "an act to establish the territorial government of Oregon," approved August fourteen, one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight, wherein the venue in said causes, suits at law, or in chancery, or criminal proceedings, shall be included within the limits hereinbefore declared and established for the said territory of Washington; then, and in that case, said actions so pending in the supreme or circuit courts of the territory of Oregon shall be, by the clerks of said courts, duly certified to the proper courts of said territory of Washington; and thereupon said causes shall, in all things concerning the same, be proceeded on, and judgments, verdicts, decrees, and sentences rendered thereon, in the same manner as if the said territory had not been divided. All bonds, recognizances, and obligations of every kind whatsoever, valid, under existing laws, within the limits of said territory of Oregon, shall be held valid under this act, and all crimes and misdemeanors against the laws now in force within the said limits of the territory of Washington may be prosecuted, tried, and punished in the courts established by this act, and all penalties, forfeitures, actions, and causes of action, may be recovered and enforced, under this act, before the supreme and circuit courts established by this act as aforesaid; *Provided*, That no right of action whatever shall accrue against any person for any act done in pursuance of any law heretofore passed by the legislative assembly of the territory of

Oregon, and which may be declared contrary to the constitution or laws of the United States.

SEC. 16. *And be it further enacted*, That all justices of the peace, constables, sheriffs, and other judicial and ministerial officers, who shall be in office within the limits of said territory of Washington when this act shall take effect, shall be and they are hereby authorized and required to continue to exercise and perform the duties of their respective offices, as officers of said territory, until they or others shall be duly elected or appointed, and qualified, to fill their places in the manner herein directed, or until their offices shall be abolished.

SEC. 17. *And be it further enacted*, That the sum of five thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended by and under the direction of the governor of Washington, in the purchase of a library, to be kept at the seat of government for the use of the governor, legislative assembly, judges of the supreme court, secretary, marshal, attorney of the territory, and such other persons and under such regulations as shall be prescribed by law.

SEC. 18. *And be it further enacted*, That until otherwise provided for by law, the governor of said territory may define the judicial districts of said territory, and assign the judges who may be appointed for said territory to the several districts, and also appoint the times and places for holding courts in the several counties or sub-divisions in each of said judicial districts by proclamation, to be issued by him; but the legislative assembly, at their first, or any subsequent session, may organize, alter, or modify such judicial districts, and assign the judges, and alter the time and places of holding the courts, as to them shall seem expedient and proper.

SEC. 19. *And be it further enacted*, That all officers to be appointed by the president, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, for the territory of Washington, who, by virtue of the provisions of any law of congress now existing, or which may be enacted during the present session of congress, are required to give security for moneys that may be entrusted with them for disbursement, shall give such security at such time and place and in such manner, as the secretary of the treasury may prescribe.

SEC. 20. *And be it further enacted*, That when the lands in said territory shall be surveyed under the direction of the government of the United States preparatory to bringing the same into market or otherwise disposing thereof, sections numbered sixteen and thirty-six in each township in said territory shall be, and the same are hereby, reserved for the purpose of being applied to common schools in said territory. And in all cases where said sections sixteen and thirty-six, or either or any of them, shall be occupied by actual settlers, prior to survey thereof, the county commissioners of the counties in which said sections so occupied as afore-

said are situated, be, and they are hereby, authorized to locate other lands to an equal amount in sections, or fractional sections, as the case may be, within their respective counties, in lieu of said section so occupied as aforesaid.

SEC 21. *And be it further enacted*, That the territory of Oregon and the territory of Washington shall have concurrent jurisdiction over all offences committed on the Columbia river, where said river forms a common boundary between said territories.

*Approved, March 2, 1853.*

A PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR OF THE TERRITORY OF WASHINGTON<sup>2</sup>

WHEREAS, By the 4th section of an Act of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, entitled "An act to establish the Territorial government of Washington," it is provided that the first election in said Territory "shall be held at such time and places, and be conducted in such manner, both as to the persons who shall superintend such election and the returns thereof, as the Governor shall appoint and direct: and he shall at the same time declare the number of members of the Council and House of representatives to which each of the counties or districts shall be entitled under this act; and the Governor shall, by his proclamation, give at least sixty days' previous notice of such apportionment, and of the time, places and manner of holding such election."

And whereas, by the 14th section of said Act it is provided "That a delegate to the House of Representatives of the United State[s], to serve for the term of two years, who shall be a citizen of the United States, may be elected by the voters qualified to elect members of the Legislative Assembly who shall be entitled to the same rights and privileges as have been before exercised and enjoyed by the delegates from the several other Territories of the United States to the House of Representatives, but the delegate first elected shall hold his seat only during the term of the Congress to which he shall be elected. The first election shall be held at such time and places and be conducted in such manner, as the Governor shall appoint and direct; of which and the time, place and manner of holding such elections he shall give at least sixty days' notice by proclamation."

And whereas, by the 18th section of said act it is further provided, 'That until otherwise provided by law the Governor of said Territory may define the judicial districts of said Territory, and assign the judges who may be appointed for said Territory to the several districts, and also appoint the times and places for holding courts in the several coun-

<sup>2</sup> From *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Territory of Washington* [First session] (Olympia, 1855), pp. 182-4.

ties or subdivisions in each of said judicial districts by proclamation to be issued by him."

Now, therefore, be it known that I, ISAAC I. STEVENS, Governor of the Territory of Washington, by virtue of the authority vested in me by said Act, do appoint and direct; that the first election for the members of the Council and House of Representatives of the Legislature of the Territory of Washington and of the first Delegate to the House of Representatives of the United States, shall be held on Monday the 30th day of January, A.D. 1854, between the hours of 9 A.M. and 6 P.M.,—in the county of Clarke, at Columbia City, at Cascade City and Walepta—in the county of Lewis, at Monticello, Cowlitz Landing, and Jackson's precinct—in the county of Pacific, at Chinook City and Pacific City—in the county of Thurston, at Olympia, at Shoalwater Bay, at Chambers' prairie, and at Ford's—in the county of Pierce, at Steilacoom, and at Tallentire's—in the county of King, at Alki, and Seattle—in the county of Island, at Penn's Cove, and at Bellingham Bay—and in the county of Jefferson, at Port Townsend and Port Ludlow.

The members to be elected to the Council to be apportioned as follows: To the counties of Island and Jefferson, one; to the counties of King and Pierce, two; to the county of Thurston, two; to the counties of Pacific and Lewis, two; and to the county of Clarke, two.

The members to be elected to the House of Representatives to be apportioned as follows: To the county of Island one; to the county of Jefferson, one; to the county of King, one; to the county of Pierce, three; to the county of Thurston, four; to the county of Pacific, one; to the county of Lewis, two; and to the county of Clarke, five.

The Judicial Districts to be as follows: For the First District, the counties of Pacific and Clarke; for the Second District, the counties of Lewis and Thurston; and for the Third District, the counties of Pierce, King, Island and Jefferson.

Courts to be holden in the First District, for the county of Pacific, at Chinook City, on the second Monday of January 1854; for the county of Clarke, at Columbia City, on the third Monday of January 1854. In the Second District, for the county of Lewis, at Cowlitz Landing, on the first Monday of January 1854; for the county of Thurston, at Olympia, on the fifth Monday of January 1854. In the Third District, for the county of Pierce, at Steilacoom, on the first Monday of February 1854; for the county of King, at Seattle, on the second Monday of February 1854; for the county of Island, at Coveland, on the third Monday of February 1854; and for the county of Jefferson, at Port Townsend, on the fourth Monday of February 1854.

There shall be three Judges of election, hereinafter appointed, who shall mutually administer oath to each other, and have power to designate the house or building where the election shall be held. In case any Judge herein appointed shall neglect or fail to attend, those attending shall have power to fill vacancies. They shall appoint two clerks, and

administer oath to them; shall by proclamation announce that the polls are open—proceed to open and hold the elections by ballot, and make returns thereof, under oath, to the Secretary of the Territory within five days after election, as provided by the laws of the Territory of Oregon.

The Judges hereby appointed for the various precincts of the Territory are as follows: In the county of Clarke, at Columbia City, William H. Dillon, Kinzie Caples, and George W. Malick; at Cascade City, S. M. Hamilton, George Griswold, and William Stevens; at Wallepta, Lloyd Brook, ..... Bomford, and Cheruse.

In the county of Lewis, at Monticello, Harry Huntington, Seth Catlin, and Doctor Ostrander; at Cowlitz Landing, E. D. Warbass, S. Pagett and George Drew; at Jackson's Precinct, John R. Jackson, ..... Davis, and A. B. Dillinbough.

In the county of Pacific, at Chinook City, Washington Hall, James A. Scarborough, and G. P. Newell; at Pacific City, Jehu Scudder, J. D. Holman, and G. W. Tillotson.

In the county of Thurston, at Olympia, James K. Hurd, C. Crosby, and Edmund Sylvester; at Shoalwater Bay, John W. Champ, D. K. Welten, and John Vail; at Chambers' Prairie, Andrew Chambers, S. D. Rud-dell, and Gilmore Hays; at Ford's, Sidney Ford; J. W. Goodell, and Lay-ton Case.

In the county of Pierce, at Steilacoom, Lafayette Balch, Nicholas Delain, and John Chapman, at Tallentire's, Thomas Tallentire, William P. Dougherty, and John Rigney; in the County of King, at Alki, C. C. Terry, Samuel W. Russell, and Hilary Butler; at Seattle, A. A. Denny, Henry L. Yesler, and D. S. Maynard.

In the county of Island, at Penn's Cove, Samuel Crockett, John Alexander, and S. D. Howe; at Bellingham Bay, William R. Pattle, Henry Roder, and J. Dickinson.

In the county of Jefferson, at Port Townsend, L. B. Hastings, F. W. Pettygrove, and Albert Briggs; at Port Ludlow, William T. Sayward, William Soule, and John Walker.

The members of the Legislature elected as herein provided will as-semble at Olympia on Monday the twenty-seventh day of February, A.D. 1854.

Given under my hand at Olympia, this twenty-eighth day of Novem-ber, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-three.

By the Governor,

I. I. STEVENS.

C. H. Mason, *Secretary of the Territory.*