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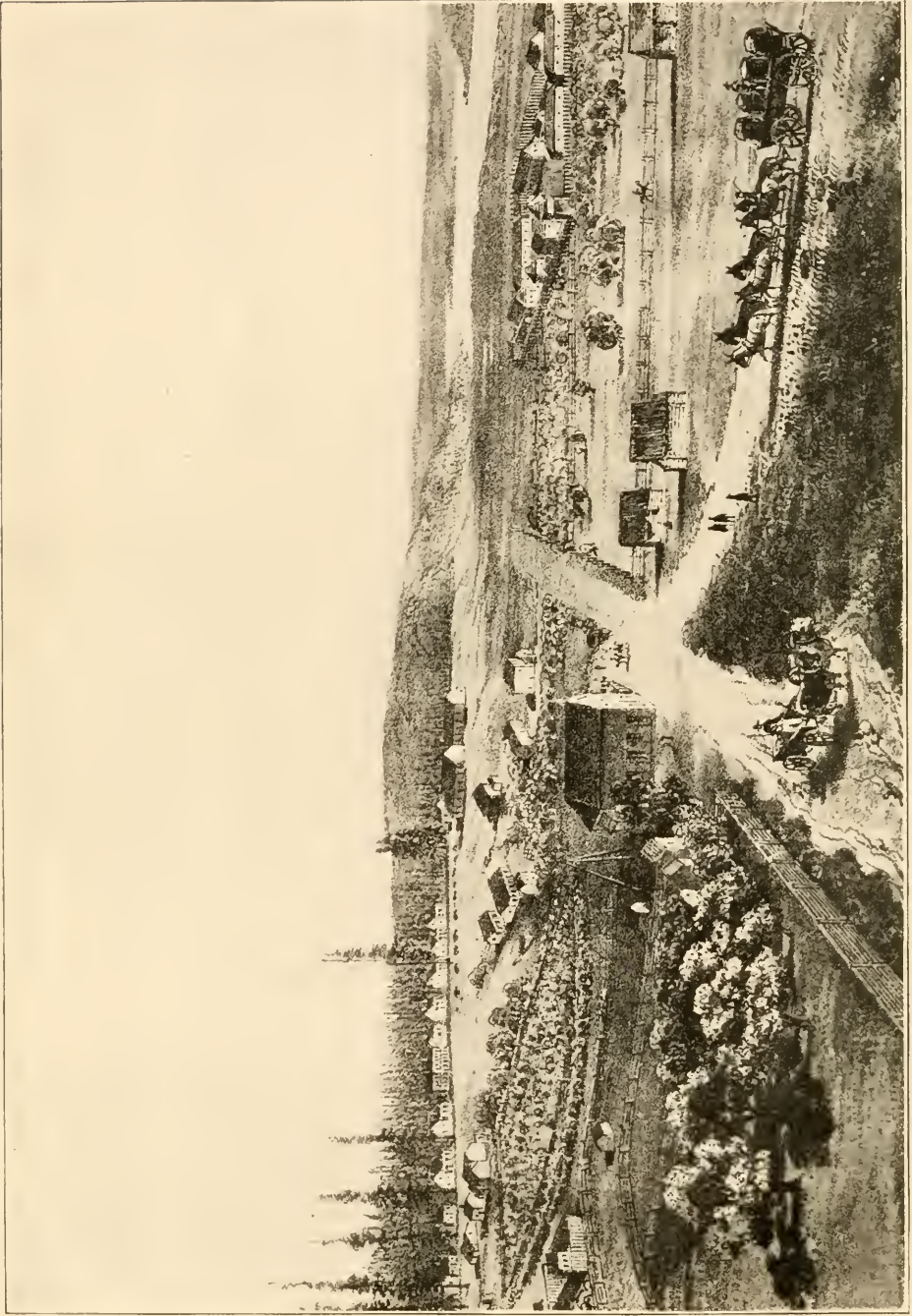
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OLD HUDSON'S BAY POST AT VANCOUVER

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West of the Cascades

HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE

The Explorers

The Indians

The Pioneers

The Modern

By HERBERT HUNT
AND
FLOYD C. KAYLOR

ILLUSTRATED

VOLUME I

CHICAGO SEATTLE TACOMA
THE S. J. CLARKE PUBLISHING COMPANY
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FOREWORD

Fiction at its best is infused with nothing finer than the history of the State of Washington. And from the day when adventurous white men first set foot upon its soil we have the record—an incomparable one. For more than a hundred years the diary of its development is known.

The aim of this work shall be to set forth the record in a new dress, adding to the recital material that has not been in book form, and bringing it as nearly as possible up to date.

It is the intention to give considerable attention to the romantic period of over-land travel and the first settlements. They were a race of giants were those men and women who braved the wilderness to plant an empire on the Northwest coast. Their sufferings never can be told in full. What brought them here? What is there in the American blood that ever hastens us to the farthest place? Why did the pioneers leave or ignore the thousands of rich acres of the middle west and drive to the coast?

Especial attention will be given to the founding of cities and towns and to their development. The creation of this rich commonwealth is the work of a little more than sixty years, and it is the intention to point out some of the forces and many of the personalities that figured in the process.

Old Fort Vancouver, blessed with a background rich in history; old Fort Steilacoom, the center of activities through the horrors of the Indian war; Olympia, the birthplace of the state, scene of the first settlement north of the Columbia River and prolific in romantic history; these are the spots around which the narrative of Washington, in its early reaches, must revolve, and the effort will be made to add something to their picturesqueness.

It is not the intention to devote great space to the exploratory period. That is a field already excellently covered. The work will avoid statistics as far as possible. It purposes to deal intimately with the forceful men and women who have aided in the carving out of a commonwealth which has no counterpart.

A WORD OF APPRECIATION

The author extends grateful thanks to members of the Advisory Board who assisted graciously whenever they were called upon. The members of the Advisory Board are:

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The author also acknowledges generous assistance from William P. Bonney, secretary of the State Historical Society, and especially are thanks due Mr. Clarence B. Bagley, who threw open his wonderful library of Northwest history and bade the writers make the fullest use of it. This acknowledgment would fall short of its purpose if it did not emphasize the loyalty and painstaking devotion of Mr. Floyd C. Kaylor, the author's assistant.

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THE PIONEER

Men and women of iron courage settled "Old Oregon."

Whether their westward journey lay 'round the Horn, across the Isthmus, or by overland wagon train, heroism was requisite. The hazards of Magellan's stormy straits and the fevers of Panama restrained all but the hardy; the terrors of the overland trail were a test for the fittest.

Travel in the Australian bush sickens the soul and kills with thirst; mushing over Arctic wastes dispirits, weakens and blinds; Russian exiles herded on foot to Siberia, leave hope behind, and responsibility; the caravans of the desert at least have their oases. The great trek of Americans across the plains was a crucible of affliction more trying than any of these, yet for a finer reward.

"Fifty-four forty or fight" was a battle cry. It stirred the blood of a nation whose heat at British oppression had not yet cooled. The Macedonian shout of the missionary resounded from pulpit and press. The West called, as it has called for centuries.

Thus it was with something of the zeal of the Crusaders that many of the emigrants cut home ties and crept into the wilderness. The Starry Flag and the Holy Cross were two mighty inspirational urges that moved the serpentine procession across the Missouri River, along the Blue and the Platte, into the Rocky Mountains, down the Snake and Columbia through "Old Oregon."

They outfitted at St. Joseph, Leavenworth, Independence and other posts on the frontier. Here the wagons must be put in order, and extra parts provided; oxen and horses groomed for the six months' drive; food supplies must be assembled—enough but not too much. Weight was the enemy of every expedition. In these towns were concerns whose advice and wares equipped the caravans for the 2,000-mile journey as well as conditions made it possible.

And then they swung out into the wilderness, with boys and girls running beside the wagons, or shouting from the holes in the canvas hoods. The wagons travelled in groups. Before starting, or very soon after, each group chose its leader and his subordinates, and strict obedience to their orders was demanded. A military similitude prevailed. In a few instances professional guides were employed. But in the main the travellers depended upon the signs of the trail and their guide books which told them of treacherous river crossings and dangerous hills and which pointed out the grazing and camping places. Their route was known. The fur traders had grooved it as early as 1826; Lewis and Clark had blazed it in 1805.

Safe though guide books were, they could not foretell the grievous spots where the Indians or nostalgia might strike, nor where the food would give out or the courage falter, and fear choke out life.

What an anabasis! Bearded patriarch and tiny babe; young bride and weary

grandmother; girls from fashionable boarding schools, their finery and diplomas packed away in the depths of the big wagons; yellowed youths from the malaria belt; matrons accustomed to the conveniences of comfortable homes, others from humble backwoods cabins; lean Kentucky men and bronzed Missourians. And always trailing were a few questionable adventurers, shiftless and dangerous to the train.

Bells tinkled as the caravan's cattle moved, and youth laughed. Women wept as day by day they slipped farther and farther from childhood playground and parental roof. Men grew silent and gaunt with the added miles.

Babies were born in the wagon boxes and beneath the trees. Death left the long trail bordered with graves into which the wolves and Indians dug and scattered the bones. Cattle died and for miles the stench of mortifying flesh never was out of the nostrils. One might have followed the route by the carrion birds. In places dust rose in smothering clouds but there was no escape from the deep-rutted road. Insolent and often a murderous savagery hung on the flanks of every train, stealing cattle or killing drivers. There were dangers of buffalo and cattle stampedes; of death in rivers; of oxen and horses drifting away in the night not to be found, and leaving wagons stranded. Vexatious insects goaded cattle and humans almost to a fury.

Judge Lynch held court along that old trail and men were hanged to upright wagon tongues, or, for the crime of insulting women, were tied to wagon wheels and their bared backs cut by every oxwhip in the company. Fever-tossed children moaned in hammocks that swayed beneath the wagon bows, and died there alone, grimed with dust.

Men's faces became unrecognizable in neglected beards; children wore clothing to tatters, and a few became naked; women, beginning the great journey in roomy skirts, reefed and tucked or cut them to knee length. Necessity, not vanity, dictated the styles. A few resorted to trousers. Shoes were laid away. Bare-footed man and maid courted around the campfires, vows were plighted there, and marriages were celebrated.

Rollicking evenings of music and story-telling initiated the journey. The violins whined; the trumpet's notes echoed back from the hills; the dreamy guitar and saucy banjo were strummed, the one to old songs, the other to young feet, and mothers wept in the wagons while their children danced.

Weariness began to chill spontaneity. The company soberly cooked its frugal supper and went to bed. Fatigue and foreboding repressed the lighter mood. Men drew closer to one another and yet their independence of spirit grew. As the weeks lengthened into months footsore cattle grew emaciate and slow; vehicles required constant repairing, and the food supply fell lower and lower. Could they make their destination before it was entirely exhausted? before their teams succumbed? before the Indians destroyed them? Among the weaker apprehension became anxiety; haunting anxiety became unrelenting fear. Tumultuous haste overthrew restraint, and men and women wasted and, half-crazed, died. The strong pressed on, with a concourse of widows, widowers, orphan children, and parents whose lives were blackened by the memory of little nameless graves lost to them forever.

In many cases the discard began early. In others it was delayed almost to the Cascades. The bride's box of wedding dishes is set by the roadside, later to

adorn a savage tepee. Out goes father's toolchest and mother's prized clock. Even clothing is cast away—anything to lighten the burden of the ox and to hasten the journey. For 2,000 miles the old trail was strewn with properties which the owners no longer could carry and which those behind could not pick up. Furniture, old pewters, bedding, dishes, kitchenware, carpets, looms, musical instruments and favorite books marked the trail all through the Rocky Mountains to the Grande Ronde and the Columbia with a profligacy that described the straits of desperation.

Having mastered the hourly perils of half a year they came to their destinations only to face further privations and added perils. Impoverished in many cases by the unexpected exigencies of the journey these pioneers depended upon the grace of friends or resorted to Indian foods until better times. They were housed primitively, in the wilderness, often far from a neighbor and a day's journey to the postoffice. Savages lurked in the woods. The forest seemed a merciless obstacle to successful husbandry.

Yet in the precious recitals of that period there scarcely is a syllable of complaint. There were hard conditions to be met. A virile Americanism met them. The savage was pacified with the rifle; the forest was razed with the ax; houses supplanted cabins. The truest neighborliness ever developed on the continent—and its generous loveliness still is observable wherever pioneers are gathered—was born here, the offspring of the long trail's sacrifices and vicissitudes, and it was the saving anchor of pioneer life. These men and women, undaunted and unafraid, set themselves to the task of doing that thing for which they had come, and seventy years of unprecedented development followed them. But the immigrants paid well for all they won in the Arcadia they sought.

Washington, West of the Cascades

CHAPTER I

IN THE BEGINNING

EUROPEAN NAVIGATORS FIRED BY STORIES OF COLON'S DISCOVERIES—THE STRAIT OF ANIAN, A MYTH OF GREAT VALUE TO THE WORLD—JUAN DE FUCA, WAS HE A REALITY OR A DREAM CHARACTER?—OF INTEREST TO GREAT BRITAIN TO THROW DOUBT ON JUAN DE FUCA DISCOVERIES—DRAKE'S VOYAGES—SPANISH PUSH EXPLORATION—CAPT. JAMES COOK SENT OUT BY ENGLAND—CAPTAIN GRAY ON THE SOUND—VANCOUVER'S EXPLORATORY WORK—GRAY FINDS THE COLUMBIA RIVER AND EXPLORES IT FOR ABOUT THIRTY MILES.

The report that Don Christoval Colon, the Genoese, had discovered the coasts of India, "where the spices growe," as Sebastian Cabot wrote it in about 1497, fired the hearts of European navigators with the desire to reach that distant realm by a route shorter than by way of Good Hope. Colon's accounts thrilled the court of King Henry VII "in so much that all men," said Cabot, "with great admiration, affirmed it to be a thing more divine than human to saile by the west into the east, where spices growe, by a way that was never known before."

For centuries India's riches enticed the crowns of Europe and taunted daring mariners in caravel and bark. John Vaz Cortereal, exploring under direction of the Portuguese King, Alfonso V, discovered Terra de Bacalhaos, "the land of codfish," which now appears on the maps as Newfoundland. It was the Portuguese who first had found the way to India by way of Good Hope, and now they sought a shorter route. In 1496, Sebastian Cabot "began to saile toward the north-west, not thinking to find any other land than that of Cathay, and from thence to turn toward India." Gaspar Cortereal, also a Portuguese, made two voyages, one in 1500, the other in 1504. On the second voyage Greenland was reached, and later on Cortereal was given the distinction of having discovered a strait named Anian—one of the puzzles of history, and a phantom which for many years consumed the hopes of fearless men, and over-tempted the weak. The Strait of Anian was a myth, but of an inconceivable value to the world. The navigators of England, Russia, Portugal and Spain again and again essayed to find the strait and little by little unfolded the map of the New World, and in 1905 an Amundsen, after many months imperiled, actually did discover what all these navigators had sought—a Northwest Passage.

Out of the voyaging, and the discussion of the Strait of Anian, sprung the recital of Michael Lok, Sr., British Consul at Aleppo, in which the name of Juan de Fuca first appears in history. Lok said that in April, 1596, while he was in Venice, he met an old man, a Greek, named Apostolos Valerianus, commonly known as Juan de Fuca, a pilot. He described to the credulous Lok a remarkable voyage which he professed to have made along the west coast of America, while serving as a pilot for an expedition sent out by the Viceroy of Mexico "to discover the Strait of Anian." The Greek's story included the discovery of a broad inlet between latitude 47 and 48, and into this inlet the expedition sailed for twenty days. "He saw some people on land clad in beasts' skins; * * * the land is very fruitful, and rich of gold, silver, pearls and other things, like Nova Spania," as Lok quoted the Greek. Many historians believe that Lok was imposed upon. Little in de Fuca's defense has been found after more than 300 years. The passage that joins what we now call Puget Sound with the Pacific Ocean bears the name of a man who possibly never existed at all, or, if he did, it may not be unjust to assume that he was a fun-loving sailor who tricked the guileless Lok and the world; and by the performing of it, gained for himself a lasting fame which he might not have won had he actually done all that Lok related. Juan de Fuca's recital was accepted as the truth in 1788 when Meaco named the strait, and it may yet be established that de Fuca story is true.

The fact that official records verifying the Juan de Fuca story cannot be found is not sufficient entirely to condemn it. Cabrillo, sailing north from Mexico in 1542 touched the shore of California. In San Diego Bay he unfortunately broke an arm and was forced to return to one of the islands where he died. One of his last requests was that his pilot, Bartolome Ferralo, sail northward and continue the voyages he had begun. Ferralo carried out this instruction and in February, 1543, reached, according to his record, the forty-third parallel. This has been disputed; but there seems to be sufficient evidence to substantiate the allegation that Ferralo was the first white man to reach a point on the coast of Oregon. Other navigators, sailing under orders from the Mexican governors, undertook voyages to the northward and it is well within the limit of the possible that Juan de Fuca really existed and really did make the voyage he professed to have made. Spanish officials of American colonies were notorious for their carelessness about rewarding those who made new discoveries. Jealousies were aroused and even Cortez was supplanted by a more fortunate favorite of the crown.

To brand the de Fuca story as a myth possessed an advantage, from the British point of view. During the settlement of the boundary question the United States appeared as the successor of Spain to any territories which that country might have acquired on the shore of the North Pacific. To disprove the story of Juan de Fuca strengthened the British claim to prior rights through the voyage of Drake in 1579. The report of this voyage does not show that Drake ever touched the shores of Oregon. After he had filled his vessel, the *Golden Hind*, with the stolen treasure of a large number of captured Spanish ships, this free-booter deemed it unsafe to try to return to England by way of the straits of Magellan but sought a new route to the northward. In June he encountered such severe cold that he turned south "til we came within thirtie-eight degrees toward the line," when he entered "a faire and good Bay." His report says that "there is no part of earth here to be taken up, wherein there is not some special likelihood

of gold or silver," certainly not the kind of report one would expect from a chance landing among the Indians of the coast of Oregon; but likely in one of the bays of California.

In the first half of the sixteen century the Spanish, who were exploiting Mexico, explored the coast as far north as Mendocino. In the autumn of 1578 Francis Drake, under the favor of Queen Elizabeth of England, sailed northward along South American and Mexican shores, despoiling Spaniards of their loot. He anchored, probably, in what now is known as the Bay of San Francisco, examined the coast some degrees further north, named the country New Albion and returned triumphantly to England by way of the Cape of Good Hope, the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe. In later years there was much discussion over the question whether Drake reached the 43rd degree of latitude, or the 48th. It entered somewhat into the Oregon question, though little heed was paid to it in an official way in the course of the negotiations leading up to the settlement of the boundary at the 49th parallel.

In the summer of 1728 Captain Vitus Behring, under the instructions of Peter the Great of Russia, definitely ascertained that Asia and America were not joined, and his act is commemorated by attaching his name to the strait that separates them. He opened the way for the Russian fur trade and for the establishment of territorial rights on the west coast of America, and died a miserable death on an island where he and his ill sailors had sought refuge from the winter storms.

George Wilkes in his History of Oregon says "Drake was one of the most distinguished of the buccaneers who cursed the face of the ocean during the latter part of the sixteenth century." Drake seems to deserve the title of "distinguished buccaneer." Without respect for the laws of God or man he followed the dictates of a perverted conscience by plundering and laying waste every settlement he could find on the western coast of South America. With his ship bursting with stolen treasure, he appears to have feared that retributive justice, in the form of a united effort upon the part of those whom he had plundered, would overtake him if he attempted to sail home by the Atlantic, so turning his vessel toward the north he sailed into the comparatively unknown North Pacific ocean. Cold weather was encountered; the ship was put around and sailed into the Bay of San Francisco. In order to cover his nefarious enterprise with a cloak of respectability, he presented himself before the native inhabitants as a great discoverer. In taking possession of the country in the name of his sovereign he showed himself to be a sanctimonious rascal by mixing religion with the great show of civil authority displayed in the exercises. The natives doubtless were much impressed with the ceremony; but fortunately for them, the buccaneer was too close to the Spanish possessions to long remain in the country. After bestowing the name New Albion upon everything in sight he sailed away and finally reached England where, at the hands of his queen, he was knighted and became Sir Francis Drake.

Spaniards were settling California and were endeavoring to expand their dominions northward. In January, 1774, in the war sloop Santiago, Lieut. Juan Perez sailed from San Blas under instructions from the Mexican viceroy to proceed to a point 60 degrees north, survey the coast southward to Monterey and to possess the territory thus covered in the name of the King of Spain. In July he landed on what is now known as Queen Charlotte Island, in 54 degrees north, and entered the channel now called Dixon's Channel. At various points to

the southward he made land, bartered with the natives and mapped the country, and in August he discovered what now bears the name Nootka Sound. He called it Port Lorenzo. He saw the Mount Olympus of the present maps and called it Sierra de Santa Rosalia. His pilot, Jose Martinez, saw what the Spaniards afterward declared to have been the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Martinez's name was applied to the point which afterward became Cape Flattery. Failure of Spanish authorities to make definite the findings of the Perez voyage deprived them in later years of valuable grounds upon which to establish claims to exploratory honors and territorial rights.

Scarcely had Perez made report to the Mexican viceroy before that dignitary dispatched northward (1775) Capt. Bruno Heceta, on the same ship, Santiago, and Perez became his ensign. The Santiago was accompanied by the Sonora, commanded by Lieut. Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra. The Sonora sent a boat load of men ashore for fresh water and all were murdered by natives. The place was named Punta de Martires (Point of Martyrs), and the island near by, Isla de Dolores. A dozen years later the Imperial Eagle, Captain Berkley, lost a boat load of men in about the same manner, and he gave the name, Destruction Island, to the ill-fated place. Punta de Martires became Point Grenville. Heceta discovered Heceta's Inlet which he complained that he could not enter on account of contrary currents and he believed a large river entered the sea there. Bodega discovered what now is known as Norfolk Sound and other important features, and left his name attached to Bodega Bay.

The success of the expeditions encouraged the Spanish to further efforts in the north, and early in 1780 two more vessels, with Bodega and Capt. Ignacio Arteaga in command, left San Blas. This adventure was almost fruitless, however, and it was the last for a number of years as war, declared in 1779, had begun between Spain and England.

The American Revolution, designed to deprive England of her foothold on the Atlantic coast, was fomenting when on July 6, 1776, Capt. James Cook was placed in command of the Resolution and Discovery, under instructions to "fall in with the coast of New Albion in latitude 45 degrees north." He was to replenish his ships and proceed northward to 65 degrees or further. He was instructed to reach this point in June. His orders were explicit against landing upon Spanish dominion and again giving umbrage to subjects of the King of Spain. In 1778 Lieutenant Young was sent by the British government in the Brig Lion into Baffin's Bay, there to search for a westward passage while Cook was seeking, from the far western coast, an eastward passage. The hope of discovering the Strait of Anian had not vanished. The British government thought that if the navigators found the passage, they would meet somewhere in a sea north of the American continent. Great Britain had other expectations from Cook's voyage; she had not forgotten the bold ravages of her Drake 200 years before and the fact that, having loaded his ships with Spanish riches, he had sailed the northwestern seas, nor was she loath to convert the accidents of piracy into the honorable quests of exploratory adventure. Cook left Plymouth July 12, 1776, with George Vancouver as a midshipman, and March 7, 1778, he sighted the west coast of America north of 43 degrees. The weather was thick and only occasional glimpses of land were possible. But Cook named Cape Foul-weather and Cape Flattery. He missed the Strait of Fuca, and entered Nootka

Sound where he remained for nearly a month. Then off to the northward, exploring the American and Asiatic coasts, passing through Behring's strait, he crossed the Arctic circle and reached a latitude of 70 degrees, 44 minutes. Estopped by the ice he turned his prows southward, mapped the Aleutian islands, and came in touch with the Russian settlements of Unalaska, then called Oonalaska. He had "effected more in one season than the Spaniards had accomplished in two centuries," and had added immensely to the world's knowledge of geography. The theft by the natives of one of his small boats in the Sandwich islands and his attempts to recover it, resulted in the killing of a native chief, and of the murder of Cook in turn by the incensed barbarians.

Captain Clerke took command of the ships after they had been reprovisioned and refitted in the Sandwich islands, and returned to the northern seas, again passing through Behring Strait but not reaching the latitude attained by Cook. Returning southward Captain Clerke died and the command fell upon Lieutenant Gore, a Virginian. The season forbade further exploration and Gore sailed for Canton, China, where the furs which his men had picked up among the American natives for trifling exchanges, brought such prices that new and valuable channels were opened for the fur trade. Cook wholly disregarded the fact that the natives had articles of Spanish manufacture—evidence that the Spanish explorers had preceded him. He took possession of the country. One result of his voyage is that we have the names Foulweather, Perpetua, Gregory and Flattery applied to various capes which he sighted.

In January, 1782, the *Felice* and the *Iphigenia*, Portuguese vessels, arrived on the northwest coast. The *Felice* was under command of Lieut. John Mears and her sister ship was commanded by William Douglas. Both commanders were subjects of Great Britain in the employ of John Cavallo, a Portuguese fur trader of Macao, China, and sailed under the flag of Portugal. Their orders, written in the Portuguese language, were "to oppose with force any attempt on the part of any Russian, English or Spanish vessels to interfere with them, and if possible to capture them, to bring them to China, that they might be condemned as legal prizes by the Portuguese authorities of Macao, and their crews punished as pirates."

These orders were pregnant with trouble. Portugal, before that time, had done nothing to establish any title or claim to any of the country. Yet Cavallo expected British officers to observe and obey his orders.

Mears arrived at Nootka May 13, left a part of his crew with instructions to build a small coasting vessel, and sailed to the southward for the purpose of entering the river discovered by Heceta near 46 degrees 16 minutes. Failing to enter the mouth of this river, in disgust he bestowed the name Disappointment upon one of the capes in the neighborhood, called the bay on its southern side "Deception Bay" and wrote in his journal "we can now with safety assert that there is no such river as that of Saint Sas exists, as laid down in the Spanish charts." Years afterward, British diplomats, ignoring the foreign flag under which Mears sailed, cited his explorations as a basis upon which to rest the English claim to much of the Oregon country.

Returning to Nootka Mears launched the *Northwest America*, the first vessel built on the Pacific coast north of Mexico. This was in September and the same month the *Iphigenia* arrived as did also the American sloop *Washington*

under command of Capt. Robert Gray. Four days after the arrival of the *Iphigenia*, Mears sailed on the *Felice* for Macao where he found Cavallo bankrupt. Quick to take advantage of this misfortune that had overtaken his employer, Mears joined a British organization known as the King George Sound Company, was appointed resident agent and dispatched Capt. James Colnett, another half-pay British officer to Nootka on board the *Argonaut*, to found a permanent fur-trading post.

The *Felice* had been on her way to China but a few days when Captain Kendrick arrived on board the American ship *Columbia*. Shortly after this the *Iphigenia* and the *Northwest America* sailed for the Hawaiian islands leaving the two American vessels to spend the winter at Nootka.

News of Nootka's growing importance as a fur-trading post for many vessels of other nations reached the Spanish authorities in Mexico and Don Estevan Jose Martinez was ordered to proceed with a squadron from San Blas to that point. Martinez arrived May 6th and announced that he had come to take possession for the crown of Spain. He landed artillery and began the construction of a fort, the first building erected in the country by white men. About a week later, Martinez learned of the orders given to the commanders of the Portuguese vessels and the friendly feeling which had existed among the men was brought to a sudden end by the seizure of the Portuguese boats and their crews. Kendrick induced the Spanish commander to release the men. Martinez supplied them with materials with which to repair their vessels, and the *Iphigenia* sailed away.

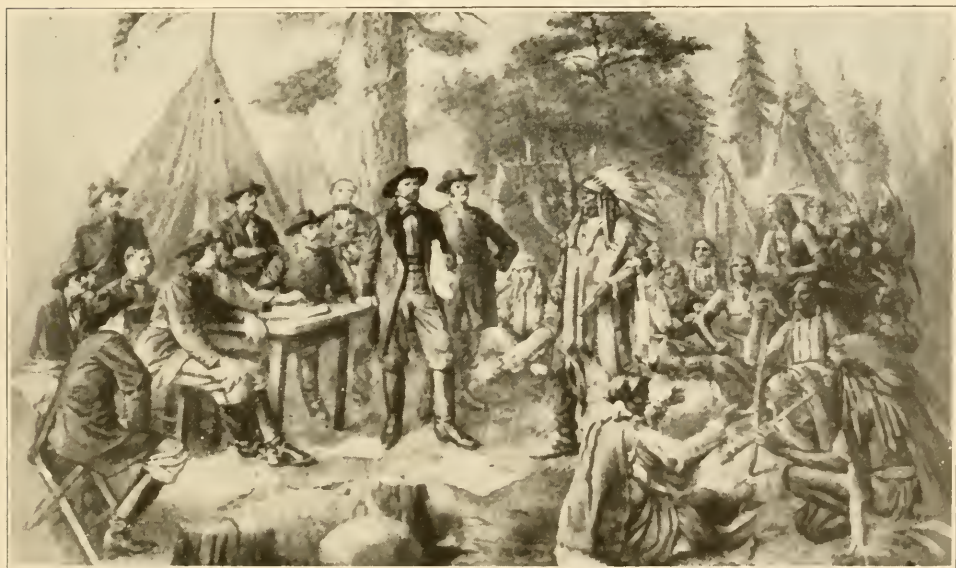
June 16th the *Princess Royal*, a King George Sound vessel, arrived with the news of Cavallo's bankruptcy and Martinez decided to hold Northwest America as security for goods advanced to the *Iphigenia*. As the *Princess Royal* was leaving the harbor July 2d she met the *Argonaut*, Captain Colnett, who told the Spanish commander that he had come to take possession of the country in the name of the British government. Colnett drew his sword and Martinez promptly seized the British vessels, made their crews prisoners, placed them aboard the *Argonaut* and sent them to San Blas in charge of Spanish officers. The Portuguese crew of the *Northwest America* was sent to Macao on board the American vessel, *Columbia*. Shortly after leaving the harbor the *Columbia* met the *Washington* when it was arranged that Kendrick and Gray should exchange commands—Gray proceeding to China on the *Columbia* and Kendrick remaining on the American coast.

Mears, upon receiving Gray's report of events at Nootka, took depositions from the crew of the *Northwest America* and hurried off to London where he presented a claim of \$653,000 against Spain. The British government demanded that Spain make restitution of the land and buildings seized by Martinez. After running the usual diplomatic gauntlet the matter was settled by the treaty of October 20, 1790. The King George Company, under the terms of this treaty, was to be indemnified for its losses and the whole country was to be open to the traders of both nations. Thus England, upon the foundation of the explorations of one of her subjects then in the employ of a fur trader, sailing in a vessel under a foreign flag, by the ability of her diplomats to drive a hard bargain, laid the basis of her claim to Oregon. The British traders, under this first joint-occupancy treaty, obtained a foothold and Capt. George Vancouver, member of the Cook expedition, was sent to the Northwest coast to carry out the terms of the treaty.

Martinez, after shipping his British prisoners out of the country, sailed for



CAPTAIN ROBERT GRAY LANDING AT GRAYS HARBOR
(Photo from a painting in Montesano courthouse)



GOVERNOR ISAAC I. STEVENS MAKING TREATY WITH THE INDIANS
(Photo from a painting in courthouse at Montesano)

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Mexico, leaving Captain Kendrick in charge at Nootka. Kendrick continued his explorations, discovered many new bays, islands and sounds and, in August, 1791, bought a tract of land at Nootka from the Indian chiefs, Maquina and Wicannish. About a month later he sailed for the Sandwich islands where, unfortunately, he was killed by the natives. His death removed an important witness and had he lived the American claim to much of the coast doubtless would have been as good as that of any other nation.

Gray, having delivered his passengers to Mears in China, returned to the American coast, reaching it near Cape Mendocino. Sailing northward to Nootka, Gray encountered a strong current which issued from a bay in the coast line. Failing to gain an entrance into the bay and the river which he felt sure emptied into it, he sailed northward, discovered the Portland Canal in 54 degrees 30 minutes and returned to winter quarters at Clioquot Sound.

Early in the spring Gray sailed southward determined to solve the problem of the strong current which he had found issuing from the bay where the Spanish charts showed the River San Roque to empty. He missed meeting Quadra, the Spanish commissioner sent to Nootka to settle the Spanish-British controversy, but a few days after passing Nootka Sound fell in with Capt. George Vancouver, the British commissioner. With their vessels hove to, Gray and Vancouver on May 7, 1792, exchanged greetings, Gray telling the British commander of his intention to look more closely for Heceta's River San Roque. Vancouver, who had just sailed past its mouth, doubted the existence of the river, his journal saying that he had sought the mouth of the stream "under the most favorable circumstances of wind and weather" and that he was satisfied "no such river existed in that latitude."

Leaving Vancouver to continue his voyage to Nootka, where the Spanish commissioner was awaiting his arrival, Gray continued southward and discovered Gray's Harbor. To this bay he gave the name of Bulfinch, in honor of one of his Boston employers. May 11th he arrived opposite the mouth of the Columbia River and without losing any time headed his vessel into the breakers, slipped over the bar and came to anchor in the broad bay opposite the present Town of Astoria. For nine days the ship Columbia remained in the river that has since borne her name. For some twenty or thirty miles Gray explored the stream, traded with the natives, and May 20th he sailed out over the bar on his way to Nootka. There he told Quadra of his discovery and left with the Spanish commander a chart of the river's mouth.

Vancouver, after leaving Gray, seems to have been in no haste to reach Nootka, but entering the Straits of Fuca explored the inland waters of what is now known as Puget Sound. This work was nicely under way when Vancouver met two Spanish vessels, the schooners Sutil and Mexicana, commanded by Galiano and Valdes who already had explored the northern waters. The commanders of the rival expeditions agreed to work together and after completing their explorations circumnavigated Vancouver Island and arrived at Nootka August 28th. There is rather conclusive evidence that Kendrick was the first man to sail around the island, which by common consent was given the name Quadra and Vancouver. The Quadra part of the name has long since disappeared from the map.

While Vancouver was sailing around the inland waters, bestowing upon the islands, bays, inlets and sounds the names of his British friends Quadra was at

Nootka preparing for the settlement of the claim of Mears to certain "buildings and tracts of land" seized by Martinez. Gray and Ingraham, the latter the former mate of the *Columbia* but then in command of the United States brig *Hope*, when they sailed from Nootka left with Quadra a statement in which they testified that at the time of Martinez' arrival at Nootka and his reported seizure of Mears' "buildings and tracts of land" the only building on the bay was an old hut made by Indians; also that they never had heard of Mears' having purchased any land from the Indians; but that Captain Kendrick had made such a purchase. Maquina, the chief, confirmed this by stating that the only land he had ever sold was the tract purchased by Kendrick.

Vancouver, seeing the Mears' claim thus crumble down, lost interest in the diplomatic part of his mission. Quadra offered him the small plot of ground which Mears temporarily had occupied, but this was refused and on October 13th, Vancouver sailed away in quest of the river discovered by Gray. Arriving at the mouth of the river Vancouver sent Lieutenant Broughton and the *Chatham* to explore it and sailed to San Francisco Bay. Broughton entered the river on October 20th and was greatly surprised to find the brig *Jenny*, of Bristol, anchored in the bay. The *Jenny*, a few days earlier at Nootka had heard of the discovery and had beaten Vancouver and Broughton to the river. Broughton continued his explorations for some distance up the river and then sailed to San Francisco Bay where he and Vancouver decided that the wide mouth entered by Gray was a bay and that the point reached by the American was not in the Columbia River at all. It was a flimsy foundation upon which to base their effort to rob Gray of the honor—one which British diplomacy could not establish.

CHAPTER II

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE—PRESIDENT JEFFERSON SENDS HINT TO NAPOLEON—NAPOLEON SURPRISES JEFFERSON'S COMMISSIONERS—WHAT THE PURCHASE INCLUDED—PURCHASE LEADS TO LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION INTO GREAT UNKNOWN DOMAIN—WINTER AMONG THE MANDANS—SACAJAWEA JOINS EXPEDITION AND BECOMES ITS GUIDE AND SAVIOUR—HER GREAT WORK NEVER RECOGNIZED BY CONGRESS—WHAT JEFFERSON HOPED FOR—PUBLICATION OF REPORT DELAYED—LEWIS DIES SUDDENLY—REPORT AT LENGTH ISSUED DISPLEASING TO PRESIDENT—COMPLETE REPORT NOT MADE FOR A HUNDRED YEARS.

The American desire to open the Mississippi River to the rapidly growing commerce of the Middle West led to the acquisition of Louisiana, an empire of unknown boundaries. France owned Louisiana. Napoleon acquired it from Spain by trading Tuscany for it. But France at that time was at the point of war with England and the trade was kept a secret, Spain continuing to hold Louisiana as trustee for France. Meanwhile Napoleon was preparing to send an army to New Orleans to hold the territory against possible British opposition. Spanish rule had become onerous to the people of the West, and it became doubly irritating when Spain suddenly abrogated American use of the mouth of the Mississippi River. Appeals were sent to the Government in Washington to expel the Spanish from Louisiana. While this agitation was at fever heat the secret trade between Spain and France became known in the United States, and it further inflamed the public. Napoleon's sweeping military successes alarmed the world. Americans feared that Louisiana would become the great soldier's foothold for an invasion of the states.

Jefferson instructed Robert E. Livingston, the American minister in France to hint to Napoleon that the United States would not regard with silent equanimity the bartering of New Orleans and the blockading of the Mississippi. Livingston proposed to buy New Orleans and with it a much larger territory than Jefferson had suggested, and he intimated very strongly that the United States would be forced into giving assistance to England, unless Napoleon consented. His difficulties already were great, and he was in need of money. He acted at once, not even waiting for the arrival of the other United States commissioner, Monroe, and proposed to Livingston that the United States buy the whole of Louisiana, and April 30, 1803, a treaty was signed, the United States agreeing to pay \$20,000,000, \$5,000,000 of which the United States was to retain as indemnity for injuries to American shipping inflicted by the French between 1793 and 1799, in their effort to coerce the United States into joining France in attacking England.

Napoleon's offer was a surprise to the commissioners, and they went entirely beyond their instructions in accepting his proposal. They acted beyond their powers when they made the treaty. They had expected to meet much difficulty even in approaching Napoleon for the cession of New Orleans. Their astonishment in having thrust upon them half of a mighty continent for a picayune was overwhelming. They were obliged, in accepting it, to cast aside their own political policies and to negate Jefferson's as well, and when they returned to the United States to report to him, he, utterly surprised, yet no doubt inwardly delighted, though it necessitated a profound amendment of his governmental theories, at once set about to discover, if he could, means of justifying the complete reversal of his course, in the pursuit of which he for years had preached the strict construction of the Constitution. Here was a case where his preachments were dashed upon the rocks of fact and a fate he never had foreseen. Measured by his interpretations of the Constitution it had been brutally violated by his commissioners. But his vision grasped the greatness of the violation, and, master letter-writer that he was, his busy pen now became busier in carrying to his friends and supporters the news of that which had been achieved, urging silence upon the constitutional questions involved and instructing members of Congress in the desirability of dealing with the question "with as little debate as possible." He referred to the act as a "fugitive occurrence which so much advances the good of the country." His term, "fugitive occurrence," is one of the most interesting that he ever penned, and it opened wide the gate that permitted him to escape from theories the fine spinning of which had occupied him for years. Congress did not long debate the question but the fur flew while it was in debate, and the treaty was ratified October 20, 1803.

The Government did not know precisely what it had acquired. Napoleon did not know what he had sold. When his councillor, Marbois, suggested to him the obscurity of the western boundary, Napoleon retorted:

"If an obscurity does not already exist, perhaps it would be good policy to put one there."

Fine Napoleonic wit!

Nevertheless Napoleon was so well pleased with his minister's handling of the negotiation that he gave him 192,000 francs.

In 1808 the commissioner of the Land Department, Hon. Binger Hermann, carefully prepared a map from the records showing that the purchase included everything west of the Mississippi River, excepting what we now know as Washington, Oregon, Idaho and parts of Wyoming and Montana. The territory now embracing these states was acquired in later years by reason of Captain Gray's discoveries, the Lewis and Clark expedition, and the entry of American settlers. It was the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory that led to the acquisition of the "Oregon country." Possibly, if Jefferson had abided by the letter of his constitutional theories, and had refused to buy, the nation might never have extended its boundaries to the Pacific ocean by way of the Columbia River. Jefferson became an unconstitutional expansionist under the pressure of a surprising opportunity, and yet there are indications that his imagination was picturing a greater America before he had heard of the success of his agents' negotiations with Napoleon. For in January of 1803 he had asked Congress to provide moneys to carry an exploring expedition from the Missouri River to the Columbia. Congress assented, and the formation of the Lewis and Clark expedition began.

At the next session of Congress after the purchase of Louisiana from France, President Jefferson sent a confidential message to Congress containing a recommendation for an exploring expedition to the West, and Congress promptly passed an act providing the necessary funds to make the exploration. The President lost no time in organizing the expedition known in all the histories as the Lewis and Clark expedition, appointing his private secretary, Capt. Meriwether Lewis, to the chief command and Capt. Wm. Clark, a brother of Gen. George Rogers Clark, as second in command. As a matter of historical fact, the President had already, before he knew of the signing of the treaty of cession at Paris, perfected arrangements with Captain Lewis to go West and organize a strong party to cross the continent to the mouth of the Columbia River. This is proved by the fact that Lewis left Washington City within four days after the news was received by the President that the treaty had finally been executed. A large part of the year was spent in making preparations for the journey, and the President was so anxious for the safety and success of the men, that he prepared with his own hands the written instructions to show the nature of them, and the great care the President was taking to have success assured, and the natives treated with justice and consideration. "In all your intercourse with the natives," says Jefferson, "treat them in the most friendly and conciliatory manner which their own conduct will admit; allay all jealousies as to the object of your journey; satisfy them of its innocence; make them acquainted with the extent, position, character, peaceable and commercial dispositions of the United States; of our wish to be neighborly, friendly, and useful to them, and of our disposition to hold commercial intercourse with them, and to confer with them on the point most convenient for trade and the articles of the most desirable interchange for them and for us."

The purchase of Louisiana and the great exploring expedition which followed the purchase is unique and unexampled in the history of mankind. After more than a century of enlightenment, consideration and development of this vast region, the momentous influences and consequences of that great transaction are not fully comprehended to this day. Vast regions and great nations, even those with more or less of what we call civilization, have in the history of the world, passed under the dominion of overwhelming military power, and lingered in decay or gone down to oblivion. But here is an empire of natural wealth in a vast region claimed and owned by the then foremost military power on the globe, quietly, speedily and with a friendly hand, passing over to the youngest member of the family of nations, to be by it, in its inexperience in government, ruled and developed for the happiness and blessing of mankind. Not only does this ruling military power of the world, led and ruled by the most successful and brilliant soldier in the history of mankind, turn over this empire of rich territory to the keeping of the young republic of the West, but a greater power than the wealth and resources of the land goes with it—the power to rule two great oceans and dictate the peace of the world. Of the two master minds that wrought this great work, one has been denounced as an infidel, and everything that was dangerous to the well-being of his fellowman; while the other condemned throughout the world as an unprincipled adventurer to whom fickle fortune gave for an hour the evanescent glory of accidental success. Shall we dare say that these two men did not consider the welfare of their fellowman in this great transaction? Shall we say they wrought wiser

than they knew? Or shall we concede that there is a Divinity that shapes our ends?

So that in tracing the steps of this unorthodox President in the great task of acquiring almost half the territory of the United States, and setting up therein the ways, means and influences of education and civilization, we may form some opinion of his real character and great work. Neither President Jefferson nor anybody else outside of the native Indians knew anything about the vast region which had been acquired. Exploration of it by competent observers was necessary to find out what the wilderness was worth. Captains Lewis and Clark organized their party of forty-five persons in the winter of 1803, and made their start for Oregon in the following spring of 1804. There were no steamboats in those days, and the ascent of the river from St. Louis to the Mandan Indian villages on the Missouri River, almost one thousand miles as the river runs, above St. Louis, paddling and poling their boats up stream, occupied nearly five months' time. Of course the party stopped along the river to hunt game for their subsistence. But as game was everywhere in plenty, this could not have delayed them very much, which shows what a slow, toilsome undertaking these men had entered upon. And it shows the vast changes in the country in a hundred years, where now railroad trains running on both sides of the river will whisk the traveler over an equal distance in one day.

On this up-river trip, the volunteer explorers from Ohio and Kentucky found many animals they had never seen before. The vast numbers of buffalo, the antelope, mule-deer, coyote, and prairie dog were all new to these men and excited the wonder of both leaders and privates. With all the Indian tribes the explorers held councils, telling them of the changes of governors, and of President Jefferson, who was so interested for their welfare. The Indians professed to be pleased with this news, and as the explorers distributed gifts, purported to come from the great Father at Washington, the natives agreed to everything, as they always did when there was anything to be had by being good. It is scarcely possible that the Indians at that day had any idea of a government, or the exercise of control by one man over a vast population, traveling as they did wherever they pleased.

As the cold weather of the approaching winter came on the party concluded to stop at the Mandan villages and prepare for housing up until the spring of 1805, and here they built log huts and the usual stockade familiar to the pioneers of the Indian country in the West, and which they named Fort Mandan. The Mandans proved to be good neighbors, and not only helped to provide game for the party, but invited them to their dances, which were numerous, fantastic and devoid of lady partners. Game had to be hunted, and generally supplies could be had within a day's pony ride, but sometimes the men had to go out for several days at a time; but in all their hunting forays were never molested by the Mandan Indians. Their journals show that in one of these hunting excursions they killed thirty-two deer, eleven elk and a buffalo; on another hunt they killed forty deer, sixteen elk and a buffalo; showing that for winter quarters that was a fine game country. But as snow came on, most of the game left for the mountains, showing that the wild animals know that they are safer in the rough mountains in the winter weather than out on the bleak plains.

In the spring of 1805, after sending back ten of the men who had enlisted to go only to the first winter quarters, and who carried back with them the record of their exploration thus far, with some specimens of pelts and plants, Lewis and Clark broke camp and struck out through the boundless plains, due west from Fort Mandan. The party now numbered thirty-three persons all told: Sergeant Floyd had died on the way up river, and was buried on the bluffs where Sioux City is now located. Three men had joined the party at Mandan, including the French trapper, Charboneau, together with his Shoshone wife—Sacajawea.

They were now far beyond Jonathan Carver's exploration, and in a country never before trod by the foot of a white man. But few Indians were seen, but the whole country literally swarmed with wild game, vast flocks of sage hens, prairie chickens, ducks of all kinds, cranes, geese and swan, and vast herds of big game, buffalo, elk, antelope, white and black tail deer, big horn sheep, and so unfamiliar with the race of men as to be easily approached; great herds of elk would lie lazily in the sun on the sand bars until the party was within twenty yards of them.

On the Yellowstone River Clark encountered on the return voyage a herd of buffaloes wading and swimming across the stream where it was a mile wide, and so many in the herd that the exploring party had to draw up in a safe place and wait for an hour for the herd to pass before they could proceed. The party, of course, had to live on meat as their main stay, and they got it fresh every day without going out of their course to find it, and they generally ate up one buffalo or an elk and one deer, or four deer, a day. And here for the first time they struck that terror of the Rocky mountains, the grizzly bear. No other traveler or explorer ever gave any account of this bear before that given to us by Lewis and Clark. The grizzly was the terror of the Indians. They had never been able to devise any means of trapping him, and they had no guns with which to fight him and their only safety from him was in flight. The first accounts given to the people of the United States of this monster bear were printed in the early school books, and were extracts from the journal of this expedition. The summer trip up the Missouri in their little boats was very pleasant. But the fall season of the year was rapidly approaching before they had reached the Rocky mountains, and they were warned by early frosts that great expedition was necessary to enable them to pass over the mountains and strike some branch of the Columbia to float westward upon before the deep snows shut them in or out for the winter. Lewis and Clark crossed the Rocky mountains about three hundred miles north of the point where the Oregon trail crosses, and here they found their salvation in the sturdy little Indian woman, Sacajawea.¹ They got to a point where their white man's reason could not guide

¹ The name, its spelling and pronunciation, of this Indian woman, now in general use, is used in this history, because of such general use. But when the Lewis and Clark Exposition was held in Portland Mr. George H. Himes interviewed William Shannon, an invited guest of the Exposition Association and who was the son of George Shannon, a member of the Lewis and Clark expedition, as to the name of this heroine of the party. After reflecting and testing his memory Mr. Shannon distinctly recalled his father's pronunciation of the name, saying it was "Sub-ka-gowea"—the canoe-woman;—not the bird-woman. "Suh-ka-gowea," has the guttural sound which proves its Indian origin and correctness.

them, but Sacajawea had been there when a child, and she "pointed the way" to the Columbia's headwaters, to safety and success. And by her aid as an interpreter, and her kinship to the Shoshones, the party was enabled to procure horses from a band of wandering Shoshones, and by "caching" their boats and packing their goods and blankets on the ponies, they got out of the labyrinth of mountains, crossed over the great divide, struck the middle fork of the Clearwater, and made their way down to where the City of Lewiston now stands.

Here they got canoes from the Nez Perce Indians and floated down the Snake River to the Columbia, and on down the Columbia to where Astoria now stands, and paddled around Smith's Point and crossed over Young's Bay and built log huts at a point named Fort Clatsop, where they went into winter quarters until the spring of 1806.

Thru the dreary rainy season of 1805 and 1806 at Fort Clatsop, the men put in their time hunting, fishing, mending their clothing, making moccasins for the long tramp homeward in the spring, and in making salt by the seaside out of the Pacific ocean water, some remains of the old furnace in which they placed their kettles to evaporate the salt water being still in existence after the lapse of 111 years. As early in the spring of 1806 as it was practicable to travel, the party started on its return to the states. Whether the expedition, as a party, ever camped on the present site of the City of Portland, is uncertain. The probability is very strong that they did camp on the river flat in front of the Town of St. Johns, which is a suburb of that city, and it is certain that members of the party came up the river as far as Portland Townsite. On their return up the Columbia, the explorers camped at the mouth of the White Salmon River on the north side of the Columbia, and there it was that Timotsk (Jake Hunt), the Klickitat Indian, saw the explorers, the first white men he had ever seen, when he was a little boy eleven years of age.

The party pursued its way back over the mountains and down the Missouri River without loss, or anything specially eventful, arriving at St. Louis in September, 1806, having been absent from civilization for two years and four months. Its safe return caused great rejoicing throughout the West. "Never," says President Jefferson, "did a similar event excite more joy throughout the United States. The humblest of its citizens had taken a lively interest in the issue of this journey and looked forward with impatience to the information it would bring." The expedition had accomplished a great work, for it opened the door not only into the far West, but to the shores of the great Pacific, and laid the foundation of a just national claim to all the regions west of the Rocky Mountains, north of the California line, up to the Russian possessions. There is no other expedition like it, or equal to it, in the history of civilization; and every member of it returned to their homes as heroes of a great historical deed. The President promptly rewarded the two leaders with just recognition, appointing Captain Lewis governor of Louisiana Territory, and making Captain Clark governor and Indian agent of Missouri Territory. The only regrettable circumstance of the whole great work was the untimely death of Sergeant Floyd, which took place, as before stated, before the expedition got fairly started on the way. A great monument has been erected to his memory above his grave near Sioux City, Iowa.

The only miscarriage of justice was the neglect of the Indian heroine, Sacaja-

wea, who received no reward whatever. Both Lewis and Clark, so far as words could go, recognized the great service of the woman to the fullest extent, but gave no reward. The services of Sacajawea were equal to those of any of the whole party, and much greater than those of most of the party. She had not only paddled the canoes, trudged where walking was necessary, and in every event done as much as a man, and that, too, with her infant babe on her back, but she had rendered that greater service which no one else could render—she had made friends for the party when they were in dire straits in the mountains, and obtained from her tribe assistance in horses and provisions which no other person could have commanded, and when in doubt as to what course they should take to reach safety towards the headwaters of the Columbia, Sacajawea pointed out the route through the mountain defiles. And it was left to the noble women of Oregon—and to their great honor they nobly performed the duty—of raising to this Indian benefactress of the great Northwest the first and fitting monument to perpetuate her name and unselfish labors—the heroic size bronze statue of the woman at Lewis and Clark Exposition, and now standing in the City Park at Portland.

Many persons have entertained the idea, that, with the exception of the leaders, who were educated, and came from distinguished families in old Virginia, the rank and file were rough and inconsequential characters, picked up around St. Louis. This is a great mistake; for they were, nearly all of them, men of great natural force and ability and selected by their leaders because of their inherent force of character.

And Sacajawea! Sacajawea! No words can better express the merits of this Indian woman than those of Olin D. Wheeler, who has said: "There were many heroes; there was but one heroine in that band of immortals. And at the start I wish to take off my hat to the modest, womanly, unselfish, patient, enduring little Shoshone squaw—the Bird Woman of the Minaterrees—Sacajawea, who uncomplainingly canoed, trudged, climbed and starved with the strongest man of the party; and that, too, with a helpless papoose strapped on her back. All honor to her! Her skin was the color of copper; her heart beat as true as steel and was pure gold. Through all the long, dreary racking months of toil she bore her part like a Spartan. Captured when a child and carried over the mountains from Idaho as a slave to the Mandan (Wyoming) country, and there sold to Charboneau for a wife, she rose superior to her sad lot; was the go-between in all dangers and trials with the Indians, a safeguard by her tact and native wit; she interpreted all Indian dialects, made clear all doubtful trails and pathways, guided the great party in safety to the great Columbia, and was in every aspect of the great national achievement a mentor to the wise men set to lead, and who thereby achieved almost immortal fame. No words of praise can transcend her just dues; and her fame should be a cherished and precious memory to every Oregon household."

Lewis and Clark frankly acknowledged their debt to the woman so far as mere words go, for her inestimable services. But these two leaders, and Congress as well, are open to the most severe and unsparing condemnation in failing to make, or recommending to Congress to make suitable and liberal reward in money, lands or a pension to this woman. And it is an ineffaceable blot on the names of Lewis and Clark, and an everlasting disgrace to the Congress of the

United States that this poor, lowly, humble Indian was requited with such neglect for the priceless services she rendered to the great nation. And it is to the everlasting honor and credit of the women of Oregon that they provided and reared the first and most enduring monument to the honor of the heroic Indian woman—Sacajawea. (The bronze monument in the City Park at Portland.)

The following poem by Bert Huffman, editor of the *East Oregonian* of Pendleton, Ore., widely published throughout the country, fittingly commemorates the just fame of that greatest heroine of her race, and the equal of her sex in any race on the continent.

“Behind them toward the rising sun
 The traversed wilderness lay—
 About them gathered, one by one,
 The baffling mysteries of their way!
 To Westward, yonder, peak on peak
 The glistening ranges rose and fell—
 Ah, but among that hundred paths
 Which led aright? Could any tell?”

“Brave Lewis and Immortal Clark!
 Bold spirits of that best Crusade,
 You gave the waiting world the spark
 That thronged the empire-paths you made!
 But standing on that snowy height,
 Where westward yon wild rivers whirl,
 The guide who led your hosts aright
 Was the barefoot Shoshone girl.”

As has been indicated heretofore, the Louisiana Purchase cleared the way for the expedition. Louisiana had been a trading token, passed back and forth between Spain and France. Under either country it was a menace to the democratic institutions of the United States. Its purchase gave this Government undisputed title to the country eastward of the headwaters of the Columbia. Gray's discovery gave it as good title to the mouth of that river as was claimed by any other nation. After the details of the purchase had been concluded Jefferson wrote to Lewis:

“The object of your mission is single, the direct water communication from sea to sea formed by the bed of the Missouri, and, perhaps, the Oregon.”

Lewis was then on his way westward and this first instruction from the President must be taken as indicating his hope that the result of the expedition would be the linking up of the westward boundaries of Louisiana with the country claimed by right of Gray's discovery. The instructions under which the expedition traveled were to ascend the Missouri, cross the Rocky Mountains, seek and trace some stream to the Pacific “whether the Columbia, the Oregon, the Colorado, or any other which might offer the most direct and practicable water communication across the continent for the purpose of commerce.”

Some ten years later, November 19, 1813, Jefferson writing to John Jacob Astor, expressed his pleasure over the “progress you have made towards an

establishment on the Columbia River" which he viewed "as the germ of a great, free, and independent empire on that side of our continent, and that liberty and self-government, spreading from that as well as this side, will insure their complete establishment over the whole." Many years later Webster expressed much the same thought.

William Clark was the son of John and Ann Rogers Clark, second-cousins, who were married when the bride was but sixteen years of age. He was born August 1, 1770, in Caroline County, Virginia. He was the ninth child born to his parents. When he was but two years of age his brother, George Rogers Clark, returned from a trip into the country lying west of the Alleghany Mountains with such wonderful tales of its beauties and riches that the family decided to move into the valley of the Ohio. Some thirteen years passed before this plan was carried out. The elder brother had risen to a prominent place in the affairs of the West and the family settled at Mulberry Hill, about three miles south of Louisville, Ky., then a frontier fort.

William was now fifteen, tall, powerfully framed, broad faced, with a thick shock of red hair. At the age of seventeen he became a soldier and under his elder brother served in the Wabash expedition. March 19, 1793, he became a second lieutenant in General Anthony Wayne's western army. Hard work so impaired his health that he retired from the army in 1796 and became the manager of his father's Mulberry Hill estate. In his efforts to save his famous elder brother from financial disaster, William lost the Mulberry Hill property, which had become his upon the death of his father in 1799, and it was while employed in his brother's behalf that he received a letter from Meriwether Lewis inviting him to share the dangers of the Oregon expedition.

Lewis had been Clark's comrade during one of the expeditions against the Indians and when he received the command of the expedition, asked that he might share it with Clark. Replying to Lewis' invitation Clark said:

"That is an immense undertaking freighted with numerous difficulties, but my friend I can assure you that no man lives with whom I would prefer to undertake and share the difficulties of such a trip than yourself."

Lewis was made governor of the new Louisiana territory; was commissioned brigadier-general of the territorial militia and superintendent of Indian affairs. Their new duties kept the men so busy that they were not able to prepare a report of the expedition and, after President Jefferson for some time had urged the matter upon Lewis he started for Washington with the intention of completing the work on the journals. While stopping in a wayside tavern in Tennessee, he died, or was murdered, on the night of October 11, 1809. President Jefferson now turned to Clark who engaged Nicholas Biddle to prepare the journals for publication. Eight years after the return of the expedition a report was published. It did not meet with the approval of Jefferson, who tried to collect the notes with the object of having a new report made. Clark, unknown to Jefferson, retained most of his maps and notes. For many years these were in the possession of his heirs. Almost one hundred years after the expedition had crossed the continent these maps and notes were discovered by Reuben Gold Thwaites who published them in a set of seven volumes and atlas.

If the question, "Who Saved Oregon," were submitted to a jury composed of one dozen historical writers with a request that they deliberate until they

arrived at a unanimous verdict, the jurors doubtless would do one of three things—compromise their honest opinions, be in session until the last man died, or bring in a verdict that Oregon was saved by the combined action of a large number of persons each of whom contributed thought, enthusiasm and labor to the task of bringing into the sisterhood of states three states over which the flag of no other nation ever waved for any length of time.

To Thomas Jefferson belongs the honor of taking the first of the many steps toward the saving of Oregon. Several years before he became president of the United States he wrote to Gen. George Rogers Clark saying that England had subscribed a large sum of money "for exploring the country from the Mississippi to California. They pretend it is only to promote knowledge. I am afraid they have thoughts of colonizing into that quarter." Jefferson asked Clark how he would like to lead a similar expedition if the necessary funds could be obtained.

Two years later Jefferson was in Paris where he met John Ledyard, a citizen of Connecticut, who had accompanied Cook on his voyage to the Pacific and was then in Paris to interest French capital in a trading expedition to the Northwest coast of America. French capitalists did not take kindly to Ledyard's plan and Jefferson suggested to the Connecticut man that he go overland to Kamchatka, cross the Pacific to Nootka and from there work his way back to the Atlantic by way of the river and plains route. Ledyard's roving nature responded to the suggestion and he soon was on his way.

Crossing Russia Ledyard went into winter quarters some 200 miles from the Pacific. Upon the orders of the empress, who said she had not given permission for his crossing her domain, he was recalled and returned to Paris. The Russian plan was abandoned and Ledyard promised Jefferson that he would go to Kentucky and try to reach the Pacific overland from that country. Before undertaking this trip, however, he wanted to explore the river Nile. He died a few days after he started for Egypt.

Jefferson returned to America and in 1792 assisted the American Philosophical Society, of Philadelphia, in financing an overland expedition led by Andre Michaux, a French botanist, and Meriwether Lewis. Louisiana was at that time a Spanish possession and Michaux becoming involved in plans for a filibustering expedition into the country, the expedition was abandoned.

In 1801 Jefferson became President and on January 18, 1803, in a confidential message to Congress proposed the sending into the far Northwest of an expedition for the purpose of increasing the geographical knowledge of the country. Congress took the hint which his carefully worded message concealed and provided for the expedition. It was about this time that the President learned of the secret treaty whereby Louisiana had been returned to the French Government.

CHAPTER III

JOHN JACOB ASTOR'S GREAT FUR PROJECT—SENDS TWO PARTIES WEST AND THEY ESTABLISH "ASTORIA"—FATE OF THE TONQUIN—MEN REDUCED TO SHORT RATIONS—ASTORIA IS SOLD OUT TO BRITISH—NORTHERN BOUNDARY FIXED AND "JOINT OCCUPATION TREATY" IS SIGNED—FLORIDA BOUGHT FROM SPAIN—RUSSIA ISSUES TRADE DECREE OF DANGER TO THE U. S. BUT DIPLOMACY DISPOSES OF THE DIFFICULTY.

John Jacob Astor, a native of Heidelberg, Germany, had been in America almost twenty years when the Lewis and Clark expedition returned from its long and hazardous journey to the mouth of the Columbia. The small capital which Astor had brought from his native land had been invested in the fur trade of the then northwest territories. It had increased so rapidly that, by the close of the eighteenth century, Astor was one of the wealthy men of the country but he found the increasing competition of the North-West and Hudson's Bay companies not to his liking and determined to outfit a fur trading expedition to the mouth of the river which American explorers had followed from its source in the Rocky Mountains to the sea.

Realizing that the establishment of a fur-trading station on the Pacific Coast required great capital and wide experience. Astor proposed a consolidation with the North-West Fur Company, but this offer was refused. June 23, 1810, the Pacific Fur Company was organized with Astor as president and principal stockholder, and Alexander M'Kay, Robert and David Stuart, John Clarke, Duncan McDougal, Donald McKenzie, former North-West Company employees, and Wilson P. Hunt, of New Jersey, as partners. The articles of organization provided that Astor should finance the enterprise to the extent of \$400,000 and should manage the company's affairs in New York. Hunt was chosen to manage the post at the mouth of the Columbia River while the other partners were to have charge of other posts which the company intended to establish in the Indian country, or to perform other services. Canton, China, was still the center of the world's raw fur market and there the Astor traders expected to sell the peltries taken in the Columbia River Valley. Each year Astor was to send a ship load of supplies from New York to the river. Upon this ship the season's catch of furs were to go to market.

The company was divided, one party to go overland to establish trading posts, the other to go by sea with a stock of goods and supplies. McDougal was given command of the sea expedition and September 8, 1810, he sailed from New York on the 200-ton ship *Tonquin* in command of Capt. Jonathan Thorn, an officer of the United States navy on leave of absence. Scarcely had the ship left the Atlantic coast than Thorn and his passengers began a quarrel which terminated only when many of them met their death together on the western

shore of Vancouver Island many months later. The mouth of the Columbia was reached March 22, 1811, and a few days later the vessel came to anchor in the bay under the hills of the present City of Astoria.

The building of the fort began April 12th, the partners already having decided to call the settlement "Astoria" in honor of the principal stockholder. The *Tonquin* was unloaded and early in June sailed away on her first and last trading expedition. Of the events that transpired on the ship the only record left is the story of the Indian interpreter, Lamazee, who had accompanied the expedition from Astoria. Sailing northward the *Tonquin* entered one of the bays on the west side of Vancouver Island. Lamazee, who, Jason Lee said, was still living in Oregon at the time of his arrival there, asserted that he had advised against entering the harbor, telling McKay and Thorn that the Indians were treacherous and warlike. In spite of that McKay began trading with the Indians whom he admitted freely on board the ship. All was going well, apparently, when Captain Thorn in some manner insulted one of the chiefs. The Indians retired and planned revenge. The next morning, before either McKay or Thorn were awake, a large canoe came along side the ship carrying about twenty Indians who held up otter skins as a sign that they wished to trade. As they appeared to be unarmed the officer in charge of the deck allowed them to come aboard. Other canoes soon arrived and before the sailors realized the danger, Indians were swarming over the decks. Thorn and McKay were called and the captain was urged to make sail at once and escape if possible. At first he ridiculed the idea but a little later he sent his men into the rigging. The invaders immediately attacked those on deck with knives and war clubs which they had concealed beneath their clothing. The fight was of short duration. Five men reached the hold of the ship, where they obtained guns and drove the invaders from the deck.

In the night it was decided to make an effort to escape. Lewis, the wounded man, refused to accompany the other four, and was left behind. His companions headed for the sea in an open boat. They either landed on the shore or in the darkness were unable to get away from the ship, and were captured by the Indians who tortured them to death.

In the morning Lewis signalled that he was ready to confer with the Indians. Great crowds soon manned the canoes, crossed the intervening water and climbed aboard the ship. Lewis meantime disappeared into the hold. While greedily helping themselves to the white man's property the deck beneath their feet rose in the air, the sides of the vessel burst outward, and arms, legs and mutilated bodies of Indians were thrown in all directions. Lewis, by firing the magazine, had avenged the deaths of his ship mates and made a quick end to his own sufferings. Lamazee became a slave, later escaped and made his way to Astoria where he told the story of the massacre and explosion.

Under McDougal's direction the erecting of the fort at Astoria progressed satisfactorily. Buildings were completed and plans perfected for an expedition to the interior country under command of David Stuart who was ready to start when David Thompson and a party of North-West men arrived. Learning of Astor's plans for founding an American settlement on the western coast, the North-West company sent Thompson west in hope that he might arrive ahead of the Americans. Finding the country already occupied, Thompson did not tarry

long. When he left Astoria, July 23d, David Stuart and his party of eight men journeyed up the river with him and within a short time established a post near the mouth of the Okanogan River. This was known as Fort Okanogan.

From New York, Hunt went to Montreal, westward through the Great Lakes, down the Mississippi to St. Louis, at which point he spent more than a month in completing plans for the journey up the Missouri and across the mountains. Ramsey Crooks joined Hunt at Mackinaw and at St. Louis Joseph Miller was added to the company. Leaving the old Missouri town October 21st, in three boats, the company traveled several hundred miles up the Missouri to the mouth of the Nodaway where they went into winter camp. After getting his men settled Hunt returned to St. Louis to obtain more men and among those who joined the expedition at the Nodaway camp were Robert McLellan, John Day and Pierre Dorion. Dorion had with him his half-breed wife and two children.

Hunt having returned, the company, now numbering about sixty persons, broke camp about the middle of April. The trip across the plains, over the mountains and down the rivers was marked by the most severe hardships. Food ran low and the company was broken up into small parties. Promising trails ended in unsurmountable difficulties. Dog and horse meat, bought from the Indians, kept the bands from starving. Through the snow-covered Blue Mountains they came in December and January, reaching the Columbia River January 21st. The band reached Astoria February 15th and found that the bands under Reed, McLennan and McKenzie already had arrived.

The men at Astoria had been reduced to short rations at times. Elk, deer and bear were to be found in the hills back of the fort, but the country was so rough and since hearing of the fate of the Tonquin, the men had feared to travel far from the protection of the stockade and the friendly Indians belonging to the tribe of Comcomly. McDougal doubly secured the friendship of this tribe by marrying a daughter of the old chief; a step which both the white man and his bride later regretted.

Spring brought salmon into the Columbia, supplied plenty of food and the Astorians soon recovered normal strength. Plans for outposts were made and a party was sent up the river to Fort Okanogan. With this party started Reed carrying dispatches to New York. Near the Dalles the travelers met a band of Indians who stole a part of the outfit. Reed, in defending the bright tin dispatch box, was so severely wounded that the overland trip was abandoned.

The men turned north up the river to Fort Okanogan. On their return journey they met Ramsey Crooks and John Day, whom Hunt had left on the banks of the upper Snake River in December. After wandering all winter through the deserts and mountains, Crooks and Day reached the friendly Walla Walla Indians and by them were directed to the Columbia. At the Dalles they met a party of Indians who robbed them even of the clothes they wore and set them adrift naked. Day afterward became insane and died at Astoria.

Astoria was reached May 11th. The ship (Beaver) which Astor had promised to send each year, had just arrived from New York. Her arrival put new life into the men and the enterprise. Hunt sailed for the Russian settlements and the little party left at Astoria began stocking the fort with food supplies. The Beaver traded along the coast and was delayed by storms and when she started

to return to the Columbia, the captain, fearing that he could not cross the bar in the winter, induced Hunt to sail for the Hawaiian Islands.

At the islands Hunt found the Albatross, just in from China with the news that the United States and England were at war. Chartering the vessel he returned to Astoria where, after consulting with his partners, it was decided to obtain a larger vessel and move the furs to some place not so likely to be attacked by a British ship. Returning to the islands Hunt bought the brig *Peddler* and in February was back at Astoria, only to learn that the post had been sold by the weak-kneed McDougal, and that the British flag had superseded the American.

Shortly after Hunt's departure in search of a vessel, McKenzie, with twelve men and two canoes, started up the river to inform the upper posts of the war. He had not traveled far when he met McTavish, of the Northwest company, at the head of a strong party on their way to Astoria. With McTavish was John Clarke, who had been in charge of the Astor post on the Spokane River and who had deserted upon being told that the *Isaac Todd* and the *Phoebe*, British ships, were on their way to the Columbia with orders to take Astoria.

The two parties went into camp on the banks of the river. Clarke and McKenzie, unknown to the Northwest men, planned to leave the camp in the night, hasten to Astoria and take measures to prevent the capture of the place by McTavish. Anticipating such a movement the Northwest trader was on the alert and when the Americans slipped away down the river, he also started and both parties arrived in front of the fort October 7th. The British went into camp outside the walls, raised the British flag, and boasted that it soon would be flying over the ramparts of the American post.

This action irritated the young Americans who favored raising the American flag and strongly defending the place, but they were overruled by McDougal who entered into negotiations with McTavish, sold the posts, furs and goods at a price estimated to have been about 40 per cent of value and became an employee of the Northwest company. The sale was consummated October 16, 1813, and Astoria passed under the control of a British corporation.

Thirsting for the glory of capturing the American trading post, Captain Black, commanding the British sloop of war *Raccoon*, arrived at Astoria December 1st. Deeply chagrined at finding the post sold to a British firm, Captain Black swore it was a "damned Yankee trick" concocted with the object of robbing him of the honor of subduing an enemy fort. He took possession of the territory in the name of his Britannic majesty, fired a salute, ran up the British flag and renamed the post Fort George—a name by which it was known for many years.

Ross Cox, one of the American clerks sent to Astoria on the *Beaver*, says, in his account of the surrender of the post, that Comcomly urged his son-in-law, McDougal, to permit him to lead his warriors against the British as they came ashore. McDougal rejected the proposal. The Indians had supposed that the capture of the American post would mean slavery for its defenders. Such an absurdity as freedom for prisoners of war was beyond Indian comprehension, and as the Americans were their friends, Comcomly and his warriors were ready to fight for them. Being refused permission to wipe out the 120 men of the



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Raccoon, Comcomly shook his head solemnly and declared that his daughter had married a squaw.

February 28th Hunt returned on the brig Peddler. When informed of the sale of the post he declared his purpose to recover it, but he gave up the idea and on April 3d sailed away. Clarke, McKenzie, David Stuart and other members of the company who had not joined the Northwesterners, next day set out overland for New York, taking with them the drafts for \$40,000 with which Astoria had been bought.

Under the terms of the treaty of Ghent all posts captured by either Great Britain or the United States were to be returned to the original owners. Astoria, or Fort George, on October 6, 1818, was surrendered to Captain Biddle and J. B. Prevost, American commissioners sent there to receive the property. It was but a nominal surrender—the Northwesterners continuing to occupy it. The Americans, driven from the country through the treachery of McDougal, had disappeared.

Fourteen days after the nominal restoration of Astoria to the American Government, what since has been known as the "joint occupation treaty" was signed in London, Albert Gallatin and Richard Rush representing the United States. This treaty definitely fixed the northern boundary of the Louisiana purchase as the 49th parallel westward from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains and provided for the joint occupancy of the country between the 42d parallel on the south and 54 degrees, 40 minutes, on the north, the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Pacific Ocean on the west.

Some writers pretend to believe that at this time the title of the United States to any of this vast empire was of doubtful character. Gallatin and Rush have been given credit of winning a brilliant diplomatic victory. The American commissioners undoubtedly were entitled to credit, not so much for gaining any American rights in the territory, as for not surrendering rights recognized by Great Britain in the treaty of Ghent under the terms of which Astoria was restored to this Government. Laying aside the American claim to the northern part of the Oregon country, it seems a shameful neglect of American rights to have granted Great Britain joint occupancy privileges to any of the territory lying south of the Columbia River—a territory over which Great Britain herself recognized American sovereignty.

When the treaty of 1818 came before Congress for ratification, Oregon found a friend in Representative John Floyd who declared the United States had earned a good title to the country and objected to the joint occupancy feature. Floyd's failure to convince Congress did not deter him from continuing his efforts. December 19, 1820, he introduced in the house a resolution providing for the appointment of a select committee with power to inquire into conditions and the advisability of taking steps to occupy the country.

Hall J. Kelley, a Boston school teacher, was one of the leaders in the agitation outside of Congress. Kelley began publishing booklets and newspaper articles on the subject in 1815. Later he lectured to audiences over the country and appeared before Congress. Floyd soon was joined by Senators Thomas H. Benton and Lewis Fields Linn, both of Missouri. Oregon became a live issue.

The joint occupation treaty was followed the next year by the purchase of Florida from Spain. In addition to ceding Florida this treaty established the

Northern California boundary on 42 degrees north latitude and relinquished to the United States all Spanish claims to territory north of that line. Oregon's friends promptly took advantage of this feature, and basing their claims on the discoveries of Cabrillo, Ferrelo, Heceta, Bodega and other Spanish navigators, added force to the title of the United States to the entire country north to the Russian possessions. April 17, 1824, a convention was signed in St. Petersburg which provided for the freedom of the Pacific Ocean, the citizens of both the United States and Russia to enjoy equal privileges "either in navigation or fishing, or in the power of resorting to the coasts, upon points which may not already have been occupied, for the purpose of trading with the natives." The United States was prohibited from making any settlements north of 54 degrees, 40 minutes, while a like prohibition was placed on Russia with regard to the country south of that line. The sale of "all spirituous liquors, fire arms, other arms, powder, and munitions of war" of all kinds to the natives was also prohibited.

It is interesting to note that this treaty was "the first fruit" of the Monroe Doctrine. December 2, 1823, President Monroe, in his annual message to Congress, declared "that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." While the world was busy watching the South American colonies of Spain in their successful effort to throw off the control of a foreign power, the Russian emperor quietly issued an ukase imposing rigorous restrictions upon trade with Russian America. Copies of this edict were sent to other governments and the United States objected to the restrictions. Diplomacy undertook negotiations which resulted in the signing of the treaty.

CHAPTER IV

PRINCE RUPERT'S GOLDEN GRANT—COMPETITION BETWEEN GREAT FUR COMPANIES—MACKENZIE PUSHES TO WEST COAST—DR. JOHN MC LOUGHLIN GIVEN IMPORTANT POST—JOHN WARK'S DIARY—EXPLORATORY TRIP COVERS THE SOUND—FORT GEORGE ABANDONED IN FAVOR OF FORT VANCOUVER—LIEUTENANT WILKES WRITES OF "BATCHELORS' HALL"—EXPEDITION TO PUNISH INDIANS FOR MURDER RESULTS IN PARTIAL FIASCO—THE CROP OF 1828—JEDEDIAH SMITH—HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY EMPLOYEES BECOME FARMERS—WILKES DESCRIBES GAY CREW OF FUR-GATHERERS.

Prince Rupert, a cousin of King Charles II of England, in 1670 obtained a grant from the crown giving him and his associates in the Hudson's Bay Company, "the absolute proprietorship, subordinate sovereignty and exclusive traffic of an undefined territory, which, under the name of Rupert's Land, comprised all the regions discovered or to be discovered, within the entrance of Hudson's Strait." By the treaty of Paris, 1763, the French title to Canada passed to Great Britain. Already the Hudson's Bay Company had extended its operations over a great part of the territory north and northwestward from the Great Lakes; but now relieved from the necessity of considering French interests, it rapidly extended its business into the unoccupied sections of Canada.

French traders and missionaries from Montreal, long before the treaty of Paris, had visited the country at the head of the Great Lakes and had established trading posts, sometimes in competition with the strong British rival. Competition finally led to the consolidation of the French posts into the Northwest Fur Company, which was organized in 1783 in Montreal, and pushed its operations out from the Great Lakes northward to Lake Athabaska and westward to the Rocky Mountains.

Alexander Mackenzie, returning from his expedition of 1789, in the course of which he discovered the river since known by his name, planned another trip into Western Canada. Three years elapsed before he started, October 10, 1792, from Lake Athabaska on the journey which was to give the North-West company a firm foothold in the country stretching toward the Pacific. Leaving winter quarters on Peace River, May 9, 1793, Mackenzie passed through the mountains and reached the waters of a large river down which he traveled some distance. Becoming dissatisfied with its southern course, he boldly struck out overland to the westward and reached the coast at a point about opposite Queen Charlotte Island. The river rejected by Mackenzie because of its southern direction, was explored in 1808 by Simon Fraser and has since borne his name. Its existence was denied by Vancouver who seems to have had the failing of being unable to recognize fresh-water streams emptying into salt-water bays.

Constantly pushing westward the traders established their posts; the Sas-

katchewan was entered; the Rocky Mountains were crossed; the headwaters of the Columbia discovered, and David Thompson and McTavish arrived at Astoria.

The Hudson's Bay Company, having an exclusive franchise to the country drained by the large northern bay, resented rivalry in the fur trade. Most of its heavy stockholders were prominent in government councils of England. Trading parties of the companies met in the wilderness. Battles were fought and goods destroyed. But private capital never long has tolerated private warfare. Realizing that sooner or later their halfbreed and Indian servants would become unmanageable, the officers of the two companies in 1821 brought about an amalgamation. The weaker company passed out of existence.

In charge of the Northwest Post at Port William, on Lake Superior, was Dr. John McLoughlin, a man destined to lead Oregon affairs. He was born October 19, 1784, on the south side of the St. Lawrence River about 120 miles below Quebec. His father was a native of Ireland; his mother a Canadian, the daughter of Malcolm Fraser, a Scotchman. McLoughlin, senior, was drowned in the St. Lawrence River and the boy grew to manhood in the family of his maternal grandfather. He and his brother, David, were given medical educations. Upon graduation from a Scotch college John returned to Canada and entered the employ of the Northwest company.

Although opposed to the consolidation of the companies, he was selected to manage the important district west of the Rocky Mountains and shortly thereafter set out for his new post at Fort George. While living at Port William, McLoughlin had married the Indian (or half-breed) wife of Alexander McKay, the Astoria agent who met death in the Tonquin massacre. To this union were born four children, descendants of whom are still living on the Pacific coast.

Doctor McLoughlin was six feet, four inches in stature with a body of good proportions, surmounted by a fine head, covered with long white hair. His appearance was calculated to command respect of both whites and Indians. Among the latter he was known as the "Great White Chief" and as the "White-Headed Eagle." His intellectual equipment was equal to his physical development. He ruled with an autocratic rule yet he tempered justice with kindness.

Doctor McLoughlin was in the prime of life when he took charge of Fort George. Its location he found unsatisfactory and one of his first acts was to survey the Columbia River to the present site of Vancouver. It has been said that as early as 1825 he was informed that under no circumstances could England hold the country south of the Columbia River. That he received this intelligence before leaving Canada and that it, and not the undesirable location of Fort George, influenced him to move to Vancouver, seems reasonable.

Testimony in support of this theory is found in the expedition to the Fraser River in the winter of 1824. Apparently this was a journey of exploration, undertaken with the idea of establishing a post in the north. It was under command of James McMillan with Michael Laframbois as interpreter, and Thomas McKay, F. N. Annamour and John Wark as clerks. The latter's journal of the trip is especially interesting to Western Washington readers as it gives much information about the country and the natives, many of whom never had seen a white man.

The party, in addition to the officers, consisted of thirty-five Canadian and Hawaiian servants and one American. Leaving Fort George on the morning

of Thursday, November 18th, the men crossed the Columbia, made the portage between Chinook and Willapa Harbor, crossed the bay to Toke Point where another portage was made to Grays Harbor, then called "Chihailis Bay." Thus one week was consumed and at 1 o'clock November 25th, they "embarked and proceeded up the Chihailis Bay," entered the mouth of the Chehalis River and traveled eighteen miles when they camped.

"Passed four villages of the Chihailis nation, two houses in the first, five in the second, two in the third and three in the fourth," says Wark's diary. "These peoples' houses are constructed of planks set on end and neatly fastened at the top, those in the ends lengthening towards the middle to form the proper pitch, the roofs are cased in with plank, the seams between which are filled with moss, a space is left open all the way along the ridge which answers the double purpose of letting out the smoke and admitting the light. About their habitations there is a complete bank of filth and nastiness. At this wet season it is a complete mess mixed with the offal of fish and dirt of every kind renders it surprising that human beings can reside among it." He estimated the number of Indians at eighty-four.

Next day they proceeded about twenty miles up the river, passing ten houses about which "the filth exceeds that we saw yesterday." Some of the natives were naked. Black River was reached the next day and about ten miles up that stream the party encountered the first log drift found on the journey. "Passed an Indian house belonging to the Halloweena nation, I counted twelve persons at it, probably some more in the house."

Sunday, December 5th. "At an early hour part of the men were sent off for the meat that was killed yesterday, and the rest continued their labor at the boats which are yet at a considerable distance from the end of the portage, though the people wrought at the road and carrying them all day. A good allowance of the fresh meat was served out to all hands which is a very acceptable change to them after the peas on which they have been living chiefly for some time."

This camp was on a small bay—probably Budd Inlet—and the men were making the portage between it and the head of Black River. Continuing the journey the party on the seventh arrived at a village of the Nisqually nation, finding the people living in miserable habitations constructed of poles covered with mats. "The Nisqually Indians speak a language different from any we have seen yet." The camp of the seventh was made on Vashon Island and the next day's journey brought the travelers to "Soqiamis Bay"—Port Madison. On the ninth they passed the "Sinnahamis Bay which receives a river of the same name on the east side," and camped on Camano Island near a village of the "Skaadchet" tribe.

Friday, December 10th. "The Skaadchet are fine looking Indians. They are not so flat headed as the Chenooks. They go quite naked except a blanket about their shoulders, many use in lieu of blankets little cloaks made of feathers or hair." All of these Indians fled to the woods upon the approach of the party.

Passing through the slough between the LaConnor flats and Fidalgo Islands they camped on either Vendoli or Lummi Island, sailed along the east side of the Gulf of Georgia Saturday, the eleventh, and camped near Semiahmoo. They

entered the Nikomeckl by way of Mud Bay, ascended that stream to Langley Prairie and made the portage to the Coweechin—Fraser. Some days were spent in this river and December 20th they rounded Point Roberts and crossed the Gulf of Georgia on their way back to the Columbia. Point Roberts is described as being to a "considerable extent entirely covered with an old Indian village." In early days it was a favorite fishing point with the Indians, and pioneers say that totem poles were numerous around these camps.

Friday, December 24th, the travelers arrived at "Chilacoom," now Steilacoom, and divided into two parties. One of these retraced the outbound route while the other "proceeded across land to the Cowlitch River and thence to the fort by water." The first part of this journey was made on horses hired from the Indians and the trail through the present sites of Centralia and Chehalis to the river near Toledo. They arrived at the post December 30th.

Importance attaches to the arrival of the company ship William and Ann, early in the year 1825. In addition to the supply of goods and stores for the post it carried, as a passenger, a man whose name ever since has been identified with one of Western Washington's leading industries. After being welcomed to the post he went to Vancouver where for some months he lived in a tent and continued the work for which the London Horticultural Society had sent him to this coast. To the Indians he was known as the "grass man" and Doctor McLoughlin told them he had great power over the trees, grass and flowers, all of which he knew by name. This visitor, the first of note to become a guest of the Columbia River post, was David Douglas, in whose honor the Douglas fir was named.

Having found a satisfactory post site at Vancouver—so named by Doctor McLoughlin because of its being "Vancouver's furthestest point up the river"—buildings soon were being erected and by the close of the year 1826 most of the establishment at Fort George had been transferred to the new station. In addition to the commercial activities, large farms were laid out and agriculture became one of the post's main stays. Cattle and sheep were brought from California. Fine stock was imported from England and within five years Vancouver had developed from an outpost on the edge of the western forest into a thoroughly organized commercial and agricultural community supplying the needs of a large number of employees and annually exporting products worth many thousands of dollars.

In 1830 the construction of a new fort was begun. The site selected was about a mile west of the old and the post erected there covered a ground space about 750 feet long by 450 wide. Heavy timbers twenty feet high surrounded the buildings which consisted of dwellings, retail store, warehouses, shops, the famous hall and the brick and stone powder magazine. Bastions on the outer walls were armed with cannon and the place was fortified to resist any attack which the Indians might make.

Famous over two continents became Vancouver's batchelors' hall. For many years it was the center of old Oregon's social and political life. Agents of both the American and British governments, scientists, traders, travelers and the chance wanderer lost in the wilds of Oregon ate at its long dining tables, smoked, talked and slept within its walls. Its life was a mingling of British aristocracy and

the democracy of the American frontier. Lieut. Charles Wilkes has left the following description of the formality observed at the dining table:

“Doctor McLoughlin 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 relative rank, privilege and station assigned him, and the military etiquet prevails. The meal lasts no longer than is necessary to satisfy hunger.” Separate tables were provided for different classes of diners. There was a table for the officers, one for the officers' wives—a rule of the company prohibiting officers and their wives dining at the same table—one for the Protestant missionaries and one for the Catholic priests.

Because of Lieutenant Wilkes' rank, special formality must have been observed in his honor. Other visitors have left descriptions which show more “freedom from the rule of caste,” and a more democratic spirit manifest at meal times. Guests were seated according to rank. The meal finished, visitors and regular boarders, retired to a general assembly room where they smoked or conversed or otherwise enjoyed themselves.

Across the sandy wastes, over the rugged mountains and down the rivers of Oregon came all types of men. Released from the restraining influences of settled communities some of these allowed the baser elements of their natures to obtain supremacy over their moral characters and became more troublesome than wild Indians. They recognized no law save the law of might; but be it said to the credit of Doctor McLoughlin, he ruled Oregon for twenty years in a manner calculated to reduce crime to the minimum. Before his arrival whites and Indians had clashed. Blood had been shed and traveling through the country was fraught with dangers. Armed guards accompanied most of the expeditions into the interior and only the superiority of arms protected such from annihilation by the natives.

While returning to Vancouver from Fort Langley, in January, 1828, Alexander McKenzie and four men were murdered by a party of Clallam Indians. Some years ago Eva Emery Dye, the Oregon historian, discovered hidden away in Victoria, the journal of Frank Ermatinger, clerk of the Hudson's Bay Company, and a member of the expedition sent to punish the Indians. It throws light on the manner in which the company met and punished violations of its rules. It also gives a history of this, the first of old Oregon's Indian wars. Ermatinger's journal begins:

“Friday, June 13th, 1828. Since the unfortunate murder of Mr. Alex McKenzie and the four men under his charge, by the tribe called the Clallams, in Puget Sound, on their way back with an express from Port Langley, in January last, it appears to have been a decided impression of all that an expedition to their quarter would be necessary, if not as a punishment to the tribe in question, at least as an example, in order, if possible, to deter others from similar attempts in future.”

Calling his men together Doctor McLoughlin told them that the honor of the white people was at stake and if they did not succeed in punishing the Clallam murderers every white man's life would be in danger. The “Vancouver Local Militia” began drilling. Guns were cleaned and marksmanship contests became the feature of the day's work. Alexander R. McLeod was given command and

late in the afternoon of June 17th the company set out down the river in five boats. Up the Cowlitz the journey was continued to the portage, the Cadboro in the meantime having been dispatched around to the Sound. The overland party set sail on the Sound on the twenty-seventh and just before daylight on the morning of July 1st attacked an Indian village, killing several natives. Ermatinger says that McLeod was a weak commander, uncertain, and unwilling to take other members of the party into his confidence. That any of the Indians killed in this encounter were guilty of the crime, was not known; in fact the attacking party did not even know whether or not they were Clallams.

A number of the Indians fled into the woods, leaving a large canoe which the assailants captured and in which they sailed for "Cape Townshend" where they met the Cadboro. Captain Simpson, the commander of the vessel, had captured several Indians, and was holding them as prisoners. The two parties sailed to New Dungeness and cast anchor within sight of a large village of Clallams. Some of the men, sent ashore to cook food for the troops, drew the attention of the Indians who began singing, dancing and yelling in such a threatening manner that Captain Simpson prepared to attack with the guns of his vessel. McLeod objected, an altercation arose and Simpson retired to his cabin leaving McLeod to meet the situation as he pleased.

Several canoes, loaded with Indians, came out to the Cadboro, circled the vessel and started for the shore. McLeod called to them and when they ignored him he ordered some of the men to fire. One Indian was killed and the others retreated. Simpson hastened on deck and demanded to know who had ordered the firing. McLeod assumed the responsibility and while the two commanders were arguing the matter the Indians gathered up their belongings and escaped into the woods. Next day the village was destroyed by the troops who then started for Vancouver. Ermatinger was of the opinion the expedition had failed to avenge the murder of McKenzie and his men.

Whether or not the expedition succeeded directly it taught the Clallams a lesson they never forgot. While the expedition was returning to Vancouver other trouble was hatching in Southern Oregon. One night, in August, Willamette Indians brought to the fort a man who said he believed he was the sole survivor of the Jedediah Smith party of eighteen men, all of whom he thought had been murdered while camped on either the Rogue or Umpquah rivers. Earlier in the season, the man said, Smith and his party had left San Francisco for Salt Lake, but, failing to find a pass through the mountains, had traveled north and entered Oregon. They experienced no trouble with the Indians until reaching the river, where an axe was stolen. Smith held the chief of the tribe prisoner until the axe was returned, after which he went down the river in a canoe accompanied by two men. Upon leaving Smith gave orders that no Indians were to be admitted to the camp. Disobeying this order the men admitted Indian women. At a given signal the Indian men attacked and killed all except one.

Doctor McLoughlin ordered the outfitting of forty men to capture the murderers. Just as these men were leaving Vancouver, Smith and the two men who had accompanied him down the river arrived. Under sealed orders, made necessary lest the Indian wives of some of the white men divulge the object of the expedition, the party set out for the Umpquah. There the commander sent word that he was ready to trade, and for the Indians to bring in their furs.

Piles of peltries soon covered the camp ground. Laying aside all those bearing the Smith stamp, the agent said he would attend to them after he had traded for the unstamped skins. Trading continued until noon but the stamped furs remained. The trader then told the Indians that the Hudson's Bay Company did not buy stolen property, but that it would return the stamped skins to the man from whom the Indians had stolen them. The Indians protested, declaring they had obtained the furs from the murderers of the Americans. The trader told them to go to the thieves for their pay. As a means of making the Indians punish their own criminals this plan was highly successful—the murderers received just punishment at the hands of their own tribesmen.

Smith spent the winter at Vancouver. March 12, 1829, he left with the annual spring express for the eastern states where he wrote a letter to the war department in which he told of the kindness shown by Doctor McLoughlin who had paid him \$20,000 for his furs. In it he expressed his obligation to the doctor for the assistance rendered and gave some interesting facts regarding Vancouver.

The letter says that "the crop of 1828 was 700 bushels of wheat, the grain full and plump and making good flour; fourteen acres of corn, the same number of acres of peas, eight acres of oats, four or five acres of barley, and a fine garden. Some apple trees and grape vines. The ensuing spring 80 bushels of seed wheat were sown and they had about 200 head of cattle, 52 horses and breeding mares, 300 head of hogs, 14 goats, the usual domestic fowls. They have mechanics, viz.: coopers, blacksmiths, gunsmiths, carpenters, tinner and baker, a good saw mill on the bank of the river five miles above, a grist mill worked by hand, but intended to work by water." Wagons, he thought, could be transported from the Missouri River to Vancouver by way of the Platte and Snake River valleys. The writer stated the Hudson's Bay Company was obtaining great influence over the Indians of the Oregon country.

Official Washington, after reading this letter, began to wonder if it had not been guilty of sleeping on its rights in the Oregon matter. Gallatin, on August 6, 1827, concluded the second of the joint occupancy treaties. It provided that either Great Britain or the United States might, upon one year's notice terminate that feature, but did not provide for future action. It was regarded as a great victory; but with Kelley hammering away from Boston, and Smith returning with the news that the Hudson's Bay Company was obtaining great influence over the Indians, Congress began to think it possibly had made a mistake. In the Senate the letter was made the subject of considerable discussion—but no action. Smith's letter was a big factor in influencing Nathaniel J. Wyeth in his attempt to establish an American trading post on the Columbia.

Jedediah Smith was a remarkable man. In 1826 he became a partner of William L. Sublette and David E. Jackson and in that year led the first party that ever crossed the country between the Rocky Mountains and California. In repeating the trip the next year Mojave Indians killed most of his men. Recruiting his force he started on the return trip from San Francisco, lost his trail and was the first white man to cross overland from California to the Columbia. Smith was a Methodist, and it is said that he never sat down to a meal, whether that meal be served in civilized homes in the settlements or alone among the

trees of the forest or the sands of the desert, without first returning thanks for the food spread before him.

The same year that Smith arrived at Vancouver Bryant & Sturges, of Boston, outfitted the ship *Owyhee* and sent her around the horn to the Columbia on a trading expedition. The ship arrived at the mouth of the river in April, 1829, sailed up to Deer Island where for two summers she lay trading with the Indians. Captain Dominis, commander of the *Owyhee*, put up fifty hogsheads of salt salmon which sold in Boston for 10 cents a pound. This was the first salmon cargo ever sent from the Columbia River to the Boston market. Dominis retired from the sea some years later, making his home in the Hawaiian Islands where his son grew to manhood and married a daughter of one of the native chieftains. Mrs. Dominis, junior, was later known to the world as Queen Liliuokalani, the last sovereign to occupy the throne of the island kingdom.

In addition to its having carried the first cargo of salmon to the eastern markets, the voyage of the *Owyhee* is notable because of its having brought to Oregon the first peach trees planted there. These were small trees picked up at the Chilian penal colony on the Island of Juan Fernandez by Francis A. Lamont, at that time a ship's apprentice, but later a captain sailing out of the Columbia River and an honored citizen of St. Helens, Ore. Lamont gave the two peach trees to Doctor McLoughlin who planted them at Vancouver. Here they grew for many years and produced the first peaches ever grown in the North Pacific states.

Captain Dominis gave Doctor McLoughlin a copy of Hall J. Kelley's "General Circular," in which that enthusiastic champion of Oregon set forth a plan for colonizing the country with Americans. By some writers this is considered to have been the thing that sent Doctor McLoughlin up the Willamette to the falls where he established a claim to one mile square of land.

It was about this time that Etienne Lucier, a Willamette trapper, asked the doctor for his opinion of the future of Oregon as a farming country and the doctor replied that any country in which wheat would grow and mature, was sure, in time, to become a settled agricultural community. Next year Lucier began farming on French Prairie. Other trappers and servants desiring to settle down on a Willamette Valley farm, Doctor McLoughlin furnished them with seed and supplies and in order to prevent the violation of the company rule requiring the discharge of employees at the place from which they had joined the service carried them on the books as employees on detached service.

Many of the Canadians objected to the Willamette Valley because of its being United States territory and wanted to settle on the north side of the river. The company at that time was trapping on the south side of the river almost to the point of annihilating the fur bearing animals, while at the same time protecting the north side. The doctor replied that the American Government knew but two kinds of men—rogues and honest men, that it "punished the first and protected the last, and it depended upon the men themselves to which class they belonged." He required that each man have fifty pounds sterling to his credit before becoming a farmer. Having this amount of money gave him responsibility and a credit at the store. Two cows were lent to each settler, the object of lending and not selling being to make it possible for all to have milk. Had the cows been sold, only the more prosperous would have been



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IN 1855
It is still standing



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able to supply their families with dairy products. The doctor also desired to increase the number of cattle in the country and he prohibited killing until 1838. The cattle ran wild on the plains and sometimes became dangerous. Settlers often shot the animals in "self-defense," preserving the meat for their larders, and considerable trouble arose from it.

Lieut. Charles Wilkes, who visited Fort Vancouver in 1841 wrote an interesting description of the fort and of the gay crew of fur gatherers. His account says, in part: "At Vancouver I was again kindly made welcome by Doctor McLoughlin, Mr. Douglas, and the officers of the establishment. During my absence, Peter Ogden, chief factor of the northern district, had arrived with his brigade. The fort had, in consequence, a very different appearance from the one it bore when I left. I was exceedingly amused with the voyageurs of the brigade, who were to be seen lounging about in groups, decked in gay feathers, ribands, etc., full of conceit, and the flaunting air of those who consider themselves the beau-ideal of grace and beauty; full of frolic and fun, and seeming to have nothing to do but to attend to the decorations of their persons and seek for pleasure, looking down with contempt upon those who are employed about the fort, whose sombre cast of countenance and business employments form a strong contrast to these jovial fellows.

"Mr. Ogden has been thirty-two (twenty-three) years in this country, and consequently possesses much information respecting it, having traveled nearly all over it. He resides at Fort St. James on Stuart's Lake and has six posts under his care.

"The northern section of the country he represents as not susceptible of cultivation, on account of the proximity of the snowy mountains, which cause sudden changes, even in the heat of summer, that would destroy the crops.

"The posts are amply supplied with salmon from the neighboring waters, that empty themselves into the Sound on the coast. These fish are dried, and form the greatest part of the food of those employed by the company during the whole year. Their small stores of flour, etc., are all carried from Colville and Vancouver. Furs are very plenty in the northern region and are purchased at low prices from the Indians; his return, this year, was valued at \$100,000; and this, he informed me, was much less than the usual amount. * * *

"The day before I left the fort, Mr. Ogden informed me that he had made arrangements to take me as far as the Cowlitz farm in his boat, on my way to Nisqually, and desired that I would allow Mr. Drayton to accompany him up the river as far as Walla Walla. To both of these arrangements I readily assented.

"About 10 o'clock, we were all summoned to the great dining hall by Mr. McLoughlin to take the parting cup customary in this country. When all were assembled, wine was poured out, and we drank to each other's welfare, prosperity, etc. This was truly a cup of good fellowship and kind feeling. This hanging to old Scotch custom in the way it was done here was pleasant, and carries with it pleasing recollections, especially when there is that warmth of feeling with it, that there was on this occasion. After this was over, we formed quite a cavalcade to the riverside, which was now swollen to the top of its banks, and rushing by with irresistible force.

"On reaching the river, we found one of Mr. Ogden's boats manned by

fourteen voyagers all gaily dressed in their ribands and plumes, the former tied in large bunches of divers colors, with numerous ends floating in the breeze. The boat was somewhat of the model of our whaleboats, only much larger, and of the kind built expressly to accommodate the trade; they are clinker-built, and all the timbers are flat. These boats are so light that they are easily carried across the portages. They use the gum of the pine to cover them instead of pitch.

"After having a hearty shake of the hand, Captain Barney, Mr. Ogden and myself embarked. The signal being given, we shoved off, and the voyageurs at once struck up one of their boat songs. After paddling up the stream for some distance, we made a graceful sweep to reach the center, and passed by the spectators with great animation. The boat and voyageurs seemed a fit object to grace the wide flowing river. On we merrily went, while each voyageur in succession took up the song, and all joined in the chorus. In $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours we reached the mouth of the Cowlitz, a distance of thirty-five miles. * * *

"On the second day, our voyageurs doffed their finery, and their hats were carefully covered with oil skins. They thus appeared more prepared for hard work. * * *

"On the nineteenth, we reached our destination. On our approach, although there were no spectators, except a few Indians, to be expected, the voyageurs again mounted their finery, and gaily chanted their boat song.

"Mr. Ogden had been one of the first who traveled over this part of the country, and he informed me that he had seen the whole country inundated by the rise of the river. This, however, can but rarely occur, and could only be the result of a sudden melting of the snows when accompanied by violent rain-storms. * * *"

CHAPTER V

SETTLEMENT OF OREGON—NATHANIEL JARVIS WYETH'S AMBITIOUS PLANS—IS JOINED BY NOTABLE BAND OF MISSIONARIES—STORY OF INDIANS TRAVELLING 2,000 MILES THROUGH ROADLESS WILDERNESS IN SEARCH OF THE "BOOK OF HEAVEN"—MISSIONARIES VOLUNTEER TO GO TO THE FRONT FOLLOWED—WYETH'S ATTEMPT TO COMPETE WITH HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—HALL J. KELLEY REFUSED HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ENTERTAINMENT—WORTH OF KELLEY'S GREAT SERVICES.

After more than ten years of writing and speaking on the subject of the settlement of Oregon by Americans, the indefatigable Hall J. Kelley, in 1829, aroused a sufficient number of his Boston friends to organize the "American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of Oregon Territory." The next year he published his "Geographical Sketch of Oregon," and in 1832 he incorporated his society and obtained the endorsement of the Massachusetts Legislature.

Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth, weary of waiting for the society to act, organized an expedition on his own account, and March 1, 1832, he and twenty others made camp on an island in Boston Harbor, the object being "to inure them to field life." Wagons with boat-like bodies were built and shipped to Baltimore. From there the party traveled some sixty miles on the "new railroad" and continued to Pittsburgh. April 18 they arrived at St. Louis, having made the journey from Pittsburgh by river steamer. Here they met Sublette and other trappers who told them that their curious boat wagons were not desirable. The wagons were abandoned. The party joined one of the Sublette trains for the West.

On the Platte River some of the men fell ill, and others deserted. After experiencing the difficult hardships incident to a trip across the continent at that time, eleven of the men reached Vancouver October 29. Before leaving Boston Wyeth had dispatched the Sultana with a cargo of goods to the Columbia River, but the vessel never reached port.

After waiting all winter for his ship, Wyeth set out in the spring on the long trip home by way of the Missouri River. His men remained at Vancouver and Doctor McLoughlin sent them to the Willamette Valley farming settlement. Among the men of Wyeth's expedition was John Ball—the Northwest's first school teacher. The pupils of his school were the children belonging to the Vancouver post. His school opened January 1, 1833.

In Boston Wyeth soon was organizing another expedition. Having gone over the ground, he now added experience to enthusiasm, and his ability as a leader soon was seen in the formation of the Columbia River Fishing and Trading Company. The *May Dacre*, afterwards famous in the annals of Columbia River shipping, was loaded with goods and sailed on the long trip to the Northwest coast.

Early in 1834 Wyeth appeared at St. Louis and began gathering men for a second overland expedition. Experienced plainsmen were employed and the size of the party was increased by the addition of Thomas Nuttall and John K. Townsend, noted naturalists, and the Methodist missionaries then on their way to the Columbia River. In the missionary party were Rev. Jason Lee and his nephew, Rev. Daniel Lee, natives of Canada, Cyrus Shepard, of Lynn, Mass., and P. L. Edwards and C. M. Walker, of Richmond, Mo.

In Lee and Frost's "Ten Years in Oregon," published in 1844, the authors give the following account of the incidents leading up to the sending of Methodist missionaries to Oregon:

"An event took place in the year 1832 which directed the attention of the American churches to Oregon, as a vast field of benevolent enterprise, ripe for the introduction of the Gospel among the benighted inhabitants. Four Indians, from beyond the Rocky Mountains, belonging to one of the tribes (for there are several) who flatten their heads, probably the 'Nez Perce' tribe, accompanied some of the white trappers from the buffalo country down to the City of St. Louis. The resident United States' Indian agent, General Clark, was known to them as the first great chief of the white men who visited their nation. He had been seen by their fathers, who had often told them of his greatness, and it was natural they should desire to see him. They also expected to return to their own land, and make known their interview, as among the most interesting occurrences of the toilsome journey.

"Having great confidence in him, they made inquiries about the book of which they had been informed by the hunters, which the Great Spirit had given the white men to teach them His will. The answers they received were in accordance with what had been told them. The writer (Rev. D. Lee) saw General Clarke in 1834, two years after their visit, and learned from him these particulars in relation to it. Two of them became sick, and died in St. Louis, and the other two started to return to their own land. It has been reported that one of them died on the way, and the other reached his tribe. As to the truth of this report, some have doubts. That both perished in the wilderness, the victims of sickness, famine, or war, appears more probable.

"A high-wrought account of the visit of these Indians to St. Louis, by some writer in the vicinity, was published in the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, of New York City, in March, 1833. This is the most important periodical in the Methodist Episcopal Church. The sum was this: that these 'red men' were from the Flathead tribe, in the interior of Oregon, beyond the Rocky Mountains, from whom they had been sent by a council of their chiefs, as delegates to St. Louis, to inquire concerning the Word of the Great Spirit; that in the prosecution of their great object they had traveled 2,000 miles, through rugged mountains and barren plains and dangerous enemies, enduring cold and heat, thirst and hunger, and many hardships, and had reached their destination in safety; and that having made known the object of their visit to General Clark, and gained the information they sought, two of them were snatched away by death, not being permitted to carry back the 'glad tidings' to their anxious country-men.

"These incorrect statements receiving the fullest confidence, many believed that the day had come, and that the call was imperative, to send the Gospel to Oregon. First among these was that excellent man of God, 'whose praise is in

all the churches,' Wilbur Fisk, D. D., at that time president of the Wesleyan University, Conn. Alive to everything favorable to the advancement of the kingdom of Christ, and seeing before the church 'an open door' to the 'red man' of the 'far West,' the 'fields there white to harvest,' he could not be silent. The Macedonian cry, as it seemed, reached him as a divine mandate. Immediately his voice was heard rousing the churches; especially did he urge on the Methodist Episcopal Church an immediate response. His appeal was heard; and the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church determined to attempt the establishment of a mission among the Flathead tribe of Indians, in Oregon; that tribe, for reasons before stated, appearing to demand their first missionary efforts in the country."

The call for volunteers was responded to by Rev. Jason Lee and his nephew, Rev. Daniel Lee, who joined the Wyeth Expedition and on April 28, 1834, left the camp at Independence, Mo., "and began our march toward the Rocky Mountains. The whole party numbered between fifty and sixty men, all mounted on horses or mules, and armed with rifles. Most of them had each a powder-horn or a flask, a large leathern pouch for bullets hung at his side, and buckled close to his body with a leathern belt, in which hung a scabbard of the same material, bearing a 'scalping knife' that savage weapon whose very name is a terror. The mules and horses altogether were over one hundred and fifty. Nearly one-third were for the men, and about two-thirds carried packs, each man leading two of them. Mr. J. Lee, besides the five horses to ride, one for each person with him, and four to pack, took some cows, and two of them made the journey to Oregon. Their milk was quite a luxury on the way."

It would be interesting to know the history of those two cows, the pioneers of that numerous train of cattle that soon was to follow into the land of promise.

But to return to the "Macedonian Cry" of the Flat-Heads: The "Cry" reached the ears of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, supported by the Congregational, Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed churches. Dr. Marcus Whitman and Rev. Samuel Parker, in 1835, were sent out to investigate. At the Rocky Mountain rendezvous of the fur traders, Whitman turned back to induce other missionaries to enter the work. The following spring, Doctor Whitman and wife, Rev. H. H. Spaulding and wife and W. H. Gray, lay member, set out for Oregon overland, arriving at Vancouver in the fall. Spaulding has written two accounts of the "Macedonian Cry." Neither of these appeared in print until years after the incident is supposed to have taken place, the last account being published in 1870 at which time the missionary contradicts his earlier story.

Spaulding was a man of erratic temper. Doctor and Mrs. Whitman had difficulty in getting along with him. He was a hard worker, intensely hated all things British or Catholic, and his writings show him to have been incapable of making accurate statements when his deep prejudices were stirred. In his earlier story of the visit of the Indians, Spaulding says they first learned of the white man's religion from the "gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company" who told them that it was a much better religion than that of the Indians and without it they all would be lost. In the later account the Indians heard of the religion from other Indians. George Catlin, an artist who painted the portraits of the two Nez Percés as they were returning from St. Louis, also some of the

Catholic priests, wrote stories of the Indians' trip to the East. In none of these is given the thrilling account which features that of Spaulding, and Professor Marshall in his "Acquisition of Oregon," gives it as his opinion that the Spaulding story, like Topsy, "just grew." General Clark was a Mason, therefore not a Romanist, as charged by Spaulding, who says he (Clark) induced the Indians to attend the Catholic Church. When ready to leave St. Louis, one of the Indians, according to Spaulding, reproached General Clark for taking them to the Catholic Church and in the famous "lament" is made to say:

"The Macedonian Nez Perces.—About the council fire, in solemn conclave (it was the year 1832), the Flat-Heads and Nez Perces had determined to send four of their number to the 'rising sun' for 'that Book of Heaven.' They had got word of the Bible and a Saviour in some way from the Iroquois. (Hudson Bay Company gentlemen, in the earlier story). These four dusky wise men, one of them a chief, who had thus dimly 'seen His star in the East,' made their way to St. Louis. * * * They fell into the hands of General Clark. * * * He was a Romanist, and took them to his church, and, to entertain them, to the theatre. How utterly he failed to meet their wants is revealed in the sad words with which they departed: 'I came to you with one eye partly opened; I go back with both eyes closed and both arms broken. My people sent me to obtain that Book of Heaven. You took me where your women dance as we do not allow ours to dance; and the Book was not there. You took me where I saw men worship God with candles; and the Book was not there. I am now to return without it, and my people will die in darkness.'"

The earlier Spaulding account closes as follows:

"You have taken me to your big house where multitudes of your children assemble and where your young women dance as we do not allow our women to dance, and you have taken me to many other big houses where the people bow down to each other and light torches to worship pictures. The Book of God was not there. And I am to return to my people to die in darkness."

According to the Spaulding story this speech was repeated to him by the Indian who delivered it to General Clark, some ten or more years afterward. Spaulding certainly possessed a remarkable memory.

After crossing the Kansas River Wyeth led his men to the Platte. Their average rate of travel was about twenty miles a day which brought them to Independence Rock June 8. Snake River was reached about the middle of July and here the leader decided to establish a trading post under the name Fort Hall. A number of his men were detailed to construct buildings and some were sent out to gather supplies of meat and fish.

A few days after arrival at Fort Hall, Thomas McKay and a party of Hudson's Bay men joined the Wyeth party. This gave Jason Lee an opportunity to preach his first sermon west of the Rocky Mountains. Leaving Wyeth and his men, the missionaries joined McKay's party and August 1st set out for the Columbia River. Some days later McKay and some of his men turned aside for a trapping trip. Captain Stuart, an English army officer, took command, crossed the Blue Mountains and arrived at Fort Walla Walla September 1st. Here the missionaries were joined by Wyeth and the two naturalists and proceeded to Vancouver, arriving there September 15th.

Before starting on this second expedition Wyeth wrote to his brother that the "formation of a trading company on a similar plan to the Hudson's Bay and North-West companies is the ultimate object of my going to that country." The *May Dacre*, Captain Lambert, arrived at the mouth of the Willamette about the time that Wyeth reached Vancouver. A site on the low-lying and swampy Wapato Island (*Sauve*) was selected, the *May Dacre* anchored in the stream and the men began the building of Fort William.

It was a fair and honorable competition which Wyeth brought to the Hudson's Bay Company. A strong friendship developed between Doctor McLoughlin and his American competitor. Years afterward when Delegate Thurston was employing every artifice to prevent McLoughlin from acquiring title to his Oregon City land claim, Wyeth, in a letter to a friend in Congress, spoke very kindly of the treatment given to him by McLoughlin and offered his full support to his old friend.

Not alone in the choice of a poor location for his establishment was Wyeth unfortunate in his trading enterprise. His goods were not up to the high standard maintained by the Hudson's Bay Company store which also sold for less and paid trappers more for their furs. Realizing that he was beaten, Wyeth, after about one year's effort, sold out to the Hudson's Bay Company and returned to Boston. Another American effort had failed.

Supplied with horses, men and canoes by Doctor McLoughlin, the missionaries moved their goods from the *May Dacre* to their mission about ten miles northeast of the present City of Salem and early in October began laying the foundation of what was destined to become the center of Oregon's educational and religious life for a decade. Already the retired employes of the company had established a number of good farms and the mission was not without neighbors and deeply interested supporters.

The rainy season was setting in, and the oxen, lent by Doctor McLoughlin, had to be broken before the logs could be hauled. Daniel Lee, in telling the story of those first few weeks, says "men never worked harder and performed less. Our house advanced but slowly, and we were caught in one violent storm of wind and rain, which was near drenching all we had, the tent which we occupied being but a poor protection. When it cleared away, the wet articles were taken out and carefully dried.

"Before the next storm came on we had a roof on a part of our house, and a piece of floor laid, on which we could lie, thankfully secure from the pelting storm without. A few weeks, all the time hard at it, and the roof was completed; a good chimney made of sticks and clay and a fire-place in one end; floors laid of plank split from fir, and hewn on the upper side; doors procured in the same way, and hung on wooden hinges. Then a table, then stools, and finally the luxury of chairs added to our self-made comforts.

"Our good mansion was built of logs, twenty by thirty feet, divided into two compartments by a partition across the middle, and lighted by four small windows, the sashes partly made by Mr. Jason Lee with his jack-knife.

"As to a living, we had brought a supply of flour from Vancouver, and made unleavened cakes, baked before the fire, and from the settlers we bought some peas, which, with the pork we had sent along in our outfit from Boston, made a good soup, to which we sometimes added a small quantity of barley.

"The cows also furnished a little milk, and from the Indians we sometimes obtained a bit of venison. Before our house was done, a party, headed by Mr. Ewing Young, an American from one of the western United States, arrived in the Walamet from California."

With Young, and responsible for his coming, was Hall J. Kelley. After devoting seventeen years to the work of arousing Americans to the importance of settling Oregon, Kelley, in the fall of 1832, set out with an expedition for the Northwest coast. Disregarding the experience of others Kelley chose to travel down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans, through Texas and Mexico, and up the coast of California.

Scarcely had he started than his lieutenants proved false. In New Orleans law suits were started, his goods were stolen and the thieves escaped to Texas. At Vera Cruz, Mexican customs officials robbed him. In the mountains of Mexico he befriended men who stole his supplies and left him to starve in the desert. By way of San Blas and La Paz he reached San Diego April 14, 1833, and there had the good fortune to meet Ewing Young to whom he told his story and applied for aid in reaching Oregon.

Young was a trapper and trader, a native of Tennessee. The story of Kelley and his persecutions—persecutions which he declared had been suffered because of his long agitation for the settlement of Oregon by Americans and not by British Hudson's Bay men—appealed to the American trader. Smarting from the harsh treatment he had just received from the Mexican governor of California—he had been robbed of \$20,000 worth of furs—Young was in the right temper to assist any plan having for its object the "twisting of the tail of the British lion." With seventeen men and 154 horses they set out for Oregon.

Before crossing the line into Oregon, one or more of the men committed the unpardonable crime of stealing one or more Mexican horses. News of this was carried to Governor Figueroa who sent word to Doctor McLoughlin that the Americans were horse thieves and not worthy of consideration. The Doctor had read Kelley's circulars and speeches, knew that he was a hater of the British government and especially of that branch of the government represented on the Pacific coast by the Hudson's Bay Company, and if he did not feel resentment towards this American agitator who seemed determined to destroy the trapping in the Northwest by bringing in a lot of American farmers, it would be to attribute to him qualities of magnanimity not usually found in human beings.

When the Americans arrived at Vancouver Kelley was ill. He was given a house, a nurse and medical attention. As soon as he was able to take the field he began exploring and mapping the country. These maps later on were of great value to the Government. They show Kelley to have been a close observer. Young was refused admission by Doctor McLoughlin and retired to the Willamette Valley where he nursed his troubles and fed his hate of things British.

Francis Fuller Victor has written an interesting account of Young's and Kelley's winter visit and gives it as her opinion that "McLoughlin was prepared to dislike Kelley even without Governor Figueroa's condemnation, on account of his published denunciation of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was under no obligation to admit him to the society of the fort, although he would not have him suffer sickness or hunger under the shadow of its walls. The fact that he

was an American while giving him a patriotic excuse, if not motive, for ignoring Kelley's claims on his compassion, also, on the other hand, furnished a politic motive for indulging his natural humanity. For at this time there were several Americans being entertained at Vancouver—Nathaniel J. Wyeth, a trader from Boston, the missionary party of four, and two scientists, J. K. Townsend, naturalist, and Thomas Nuttall, botanist, who had traveled under the protection of Wyeth's company as far as the hunting grounds of the Hudson's Bay Company, which had then taken them in charge. The treaty-rights of Wyeth were not disputed, nor the scientific observations of the scholars opposed. It was Kelley, as colonist and defamer of the company, who was unwelcome, even after it was evident that there was no stain on his character.

"This was perfectly understood by Kelley, and it was not McLoughlin's disapproval of him which wounded his sensitive pride. It was the conduct of his own countrymen,—of Wyeth whose name was on his colonization company's roll; of the Harvard men, his neighbors, who had for years been familiar with his writings, and of the missionary Lees, who had been inspired, so he contended by his labors to undertake theirs of Christianizing the Indians of Oregon. I think, myself, that the behavior of these men was cowardly, and I set the conduct of Young high above theirs. * * * That Kelley did not die under this accumulation of condemnation and disappointment shows him to have been of a tough and yielding rather than a highly tempered metal.

"Notwithstanding his frequent relapses he found opportunity to explore the country in the neighborhood of Vancouver, and to survey the Columbia River to its mouth. He made maps, and wrote a very intelligent and correct account of the whole territory then known as 'the Oregon,' its topography, mountains, timber, harbors, climate, soil, and minerals, pointing out the facilities for shipbuilding, manufactures and commerce. This information was, on his return to the states, combined in a memoir to congress, from which members undoubtedly drew much of the information which was occasionally displayed in both houses. He renamed the Cascade Mountains, calling them the Presidents' Range; naming also the snow peaks, beginning with St. Helen, and proceeding south, Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, J. Q. Adams and Jackson—the last named being Shasta. Adams and Jefferson only have been retained by common consent.

"It is impossible to show any other American at so early a period not only devoting himself to the intellectual labor of discussing the Oregon question, and to promoting colonization societies, but who undertook and overcame, without support, the cost and the perils of immigration with the sole object of verifying his teachings to the country. So completely was he sustained in his general views that we feel surprised at this day to notice how closely they agree with what is now known of this region.

"If we compare the unprotected and unpaid services of Kelley with the paid and protected services of Lewis and Clark, we have to acknowledge that a debt of appreciation and public recognition, at least, is due to the Yankee schoolmaster who spent the best years of his life in teaching the United States Government and people the value of the Oregon Territory."

In the spring of 1835 Kelley sailed for Hawaii on board the Hudson Bay ship Dryad. Doctor McLoughlin gave him free passage and seven pounds sterling.

From Hawaii he sailed for home and later wrote many booklets on Oregon. In one of these he suggested that the addition of California to the United States was a thing greatly to be desired—perhaps the first one to suggest what was later accomplished.

In 1868 he applied to the Federal Government for a grant of land. At that time he wrote a book of 128 pages, each of which breathed hatred of the Hudson's Bay organization at whose door he laid the blame for all his many troubles. It was the plea of a man disappointed because his Government did not recognize his services. His attack upon the Hudson's Bay Company doubtless was meritorious; but in assailing Doctor McLoughlin he showed ingratitude. Young was given credit of having been instrumental "under an over-ruling Providence, of much good in Oregon." The Lees, he could not forgive for their connection with the Hudson's Bay Company. Jason Lee, he wrote, was opposed to the settlement of the country and contemplated the building up of "a great farming establishment" rather than the conversion of the Indians.

Young, reduced to rags through inability to buy clothing at the Hudson's Bay Company store, defied not only that organization, but the missionaries as well. These, he charged, were under the control of the company. Knowing that both would oppose the liquor traffic, he settled on the west side of the Willamette and began building a distillery. A temperance society promptly was organized, Demon Rum was denounced and Oregon might have experienced all the thrills of a modern "wet" and "dry" campaign had a compromise not been reached and the still destroyed. This was brought about by the removal of the horse-stealing charge by the Mexican governor, who found that it was neither Kelley nor Young but men attached to their party, who were guilty.

Young's fighting spirit, his honesty and his strong Americanism won the admiration of the settlers and also of Doctor McLoughlin, and when W. A. Slacum, a secret agent sent to Oregon by Secretary of State John Forsyth, urged the settlers to organize the Willamette Cattle Company for the purpose of importing California cattle, Young was chosen captain. Doctor McLoughlin was the main supporter of this movement and largely was responsible for the election of Young. In California Young bought 800 cattle at \$3 a head and forty horses at \$12 each. He and other settlers drove them to Oregon, losing about 200 head on the way.

While in California Young, improving his opportunity, demanded and obtained from Governor Figueroa a complete retraction of the horse-stealing charge and payment for a part of the furs which the Mexicans had taken from him. With this money he obtained a large interest in the cattle company and was in a fair way to become one of Oregon's rich men when, in 1841, he died leaving an estate the settlement of which brought into existence Oregon's first government. Young's death was a misfortune to Oregon. He was fit running mate to Joe Meek and had he lived ten years longer would have played an important part in the organization of the Provisional Government.

CHAPTER VI

STRANGE DISEASE DECIMATES INDIANS—MISSIONARIES COME AND LABOR EARNESTLY—HOW THEY WERE RECEIVED BY THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, WITH SIDELIGHT FROM A LETTER WRITTEN BY PETER SKEEN OGDEN—JASON LEE GOES EAST—SENDS FIRST MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS—GOVERNMENT SAID TO HAVE AIDED LEE WITH MONEY—CATHOLICS IN THE FIELD—"MUCH OF THE MISSIONARY EFFORT WAS WASTED"—SCHOOLS FOUNDED UPON MISSIONS.

When Jason Lee came to Oregon the Indians told him that Captain Dominis, while in the Columbia in 1829, brought the disease which, in the next few years brought death to so many of them. Dominis, the Indians said, paid them more for their small beaver skins than did the Hudson's Bay Company for the large ones. With an eye to business the Indian let the American trader have the small skins, reserving the large ones for the British firm. Knowledge of this reached Dominis, who became "hias silix,"—very angry,—and as a punishment liberated the disease which he carried in a small bottle. The Indians regarded their punishment as justifiable and undertook no retaliative measures.

Where the disease came from seems as hard to determine as the question of what it was. Some writers called it ague; others refer to it as "the great epidemic." Whatever its origin or name it certainly was disastrous to the native population and resulted in so many deaths that the Oregon missionaries found their prospective flocks reduced to small and weak bands living in constant fear of a recurrence of the dread malady.

The first two years after coming to the country the missionaries labored earnestly for the conversion of the Indians to the Christian religion. Harvey W. Scott, for so long the talented editor of the Portland Oregonian, gathered the facts relating to the Lees and those who shared this labor. Jason Lee, Scott says, was an idealist who believed the Indians could be converted. His nephew, Daniel, was of a more practical turn of mind and when, at the close of the second year's labor, he saw that the Indian character did not respond to the efforts of the missionaries, gradually turned his attention to colonizing the country.

Daniel Lee remained in Oregon about a decade, then returned East where he continued in the ministry for many years. He died in 1895 in Oklahoma. Cyrus Shepard died in Oregon in 1840. Phillip L. Edwards taught school in Cham-poeg in 1835, returned to Missouri with Jason Lee in 1838 and opened a law office in Richmond. He served in the Missouri Legislature and in 1855 went to California, later serving in the state's Legislature. In 1869 he died in Sacramento. Courtney M. Walker married an Indian women and remained in Oregon, where he died. Under the diligent management of the Lees the

Oregon Methodist Mission developed a good farm which supported a school for both white and Indian children.

Other missionaries traveled the trail which the Lees had made to Oregon. Rev. Samuel Parker, Presbyterian, came in the fall of 1835, and after spending the winter as the guest of Doctor McLoughlin, left in the spring for Hawaii—an entry in his journal reads:

“Monday, April 11th. Having made arrangements to leave this place on the 14th, I called upon the chief clerk for my bill. He said the company had made no bill against me, but felt a pleasure in gratuitously conferring all they had done for the benefit of the object in which I was engaged. In addition to the civilities I had received as a guest, I had drawn upon their store for clothing, for goods to pay my Indians, whom I had employed to convey me in canoes on various journeyings hundreds of miles; to pay my guides and interpreters; and have drawn upon their provisions store for the support of these men while in my employ.”

On his trip across the plains, Parker, according to his Indian guides, wore a high hat. This gave him the name of the “Plug Hat Missionary.” He was earnest in his work and never lost an opportunity of trying to convert the people with whom he came in contact. He selected the sites upon which the Whitman and Spaulding missions were built. Upon leaving Vancouver Parker told Doctor McLoughlin that the Whitman-Spaulding party was on its way to the Columbia and would arrive in the late summer. Accompanied by McLeod and McKay the Whitman-Spaulding party arrived September 12. They returned up the river and established the famous missions at Waiilatpu and Lapwai. To Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spaulding belongs the honor of being the first white women to cross the plains to Oregon.

Doctor McLoughlin for many years was not connected with any religious organization. On Sundays, at Vancouver he read the service of the Episcopal Church. This doubtless led the company to send the Rev. Herbert Beaver, an Episcopal clergyman, to the post. The Rev. Mr. Beaver is said to have attempted to dictate to the chief factor. There was quarrelling and on one occasion the minister received a blow in the face from the doctor’s fist, or cane. Recovering control of himself the doctor apologized, but the dignity of the dominion had been insulted and he and his wife departed for a less primitive vineyard.

In a letter dated “Western Caledonia, February 25th, 1837,” Peter Skeen Ogden gives his friend John McLeod the following “running account of events:”

“ * * * amongst the many good things their honours from Frenchurch Street sent us last summer was a Clergyman and with him his wife, the Rev’d. Mr. Beaver, a very appropriate name for the fur trade, also Mr. & Mrs. Coppindale to conduct the Farming Establishment & by the Snake country we had an assortment of Am. Missionarys the Rev. Mr. Spaulding & Lady two Mr. Lees & Mr. Shephard surely clergymen enough when the Indian population is now so reduced by this is not all there are also five more Gent. as follows 2 in quest of Flowers 2 killing all the Birds in the Columbia & 1 in quest of rocks and stones all these bucks came with letters from the President of the U. States and you know it would not be good policy not to treat them politely they are a perfect nuisance—long ere this you would have heard of David Douglas death he fell into a Bull Pit and was gored to death.” Peter Skeen Ogden was

known among the traders as "M'sieu Pete." In his later life he grew very fat—so fat that the Indians marvelled and travelled far to see him.

The Methodists by this time seem to have realized that their work best could be advanced by bringing to Oregon a civilization based upon the home and settled communities. In response to an appeal for assistance the mission board sent two parties by sea. The first, consisting of Dr. and Mrs. Elijah White and two children; Mr. and Mrs. Alanson Beers and three children; William H. Willson, founder of the City of Salem, early day missionary at Nisqually and prominent in the provisional government; and the Misses Anna Maria Pittman, Susan Downing, and Elvira Johnson arrived on the ship Hamilton in May, 1837. J. L. Whitcom, mate of the Hamilton, also joined the mission. Shortly after their arrival Miss Pittman was married to Jason Lee and Miss Downing to Cyrus Shepard. In September the settlement was further increased by the arrival, on the ship Sumatra, of Rev. David Leslie, wife and three children; Rev. H. K. W. Perkins and Miss Margaret Smith. Two months later Perkins and Miss Johnson were married.

In March, 1838, Jason Lee, accompanied by P. L. Edwards, Ewing and two Indian boys, set out overland for the East. June 26 Mrs. Lee died in childbirth and Doctor McLoughlin at once dispatched an express which in sixty days, overtook Lee at the Shawnee Mission. Lee continued his journey and while in the East he married a second time.

While the announced object of this trip was the awakening of greater interest in the mission, Lee devoted considerable attention to arousing the people to the importance of colonizing Oregon with American settlers. That those already in Oregon hoped for the establishment of United States authority is shown by the memorial prepared at the mission and carried to Washington by Lee. It was signed by thirty-six American and Canadian settlers, was the first appeal made to the Federal Government by Oregon people and was presented in Congress in January, 1839, by Representative Caleb Cushing. It asked that Oregon be taken under federal protection.

In Peoria, Illinois, one of Jason Lee's addresses resulted in the organization of the T. J. Farnham expedition, composed of young men who sought adventure more than farms and their announced intention was to build a city in Oregon. Carrying a banner bearing the flamboyant legend, "Oregon or the Grave," they traveled across Illinois and did much to increase interest in the western country. Only a few of the original party reached Oregon. Farnham returned East by way of California, wrote the manuscript for a book which was published in the New York Tribune and exerted considerable influence in inducing the large immigrations of the early '40s.

Lee continued his lecturing throughout the summer of 1839 and aroused so much interest that the mission board decided to send out large reinforcements. About \$42,000 was contributed to the movement. It has been said the Federal Government secretly contributed a good part of this money. October, 10, the ship Lausanne, Capt. Josiah Spaulding, loaded with goods, sailed from New York for the Columbia. Her passenger list included the names of the Rev. Jason Lee and wife; Rev. Joseph Frost, wife and child; Rev. William W. Kone and wife; Rev. Alvan F. Waller, wife and two children; Rev. J. P. Richmond, M. D., wife and four children; Ira L. Babcock, M. D., wife and child;

Rev. Gustavus Hines, wife and child; George Abernethy, mission steward, wife and two children; W. W. Raymond, farmer, and wife; Henry B. Brewer, farmer, and wife; Rev. Lewis H. Judson, cabinet-maker, wife and three children; Rev. Josiah L. Parrish, blacksmith, wife and three children; James Olley, carpenter, wife and children; Hamilton Campbell, wife and children; David Carter, Miss Chloe A. Clark, Miss Elmira Phillips, Miss Maria T. Ware, later Mrs. D. Lee, Miss Almira Phelps, teachers; Miss Orpha Lankton, stewardess, and Thomas Adams, the Chinook Indian who had accompanied Lee on his trip to the East.

The ship entered the Columbia River, May 21, 1840, and within a short time her cargo had been distributed to the various missions at the Willamette Falls, The Dalles, Clatsop and Nisqually. To Nisqually went Rev. Mr. Richmond. Rev. Mr. Frost and wife were assigned to Clatsop where they built a house and for more than three years worked among the Indians and the few white men who drifted across the Columbia River bar into the mission.

Becoming a victim of bronchitis, Frost was compelled to give up his labors, and with his wife, returned East, where he died. Mrs. Frost on January 1, 1866, became the wife of Rev. Stephen R. Beggs and later removed to South Dakota. In July, 1907, Edward S. Curtis and Prof. Edmond S. Meany, while photographing the Indians of the Rosebud agency, were told that a very old lady living in the village, professed to have been one of the early day missionaries to Oregon. The two Seattle men were taken to see this "very old lady," and to their great astonishment and pleasure found her to be the Mrs. J. H. Frost of the Clatsop mission. Although so deaf she scarcely could hear, her mind was bright and her memory good—so good in fact that Professor Meany conversed with her in the Chinook, a dialect she had not used for more than fifty years.

Boston, ever ready to listen to anything about Oregon, heard Lee; the Cushings loaded a cargo of goods on the bark Maryland and sent her around the Horn in charge of John H. Couch. She arrived in 1840, disposed of her goods and sailed away. Couch was back again a few years later with another cargo of American goods on the Chenamus. He established a store at Oregon City. American goods came in competition with those of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Lausanne had brought machinery for grist and saw mills which soon were in operation, and the American settlers began to feel independent of the big British firm on the north side of the Columbia.

Missionaries of many denominations came to Oregon. The larger number of them had the support of denominational mission boards or the American Board; but some came on what was known as the self-supporting system. Among these were Rev. Mr. Griffin and Mr. Munger, with their wives, who arrived in 1838, and Rev. Mr. Clarke and wife and two laymen, who came two years later. The Indians were not yet willing to support the missionaries, the "self-supporting system" failed, and the missionaries turned to farming.

Vicar General Francis Blanchet and Father Modeste Demers arrived at Vancouver from Canada, in 1838. Although the last of the churches to enter the Oregon mission field, the Catholic priests soon were establishing missions far into the interior country. Other priests followed, and in 1844 the first nuns, six sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, arrived at Vancouver on board



CLAQUATO CHURCH, BUILT NEAR CHEHALIS IN 1858
The second protestant church in Washington



THE OLD JACKSON HOME, TWELVE MILES FROM CHEHALIS
In this house was conducted one of the first courts north of the Columbia River. For years
it was a way station on the stage route between Monticello and Olympia

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the Belgian brig *Indefatigable*. They came with that famous old priest, Father DeSmet, and were accompanied by four priests of the Society of Jesus. By the close of the year 1847 the Catholic Church was represented in Oregon by three bishops, fourteen Jesuit fathers, four Oblate fathers, thirteen secular priests, one cleric, thirteen sisters and two schools.

As a Christianizing influence much of the missionary effort was wasted; as a factor of civilization it produced beneficial results. Frederick V. Holman, in his excellent "Dr. John McLoughlin, the Father of Oregon," says the Indians "had no ethical, no spiritual, words. They had no need of such. They had no religion of their own, worthy of the name, to be substituted for a better or higher one. They had no religious instincts, no religious tendencies, no religious traditions. The male Indians would not perform manual labor—that was for women and slaves. The Religion of Christ and the Religion of Work go hand in hand."

In the main that is true, yet the Catholics appear to have made progress toward Christianizing the natives. The Indian believed in a semi-spiritual *Tamanous*, a being which he represented by an image. For this reason the pictures and symbols of the Catholic worship were more appealing to him than were the abstract teachings employed by the Protestants. The Indians learned the "Catholic ladder," a simple device contrived to carry the religious lessons to them.

Several generations of Indians have been born and reared since the missionaries began their labors on this coast, and while the present generation contains many individuals who have attained a mental equipment and a moral character entitling them to rank as civilized and educated persons, the great mass of the Indian population still prefers the old easy-going, unambitious mode of living. Holman says the Religion of Christ and the Religion of Work go hand in hand.

To most of the old Indians, notwithstanding some seventy-five years of effort upon the part of missionaries, the symbolism of the *Tamanous* still is potent. This is no reflection upon the Indian mind. Measured in periods of time, the Indian has, perhaps, made more rapid progress out of the primitive state than the white race made.

When the missionaries began to realize that their efforts were nonproductive and in fact sometimes derided with mean ingratitude, they turned their attention toward colonization. Families were brought to Oregon. Schools were founded. The mission as a religious institution was abandoned; the school took its place and carried on the work in a manner that has caused the present generation to place the laurel upon the graves of those who labored so long and so earnestly for the salvation of the Indian.

Willamette University rests upon the Methodist mission school. Pacific University had its beginning in the home of Grandma Brown, who, when the white fathers left for the California gold fields, took the half-orphaned white and half-breed and Indian children into her home and established a school, taught by Rev. Mr. Harvey Clarke. Clarke, an independent missionary, was disappointed because of his failure to convert the Indian. Half of his homestead was given to the school in which he did a work that has lived. Whitman still lives in the Whitman College—a far greater monument than any doubtful credit of having "Saved Oregon." Rev. Ezra Fisher, pioneer Baptist,

is remembered, not for any excellence his sermons may have possessed, but for his tireless efforts in behalf of the Oregon City College.

Pioneers of the 1843 immigration found good farms at the Willamette mission. Wilkes' "History of Oregon," rewritten by George Wilkes from the letters of Peter H. Burnett, says: "All the missionaries whom I have seen within it (the territory) have succeeded much better in making farms, raising stock, erecting mills, establishing stores, and improving their own worldly condition, than they have in saving the souls of the Indians. I have, however, no right to criticize and condemn the peculiar system of these gentlemen, for they should certainly know more about the redemption of souls than I, who never worked at it. It, therefore, is not for me to say that the Indian will not more readily imbibe regenerating grace by digging the ground and carrying logs on his shoulders, than in wearing out his knee-pans in fruitless ejaculations."

After the change in method was adopted, the missionaries continued to carry the Bible in one hand; but the other carried an axe, a hoe, a package of seeds and a primer. Old Oregon's first printing plant was brought from the Hawaiian Islands, in 1839, by E. O. Hall, a printer connected with the Lapwai mission. Civilization by way of the printing press began at an early date in the Northwest.

CHAPTER VII

OLD OREGON

DEATH OF PROPERTY-HOLDER BRINGS CITIZENS FACE TO FACE WITH THE NEED OF GOVERNMENTAL MACHINERY—THEY ORGANIZE TEMPORARILY AROUND GRAVE—ATTEMPT AT GENEROUS DEMOCRACY FAILS—LINN BILL BEFORE CONGRESS—DR. ELIJAH WHITE ORGANIZES FIRST WESTWARD PARTY FOR ACTUAL SETTLEMENT IN "OLD OREGON"—DISSATISFACTION AFTER THEIR ARRIVAL—THE "WOLF MEETINGS" AND FINALLY THE HISTORIC VOTE—"WHO'S FOR A DIVIDE?" CRIES JOE MEEK—AMERICANS WIN BY TWO VOTES—OREGON'S FIRST LAWS—THE BURNETT EXPEDITION—A DAY AND NIGHT IN THE CAMP—IMMIGRATION OF '44—DR. MCLOUGHLIN JOINS LEGISLATIVE BODY—JESSE APPLIGATE'S GREAT INFLUENCE—THORNTON'S MAGIC STORY—PATHETIC NOTES FROM A WOMAN'S DIARY.

Ewing Young, whom Kelley had induced to come to Oregon, died February 15, 1841, leaving an estate but no known heirs. Oregon was without law—save that conferred upon the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company by the British king. All realized that steps toward the formation of government must be taken. To allow the Hudson's Bay Company officials to administer the estate of an American was repugnant to the settlers. Around the grave of Young, February 17, they decided to organize a government; or enough of "government" to probate an estate.

Jason Lee was elected chairman, and Gustavus Hines, secretary, and a committee consisting of Rev. F. N. Blanchet, Rev. Jason Lee, Rev. Gustavus Hines, David Donpierre, M. Charlevon, Robert Moore, J. L. Parrish, Etienne Lucier and William Johnson was instructed to draft a code of laws. That the probate matter might be carried on while the committee was doing its work, Dr. Ira L. Babcock was elected supreme judge with probate powers; George LeBreton, clerk; William Johnson, sheriff, Xavier Ladevant and Pierre Bilique, constables.

The originators of the plan for a legislative committee doubtless thought best results could be obtained by choosing as members men representing the different elements in the settlement. It was made up of Protestant ministers, the Catholic priest, American, Canadian and British settlers. But the very tincture which should have given it strength was that which made it weak—the various elements could not, or would not, work in harmony. Blanchett, who had been elected chairman, failed to call a meeting and finally resigned. The non-church element considered it top-heavy with religion, and, doubtless fearing the passage of Blue Laws, took no interest, and the first attempt at organized government in Oregon was at an end. However, Doctor Babcock and his officers took steps which protected the estate of Young. Following the organization of the Provisional Government the money was carried as a liability and

at one time the executive committee authorized the appropriation of \$1,500 from this fund to build a jail at Oregon City on a lot donated by John McLoughlin. Years afterward the money collected—some \$2,615—was paid to Joaquin Young, of New Mexico, as the rightful heir of Ewing Young.

Dr. Elijah White, who had gone East in the interest of the mission, was called to Washington in the fall of 1841 and asked by Secretary of War John C. Spencer, if he could guide a party of immigrants to Oregon. White had never been over the road, his journey to the coast having been made by water, but realizing the importance of this movement he promptly replied that he could. The Linn Bill, granting generous land claims to settlers, was before Congress, which was waiting for the people actually to settle the lands before it passed the bill,—while the people were ready to make the settlement provided Congress would make it possible for them to acquire the lands. It was a deadlock, each side awaiting action by the other.

Doctor White was appointed sub-Indian agent for Oregon and told to organize an immigrant party. As sub-Indian agent his authority was very limited, if it amounted to anything at all; but his appointment bore the stamp of the United States Government and was a tacit recognition of its right to exercise authority over the country. It was a hopeful sign to the people of Oregon.

Early in January, White began gathering his immigrant party. It set out from Independence, Missouri, May 16, 1842, and consisted of 160 persons, ten of whom were men with families and eighty of whom were armed. While the smallest of the many immigrant trains which passed over the Oregon trail during the next ten years, it was perhaps the most important.

Traders, explorers and missionaries had gone to Oregon. Their reports showed the country capable of supporting an agricultural population. The missionaries already had demonstrated that the soil needed to be cultivated but little to yield bountifully. The Government knew these things. The people had heard glowing accounts of the country's possibilities and were ready to "Save Oregon" to the Union. White's was the first party organized with settlement as its sole object. It contained the first white women, other than missionaries, to attempt the long and dangerous trip. It traveled in wagons to Fort Hall, where upon the advice of Grant, the Hudson's Bay trader, the wagons were abandoned and the goods carried forward on pack horses.

Doctor White possessed far more initiative and enthusiasm than experience. He allowed his self-confidence to override judgment when he told Spencer that he could guide an immigrant party over a trail he never had traveled. But he brought his people through to the coast and proved that immigrants could make the overland trip. With this party came men and women whose names are written deeply in the pages of Northwest history. They contributed much to the "Saving of Oregon." Among them were A. L. Lovejoy, who the next winter accompanied Whitman as far as Bent's Fort on his long ride to Washington; Medorem Crawford, F. X. Matthieu, a Canadian who fled his native land because of his connection with the Sons of Liberty; Capt. L. W. Hastings and others.

The most exciting experience of the trip was the capture of Hastings and Lovejoy by Indians at Independence Rock. The two men stopped to carve their names on the face of the rock and were just finishing their work when

they discovered a band of Indians running for their horses, tethered a short distance away. The race that followed resulted in a tie—white men and Indians reaching the coveted prize at the same moment. The wagon train had moved on. Other Indians appeared and Lovejoy and Hastings were taken prisoners, but through the influence of Matthieu, who for years had trapped in the Indian country, the white men were liberated and rejoined the immigrants.

Early in October the immigrants arrived at Vancouver and soon were settled in the Willamette Valley. In a book on Oregon and California, published some years later, Captain Hastings says many of these immigrants were greatly disappointed with the appearance of Oregon.

“The country did not appear to us to be, in reality, that delightful region which we had thus long and laboriously sought. Dismay and dissatisfaction appeared to be visibly impressed upon every countenance, and deep discontent pervaded every breast. All, however, soon obtained temporary residences, Doctor McLoughlin kindly proffered to render them any assistance in his power. He proposed to sell goods on credit to all those who were unable to make immediate payment. He also commenced building extensively at the falls of the Willamette, and thereby gave immediate employment, at the highest wages, to all those who wished to labor.”

In the spring the dissatisfaction had not disappeared and in May, Hastings led a number of immigrants to California.

The addition of such a large number of their countrymen, and the appointment of a sub-Indian agent for the territory, gave the Americans hope of bringing their efforts for the establishment of a government to a successful issue.

During the winter of 1842-43 predatory animals killed many cattle. This led to the calling of a convention at the Methodist mission, February 2. That protection of the cattle industry must be provided, all admitted, but the meeting adjourned without action other than that another meeting was called for a later date. The Canadians were suspicious of the Americans, who themselves were divided into the mission and anti-mission parties. Matthieu, who had spent the winter among the Canadian settlers, had done much to overcome the fear of United States authority, but many still believed such authority in Oregon would mean heavy taxes on windows and other pioneer luxuries.

On the first Monday in March the settlers met at the home of Joseph Gervais. The Canadians were present with an address expressing their belief that the country should be free to all nations and asking that in any action taken, “their property be secured to them under the laws and regulations which might be adopted.” The announced object of these two meetings had been the extermination of wild animals. For this reason they have since been called the “Wolf” meetings. Resolutions provided for the collection of funds with which to pay bounties were adopted at the second meeting—this was the first tax levy.

The bounties offered for skins were: for a small wolf, 50 cents; large wolf, \$3; lynx, \$1.50; bear, \$2; panther, \$5. The main object of the meeting having been disposed of, one of the members arose, said he considered it right for settlers to protect their cattle, and then asked:

“How is it, fellow citizens, with you and me, and our children and wives? Have we any organization upon which we can rely for mutual protection? Is there any power or influence in the country sufficient to protect us and all we hold

dear on earth from the worse than wild beasts that threaten and occasionally destroy our cattle? Who in our midst is authorized at this moment to call us together to protect our own, and the lives of our families? True, the alarm may be given, as in a recent case, and we may run who feel alarmed, and shoot off our guns, while our enemy may be robbing our property, ravishing our wives, and burning the houses over our defenseless families. Common sense, prudence, and justice to ourselves demand that we act consistent with the principles we have commenced. We have mutually and unitedly agreed to defend and protect our cattle and domestic animals; now, fellow citizens, I submit and move the adoption of the two following resolutions, that we may have protection for our persons and lives as well as our cattle and herds:

"Resolved, That a committee be appointed to take into consideration the propriety of taking measures for the civil and military protection of this colony.

"Resolved, That said committee consist of twelve persons."

The resolutions were adopted unanimously. The committee appointed was composed of Doctor Babcock, Doctor White, J. O'Neil, Robert Shortess, Robert Newall, Etienne Lucier, Joseph Gervais, T. J. Hubbard, William H. Gray, Smith, Gay and McRoy. Each of the various factions were represented on the committee which soon called a meeting for May 2.

Decisive periods in the world's history for ages have been favorite themes with writers. Some day, after the lapse of time has thrown the halo of age and distance over the event, there will come an historian or a philosopher who will appreciate the importance of that meeting at Champoeg, Oregon, on May 2, 1843, and will write of it an epic poem that will live in literature. More than half afraid of the dominating influence of the Hudson's Bay Company; with their own government 3,000 miles away and, apparently uncertain of its policy toward the country and indifferent to the action taken by its citizens, the small band of Americans entered the day's deliberations with anxious minds.

National ideals were to be upheld, surrendered or compromised. John Bull and Uncle Sam were to meet in a wilderness held jointly. London and Washington seemed to have forgotten that white men are prosperous and happy only in communities ruled by law. Forgotten or ignored by their own governments, these men of the frontier farms, trading posts and trapping fields were to exercise a right recognized by both the Magna Charta and the Declaration of Independence—the right to pass laws for the control of their own affairs.

Early on the morning of the day set for the meeting, the settlers began arriving at the Hudson's Bay building in which the convention was to be held. It was the busy seeding time in the Willamette Valley; most of the legislators were farmers and no time was lost in preliminaries. The Canadians had drafted a lengthy document in which they plainly showed opposition to the movement. This was further demonstrated when voting began. The convention adjourned to the open field.

It was about to break up without accomplishing results. Joe Meek, the towering Virginia trapper, stepped to the right and, throwing all the force of mind and body behind the words, called:

"Who's for a divide? All in favor of organization come to the right!"

Immediately forty-nine men joined Meek. Apparently the Americans and government had been defeated—fifty-two Canadians remained opposed. It was

a critical moment and then Matthieu, who because of his democratic ideas had left Canada, practically with a price upon his head, crossed the line. Lucier, the Canadian trapper whom McLoughlin had sent into the Willamette Valley as its first farmer in 1829, followed Matthieu. Defeat had been turned into victory and the opposition mounted their horses and rode away followed by the rousing cheers of Meek and his party. Later the opposition joined the governmental party.

The fifty-one men remaining on the field proceeded to organize. A committee on legislation was selected, its members being A. E. Wilson, W. H. Willson, G. W. LeBreton, J. L. Meek, D. Hill, Robert Shortess, Robert Newell, Alanson Beers, T. J. Hubbard, W. H. Gray, J. O'Neil, Robert Moore and William Dougherty. The convention then adjourned to meet again May 2nd at the same place.

Admirers of Whitman, of McLoughlin, of the missionaries, or of other noble men and women who played important parts in "Saving Oregon" may write of their favorites in the most entertaining and enthusiastic manner, but the fact remains that the turning point upon which the action hinges is found in the ringing words of Meek—"Who's for a divide?"

Joseph L. Meek was born on a Virginia plantation in 1810. His mother died while he was a small boy and he grew up an unlettered physical giant. Difficulty with a step-mother seems to have been the cause of his leaving home at the age of eighteen. Making his way to St. Louis in the spring of 1829, he joined one of the Sublette trapping parties and started for the Rocky Mountains. American fur traders pursued towards their men much the same policy as that of the Hudson's Bay Company—they were not allowed to write letters to, or receive letters from, their friends. They were constantly in debt to the company which supplied its men so insufficiently that the low wages paid to them were used in buying food or clothing.

For eleven years Meek was in the mountains. During the winter rendezvous he learned to read. He married a woman of the Nez Perce tribe and when trapping was no longer profitable, he started for Oregon. On the Tualatin Plain he took up a claim and began farming, and it was on this farm that he died in 1875. To his Indian wife Meek was a good husband and his seven children knew him as a kind father. "Who's for a divide?" was but the beginning of the valuable service he was destined to render to his adopted state.

Matthieu was later elected justice of the peace. He took up a square mile of land, married Rose Osant, daughter of a Hudson's Bay trapper, reared a large family and after Oregon became a state, served in the Legislature. When the monument marking the site of the historic Champoeg meeting was erected by the State of Oregon May 2, 1901, F. X. Matthieu, as the sole survivor of the little band who had followed Meek across the line to government, was the guest of honor.

At the time of the Champoeg meeting the friction that had been developing among the various elements had reached a climax. The missionaries had failed in their efforts to form a government. The Hudson's Bay People, and those belonging to the mission, were accused of being "on the fence" and watching for an opportunity that would give them some advantage. Jason Lee became unpopular at the mission, was removed, and returned to eastern Canada where he died

in 1845. In 1906 his body was brought back to Oregon and buried with elaborate ceremony, near the scene of his ten years' labor. Rev. George Gary succeeded Lee as superintendent and, in 1845, closed the mission.

In a house made of split cedar boards set in the ground and covered with a roof of cedar bark on fir pole rafters, the Champoege committee, July 5, 1843, presented a constitution for consideration by the people of Oregon. The preamble plainly shows its origin and reads:

"We, the people of Oregon Territory, for the purposes of mutual protection and to secure peace and prosperity among ourselves, agree to adopt the following laws and regulations, until such time as the United States of America extend their jurisdiction over us."

The Constitution was adopted. The Oregon pioneers did something the Government at Washington had failed to do—in effect they declared the territory belonged to the United States.

The instrument was a curious mingling of constitutional law and laws more properly classed as legislative enactments. The ballot was given to "every free male descendant of a white man of twenty-one years and upward" and the laws of Iowa were adopted as the statutes under which the new government should be conducted. Execution of the law was placed in the hands of an executive committee consisting of David Hill, Alanson Beers and Joseph Gale. A. E. Wilson was elected supreme judge, George LeBreton, clerk and recorder; Joseph L. Meek, sheriff and W. H. Willson, treasurer.

George Wilkes' "History of Oregon" was published in 1845. Its chief value is to be found in the description and record of events of the immigration of 1843. The Oregon Emigration Society, the name adopted by this party, was assembled near Independence, Mo., and before starting for the coast in May, adopted laws, or rules, providing for the election of officers and the government of the expedition. Under the stress of actual use some of these laws were found defective and soon became obsolete. As the control had been placed in the hands of a council of nine men, together with the captain, the need of written law was not apparent—the council and captain meeting each situation as it arose and deciding the course to be pursued.

Ambitious spirits at once began laying plans for obtaining the captaincy. Politics developed in the loosely organized band and when the Kansas River was reached, considerable valuable time was lost in the election. The journey thus far had been a sort of go-as-you-please fitting together of the various elements composing the caravan which consisted of about one thousand persons. Peter H. Burnett was elected commander with J. W. Nesmith orderly sergeant.

These officers soon demonstrated, not only their own ability, but the absolute necessity of having a leader whose orders carried authority. More rapid progress was thereafter made, minor troubles were smoothed out and a better feeling existed. Some time later Burnett became sick and surrendered the command of the caravan which was then divided, one division choosing Jesse Applegate as captain while the other continued the journey under the command of William Martin.

Storms were encountered in which tents were whipped from over the heads of their sleeping owners. Bands of Indians were met but aside from the stealing of horses and other property these caused no trouble. Crossing the Rocky

Mountains the immigrants arrived at Fort Hall were "we past a most pleasant evening in exchanging civilities with its inmates, who were not a little surprised at this tremendous irruption in their solitude. Some of the members told us that they could scarcely believe their eyes when they saw the immense stretch of our line, the number of our lowing herds and our squads of prancing horses, and they inquired laughingly if we had come to conquer Oregon, or to devour it out of hand. They treated us, however, with every attention, and answered with the utmost patience and particularity, all our inquiries in relation to the country."

Half starved cattle wandered away in the rich grass of the Blue Mountains which were reached late in September. Further delays were caused through ignorance of the trail—hills were climbed only to find that a little better knowledge of the country would have shown easier round-about ways. Sharp frosts at night added to the discomforts, and a sigh of relief and thankfulness was breathed by all when they began the descent of the mountains, crossed the lower lands and reached the friendly shelter of the Whitman Mission October 16th.

At the mission the party was divided, one division going down the river in boats while the other continued by land. In one of the dangerous rapids of the river one of the boats upset drowning the ten year old sons of Jesse and Lindsay Applegate and an old man by the name of McClelland.

Of the reception accorded the immigrants of 1843 by Doctor McLoughlin and the system under which the post was managed, Wilkes' History of Oregon says:

"A code of established rules, embracing within its scope the chief factor and the meanest servant, is the inflexible rule which governs all. Every man has his allotted department to fill, and his regular tasks to do, and he is held responsible for the faithful performance of that and nothing more. A system of far sighted policy is brought to bear upon the management of every department, whether it be the trapping of a territory, the transplanting of natives, the reinforcement and supply of any of their numerous forts, the occupation of a point, or the assumption of a privilege. A regular price is set upon everything, and it is labor thrown away to attempt to underbid it. Their goods are all of a most superior kind, and it is no less a rule to sell them at reasonable rates than it is to have them good.

"Whatever may be the cause of complaint existing against the Hudson's Bay Company, in their treatment of former emigrants from the United States, the kindness of Doctor McLoughlin to this emigration has been very great. He furnished them with goods and provisions on credit, and such as were sick were sent to the hospital free of expense, where they had the strict and careful attendance of Mr. Barclay, a skillful physician, and an excellent and humane man. The chief factor likewise lent the emigrants the company's boats, to bring down such of the families and baggage as had been left at the Cascades by the advanced guard of the expedition, which had preceded me; and he also furnished them with the same facilities for crossing the river with their cattle, at Vancouver. Had it not been for the kindness of this excellent man, many of us would have suffered greatly, and I have no doubt that much injustice has been done him by confounding his personal conduct with that of many of his countrymen."

Even in the midst of dangers from attack by hostile Indians, or weary from travel, the immigrants found opportunity to enjoy themselves along the way. As

sons and daughters of the pioneers of the Mississippi Valley they early in life learned the lesson of self-reliance. Not only could they be depended upon to look out for their own physical needs; but among their number were men and women possessing intellectual abilities to be drawn upon for entertainment.

Instrumental and vocal music, and dancing on the ground around the evening campfire, were enjoyed by the younger people; mock trials were held and in various ways the dullness of all work and no play was banished. In Wilkes' History of Oregon is found the following description of one of these evening entertainments. Clarence B. Bagley, in an article appearing in the Washington Historical Quarterly, says the names are fictitious—"Robbins, Smith, Harris, Baker, Brown, McFarley, Wayne and Dumberton were not members of the party." The story is given here because of the "sidelight" it throws upon the manner in which the immigrants sometimes found relief. Wilkes probably wrote the story from a description furnished in one of the letters of the immigrants.

"While I lay endeavoring to recover my disturbed repose, I had a chance to hear how my neighbors were disposing of their time. In one direction the sound of a violin rasped the air; in another, a little further off, the mellow warble of a flute stole softly on the night; while hard by my ear, a harmonious voice poured forth a measure of reproach to the 'False Hearted Jane Louisa.'

"Unable to sleep, and desirous of taking a share in the enjoyment, I arose and went forth, and approaching the tent from which the pathetic strain had issued, peered into its center. It was filled with a motley group, who appeared to have given themselves up to the last degree of merriment. In the rear, on a huge trunk, which was used as a table, sat two bottles, and a corpulent little jug, all of them, doubtless, contributions from different members of the company.

"On the right hand of this imposing platform, sat McFarley, and on the left, honest John Robbins, with dog Jack between his legs, who was looking, if possible, graver than ever. Behind, and mounted on a high seat, made by a trunk turned endwise, with a flask in his hand, and his hat cocked gaily into an extreme angle, sat the ruling spirit of the party. He was one of those peculiar geniuses whom Nature by the gift of a rich fund of humor and invincible gaiety marks for a practical philanthropist. In his own way, Jim Wayne was the source of more real pleasure and enjoyment, by his inimitably drolleries, during the long journey which followed, than any dozen other causes put together. His songs were sung by the whole camp; his stories were told over and over, for the edification and amusement of every sub-circle, and wherever he went, his presence of itself, appeared to possess galvanic power, which operated immediately in distending the muscles of every face.

"'Gentlemen!' said Wayne, at the conclusion of his ditty, with an air of impressive solemnity, 'It is my painful duty to communicate to you my impression that we have an individual among us of the most suspicious character; an individual who, so far from entering into our proceedings with that degree of hilarity and good-fellowship which are the guarantees of honest intentions, has preserved a dogged silence, and has, moreover, given more than one indication that he is incapable of appreciating the sentiment of our enlightened proceedings; in short, gentlemen, he is a creature, as a man may say, without a soul.

"'Gentlemen,' continued the speaker, after the buzz of surprise and rapid

scrutiny which swept the circle from man to man, upon this startling communication, was over, 'Gentlemen, the nature of our enterprise, the peculiarity of our situation, demands our utmost care, and I appeal to your intelligence, if an individual be found in this company, guilty of the demeanor I have charged him with, shall be not forthwith summoned before this bar, arraigned for examination, and, if necessary, I will add, for punishment?'

"'Yes, yes, where is he? who is he?' shouted a dozen voices, while some of the bronzed faces around frowned stern resentment.

"Wayne turned, and after looking fixedly at John Robbins for several moments, as if it pained him to perform his duty, at length broke the silence. 'John Robbins, I command you to produce the body of an individual now in your possession, commonly known as dog Jack, that he may answer to the charge now about to be preferred against him.'

"At this conclusion, the whole company broke into a general peal of laughter, in which John Robbins, who was relieved from his temporary uneasiness, heartily joined.

"'McFarley, arraign the culprit,' cried Wayne, in a stern tone, which though apparently intended to check the levity of the group, only elicited another burst of merriment.

"Jack was lifted on the box by his master, and McFarley, who acted as clerk of the court, made him face the judge, sitting him on his haunches, and holding up his fore paws for the purpose of accomplishing a respectful attitude.

"The president then addressed the offender at length, and with much dignity and force. Jack, while this was going on, never once altered the solemnity of his demeanor. The only departure from his usual stocism, was an occasional glance which he now and then stole over his shoulder at McFarley, who was holding him. At length the president finished his address, and wound up by saying, that 'as mercy was the divinest attribute of dogs as well as men, he would forgive him for this first offense, and allow him an opportunity to retrieve his character, by making him an honorary member of the association.' Saying which, he baptized the animal on the end of the nose, with some of the contents of the flask in his hand, 'to learn him,' as he said, 'to be a jolly good fellow.'

"Jack stood everything quietly, until this, but no sooner did the alcoholic nauseate touch his nostrils, than he gave a sudden twist, followed by a spring which swept off the jug, carried McFarley to the ground, and nearly upset me, as he flashed past where I stood.

"A long, loud, and continuous roar followed this conclusion of the prank, and under cover of it, I drew off to my quarters again.

"This may be considered as a specimen of the evening enjoyments of the pilgrimage (barring the drinking): and I have been thus particular with the events of the first night, even at the expense of being charged with frivolity, that the reader may have a correct idea of all the variations and phases of the life that is led in the journey over the prairies."

This immigration consisted of about 1,000 persons—Holman says 875 reached Oregon—and like that of other years, contained men and women who later took prominent places in Northwest coast affairs. Peter H. Burnett, after serving Oregon as a legislator, went to California and became that state's first governor.

Doctor Whitman was returning to his mission after his long winter ride to Washington. M. M. McCarver, afterward Oregon legislator, was to become one of the founders of Tacoma. J. W. Nesmith, John and Daniel S. Holman, father and son; Lindsey and Jesse Applegate and others whose names appear frequently on the pages of the story of the coast, were among the number.

Of these none rendered a more important service to the struggling young government of Oregon than Jesse Applegate. Two years after his arrival in Oregon he wrote the Oregon Organic Law and so brought harmony to the divided community. He was born July 5, 1811, in Kentucky, of Revolutionary stock. His father, at the close of the War for Independence, removed to Kentucky and when Jesse was twelve years of age, again started westward with his family and settled in Missouri. In the law office of Edward Bates, afterwards President Lincoln's attorney-general, Jesse obtained most of his early education. He left the office to become deputy to the surveyor-general of Missouri, and on one of his surveying trips attended a dance in the Osage River Valley and there met Cynthia Ann Parker to whom he was married in 1831.

Bates was a pronounced conservative. His only radical idea was his advocacy of the emancipation of the slaves. It was the influence of this one idea upon the mind of his young pupil that was later to send that pupil into the wilds of Oregon. Following his marriage Applegate became a Missouri farmer. His neighbors were slave owners and as he found it impossible to compete with slave labor, he, in the spring of 1843, disposed of his farm, loaded four wagons with provisions, and with his family set out for Oregon. As he had brought about 100 horses and cattle with him from the farm, the immigrants, after crossing the Kansas River, elected him captain of the "cow column," that part of the train composed of the loose animals. Many years afterward he wrote a highly interesting account of "A Day With the Cow Column in 1843."

"From 6 to 7 o'clock is a busy time; breakfast is to be eaten, the tents struck, the wagons loaded and the teams yoked and brought up in readiness to be attached to their respective wagons. All know when at 7 o'clock the signal to march sounds, that those not ready to take their proper places in the line of march must fall into the dusty rear for the day.

"There are sixty wagons. They have been divided into fifteen divisions or platoons of four wagons each, and each platoon is entitled to lead in its turn. The leading platoon today will be the rear one tomorrow, and will bring up the rear unless some teamster, through indolence or negligence, has lost his place in the line, and is condemned to that uncomfortable post. It is within ten minutes of seven; the corral but now a strong barricade is everywhere broken, the teams being attached to the wagons. The women and children have taken their places in them. The pilot (a borderer who has passed his life on the verge of civilization and has been chosen to the post of leader from his knowledge of the savage and his experience in travel through roadless wastes), stands ready, in the midst of his pioneers and aids, to mount and lead the way. Ten or fifteen young men, not today on duty, form another cluster. They are ready to start on a buffalo hunt, are well mounted and well armed, as they need to be, for the unfriendly Sioux have driven the buffalo out of the Platte, and the hunters must ride fifteen or twenty miles to reach them. The cow drivers are

hastening, as they get ready, to the rear of their charges, to collect and prepare them for the day's march.

"It is the stroke of seven; they rush to and fro, the cracking of whips, the loud command to oxen, and what seemed to be an inextricable confusion of the last ten minutes has ceased. Fortunately everyone has been found and every teamster is at his post. The clear notes of a trumpet sound in the front; the pilot and his guards mount their horses; the leading divisions of the wagons move out of the encampment; and take up the line of march; the rest fall into their places with the precision of clock work, until the spot so lately full of life sinks back into that solitude that seems to reign over the broad plain and rushing river as the caravan draws its lazy length towards the distant El Dorado.

* * * * *

"They (the wagons) form a line three-quarters of a mile in length; some of the teamsters ride upon the front of their wagons, some march beside their team; scattered along the line companies of women are taking exercise on foot; they gather bouquets of rare and beautiful flowers that line the way; near them stalks a stately greyhound, or an Irish wolf dog, apparently proud of keeping watch and ward over his master's wife and children. Next comes a band of horses; two or three men or boys follow them, the docile and sagacious animals scarce needing this attention, for they have learned to follow in the rear of the wagons, and know that at noon they will be allowed to graze and rest. Their knowledge of time seems as accurate as of the place they have to occupy in the line, and even a full-blown thistle will scarce tempt them to straggle or halt until the dinner hour has arrived. Not so with the large herd of horned beasts that bring up the rear; lazy, selfish and unsocial, it has been a task to get them in motion, the strong always ready to domineer over the weak, halt in front and forbid the weak to pass them. They seem to move only in fear of the driver's whip; though in the morning, full to repletion, they have not been driven an hour before their hunger and thirst seem to indicate a fast of days' duration. Through all the long day their greed is never satisfied, nor their thirst quenched, nor is there a moment of relaxation of the tedious and vexatious labors of their drivers, although to all others the march furnishes some season of relaxation or enjoyment. For the cow-drivers there is none.

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"The way lies over trackless wastes, wide and deep rivers, rugged and lofty mountains, and is beset with hostile savages. Yet, whether it were a deep river with no trees upon its banks, a rugged defile where even a loose horse could not pass, a hill too steep for him to climb, or a threatened attack of an enemy, they are always found ready and equal to the occasion, and always conquerors. May we not call them men of destiny? They are people changed in no essential particulars from their ancestors, who followed closely on the footsteps of the receding savage, from the Atlantic seaboard to the great Valley of the Mississippi.

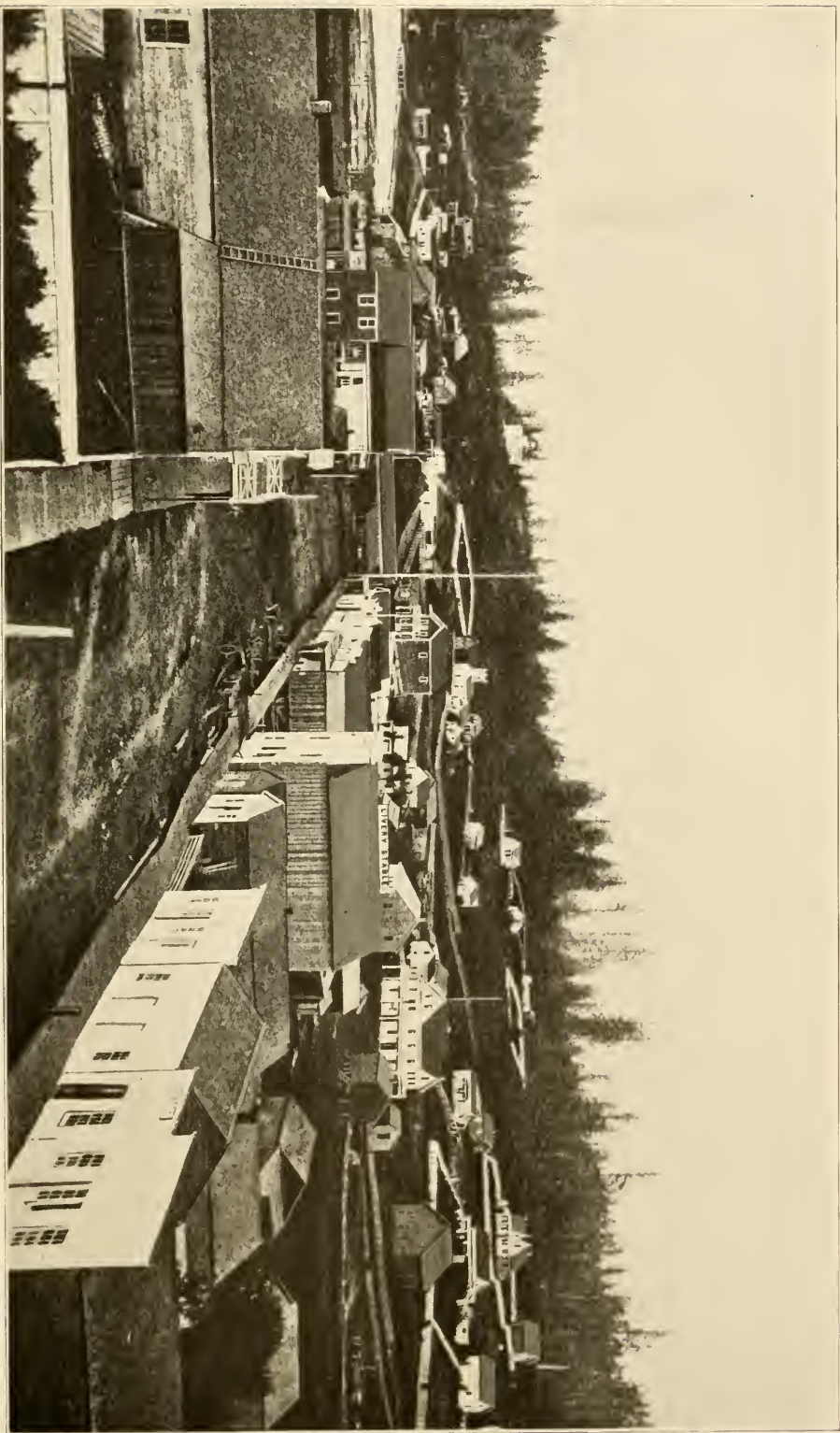
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"The pilot, by measuring the ground and timing the speed of the wagons and the walk of the horses, has determined the rate of each, so as to enable him to select the nooning place, as nearly as the requisite grass and water can be had at the end of the five hours travel of the wagons. Today, the ground

being favorable, little time has been lost in preparing the road, so that he and his pioneers are at the nooning place an hour in advance of the wagons, which time is spent in preparing convenient watering places for the animals, and in digging little wells near the bank of the Platte. As the teams are not unyoked, but simply turned loose from the wagons, a corral is not formed at noon, but the wagons are drawn up in columns, four abreast, the leading wagon of each platoon on the left, the platoons being formed with that in view. This brings friends together at noon as well as at night.

"Today an extra session of the council is being held, to settle a dispute that does not admit of delay, between a proprietor and a young man who has undertaken to do a man's service on the journey for bed and board. Many such engagements exist, and much interest is taken in the manner in which this high court, from which there is no appeal, will define the rights of each party in such engagements. The council was a high court in the most exalted sense. It was a senate composed of the ablest and most respected fathers of the emigration. It exercised both legislative and judicial powers, and its laws and decisions proved it equal and worthy of the high trust reposed in it. Its sessions were usually held on days when the caravan was not moving. It first took the state of the little commonwealth into consideration; revised or repealed rules defective or obsolete, and enacted such others as the exigencies seemed to require. The common weal being cared for, it next resolved itself into a court to hear and settle private disputes and grievances. The offender and the aggrieved appeared before it; witnesses were examined, and the parties were heard by themselves and sometimes by counsel. The judges being thus made fully acquainted with the case, and being in no way influenced or cramped by technicalities, decided all cases according to their merits. There was but little use for lawyers before this court, for no plea was entertained which was calculated to hinder or defeat the ends of justice. Many of these judges have since won honors in higher spheres. They have aided to establish on the broad basis of right and universal liberty two pillars of our great republic in the Occident. Some of the young men who appeared before them as advocates have themselves sat upon the highest judicial tribunals, commanded armies, been governors of states and taken high position in the Senate of the nation.

"It is now 1 o'clock; the bugle has sounded and the caravan has resumed its westward journey. It is in the same order, but the evening is far less animated than the morning march; a drowsiness has fallen apparently on man and beast; teamsters drop asleep on their perches and even when walking by their teams, and the words of command are now addressed to the slowly creeping oxen in the soft tenor of women or the piping treble of children, while the snores of the teamsters make a droning accompaniment. But a little incident breaks the monotony of the march. An emigrant's wife, whose state of health has caused Doctor Whitman to travel near the wagon for the day, is now taken with violent illness. The Doctor has had the wagon driven out of the line, a tent pitched and a fire kindled. Many conjectures are hazarded in regard to this mysterious proceeding, and as to why this lone wagon is to be left behind. And we, too, must leave it, hasten to the front and note the proceedings, for the sun is now getting low in the west and at length the painstaking pilot is standing ready to conduct the train in the circle which he has previously measured



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and marked out, which is to form the invariable fortification for the night. The leading wagons follow him so nearly around the circle that but a wagon length separates them. Each wagon follows in its track, the rear closing on the front, until its tongue and ox-chains will perfectly reach from one to the other, and so accurate the measure and perfect the practice, that the hindmost wagon of the train always precisely closes the gateway, as each wagon is brought into position. It is dropped from its team (the teams being inside the circle), the teams unyoked and the yokes and chains are used to connect the wagon strongly with that in its front. Within ten minutes from the time the leading wagon halted, the barricade is formed, the teams unyoked and driven out to pasture. Every one is busy preparing fires of buffalo chips to cook the evening meal, pitching tents and otherwise preparing for the night. There are anxious watchers for the absent wagon, for there are many matrons who may be afflicted like its inmate before the journey is over; and they fear the strange and startling practice of this Oregon doctor will be dangerous. But as the sun goes down the absent wagon rolls into camp, the bright, speaking face and cheery look of the doctor, who rides in advance, declare without words that all is well, and both mother and child are comfortable. I would fain now and here pay a passing tribute to that noble and devoted man, Doctor Whitman. I will obtrude no other name upon the reader, nor would I his were he of our party or even living, but his stay with us was transient, though the good he did was permanent, and he has long since died at his post.

"From the time he joined us in the Platte until he left us at Fort Hall, his great experience and indomitable energy were of priceless value to the migrating column. His constant advice, which we knew was based upon a knowledge of the road before us, was, 'Travel, travel, travel; nothing else will take you to the end of your journey; nothing is wise that does not help you along; nothing is good for you that causes a moment's delay.' His great authority as a physician and complete success in the case above referred to, saved us many prolonged and perhaps ruinous delays from similar causes, and it is no disparagement to others to say that to no other individual are the emigrants of 1843 so much indebted for the successful conclusion of their journey as to Dr. Marcus Whitman.

"All able to bear arms in the party have been formed into three companies, and each of these into four watches; every third night it is the duty of one of these companies to keep watch and ward over the camp, and it is so arranged that each watch takes its turn of guard duty through the different watches of the night. Those forming the first watch tonight will be second on duty, then third and fourth, which brings them through all the watches of the night. They begin at 8 P. M., and end at 4 A. M.

* * * * *

"Before a tent near the river a violin makes lively music, and some youths and maidens have improvised a dance upon the green; in another quarter a flute gives its mellow and melancholy notes to the still night air, which, as they float away over the quiet river, seem a lament for the past rather than a hope for the future. It has been a prosperous day; more than twenty miles have been accomplished of the great journey. The encampment is a good one; one of the causes that threatened much future delay has just been removed by the

skill and energy of that 'good angel' of the emigrants, Doctor Whitman, and it has lifted a load from the hearts of the elders. Many of these are assembled around the good doctor at the tent of the pilot (which is his home for the time being), and are giving grave attention to his wise and energetic counsel. The care-worn pilot sits aloof, quietly smoking his pipe, for he knows the brave doctor is 'strengthening his hands.'

"But time passes; the watch is set for the night; the council of old men has broken up, and each has returned to his own quarter; the flute has whispered its last lament to the deepening night; the violin is silent, and the dancers have dispersed; enamored youth have whispered a tender 'good night' in the ear of blushing maidens, or stolen a kiss from the lips of some future bride—for Cupid here, as elsewhere, has been busy bringing together congenial hearts, and among these simple people he alone is consulted in forming the marriage tie. Even the doctor and the pilot have finished their confidential interview and have separated for the night. All is hushed and repose from the fatigues of the day, save the vigilant guard and the wakeful leader, who still has cares upon his mind that forbid sleep. He hears the 10 o'clock relief taking post and the 'all well' report of the returned guard; the night deepens, yet he seeks not the needed repose. At length a sentinel hurries to him with the welcome report that a party is approaching—as yet too far away for its character to be determined, and he instantly hurries out in the direction in which it was seen. This he does both from inclination and duty, for in times past the camp had been unnecessarily alarmed by timid or inexperienced sentinels causing much confusion and fright amongst the women and children, and it had been a rule that all extraordinary incidents of the night should be reported directly to the pilot, who alone had authority to call out the military strength of the column, or of so much of it as was in his judgment necessary to prevent a stampede or repel an enemy. Tonight he is at no loss to determine that the approaching party are the missing hunters (who had left the column early in the morning) and that they have met with success, and he only waits until by some further signal he can know that no ill has happened to them. This is not long wanting. He does not even await their arrival, but the last care of the day being removed, and the last duty performed, he, too, seeks the rest that will enable him to go through the same routine tomorrow. But here I leave him, for my task is also done, and unlike his, it is to be repeated no more."

Another very interesting, and far more tragic light is cast by J. Quinn Thornton who, in an address before Oregon pioneers in 1878, concerning the overland journey along the Platte, June 14, 1843, said:

"Three companies camped near each other on June 14th, which was Sabbath, and as if by previous arrangement determined to spend the day together. All the members of one of these companies had, without much ceremony, been invited to attend a wedding at the tent of Mr. Laird in the evening. Rev. J. E. Cornwell, acting as the officiating minister, proceeded at once to unite Miss Laird and a Mr. Moorty in the holy bonds of wedlock. The bride was arrayed very decently but rather gaily. The groom had on his best. Some of the young women present were dressed with a tolerable degree of taste and even with some degree of elegance. Among the men there were no long beards, dirty hands, begrimed faces, soiled linen or torn garments. Indeed at that time and place there were

four others who expected to be married in a few days. I cannot say that I approved this marrying on the road. It looked as though the women at least were making a sort of hop, skip and jump into matrimony, without knowing what their feet would come down upon or whether they might not be bruised and wounded.

"During that afternoon a boy's leg was amputated by one not a surgeon, the instruments employed being a butcher knife and an old dull handsaw. He bore his sufferings with the most wonderful fortitude and heroism. He seemed scarcely to move a muscle. A deathlike paleness would sometimes cover his face, but instead of groaning he would use some word of encouragement to the almost shrinking operator, or some expression of comfort to his afflicted friends. The limb was at length severed, the arteries gathered and the flap brought down in an hour and forty-five minutes after making the first incision.

"An emigrant who had been frequently compelled to retire from the afflicting spectacle, but who at the time of the operation was completed held the boy's hands in his, observing that he appeared much exhausted, tenderly inquired if he suffered much pain. The boy withdrew his hands, clasped them together, and partially raising them, exclaimed: 'Oh, yes, I am suffering! I am suffering so much!' His hands fell on his breast, his white lips quivered a few moments, his eyeballs rolled back, and his spirit went to God. He was buried in the night, and the sad and silent procession, by the light of the torches to the lonely grave so hastily dug in the solitude and almost unbroken silence of that faraway wilderness, contrasted strangely with the wedding festivities at the neighboring tent.

"Strange as it may seem, that same evening another interesting event transpired—the birth of a child on the same plain—so that the three great epochs of life, birth and death, were all represented at nearly the same time and place."

From the diary of Mrs. Elizabeth Smith, crossing plains 1847, one of the most illuminating documents of its kind, we find another wonderful record of the journey from Missouri to Oregon:

"September 15th—Laid by. This morning our company moved on except one family. The woman got mad and wouldn't budge nor let the children go. He had the cattle hitched on for three hours and coaxed her to go but she wouldn't stir. I told my husband the circumstances and he and Adam Polk and Mr. Kimball went and each took a young one and crammed them in the wagon and the husband drove off and left her sitting. She got up, took the back track and traveled out of sight. Cut across and overtook her husband. Meantime he sent his boy back to camp after a horse he had left and when she came up, her husband said: 'Did you meet John?' 'Yes,' was the reply, 'and I picked up a stone and knocked his brains out.' Her husband went back to ascertain the truth and while he was gone she set fire to one of the wagons that was loaded with store goods. The cover burnt off with some of the valuable articles. He saw the flames and came running and put it out, and then mustered up spunk enough to give her a good flogging."

Mrs. Smith's husband fell ill from the terrible exposure attendant upon getting his family down the Columbia River, and the wife wrote in her diary:

"November 30th. Raining. This morning I ran about trying to get a house to get into with my sick husband. At last I found a small, leaky concern with two

families already in it. Mrs. Polk (whose husband had died miserably on the road only a few days before) had got down before us. She and another widow were in this house. My family and Welch's went in with them and you could have stirred us with a stick. My children and I carried up a bed. The distance was nearly a quarter of a mile. Made it down on the floor in the mud. I got some men to carry my husband up through the rain and lay him on it, and he never was out of that shed until he was carried out in his coffin. Here lay five of us bedfast at one time, and we had no money and what few things we had left that would bring money I had to sell. I had to give ten cents a pound for fresh pork, seventy-five cents a bushel for potatoes and four cents a pound for fish. There are so many of us sick that I cannot write any more at present.

"January 15, 1848. My husband is still alive but very sick. There is no medicine here except at Fort Vancouver and the people there will not sell one bit—not even a bottle of wine.

"January 31st. Rain all day. If I could tell you how we suffer you would not believe it. Our house, or rather a shed joined to the house, leaks all over. The roof descends in such a manner that the rain runs right down into the fire. I have dipped as much as six pails of water off our dirt hearth in one night. Here I sit up night after night with my poor sick husband, all alone, and expecting him every day to die. * * * I have not undressed to lie down for six weeks. Besides our sickness I had a cross little babe to take care of. Indeed I cannot tell you half."

Her husband died February 2nd, leaving her with her eight children among strangers, completely out of touch with kinsmen, destitute. Later on she married Joseph Geer. She reared a fine family and became revered among her people.

The large immigration of 1843 gave the Americans control at the polls and most of the officers elected May 14, 1844, were citizens of the United States. The new executive committee was composed of Peter G. Stewart, Osborn Russell and W. J. Bailey. Doctor Babcock was elected supreme judge; John E. Long, recorder; Philip Foster, treasurer; Joseph L. Meek, sheriff; Peter H. Burnett, David Hill, M. M. McCarver, M. Gilmore, A. L. Lovejoy, Daniel Waldo, T. D. Keizer and Robert Newell, legislators.

June 18th the Legislature met in Oregon City, elected McCarver speaker, and after sitting ten days adjourned to meet again in December. Two laws were passed—one prohibiting the liquor traffic, the other slavery and the residence in Oregon of negroes. The December meeting lasted eight days. The law providing for the executive committee was repealed and provision made for the election of a governor to take its place.

Another large party of immigrants—some 1,500—arrived in the fall of 1844. At the election of June 3, 1845, 504 ballots were cast and the officers chosen were George Abernethy, governor; John E. Long, secretary; Philip Foster, treasurer; and James W. Nesmith, judge. The judge was but twenty-three years of age at this time. The legislators were H. A. G. Lee, W. H. Gray and Hiram Straight, Clackamas; Robert Newell, J. M. Garrison, M. G. Foisy and Barton Lee, Champoeg; Jesse Applegate and Abijah Hendricks, Yamhill; M. M. McCarver, J. W. Smith and David Hill, Tuality, and John McClure, Clatsop.

The Legislature convened in Oregon City June 24th and appointed Lee, Newell, Smith, Applegate and McClure a committee to redraft the constitution.

In addition to reorganizing the executive branch of the government, the preceding Legislature had cut off the township grants, made to the missions, and provided for a system of taxation. This brought a new alignment of the various factions which were now represented by the Hudson's Bay, the Catholic and the Methodist missions, each seeking special privileges and grants.

Into this tangle of affairs came Jesse Applegate with the legal training received in the St. Louis law office of Edward Bates. From the first sitting of the committee on revision he seems to have dominated its actions and the original draft of the Oregon Organic Law was written by his hand. It was hastily prepared, was submitted to the Legislature July 2nd, approved, and the assembly, after voting to submit it to the people at a special election to be held July 26th, adjourned.

August 5th the Legislature again assembled, canvassed the vote which was found to be favorable to the constitution by a majority of 203. As a "harmonizer" it was a complete success. The oath of office was changed to read "I do solemnly swear that I will support the Organic Laws of Oregon, so far as the said Organic Laws are consistent with my duties as a citizen of the United States, or a subject of Great Britain, and will faithfully demean myself in office, so help me God!" The Legislature changed the boundaries of the legislative districts, which now became counties, and created the County of Vancouver, the same to include all the territory lying north of the Columbia River to 54 degrees, 40 minutes of north latitude.

This was the second step towards bringing the Hudson's Bay Company into the government. The third was taken a few days later when a written invitation was sent to Doctor McLoughlin to take a seat in the Legislature as the representative of the newly-created county. McLoughlin asked for time in which to consult with Chief Factor Douglas, and on August 15th he accepted the invitation. The British element had been won over and agreed to give the government both moral and financial support.

Later it developed that this was a very politic move upon the part of Doctor McLoughlin. Sometime before an American named Williamson had attempted to jump land belonging to Fort Vancouver. Upon the doctor's orders the house which Williamson had built was pulled down. Fearing trouble, McLoughlin applied to the British consul at Hawaii, but his letter was not answered. About this same time McLoughlin received a letter from the officers of the company in which he was informed that it would be impossible to get protection from the British government for the company's Vancouver post and that he, McLoughlin, would have to protect it as best he could. This turn of events, of course, was not known to the Oregon legislators at the time the invitation to join that body was sent to Doctor McLoughlin.

A few days after joining the organization Doctor McLoughlin was much surprised by the arrival at Vancouver of Lieutenant Peel and Captain Parks, British naval officers, who came from Puget Sound with letters from Captain Gorden, commander of the ship *America*, then at Nisqually for the purpose of protecting British interests. Peel and Parks were really spies, (were followed a little later by two others) sent to Vancouver at the instigation of Hudson's Bay officers who were opposed to McLoughlin's course toward American settlers.

He was charged with treason and after a bitter controversy with the higher officers of the company, tendered his resignation and retired to Oregon City.

Winning the support of Doctor McLoughlin was considered a victory for the government and especially for Applegate who had taken the initiative in the matter. A few days before this Applegate had won another victory, when, on the 11th, he pushed through the Legislature an anti-dueling bill. An obstreperous young man named Holderness had challenged Dr. Elijah White to a duel. Applegate hastened into the Legislature with a bill prohibiting dueling. It was adopted, signed by the governor and in half an hour was the law of the land. Before Holderness could arrange for a second he learned that to do so would subject him to a heavy fine. Oregon legislatures of that day were not afflicted with committee rule.

It is said that Applegate wrote the memorial which Joe Meek carried to Washington and which resulted in the organization of Oregon Territory on August 14, 1848. In 1849 he represented Polk County in the Legislature, was a member of the constitutional convention of 1857 and later retired to his home at the foot of Mount Yoncalla where he gathered one of the finest libraries on the Pacific coast.

At the request of Schuyler Colfax, speaker of the House of Representatives, Applegate, in the fall of 1865, wrote a series of letters on the reconstruction of the South which attracted wide-spread attention. To meet the new conditions brought about by the emancipation of the negroes, he proposed the creation of a federal commission whose duties should be the examination of all voters as to their educational qualifications and moral character. Applicants passing the examination were to receive a certificate entitling them to vote; those failing were to be allowed time for study before making other applications for examinations.

The creation of such a commission would have meant the amendment of the Federal Constitution and in this connection Applegate wrote:

"If the right to choose a form of government was the right of our ancestors, it is ours, and will descend to posterity, and anything we may do to take away that right will be impotent."

The framers of the Federal Constitution, he thought, had placed too many obstacles in the way of its amendment. That a constitutional convention should be called for the purpose of drafting a new instrument more in keeping with the times, he deemed absolutely necessary. "The only difference I would make between an organic and a statute law would be that the organic should be the act of the people, the statute the act of their representatives." With such a teacher it is easy to find the foundation upon which rests much of the present day "Oregon Idea" of government. At one time he was offered a United States senatorship, "with restrictions." The party "boss" was given to understand that if he went to the senate there would be no "restrictions" upon his actions. He did not go; but retiring to his farm passed the remainder of his life in study, writing and delivering an occasional lecture or address. He was known all over the Northwest as the "Sage of the Yoncalla."

The December, 1845, session of the Legislature divided the country north of the Columbia. From Vancouver was taken "all the territory lying to the north of the Columbia River and west of the Cowlitz, up to 54 degrees, 40 minutes, north latitude," and the new County of Lewis was established. At the election

in June, 1846, Dr. William Fraser Tolmie became Lewis County's first representative, Vancouver sending Henry N. Peers who was returned the year following with Simon Plomondon representing Lewis. June 15, 1846, the treaty between the United States and Great Britain by which the northern boundary of Oregon was established on the 49th parallel, was signed in Washington, and the present State of Washington became United States territory. This did not relieve the Provisional Government of its responsibility, however, and it continued to govern the country until the establishment of the Territory of Oregon, August 14, 1848. Plomondon was a notable character and, according to Rev. Father P. F. Hylebos, who knew him well, had seventeen wives.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BOUNDARY DISPUTE TAKEN UP BY BRITISH AND AMERICAN OFFICIALS—INFLUENCE OF SMITH AND WYETH REPORTS—WILKES' REPORT, BURIED IN GOVERNMENT ARCHIVES FOR MANY YEARS, THROWS INTERESTING LIGHT ON EXPLORER'S OPINION REGARDING BOUNDARY AND MILITARY ADVANTAGE—ASHBURTON AND WEBSTER BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS—WEBSTER WRONGFULLY ACCUSED—JINGOISTS MAKE THE MOST OF "54-40, OR FIGHT!"—LORD ABERDEEN OFFERS COMPROMISE MEASURE—AFTER FIFTY YEARS OF SQUABBLING, QUESTION AT LAST IS SETTLED, AND AS THE UNITED STATES DESIRED THAT IT SHOULD BE SETTLED.

As the end of the ten-year period for which the joint-occupation treaty of 1818 had been signed approached, diplomats of both the United States and Great Britain seemed desirous of settling the boundary question definitely. The Florida purchase, carrying with it as it did, the Spanish claims on the Northwest coast, gave the friends of Oregon additional argument for the extreme northern line. When the British and American commissions took up the question the United States made a demand for the 49th parallel; Britain refused to consider any line north of the Columbia River and the joint occupation arrangement was continued. The new treaty, signed in 1827, provided that either of the contracting governments might, upon giving one year's notice, terminate the agreement.

The reports made by Smith and Wyeth probably influenced the next step made by the United States. President Jackson, in 1835, sent W. A. Slacum to the Columbia River with instructions to "obtain specific and authentic information in regard to the inhabitants of the country, the relative number of whites and Indians; the jurisdiction which the whites acknowledge; the sentiments entertained by all in respect to the United States and the two European powers having possessions in that region." Slacum made his report to the Government in 1837; one of its main features being an objection to a surrender of any of the country south of the 49th parallel.

The effect of the report is found in the Wilkes Expedition, provided for by Congress in 1836. With eight vessels under his command, Lieut. Charles Wilkes sailed from Norfolk, Virginia, August 10, 1838, arrived at the mouth of the Columbia the following year and, because of trouble experienced in trying to cross the bar, sailed northward and entered the Straits of Fuca. His report was submitted to the Government in 1842 and gave a description of the country, its geography, geology and its great possibilities of development. As to the latter he says:

"Few portions of the globe in my opinion are to be found, so rich in soil, diversified in surface, or capable of being rendered the happy abode of an industrious and civilized community. For beauty of scenery and salubrity of climate, it is unsurpassed; it is peculiarly adapted for an agricultural and pastoral

people, and no portion of the world beyond the tropics is to be found that will yield so readily to the wants of man with moderate labor."

England, he thought, would continue to claim all the country north and west of the Columbia River and he urged Congress not to accept any line south of the Fraser River. The loss of the Peacock on one of the sand bars at the mouth of the Columbia added to his poor opinion of that river and convinced him that its shifting bars would always be a source of trouble. Grays Harbor, because of its extensive tide lands, he thought too small to be of value. "This, however, is not the case with the harbors found within the Straits of Juan de Fuca; of which there are many, and no part of the world affords finer inland sounds or a greater number of harbors than can be found here, capable of receiving the largest class of ships, and without a danger to them that is not visible."

Forty-four pages were devoted to that part of the report relating to the boundary. This report was hidden in the Government archives until 1911 when Congressman W. E. Humphrey succeeded in having it published for the first time. The 49th parallel he found objectionable because such a boundary "would throw Fraser's River without our territory, cut off and leave seven-eighths of the fine Island of Vancouver in their possession, together with all the harbors including those of Nootka, Clioquot and Natinat, which afford everything that could be desired as safe and good ports for naval establishments. They would not only command the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the inlets and sounds leading from it, but place the whole at any moment under their control, by enabling them to reach and penetrate to the heart of the territory with a comparatively small force, and destroy and lay it waste. * * * We should also give up what may be considered a storehouse of wealth in its forests, furs, and fisheries, containing an inexhaustible supply of the first and last of the best quality."

Recommending the military occupation of the territory, the explorer advised the establishment of a post at Walla Walla, for the protection of the interior, with "a steamer having a light draft of water, a small fort on Cape Disappointment, and a few guns on Point Adams to defend the south channel, and its dangerous bar, would be all sufficient for the defense of the Columbia River." For the protection of the Sound two steamers were proposed. "They would be a more efficient force than stationary forts and much more economical. The occupation of the mouth of the Columbia River, together with some point in the Straits of Juan de Fuca or the waters and sounds leading from it, I view as highly necessary in any event." The servants of the Hudson's Bay Company he found were "worn out Canadians, some few Iroquois Indians, and other tribes from the Canadas, and illy adapted to bear arms. * * * I am decidedly of the opinion that the company would do everything to avoid the territory's becoming a scene of war, particularly its officers."

Early in April Lord Ashburton and Secretary of State Daniel Webster opened negotiations for the settlement of the boundary question. Two problems were before the diplomats for solution—that of boundary between Maine and Eastern Canada, the other the northern boundary of Oregon. Late in August a treaty definitely fixing the Maine boundary was signed. Oregon was still undecided.

Perhaps no American statesman has been so censured by the people of Old Oregon as Daniel Webster. Frequently he has been charged with being willing to trade what is now Western Washington for a fishing privilege on the coast

of Canada. He has also been accused of delivering a speech in which he used the words: "What do we want with the vast, worthless area, (Oregon) this region of savages and wild beasts, of deserts of shifting sands and whirlwinds of dust, of cactus and prairie dogs?" Many historians are of the opinion that the "Prairie Dog" speech originated with either H. H. Spaulding, of "Macedonian Cry" fame, or with William H. Gray. It is not found in the records of Congress, nor does it appear in the published works of Webster.

The "fish trade" story seems to have been pieced together from garbled quotations from a letter written by Webster to the wife of his brother-in-law about the time that he and Ashburton completed the Maine treaty. This letter referred to a fishing trip which he had planned to make as soon as he could get away from Washington and it does not in any way refer to the boundary question. Even the most enthusiastic admirers of Webster admit that he did not place a high value on the Oregon country. Like some other statesmen of the period, he hoped to see a new republic rise at the mouth of the Columbia. In a speech in Faneuil Hall delivered November 7, 1845, he predicted the establishment of such a republic "at the mouth of the Columbia, or more probably further south, * * * in the most healthful, fertile and desirable portion of the globe, and quite too far removed from Europe and from this side of the American continent to be under the governmental influence of either country."

It has been said that Ashburton, shortly after he and Webster opened the Maine question, stood solidly for the Columbia River as the northern boundary of Oregon. To this Webster replied that "the Government of the United States has never offered any line south of 49 degrees and never will." The two commissioners agreed not to discuss the question and proceeded to a settlement of the eastern boundary.

October 18th, five days after the Ashburton treaty had been accepted by Great Britain, Lord Aberdeen instructed Mr. Fox, British minister at Washington, to inform the American Government that Great Britain desired to open negotiations upon the Oregon question. Both governments began what might be termed a "feeling out" of sentiment that lasted for several years, and quickly became a factor in national politics.

Richard Pakenham had succeeded Fox as British minister and Abel P. Upshur had become secretary of state when the matter next was brought prominently before the two governments by a letter written by Pakenham February 24, 1844. It was a renewal of the request of the Earl of Aberdeen. In his reply Upshur informed the British minister that he would be pleased to meet him "tomorrow at 11 A. M." A few days later Upshur was killed by the accidental explosion of a new cannon known as the "Old Peacemaker," and Pakenham allowed the boundary matter to rest until July 22d, when he addressed a note to John C. Calhoun, the new secretary. In this note Pakenham called attention to the correspondence and requested that as the Congress had brought its session to a close, the boundary question again might be taken up for consideration.

Calhoun delayed replying until August 22d, when he wrote the British minister that he would see him the next day.

As a result of this conference a protocol was drawn, the leading feature of which was the statement that "the conference was opened by assurances on both sides of the desire of their respective governments to approach the ques-

tion with an earnest desire, and in the spirit of compromise, to effect an adjustment consistent with the honor and just interests of either party." Both ministers requested that at their next meeting the other present proposals. August 26th, Packenham presented such proposal and Calhoun promptly declined to consider it. An agreement was reached "that written statements, containing their views, should be presented before any further attempt should be made to adjust them." Packenham's proposal had been the forty-ninth degree to the headwaters of the Columbia and the middle of that stream to the ocean. Four conferences were held in September, both sides presenting lengthy reviews of the history of the Oregon country, also their arguments—the British minister for the Columbia and Calhoun for a more northerly line.

All of these papers were submitted to London by the British minister and nothing further was heard of them until after the fall elections of 1844 had sent James K. Polk to the President's chair on the jingo platform of "Fifty-four-forty, or fight." In the interval between the November election and Polk's taking his seat, Packenham, January 15, 1845, wrote to Calhoun proposing that the question be decided by arbitration. Calhoun replied that this did not meet with the President's favor and that the Government of the United States still thought the matter could be settled by negotiation.

James Buchanan became Polk's secretary of state and July 12, 1845, wrote a lengthy letter to the British minister in which he said that the title of the United States to "that portion of the Oregon Territory between the Valley of the Columbia and the Russian line in 54° 40' north latitude, is recorded in the Florida treaty." In his attack upon the treaty of October, 1790, between Great Britain and Spain, which treaty had been one of the strong arguments advanced by the British minister in establishing title to the country, Buchanan said the convention which framed the treaty "recognizes no right of Great Britain, either present or prospective, to plant permanent colonies on the northwest coast of America, or to exercise such exclusive jurisdiction over any portion of it as is essential to sovereignty. Great Britain obtained from Spain all she then desired—a mere engagement that her subjects should not be disturbed or molested * * * in landing on the coasts of those seas, in places not already occupied, for the purpose of carrying on their commerce with the natives of the country, or of making settlements there.'

"What kind of 'settlements?' This is not specified; but surely their character and duration are limited by the object which the contracting parties had in view. They must have been such only as were necessary and proper 'for the purposes of carrying on commerce with the natives of the country.' Were these settlements intended to expand into colonies; to expel the natives; to deprive Spain of her sovereign rights, and to confer the exclusive jurisdiction over the whole territory on Great Britain? Surely Spain never designed any such results; and if Great Britain has obtained these concessions by the Nootka Sound Convention, it has been by the most extraordinary construction ever imposed upon human language. But this convention also stipulates that to these settlements, which might be made by the one party, 'the subjects of the other shall have free access, and shall carry on their trade without any disturbance or molestation.'

"What trade? Certainly that "with the natives of the country,' as prescribed

in the third article; and this, from the very nature of things, could continue only whilst the country should remain in the possession of the Indians. On no other construction can this convention escape from the absurdities attributed to it by British statesmen, when under discussion before the House of Commons. 'In every place in which we might settle (said Mr., afterwards, Earl, Grey), access was left for the Spaniards. Where we might form a settlement on one hill, they might erect a fort on another; and a merchant must run all risks of a discovery, and all the expenses of an establishment, for a property which was liable to be the subject of continued dispute, and could never be placed upon a permanent footing.' "

The declaration of war by Spain against Great Britain in October, 1796, Buchanan declared, annulled the Nootka treaty, and the Treaty of Madrid, signed August 28, 1814, had in no wise re-established its terms. It had been a commercial treaty giving Great Britain the right to trade with Spain, but not with Spanish colonies, the trade of these being controlled by the mother country.

"That the British government itself had no idea, in 1818, that the Nootka Sound Convention was then in force, may be fairly inferred from their silence upon the subject during the whole negotiation of that year on the Oregon question. This convention was not once referred to by the British plenipotentiaries. They rested their claims upon other foundations. * * * The title of the United States to the entire region drained by the Columbia River and its branches was perfect and complete before the date of the treaties of joint occupation of October, 1818, and August, 1827."

That title rested upon the discovery and explorations of Americans and "neither the grant of this territory for a term of years, made by Great Britain to the Hudson's Bay Company in December, 1821, nor the extension of this grant in 1838, nor the settlements, trading posts and forts which have been established by that company under it, can in the slightest degree strengthen the British or impair the American title to any portion of the Oregon Territory."

Buchanan admitted that the President found himself "embarrassed, if not committed, by the acts of his predecessors" who "had uniformly proceeded upon the principle of compromise in all their negotiations" and that otherwise "he would not have consented to yield any portion of the Oregon Territory." This was an easy way of satisfying the people who had elected Polk upon the platform of "Fifty-four-forty or fight" and gave Buchanan a good opportunity of presenting his proposal "that the Oregon Territory shall be divided between the two countries by the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean" with any port on Vancouver Island south of that line free to Great Britain.

In his reply, dated July 29th, Packenham called Gray a "private navigator, sailing principally for the purposes of trade," and said that a wide difference existed between his work and that of Vancouver who had sailed as a Government explorer. Berkeley, a British subject sailing as commander of an Austrian vessel, is given credit for discovering the Straits of Fuca; and Mears, another British subject (sailing under the flag of Portugal), is called the founder of Nootka. The whole history of the country is viewed in such a way as to make important every British discovery while minimizing those made by Americans. The letter asserted that the writer "confidently believes, that, on the grounds of discovery,

exploration, and settlement, Great Britain has nothing to fear from a comparison of her claims to the Oregon Territory, taken as a whole, with those of the United States," and that he did not "feel at liberty to accept the proposal offered by the American plenipotentiary for the settlement of the question."

Buchanan's reply was longer even than Packenham's letter and after reasserting the American claims, declared that the President, finding himself hampered by the acts of his predecessors, had offered the forty-ninth parallel in the hope that it would bring about a settlement of the Oregon question which presented the only "cloud which intercepts the prospect of a long career of mutual friendship and beneficial commerce between the two nations."

"These are the reasons which actuated the President to offer a proposition so liberal to Great Britain.

"And how has this proposition been received by the British plenipotentiary? It has been rejected without even a reference to his own government. Nay more; the British plenipotentiary, to use his own language, 'trusts that the American plenipotentiary will be prepared to offer some further proposal for the settlement of the Oregon question more consistent with fairness and equity, and with the reasonable expectations of the British government.'" If Packenham really entertained any such hope, it was dispelled by the next to the last paragraph of Buchanan's letter which states that the President had instructed him to withdraw the proposition entirely. Such action was however taken with the hope that "this long pending controversy may yet be finally adjusted in such a manner as not to disturb the peace or interrupt the harmony now so happily subsisting between the two nations."

Here the matter rested until April 27, 1846, when Congress adopted a resolution instructing the President to notify Her Britannic Majesty that the United States desired to terminate the joint-occupation treaty. Next day the President prepared a formal notice in which he said that the treaty would be abrogated twelve months thereafter. Secretary Buchanan promptly sent the notice to Mr. McLane, United States minister to Great Britain, with a letter in which the importance of the observance of the proper mode of presentation was fully set forth. Minister McLane received the notice May 15th and four days later had a conference with Lord Aberdeen, the ostensible object of which was the discussion of the presentation of the resolution of Congress and the note of the President.

Whether this entered into the talk or not does not appear in the published correspondence between McLane and Buchanan; but what is of more importance is the statement in the American minister's letter to the effect that he and the British diplomat had had a long and friendly conversation about the settlement of the boundary question and that Aberdeen would, the next day, send Packenham instructions to present to the United States a compromise measure, which "proposition most probably will offer, substantially, first, to divide the territory by the extension of the line on the parallel of forty-nine to the sea; that is to say, to the arm of the sea called Birch's Bay; thence by the canal De Arro and straits of Fuca, to the ocean."

This letter of McLane's is important in that it plainly shows that he and the British premier, in their discussion had considered the Canal De Arro (Haro)

as the strait through which the boundary between the San Juan and Vancouver islands should run.

The formal proposal made to the United States by the British government a few days later, in its first article provided that the boundary should be "westward along the said forty-ninth parallel of north latitude to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island; and thence southerly through the middle of said channel and of Fuca's straits to the Pacific Ocean." Neglecting to name this channel led later to the San Juan trouble and came near causing a clash between the two governments.

Article II provided that the "great northern branch of the Columbia River" should be "free and open to the Hudson's Bay Company, and to all British subjects trading with the same, to the point where the said branch meets the main stream of the Columbia, and thence down the said main stream to the ocean" for the free transportation of goods and produce. Article III confirmed the "possessory rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, and of all British subjects who may be already in the occupation of land or other property lawfully acquired within the said territory," and article IV did the same for the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, with the further stipulation that the United States should have the right to buy any of this property "at a proper valuation to be agreed upon between the parties."

June 15, 1846, the treaty was signed by James Buchanan, on behalf of the United States, and Richard Packenham, for Great Britain. It was immediately sent to the Senate for ratification. For several days the upper house of Congress had been debating the question, and it is interesting to note that the "Fifty-four Forty or Fight" sentiment was still strong. Polk in his message accompanying the draft of the proposed treaty, left its acceptance or rejection with the Senate, merely stating that that body, December 2, 1845, had received, in his annual message, his opinion regarding the question. By a vote of forty-one to fourteen the Senate, June 18th, ratified the treaty.

When the commissioners upon whom devolved the establishment and marking of the line found two channels between the main land and Vancouver Island—one running through Rosario Strait and the other through the Canal De Haro—they were unable to agree upon which of these the treaty intended the boundary should rest. The disputed territory again was left to joint occupancy and came near plunging the two nations into war over the destruction of an American garden by a British pig. In 1871 the question was submitted to the Emperor of Germany for arbitration. Three scientists were appointed to make a thorough investigation and upon receiving their report the emperor, October 21, 1872, decided that the line running through the Canal De Haro was the one contemplated in the treaty and the Oregon Question, subject of countless debates, many treaties and more than fifty years of diplomatic negotiation, was settled

CHAPTER IX

WRECK OF THE SHARK—DOCTOR MC LOUGHLIN IS ACCUSED AND RETIRES FROM MANAGEMENT OF HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY INTERESTS—BRITISH INTERESTS SEIZE LAND FOR LOOK-OUT PURPOSES—SQUABBLING OVER LAND—ATTEMPT TO SETTLE CONTROVERSY OVER DOCTOR MC LOUGHLIN'S HOLDING—IS COMPELLED TO BUY UP HOLDINGS WHICH WERE MOST CLOSELY HELD.

While officials of the United States and Great Britain were working out the details of the treaties for the boundary settlement, the people of Oregon were awaiting news from London and Washington. Lieut. Neil M. Howison, commanding the United States schooner Shark, arrived at the mouth of the Columbia River July 18, 1846, and six days later cast anchor at Vancouver. Howison found the British sloop of war Modeste in the river and was informed that two other British vessels, the Fisguard and the Cormorant, were in Puget Sound waters. These were the vessels sent in reply to McLoughlin's request for protection at Vancouver.

Howison reported that "these unusual demonstrations produced anything but a tranquillizing effect upon the American portion of the population, and the presence of the British flag was a constant source of irritation. The English officers used every gentlemanly caution to reconcile our countrymen to their presence, but no really good feelings existed. * * * The English residents calculated with great certainty upon the river being adopted as the future dividing line, and looked with jealousy upon the American advance into the northern portion of the territory, which had some influence in restraining emigration."

September 10th the Shark was wrecked while crossing the Columbia River bar outward bound, on her way to the Atlantic. The crew reached shore with the vessel's flags—an ensign and a union jack. Unable to obtain passage for himself and men to San Francisco, Howison returned to the Willamette Valley where he remained until about December 1st. In November a sailing vessel arrived in the Columbia with the news that the treaty of June 15th had been signed and that Oregon to forty-nine degrees belonged to the United States. The high tension under which both Americans and British had lived through the summer was relieved. December 1st Lieutenant Howison sent the flags of the Shark to Governor Abernethy with a letter in which he expressed pride "that this relic of my late command should be emphatically the first United States flag to wave over the undisputed and purely American territory of Oregon."

In the summer of 1846 Doctor McLoughlin retired from the management of Fort Vancouver and took up his residence at Oregon City. The immediate cause being the filing of charges of treason by Vavasour and Ware, British officers connected with the Royal Engineers. The basis for these charges was Doctor McLoughlin's kindness to American settlers.

Sir George Simpson, March 19, 1845, wrote to Sir Henry Pelly, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, saying that "should recent proceedings in the Congress of the United States on the Oregon question result in hostilities between the two countries, I think it would be absolutely necessary for the protection of the company's interests in Hudson's Bay that a small military force should be stationed at Red River. * * * For the protection of British interests on the Columbia and northwest coast I would, moreover, suggest that two sailing ships of war and two steamers should be stationed there. It would be highly important to get possession of Cape Disappointment, and to erect thereon a strong battery, which would effectually command the mouth of the Columbia River."

Hudson's Bay officials had no difficulty in obtaining the appointments of Lieutenants Vavasour and Ware, who were instructed to accompany the 1845 Red River express to Vancouver. From the time of their appointment the two engineers seem to have taken their orders from officials of the company. Simpson, May 30th, wrote to Peter Skeen Ogden, then at the Red River post, informing him the engineers would be attached to his party and urging him to "take your departure from the Red River not later than the 12th proc. so as to reach the Pacific as early as possible, with a view of anticipating Lieutenant Fremont of the United States Army, who, I understand, was to have left St. Louis on the 29th of April for the same destination; and by a steady prosecution of the journey, I am in hopes you may reach the Pacific by 12th of August.

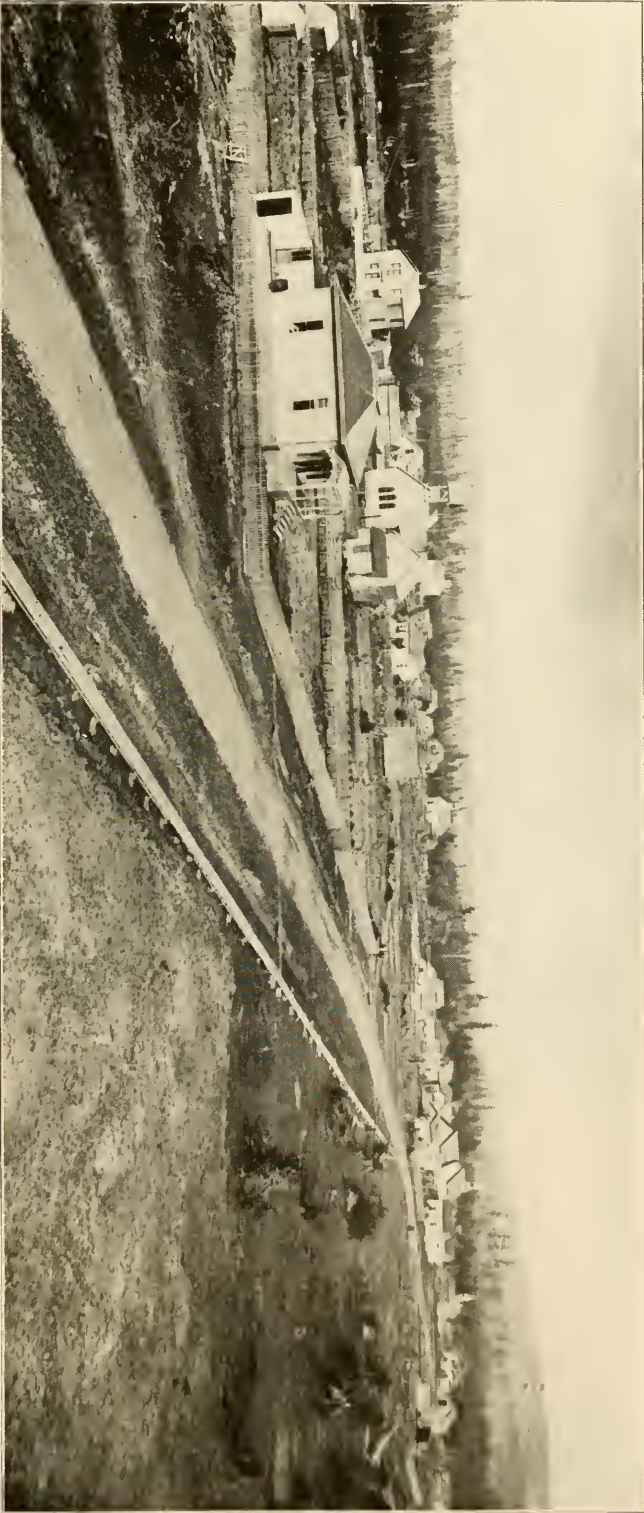
"The first object to be attended to on arrival there is to take possession, on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, of Cape Disappointment, ostensibly with a view to the forming of a trading post and pilot lookout (should it not have been previously occupied on behalf of the United States Government, or any of its citizens)."

Ogden was instructed to put up the "necessary enclosures and building" on the cape, enclosing as much of the headland as he deemed necessary to a command of the mouth of the river; also to direct the attention of the British officers to Tongue Point on the south side of the Columbia and such other points along that stream between its mouth and Vancouver, as the engineers might consider important from a military point of view. Simpson was particular to instruct Ogden with regard to the rights of the United States Government and its citizens, saying: "You will distinctly understand, however, that neither Cape Disappointment, Tongue Point, nor any other place is to be taken possession of by the Hudson's Bay Company if already possessed and occupied on behalf of the United States Government or its citizens; but after possession has once been taken by you of any of these points, I have to request that such may not be relinquished unless compelled to abandon it by superior force and overt acts of violence on the part of the United States Government or its citizens.

"I have to request that this letter be considered strictly confidential, and that the object of Messrs. Warre and Vavasour's journey be not disclosed, but that it be given out that they are known to us only as private travelers for the pleasure of field sports and scientific pursuits."

Vavasour and Warre began their investigation of the Columbia in August and a little later reported to Ogden that they desired the company to obtain possession of the land on Cape Disappointment. An American named Saules claimed the land and Ogden opened negotiations with him. October 2d Ogden

ABOUT ALL THERE WAS TO BELLINGHAM IN THE EARLY '80s



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wrote Warre: "I regret to say that my purchase of the cape is now null and void. The man I purchased it from had no right to dispose of it. Two men, Americans, viz., Wheeler and McDaniell, had a prior claim. They, however, proposed to part with it for \$900, which I refused, having no authority vested in me to negotiate."

After much correspondence between the engineers and Ogden, Ogden bought the McDaniell and Wheeler claim for \$1,000 and surveyor's fees of \$200. The money was advanced by Ogden from his own funds and later repaid by the company.

In their report, made March 1, 1846, the engineers recommended the fortifying of Vancouver, Cape Disappointment, Point Adams, Oregon City and Nisqually; all of which were covered by an elaborate system of maps. It was in this report that charges were made against the loyalty of Doctor McLoughlin.

About the time that Doctor McLoughlin sent his resignation as chief factor, he decided to become a citizen of the United States and applied to Burnett and Applegate for information. Oregon, then under the Provisional Government, was without United States authority and the doctor had to wait until the arrival of Governor Lane in March, 1849, before making formal application for naturalization. This he did the day after Governor Lane assumed his duties.

From the day, in the summer of 1840, that he gave the Methodist Mission permission to build a mission house on a part of his Oregon City claim to the day of his death, Doctor McLoughlin was in almost constant trouble over his homestead. Rev. A. F. Waller was sent by Jason Lee to take up mission work at that point. In the name of the mission Waller took a land claim lying just north of McLoughlin's, which embraced the water power site at the falls. McLoughlin's land was "jumped" by Waller and the doctor had to pay \$500 to quiet the title. Three months later, Rev. George Gary in closing up the mission's affairs, offered to sell to McLoughlin the lots which had been used by the mission people for \$6,000. The doctor suggested that as he had donated these lots and had supplied some of the lumber used by the missionaries in their buildings, he thought the property should be returned to him upon payment of the value of the improvements. Gary refused to do so and McLoughlin again was forced to buy out the claimants to his land.

Here the matter rested until 1850 when Delegate Samuel R. Thurston began his attack in Congress upon the McLoughlin land claim. Thurston shamelessly misrepresented the facts; charged McLoughlin with having taken the claim on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company and with hindering to the extent of his power the settlement of Oregon by Americans. His appeal was based upon partisanship and not justice. The Revolutionary war hatred of the British was aroused; Doctor McLoughlin was represented as an opponent of American Government, a man who steadfastly refused to become a citizen, and even his church connections were injected into the argument.

Regarding this long and bitter fight Frederick V. Holman says Doctor McLoughlin "was a man of fortitude, who brooded, almost silently, over his sorrows, with an occasional outburst when his sufferings were too intense. He had made expensive improvements on his land claim, including a flour-mill and a saw-mill, and other buildings. No provisions were ever made by Congress to pay for these improvements. Even his dwelling house at Oregon City, which for several

years had been the home of himself and family, was taken from him, with his other improvements, by section 11 of the Oregon Donation Land Law. It is true he remained in possession of these improvements, including his home, but by sufferance only. Because the Territory of Oregon did not sell the land he was not actually ousted. There was no way to acquire land in Oregon City, taken from Doctor McLoughlin by said section 11, except by a law passed by the Oregon Legislature. And the Legislature did nothing. * * *

"Had doctor been allowed to have his land, he could have built up a large town at Oregon City. As it was, investors went to places where titles to land could be obtained and there built enterprises. With the moneys from the sale of land Doctor McLoughlin could have paid the Hudson's Bay Company all the moneys due by settlers, who had failed or refused to pay. The payment of this heavy indebtedness Doctor McLoughlin had assumed. It was a matter of honor with him. He owed nothing else to the Hudson's Bay Company. The settlers who would not pay their indebtedness caused Doctor McLoughlin to feel keenly their ingratitude."

That he did indulge an "occasional outburst" is shown by the document which he prepared in his own defense and which closes:

"By British demagogues I have been represented as a traitor. For what? Because I acted as a Christian; saved American citizens, men, women and children from the Indian tomahawk and enabled them to make farms to support their families. American demagogues have been base enough to assert that I caused American citizens to be massacred by hundreds by the savages. I, who saved all I could. I have been represented by the delegate from Oregon, the late S. R. Thurston, as doing all I could to prevent the settling, while it was well known to every American settler who is acquainted with the history of the territory if this is not a downright falsehood, and most certainly will say, that he most firmly believes that I did all I could to promote its settlement, and that I could not have done more for the settlers if they had been my own brothers and sisters, and, after being the first person to take a claim in the country and assisting the immigrants as I have, my claim is reserved, after having expended all the means I had to improve it, while every other settler in the country gets his.

"But I felt convinced that any disturbance between us here might lead to a war between Great Britain and the States, I felt it my bouden duty as a Christian, to act as I did, and which I think averted evil, and which was so displeasing to some English demagogues that they represented me to the British government as a person so partial to American interests as selling Hudson's Bay Company goods, in my charge, cheaper to Americans than I did to British subjects. * * * To be brief, I founded this settlement and prevented a war between the United States and Great Britain, and for doing this peacefully and quietly, I was treated by the British in such a manner that from self respect I resigned my situation in the Hudson's Bay Company's service, by which I sacrificed \$12,000 per annum, and the 'Oregon Land Bill' shows the treatment I received from the Americans."

F. X. Matthieu visited Canada in 1858 and upon his return to Oregon told friends that all of Doctor McLoughlin's fortune had been used to pay the Hudson's Bay Company for goods which he had advanced to American settlers—goods which he had charged to his own personal account. An estimate of the value

of these goods places the amount at about \$60,000, fully \$25,000 of which was never repaid.

The last years of Doctor McLoughlin's life were spent as an invalid. The abuse and denunciation heaped upon his head by both British and American people broke down his constitution and as death approached he summoned to his bedside Hon. L. F. Grover to whom he said: "I shall live but a little longer; and for this reason I have sent for you. I am an old man just dying, and you are a young man and will live many years in this country, and will have something to do with affairs here. As for me, I had better been shot forty years ago, than to have lived here and tried to build up a family and an estate in this government. I became a citizen of the United States in good faith. I planted all I had here, and the Government has confiscated my property. Now what I want to ask you is that you will give your influence after I am dead to have this property go to my children. I have earned it as other settlers have earned theirs, and it ought to be mine and my heirs."

Grover promised that he would do so. Doctor McLoughlin died September 3, 1857, aged seventy-three, and was buried in the Catholic cemetery at Oregon City. The epitaph on his tomb stone reads:

"The pioneer and Friend of Oregon. Also the founder of this city."

During the five years following Doctor McLoughlin's death Oregon politics saw some great changes—new faces appeared in the Legislature—some of those who had opposed the doctor's claim died and some were retired to private life. The territory gave way to statehood and in October, 1862, the Legislature passed an act confirming to Doctor McLoughlin's heirs title to the Oregon City claim, the only condition being that the sum of \$1,000 should be paid into the state university fund. This money at once was paid and the land claim, save Abernethy Island, was restored to the McLoughlin family.

The people of Oregon naturally expected the signing of the treaty of June 15, 1846, would be followed within a short time by the establishment of United States authority. Notwithstanding the heavy immigrations of 1844, '45 and '46 the population still was small. The expense of conducting the Provisional Government was heavy and the settlers hoped the Federal Government soon would assume control and relieve them of a part of this cost. Months passed without action.

Pro-slavery and free-soil politics were fencing for an advantage; the Pacific Railroad was being agitated and Wilkes was urging the Government to build the line; individuals were asking enormous grants; the Mexican war was being fought and Washington, like London in 1845, thought the people along the Columbia and Willamette could protect their own interests.

Washington may have forgotten Oregon but Oregon had not forgotten Washington. In October, 1847, J. Quinn Thornton, with an appointment as representative of the Provisional Government signed by Governor Abernethy; sailed on the bark *Whiton* for San Francisco, where he boarded the United States sloop of war *Portsmouth* for Boston and in May the next year arrived in Washington. Through the influence of Senator Douglas, with whom he was acquainted, Thornton met President Polk and urged the needs of Oregon. A memorial was

prepared by Douglas, presented to Congress by Senator Thomas H. Benton and on August 14, 1848, "An act to establish the Territorial Government of Oregon" was passed. This legislation was hastened by the arrival of Joe Meek with the news that the Provisional Government was in the midst of an Indian war and that assistance must be furnished at once.

CHAPTER X

THE WHITMAN MASSACRE—OREGON PREPARES FOR INDIAN WAR—NINE MEN LEAVE CAMP FOR NATIONAL CAPITAL TO APPEAL FOR ASSISTANCE—270 VOLUNTEERS SUCCEED IN SUPPRESSING CAYUSES—UGLY SECTARIAN CHARGES ARE MADE—TRIANGULAR FIGHT DEVELOPS—OREGON PASSES UNDER UNITED STATES CONTROL—PATKANIM'S ATTACK ON NISQUALLY HOUSE—COLONEL LORING'S PITIABLE EXPEDITION—WHY NISQUALLY HOUSE WAS ESTABLISHED—BEGINNING OF FAMOUS JOURNAL—DOCTOR TOLMIE'S COMING—HE DISCOVERS MOUNT RAINIER'S GLACIERS—NISQUALLY CROPS ALMOST TOTAL FAILURE—TWO JAPANESE, SWEEPED ACROSS PACIFIC BY STORM, ARE RESCUED—FIRST RELIGIOUS SERVICE NORTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER—THE FAMOUS OLD BEAVER—RED RIVER COLONISTS ARRIVE—WILKES BEGINS EXPLORATIONS—AN INDIAN CENSUS—HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—METHODIST MISSIONARIES SENT TO NISQUALLY HOUSE—FIRST WHITE CHILD BORN—INDIAN'S ATTEMPT TO STEAL CHILD—FIRST WHITE COUPLE MARRIED—"BEAVER" COINS.

About five thousand persons arrived in Oregon overland in the immigration of 1847. With them the immigrants brought an epidemic of measles, accompanied by typhoid fever, which spread among the Indians. Among the Cayuses around the Whitman Mission the epidemic was especially severe and despite the most diligent and earnest efforts of Doctor Whitman hundreds of natives died.

To meet the demands of immigrant trains the Whitman Mission had become a supply station. Worn from their long trip across the deserts of Southern Idaho and the toilsome ascent of the Blue Mountains, the immigrants found a haven of refuge at the mission, where they might regain strength for the journey down the Columbia. Thousands of immigrants passing through the country aroused the Indians who had been told by half-breeds that the Americans would take their lands and banish them. The epidemic of measles and typhoid, diseases which were new to the Indians, increased their confidence in the story of Joe Lewis, a half-breed, and they believed that under the guise of beneficial medicine Doctor Whitman was administering poison to the sick. Lewis had been supplied with food and clothing by Doctor Whitman, was, after a fashion, a member of the mission family and therefore in a position to carry out the despicable part he played.

On the afternoon of November 29, 1847, the Cayuses, under the direction of Lewis, attacked the mission. Doctor Whitman while administering to a sick Indian, was struck in the head with a tomahawk. Indians fell upon the defenseless settlement and ten persons were massacred. The next day the murderers returned and killed two more, and again eight days later they came, dragged two sick men from their beds and added them to the number of victims. Those killed were Doctor and Mrs. Whitman, John and Francis Sager, two of seven

orphan children adopted by the Whitmans, Andrew Rogers, Messrs. Saunders, Gillian, Marsh, Hoffman, Hall, Kimball, Young, Sails and Crockett Bewley.

About forty women and children were carried away captive by the Indians. Three of the children died from ill treatment and some of the women and girls were subjected to an unspeakable captivity.

Hall escaped and reached the Hudson's Bay post at Fort Walla Walla, near the mouth of the Snake River. Some writers say Hall was refused admission at the post, but in view of the action taken by McBean, chief factor in charge there, this seems wholly unlikely. Hall, badly frightened, set out down the river for Vancouver and either died from wounds received at the mission or was killed by hostile Indians. McBean at once dispatched an express to Vancouver with news of the massacre.

Doctor McLoughlin had retired to Oregon City and Peter Skeen Ogden and James Douglas were in charge at Vancouver. McBean's express arrived at Vancouver the night of December 6th. The next morning Ogden began preparations to rescue the white women. Ogden knew the Indian character and upon arrival at the scene of the massacre sent a demand to the Cayuses to bring in the captives for ransom. After considerable negotiation Ogden obtained the release of fifty-seven persons, paying the Indians what they considered a good ransom.

While Ogden was completing arrangements for his trip up the river, James Douglas wrote the following letter which was sent to Governor Abernethy by special messenger early the following morning:

"George Abernethy, Esq.

"Sir:—Having received intelligence last night by special express from Walla Walla, of the destruction of the missionary settlement at Waiilatpu, by the Cayuse Indians of that place, we hasten to communicate the particulars of that dreadful event, one of the most atrocious that darkens the annals of Indian crime.

"Our lamented friend, Doctor Whitman, his amiable and accomplished lady, with nine other persons have fallen victims to the fury of these remorseless savages, who appear to have instigated this appalling crime by a horrible suspicion which had taken possession of their superstitious minds, in consequence of the number of deaths from dysentery and measles, that Doctor Whitman was silently working the destruction of their tribe by administering poisonous drugs, under the semblance of salutary medicines.

"With a goodness of heart, and benevolence truly his own, Doctor Whitman had been laboring incessantly since the appearance of the measles and dysentery among his Indian converts to relieve their sufferings; and such has been the reward of his generous labors.

"A copy of Mr. McBean's letter, herewith transmitted, will give you all the particulars known to us of this indescribably painful event.

"Mr. Ogden, with a strong party, will leave this place as soon as possible for Walla Walla, to endeavor to prevent further evil; and we beg to suggest to you the propriety of taking instant measures for the protection of Rev. Mr. Spalding, who, for the sake of his family, ought to abandon the Clearwater Mission, without delay, and retire to a place of safety as he cannot remain at that isolated station

without imminent risk, in the present excited and irritable state of the Indian population.

"I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

"JAMES DOUGLAS."

Douglas' letter reached the capital the day after the Provisional Legislature had assembled for its December session. Oregon faced an Indian war with \$43,700 in her treasury and an outstanding indebtedness of \$4,079.74. Some kind of a military expedition must be organized and sent into the hostile country. The Legislature applied to the Hudson's Bay Company for assistance. Governor Abernethy, Jesse Applegate and A. L. Lovejoy personally guaranteed the payment of \$1,000 and the company agreed to outfit the volunteers. A loan commission was appointed and at once began soliciting funds. Willamette Valley people pledged \$5,000 in cash and a large quantity of clothing, arms, blankets, ammunition, horses and other supplies.

Oregon pioneers, accustomed to protecting their own lives and property, quickly responded to the call to arms and a company of riflemen soon was on its way up the river. Cornelius Gilliam was appointed colonel, and organized a regiment which, in the latter part of January, dispersed a band of Indians near The Dalles. The pursuit of this band lasted for several days and resulted in the capture of a large number of horses and the recovery of considerable stolen property. Gilliam lost four men killed.

From his supply base at The Dalles, Gilliam gradually worked his way up the river and late in February encountered a strong force at the mouth of the Umatilla River. The Indians had chosen the ground and the volunteers made several charges before the hostiles were dislodged. They left eight dead and five wounded on the field. The volunteers had five wounded.

Watching the exhausted immigrants pass through the country the Indians had concluded that the "Bostons were women" who could not fight. Soon after the mission massacre they had boasted that they would kill the soldiers with war clubs, go to the Willamette Valley, gather up the property of the settlers and force the white women to become their wives. The determined charges made by the volunteers in the Umatilla River fight awakened in the Indians a wholesome respect for the fighting capacity of the "Bostons." Waiilatpu was reached March 2d. It was a scene of desolation. Buildings had been burned, letters, books and papers were scattered about. Wolves had torn the dead bodies from their shallow graves. Deeper graves were dug by the soldiers and the mutilated bodies again were interred.

From the camp at the mission, on the night of March 4th, Joe Meek, G. W. Ebberts, John Owens, Nathaniel Bowman, James Steel, Samuel Miller, Jacob Leabo, Dennis Buris and David Young quietly stole out into the darkness and took the trail for Washington. Meek carried an appeal for Federal assistance. Clothed in rags he reached his destination, presented the petition to President Polk and as the President's guest remained in Washington until the bill establishing the Territorial Government became a law. Mrs. Polk was a niece of Joe Meek's mother.

After a week's stay at the mission camp the little army of 270 volunteers again took up the trail of the retreating hostiles and had advanced to the bank of the

Touchet when they were attacked by a band of Palouse Indians—the mercenary allies of the Cayuse Tribe. This battle raged for some thirty hours when the Indians withdrew with a loss of four killed and fourteen wounded. The Cayuse war was at an end and March 20th the volunteers left for home. Just below the mouth of the Umatilla, while camp was being made for the night, Colonel Gilliam was instantly killed by the accidental discharge of a gun. The Cayuse war cost Oregon \$109,311.50.

As to the cause of the war a controversy arose and for many years charges and counter-charges were hurled back and forth between Catholic and Protestant, American and Hudson's Bay. The Catholic priests, Blanchet and Brouillette, were charged with having instigated the Whitman massacre, the former, according to the testimony of guests at the mission, having desired to buy the mission grounds and buildings. Whitman refused to sell the property and the Catholics told him to leave the country and warned him that the Indians were dangerous. Father Brouillette was on the ground during the massacre and assisted in the burial of the dead. Governor Abernethy, during an investigation held in Oregon City, testified that the priests took arms and ammunition up the river to The Dalles where they were seized by the troops and later delivered to Gen. Joseph Lane.

Joel Palmer testified that the Indians admitted they had been hired by the priests to commit the crime and that they were paid by the baptising of their children, the ceremony having been performed at the scene of the massacre while the bodies of the victims remained unburied on the ground. In a deposition made before Justice of the Peace Walling, at Oregon City, December 12, 1848, one of the young women captives swore that following the massacre Bishop Blanchette told her she had better go and be the wife of Five Crows, and that when she refused, Father Brouillette said: "You must go, or he will come back and do us all an injury." She appealed to the priest for protection and he told his servant to take her to the chief's house and leave her there. Five Crows entered the house a little later and told the girl she did not have to be his wife and could return to the house of the priest. She returned immediately, was given protection for two days and again sent to the Indian's wigwam by the priests. For three weeks she was forced to endure the attentions of the Indian, the priests forcing her to return every time she escaped. When Ogden obtained her release—by paying a larger ransom than he had to pay for any other captive—Father Brouillette made it appear that she had gone to Five Crows' lodge of her own free will.

Though nearly all the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon at that time, were Protestants, charges of Catholic control were made against that organization. A triangular fight developed, three main points of friction being presented. First of these was the question of national allegiance. Resentment over the boundary settlement may have lingered with some of the British people. If such was the case it must be charged to the unsatisfactory joint occupation arrangement. Next came the sectarian question. The Protestants were divided; the Catholics erred in trying to establish missions in localities already occupied by other religious sects; and last came the question of whether the country was to be exploited for the benefit of the rich Hudson's Bay Company or developed by American settlers, many of whom could see nothing but greed in the big company.

The act creating Oregon Territory was approved August 14, 1848, and a short

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YESLER WAY, ABOUT 1870
Looking west from near Occidental Avenue

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time later President Polk provided for the establishment of United States authority by appointing Gen. Joseph Lane governor and Joseph Meek United States marshal. With an escort of United States troops the two officials set out from Fort Leavenworth, traveled the Santa Fe trail to California and arrived in Oregon March 2, 1849. The next day Governor Lane issued a proclamation which initiated the new government. The Provisional Government, after six years of earnest labor, retired and Oregon passed under the control of the United States.

Governor Lane put a ban on the sale of arms and ammunition to the Indians of the Upper Columbia River country and made a demand upon the Cayuses for the surrender of the Whitman murderers. Without ammunition the Indians found it difficult to obtain food. Five Cayuses were surrendered, given a fair trial, convicted and executed at Oregon City.

Patkanim, chief of the Snoqualmies, in May led his tribe in an attack upon Nisqually. In order to protect the settlement, the little force under Major Hathaway was divided, part of the men going to the Sound, and it was decided to take no further action against the Cayuses until after the arrival of the force sent out overland from Fort Leavenworth. The troops from Fort Leavenworth, consisting of a rifle regiment under the command of Col. W. W. Loring, set out early in May. Maj. Osborne Cross, quartermaster of the expedition, in his report says the command started with 972 unbroken Mexican mules, 28 horses, 2 ambulances and 160 wagons. The "outfit was as indifferent a one as ever left for any station, much less the Rocky Mountains. The mules were poor, unbroken, and by no means calculated for such a march as we had to perform. The drivers were not only stupid, but totally ignorant of their duty, as they had never been employed in this capacity before, and seemed to have no other object in view than to reach the gold region with the least possible expense or trouble to themselves; they were, however, the best among those left at Leavenworth by the regiment, and I had no alternative but to take them. They had been hired at \$15 per month, without the least knowledge of the duty of a teamster, or any capacity to learn."

The trip was an exceptionally hard one; men deserted and went to California; mules wore out and their places were taken by oxen bought at Fort Kearney. Cholera broke out among the men, some of whom died. At Fort Laramie and at Cantonment Loring, three miles above the old Hudson's Bay post of Fort Hall, two companies of troops were left to garrison the posts and the remainder arrived in Oregon in no condition to take up a campaign against Indians. The coming of the troops, however, gave Governor Lane a semblance of power, and Oregon settled down to an era of peace and rapid development.

Nisqually, famous as the second point in Western Washington at which white men established their homes, owed its existence to the need of a mid-way station between the Hudson's Bay post at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia and Fort Langley on the Fraser. The murder by Clallam Indians in 1828 of Alexander McKenzie and four companions, the experience of the expedition sent out to punish the murderers, and the growing importance of maintaining rapid and safe communication between the posts, induced Doctor McLoughlin to send Archibald McDonald to Puget Sound to choose a site for the new post. In the spring of 1832 McDonald, William Ouvrie and several other Hudson's Bay men built

a small house on Nisqually Bay. It was the first building constructed on Puget Sound by white men and was the germ of a large and important post.

After completing their little house McDonald and his men left. A little more than a year passed until the next record of events on Nisqually Bay. Returning May 30, 1833, McDonald began the preparation of that famous "Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House" with the following, its first entry:

"May 30, 1833, Thursday. Arrived here this afternoon from the Columbia with four men, four oxen and four horses, after a journey of fourteen days, expecting to have found the schooner Vancouver lying here. She sailed the afternoon of the same day we started, with the trading goods, provisions, potatoes, seeds, etc., bound for Nisqually Bay, where we have now determined, should everything come up to expectation, to locate an establishment.

"While on a trading expedition down Sound, last spring, with eight or nine men, I applied about twelve days of our time to the erecting of a store-house, 15 by 20 feet, and left William Ouvrie and two other hands under him, in charge of a few blankets, a couple kegs of potatoes, and some small garden seeds, when I returned to the Columbia on the 20th of April.

"This is all the semblance of settlement there is this moment, but, little as it is, it possesses an advantage over all the other settlements we have made on the coast. Mr. Yale, in consequence of a note to that effect, sent him from home by Indians, six weeks ago, forwarded, the other day, four men out of thirteen left with him at Fort Langley, middle of February, which now makes our total number at Nisqually House eleven hands. I have with me, at this moment, Doctor Tolmie, a young gentleman lately arrived from England as surgeon for the company, and bound for the Northern Estate in the Vancouver, but did me the pleasure of his company across land this far."

For many years the Journal of Occurrences shows the same careful regard to detail, so that the early history of Nisqually House, and for some ten or more years that almost meant Puget Sound, is an open book. As the first entry shows, the company planned to make Nisqually House one of its important posts. The men soon were felling trees and hewing lumber. All dimension lumber, as well as the flooring, was hewed. The stockade, 250 feet in length by 200 feet wide, with squared oak log bastions at each of its four corners, surrounded the buildings. The first building was 55 feet in length by 20 feet wide with walls 12 feet in height. The roof was covered with pieces of cedar bark weighted down with timbers.

As other buildings were constructed, whip-sawed lumber was brought into use for doors, shelving and furniture. Whip-sawed lumber was obtained by rolling a log over a pit in which one man worked at one end of a cross-cut saw while another worked on the upper side of the log. It was slow and laborious. Wheels for ox-carts were made by boring holes through the centers of disks sawed from oak trees. These wagons had wooden axles and when moving under a heavy load announced their coming with shrieks and creakings audible for long distances.

Dr. William Fraser Tolmie, the "young gentleman lately arrived from England," was to play an important part in early day affairs at Nisqually. He was a Scotchman, born in Inverness, and educated as a naturalist, physician and surgeon. In 1832 he received an appointment with the Hudson's Bay Company and was assigned to the Oregon country. Early in May, 1833, he arrived at Vancouver



OLD HUDSON'S BAY POST AT FORT NISQUALLY
Established in 1833

on board the *Ganymede* and by Doctor McLoughlin was assigned to Fort McLoughlin then being founded on Milbank Sound. One of the men at Nisqually post, "Pierre Charles, a Banakie, the best deer hunter west of the Rocky Mountains," cut his foot with an axe inflicting a wound of such a dangerous nature that the young doctor was detained until November.

Like many another Hudson's Bay man, Doctor Tolmie kept a journal, or diary. This throws much light upon early day history. In it he tells of a conversation with Doctor McLoughlin shortly after his arrival at Vancouver, in which the chief factor said fur trapping soon would be a thing of the past and that employes of the company must turn their attention to cattle raising and agriculture. Hides and tallow, he thought, would form the principal articles of export. This note is of considerable interest as it points to the cause for the development of the large agricultural enterprises at Vancouver, Cowlitz Farms and Nisqually.

On his way overland from Vancouver to Nisqually Doctor Tolmie obtained a good view of Mount St. Helens "and the other mountain, called by the Indians, 'Puskenhouse' bore East, Northeast, at summitt divided into rounded eminences." The snow fields of "Puskenhouse" offered an opportunity for studying the botany of the country from sea level to the line above which vegetable life cannot exist and Doctor Tolmie was soon planning a botanizing trip in that direction.

The accident to Charles and the fact that McDonald had left him in charge of affairs at Nisqually, for sometime prevented Tolmie from carrying out this plan. In August Francis Herron arrived, relieved Tolmie of the command and granted his request to make the trip toward Mount Rainier, the journal saying:

"Obtained Mr. Herron's consent to making a botanizing excursion to Mount Rainier, for which purpose he has allowed ten days. Have engaged two horses from a chief living in that quarter, who came here tonight, and Lachalet is to be my guide. Told the Indians I am going to Mount Rainier to gather herbs of which to make medicine, part of which is to be sent to Britain, and part retained in case intermittent fever should visit us when I will prescribe for the Indians."

With three horses and five Indians he set out August 29th and that night camped on the "Poyallipa" River. Up the river the party traveled for three days and September 3d "after tea I set out with Lachalet and Nuckalkut for the summit, which was ankle deep with snow for one-fourth mile downwards. The summit terminated in abrupt precipice northwards and bearing northeast, from Mount Rainier, the adjoining peak." The following day he returned to the summit of the ridge from the top of which he says "Mount Rainier appeared surpassingly splendid and magnificent; it bore, from the peak on which I stood, S. SE., and was separated from it only by a narrow glen, whose sides, however, were formed by inaccessible precipices." Such is the report of the first expedition organized by white men to climb the mountain. While they did not reach its summit, they discovered its wonderful glacial system. Thirty-four years were to elapse before a successful attempt to ascend its rugged sides should be made.

Mr. Herron was not pleased with Nisqually—in fact he was so displeased with the crops produced on the high gravelly land that he ordered the post removed to the "Shoots," loaded a part of the goods on boats and set out for Deschutes River. About this time a party of Clallam Indians arrived with beaver skins. The Clallams refused to go to the new location. Herron ordered the goods brought back to Nisqually and decided to refer the matter to Doctor McLoughlin

before taking further action. Perhaps one of the causes for Herron's animosity is reflected in Tolmie's journal which says the crop at Nisqually was almost a complete failure—"carrots the size of a goose-quill." Carrots and turnips were brought from the Fort Langley post.

In June Captain McNeil arrived from down Sound with two Japanese men on board the Llama. At first McNeil thought his passengers were Chinese. He picked them up near Cape Flattery where their vessel had gone ashore after having been driven across the ocean from Asia. The Orientals had been taken captive by the Indians who said still another one was in the country back from shore. He was later brought to Vancouver from which place all three were sent to China by way of England. The story of these three castaways from Asia, and their long drift across the Pacific, opened the interesting question of the origin of the Indian race and lends strength to the theory of Asiatic migration held by some ethnologists. Japan, at this time, was not open to other nations and it is said the castaways were not permitted to return to their native land but remained in China, where they died.

On this same vessel, the Llama, Nisqually received from Vancouver "three cows with their calves, and a bull. They were very wild and wicked; one of the cows wounded one of the men, William Brown, in the groin and nearly killed a couple more." This was the first shipment by water, and the cattle thrived so well on the rich grasses of the Nisqually plains that others were brought from the Columbia River and in a short time thousands roamed over the land between the Sound and the foothills.

It is in the journal of Doctor Tolmie that Chief Seattle is first mentioned by white men. On Sunday, August 4th, the doctor writes:

"Great doings. Mr. H. (Herron) got Watskaalatch, Chialalucum, Babyar and Sialth (a brawny Soquamish with a roman countenance and black, curly hair, the handsomest Indian I have seen) into his room with Lachalet as interpreter and told them to confess to him all their evil actions beginning with the murder and excepting the thefts. Chuhalucum began and confessed having murdered four men but pleaded guiltless of any other crimes. Watsklatchet, none. Lachalet killed the murderer of his uncle and a slave of a former chief's. Sialth in his youth slew a great chief and stole a fathom of very fine haquaquas from Klalum. Babyar after coughing, blowing and fuming frequently declared himself guiltless of any evil action, but recollecting himself shortly after said that he had killed five men and stolen their property, also stole two slaves. Chiatzsau being called in, said he had for a long time, been a physician and conductor of religious ceremonies; that he had never done any harm, but afterwards acknowledged himself the murderer of five (besides those killed by his medicines). The enormity of the crime of murder was then pointed out to the worthy assemblage and they were told it was contrary to the Almighty's express command. They all promised never again to commit the action but in self defense, and by way of impressing it more strongly on their mind, they were made to make, with a pen, on a sheet of paper on which their names was written. Afterwards the multitude outside received an address from Mr. H. in which there was nothing objectionable, and the Tamanowas terminated the ceremony. In the morning Ouvrie hinted to the chiefs that if the logs composing the houses on the beach and that on the plain were

removed hither it would afford much gratification to us. The carnival forthwith began and in the evening nearly completed the undertaking."

These Indians had perhaps accompanied Ouvrie and Doctor Tolmie when they returned from a trip to what is now Elliott Bay and the site of the City of Seattle. July 5th, in response to Ouvrie's urging, Doctor Tolmie had been sent with a party of men to explore the bay as a possible site for a post. It seems that Herron, not satisfied with Nisqually, tried to find a place more to his liking. Budd's Inlet was dismissed from consideration when the Clallams refused to go there and led to the inspection of the Elliott Bay shore, which Doctor Tolmie says "would have an advantage of a fine prospect down the Sound and of proximity to the Indians but these would not compensate for an unproductive soil and the inconvenience of going at least one-half mile for a supply of water." Doctor Tolmie and his men were perhaps the first white men to set their feet on any of the land within the present limits of Seattle and it was there perhaps they met "Sialth," the Indian of the "roman countenance."

The first religious service held in Old Oregon north of the Columbia River was conducted by Francis Herron and Doctor Tolmie at Nisqually, Sunday, July 21, 1833. The Indians who came to the post to trade were informed that it was the white man's Sunday and that no trading would be done. In telling of this day's events Doctor Tolmie says, "The Indians assembled in front of the house to the number of seventy or eighty, male and female. With Brown as interpreter, who spoke in Chinook, Herron and I explained the creation of the world, the reason why Christians and Jews abstained from work on Sunday; and had got as far as the deluge in sacred history, when we were requested to stop, as the Indians could not comprehend things clearly."

To Francis Herron and Doctor Tolmie belongs the honor of preaching the first sermon to the Indians on the shores of Puget Sound. This was about a year before the Lees arrived in the Willamette Valley and some seven years before Methodist missionaries made their way into the country north of the Columbia. The Sunday religious service at Nisqually was continued; one entry in the Nisqually House Journal saying that the Indians "on their part, promised fair, and had their devotional dance, for without it they would think very little of what we say to them." Many years later, Miss Jennie Tolmie wrote to Clarence B. Bagley that her father at one time thought of "leaving the Hudson's Bay Company, and becoming a missionary." In November he left Nisqually and for the next ten years served the company in other parts of the western country and in London, returning to the Sound in 1843 as superintendent at Nisqually.

The superior advantages of pasture land offered by the Nisqually Plains induced the company to transfer a great part of its cattle industry from Vancouver to that point. Trade with the Indians assumed increasing importance, the northern posts developed a greater fur trade as this branch of the business declined at Vancouver and in 1835 the company sent the steamer Beaver out from England to make quicker communication between the northern posts possible.

Five or six miles below the London Bridge on the River Thames, the steamer Beaver was launched from a Blackwell shipyard in the year 1835. About 150,000 persons, among them King William and members of the court, attended the launching of this little, queer looking vessel that was designed to make the long

trip into the Pacific Northwest and there play such an important part in the history of the introduction of civilization.

With her machinery stored in her hold the Beaver sailed down the English Channel August 29, 1835, outward-bound under a brig rig. Her boilers and engines weighed sixty-three tons and cost \$22,000, the engines having been built by Bolton & Watt. Her total length was 101½ feet; her breadth, inside paddle boxes, was 20 feet, while from outside to outside of these forward placed side wheels she measured 33 feet. Not a large vessel to undertake a trip across the Atlantic, around Cape Horn and up the long western coast of America. No doubt sure and dire calamity was predicted by the wisecracs when Captain Horne and his daring crew set sail.

Accompanied by the bark Columbia, the Beaver lost but little time on the voyage and arrived safely at the mouth of the Columbia River 163 days out from the Thames. After ascending the river to Vancouver, paddles and wheel boxes were put in place—and the place was so far forward that writers of the time say they resembled the “forepaws of a land terrapin.” At 4 P. M., May 16, 1836, steam was raised, and the Columbia River Valley for the first time echoed with the sound of a steam whistle. The engines worked satisfactorily and early the following morning the Beaver started down stream under her own steam.

Reverend Mr. Parker, the first Presbyterian missionary to visit Vancouver, in his “Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains” has given us an interesting description of one of the excursions made by the Beaver while she was undergoing trial at Vancouver. The trip was made on June 14th, and Reverend Mr. Parker says:

“We took a water excursion on the steamboat Beaver, Captain Horne, down the Columbia to the confluence of the western branch of the Multnomah, and through it into the Columbia and back to the fort. All the low lands were overflowed by the annual freshet, and presented the appearance of an immense bay, extending far back into the country. The day was pleasant and our company cheerful. The novelty of a steamboat on the Columbia awakened a train of prospective reflections upon the probable changes which would take place in these remote regions in a very few years. It was wholly an unthought of thing when I first contemplated this enterprise, that I should find here this forerunner of commerce and business. The gayety which prevailed was often suspended while we conversed of coming days when with civilized men all the rapid improvements in the arts of life should be introduced over this new world, and when cities and villages shall spring up on the west, as they are springing up on the east of the great mountains, and a new empire shall be added to the kingdoms of the earth.”

On this trip the Beaver went up the Willamette to near the present City of Portland. June 26th she crossed the bar at the mouth of the Columbia on her way to the Sound. For fifty-two years she traveled the waters of the Sound and the bays and inlets between Nisqually and Alaska. Hers was a useful career, deserving a better fate than to pile her bones upon the rocks at the entrance of the Harbor of Vancouver, British Columbia, and there to gradually go to pieces, the prey of the waves and chance relic hunters. The boat was wrecked July 26, 1888, and in September, 1896, C. C. Pilkey raised the boilers from the bottom of Burrard Inlet. Professor Gilstrap, of Tacoma, obtained this part



STEILACOOM IN THE '50S



WRECK OF THE BEAVER

This famous old vessel was the first steamer on the Pacific coast. She was brought around the Horn in 1835

of the old vessel which has found a permanent resting place in the Ferry Museum of that city.

Edward Huggins says the Beaver, "of course, burned wood, and always kept a corps of men, ten, I think, as wood choppers, and old John McLeod and Joseph Legard, * * * were of the company of choppers for some time. * * * She carried a crew of thirty men, an armament of four six-pounders and was extensively supplied with small arms. The decks were protected by boarding nettings to prevent access by the natives otherwise than by the gangways, and more than thirty Indians were never allowed on deck at one time unless they were accompanied by their wives and children.

"After paying for herself several times over she was thought too small and slow for the company's business so they brought out the Otter, a propeller, in 1851. The Beaver continued in the company's service for some years, but was eventually sold and put into service as a tugboat."

While in command of Captain Steward, in 1851, the Beaver was brought to the American side of the line, seized on the charge of having violated the revenue laws, and taken to Olympia. One day the captain found opportunity to put the American watchman ashore and make a dash for the British side of the line. He was successful and the American authorities, seemingly in appreciation of his daring, took no further action in the matter. During the Indian war of 1855-56 both the Beaver and the Otter were offered the territorial authorities and several times were used to great advantage. The Beaver continued in the service of the Hudson's Bay and Agricultural companies until 1874 when she was sold to a private firm and converted into a tow boat. It was while in this work that she piled up on the rocks and went to pieces.

Development of Nisqually and the posts further north, brought an increasing travel. Passing back and forth between the two posts, the men of the company discovered other prairies near the landing on the west bank of the Cowlitz. When Simon Plomondon, in 1837, after some sixteen years of service for the company, asked to be retired, Doctor McLoughlin sent him to the Cowlitz landing. He was soon joined by John Todd, to whom Eldridge Morse gives the credit of being the first man ever to put a plow into the soil of Western Washington. Todd was a Scotchman and in his forty years' service for the company crossed and re-crossed the continent many times. From 1822 to 1832 he was stationed at a Rocky Mountain outpost and during the entire ten years never heard a word of English spoken—the language used being that of the Siccanna Indians. Upon his return to civilization he was able to converse in his mother tongue—a feat which, it is said, is without a parallel. Alexander Selkirk, after five years spent under similar circumstances had entirely lost the use of his mother tongue. Todd, in 1856, became Vancouver Island's first farmer and claim holder and lived to a ripe old age.

Several thousand acres of land were measured off by the company and became known as Cowlitz Farms. In plan and management this farm was similar to those at Nisqually and Vancouver. The Hudson's Bay Company, through the development of these agricultural properties, was drifting away from its original plan so the directors decided to form an organization whose sole object would be the development of agricultural enterprises. The question was first con-

sidered by the directors in 1833, but it was not until five years later that the Puget Sound Agricultural Company came into existence.

The directors issued an elaborately engraved prospectus setting forth the soil and climatic advantages of the Oregon country north of the Columbia. Capital stock of 200,000 pounds sterling was issued in shares of 100 pounds each; John Henry Pelly, Andrew Colville and George Simpson were named directors and the bylaws were framed so as to give the older company control of affairs at all times. The Agricultural Company was not permitted to deal in furs—it really was the agricultural branch of the Hudson's Bay Company operating under a separate title and subsidiary to the older organization, and as such assumed control of affairs at Nisqually and Cowlitz farms. Doctor McLoughlin, who was in London during the organization of the Agricultural Company, was appointed manager, and he controlled the affairs of both companies until 1843 when Doctor Tolmie became the active superintendent of the company, with headquarters at Nisqually House.

The organization of an agricultural company with a capital stock of 200,000 pounds sterling, necessarily meant the employment of farmers. Most of the retired Hudson's Bay men were trappers and voyagers; but in the Valley of the Red River of the North the company had just the men it needed for its colonization plan—and there can be no doubt as to the company's expecting British colonists to do for the country north of the Columbia what Doctor McLoughlin saw American settlers would ultimately do for the country south of that river. In the spring of 1841 a band of these Red River colonists was sent out overland for Nisqually.

Elwood Evans, in his *History of the Pacific Northwest*, says the company failed to comply with the contract made with the colonists. Out of the thirteen families who reached Nisqually in November, 1841, "but one or two remained; two or three families only stopped at the Cowlitz." Several went to California, one party returned to Canada and the remainder went to the Willamette Valley. "The scheme to establish agricultural colonies upon Puget Sound from Red River proved a failure."

This year, 1841, is a decidedly important one in the history of Western Washington. Shortly after the Red River colony started on its overland journey, Sir George Simpson, governor-in-chief of the Hudson's Bay Company, took up their trail on his way to Oregon. He was making a trip around the world and upon his arrival on the Columbia made a thorough investigation of the country. In Oregon he met Lieut.-Com. Charles Wilkes, at the head of an expedition sent out by the United States to explore the northwest coast.

Never before had two men so influential in the councils of their respective governments met in the wilds of Oregon. Simpson improved the opportunity by trying to learn the objects and the opinions of the American commander and in one of his letters says that an officer connected with the American expedition had told him Wilkes would recommend holding the entire country. "But," writes Simpson to a friend, "I trust you will urge H. M. government not to consent to any boundary which would give to the United States any portion of the territory north of the Columbia River; as any boundary north of that stream would deprive Great Britain of the only valuable part of the territory, the country to

the northward of the Straits of De Fuca not being adapted for agriculture, or other purposes connected with colonization."

"A three weeks' detention inside Cape Disappointment, watching a favorable opportunity for crossing the very dangerous bar," did not add anything to Simpson's estimation of the value of that river, and this caused him to recommend the removal of the main post from Vancouver to some point on the southern end of Vancouver Island; in fact the preliminary steps of this removal were at that time being taken.

After having given up the attempt to enter the mouth of the Columbia the Wilkes expedition sailed northward and May 1st entered the Straits of Fuca. At Nisqually, on the eleventh, the American explorers were received by A. C. Anderson, then in charge of the Agricultural Company, and Wilkes and his men soon were engaged in the work they had been sent to do. The Wilkes expedition was the first large exploring force ever sent out by the American Government. It consisted of eight vessels, sailed from Norfolk, Va., August 10, 1838, with instructions to explore the greater part of the Pacific Ocean, especially the shores of Western America.

Anchoring his vessels in the beautiful bay off old Nisqually, the commander separated his force into a number of minor expeditions; sending the Porpoise, with two of the Vincennes' boats under command of Lieutenant-Commander Ringgold to survey Admiralty Inlet; the launch and three other boats from the Vincennes, under Lieutenant Case, on a similar mission to Hoods Canal; Lieutenant Johnson, of the Porpoise, was placed in command of an overland party with orders to cross the Cascade Mountains to the Columbia up which river he should proceed to Fort Colville, thence south to the Spaulding Mission at Lapwai and Walla Walla, the return trip was made up the Yakima Valley and over the mountains to Nisqually. The fourth party, under Wilkes' command, crossed to the Cowlitz and explored the valleys of the Columbia and Willamette. Johnson's party was the first American party to cross the Cascade Mountains north of the Columbia River. Accompanied by two company guides they crossed Nachess Pass.

Lieutenant Ringgold, May 15th, passed through the Narrows and entered a large bay to which he gave the name Commencement in honor of its being the point at which he began his explorations. Sailing northward he entered another large bay which he named Elliott in honor of either Chaplain J. L. Elliott, of the Vincennes, or Midshipman Samuel Elliott, of the same vessel who, it appears, was in charge of the small boat sent into the bay.

On his way up the sound from Port Townsend, Wilkes partially had explored Hoods Canal, which he had renamed Port Lawrence and it was to complete this work that Lieutenant Case set out in the launch and three boats from the Vincennes.

Past Midshipman Eld commanded a party which descended the Chehalis River, explored Grays Harbor, Willapa Harbor and crossed to the mouth of the Columbia.

As the Fourth of July approached it was decided to hold a celebration in honor of the nation's natal day and Commander Wilkes declared a holiday. Independence Day that year fell on Sunday and preparations were made to hold the celebration on the fifth. From the Agricultural Company an ox was obtained,

a trench dug and the animal barbecued near Sequelitchew Lake. Early on the morning of the fifth, the sailors were astir and with flags flying, they marched with patriotic music to the celebration grounds, fired salutes, raced horses hired from the Indians and spent the day in Yankee style. Two brass howitzers were taken from one of the ships to the picnic grounds. While firing the salutes one of the guns exploded, lacerating the arm of a gunner. He was given prompt attention and the celebration proceeded.

Attracted by the noise, the flags and the opportunity of obtaining food, crowds of Indians surrounded the merry makers. Among these was Slugamus Koquilton, then a young man. July 5, 1906, the Washington State Historical Society erected a monument in commemoration of this first Fourth of July celebration west of the Rocky Mountains, and Koquilton as the sole survivor of the celebration of 1841, pointed out the spot upon which Wilkes and his men had gathered. Later investigation, in the opinion of early day settlers, has shown that in the sixty-five years between the date of the celebration and the erection of the monument, the old Indian's memory had failed him and that the stone had been erected some four miles away from the spot upon which Wilkes and his men unfurled their flags, fired their salutes and ate their barbecued beef.

From Nisqually the expedition sailed north and took up the work of exploring and chartering the San Juan and other islands and waters. It was while at this work that the commander received news of the wrecking of the Peacock on the bar at the mouth of the Columbia which since that time has borne its name. The Peacock and the Flying Fish had been detached early in the season, and sent down the Pacific shore of Washington to explore the islands and bays. July 18th, while crossing the bar into the river the Peacock was driven ashore and wrecked. Captain Hudson, who succeeded in landing all the Peacock's crew, was a very religious man, and, it is said, preached several Sunday sermons about this time from the text, "This day I will be with thee in Paradise"—certainly a good subject for a sermon to ship-wrecked sailors.

Wilkes made a preliminary report to Congress in 1842; but many years passed before his complete report was published. Even then Congress limited the edition to 100 copies. For this reason but little has been published about this most important expedition and the work accomplished by its scientists and investigators. The knowledge gained, however, was made accessible to members of Congress and it was from this, and the earlier reports of Slacum, that American statesmen gleaned much of the information used in the debates during the winter of 1842-43. These debates were being held while Marcus Whitman was struggling through the snow fields of the Rocky Mountain and show that Calhoun and other statesmen, possessed accurate and complete information about the country several months before Whitman reached the national capital.

The entire country was carefully mapped; the settlements surveyed and described, the scenic beauties, natural resources and mild climate are noted. The report expresses disappointment over the conditions existing in the Willamette Valley where were found some sixty families, American missionaries and former employees of the Hudson's Bay Company.

An attempt was made to take a census of the Indian population, a work found to be difficult because of their roving. The figures given show the number of Indians in the various localities to have been 650 at Penns Cove, Whidby Island



COMMEMORATING THE 150th ANNIVERSARY
OF THE FIRST PUBLIC OBSERVANCE OF OUR
NATIONAL BIRTH DAY IN THE MIDDLE
COUNTRY WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER,
BY CAPT. JAMES WILKES, U. S. ARMY,
THE VOYAGE AND MARSHING OF HIS
FLEET ON MONDAY, JULY 4, 1841
ON THIS GROUND.

ERECTED BY

THE PIERCE COUNTY POWERS ASSOCIATION

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THE WASHINGTON STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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CHAPTERS OF AMERICAN REVOLUTION
1840 BY ANGELO M. PETERSON
LEWIS, LEONARD & S. S.
MILWAUKEE, WIS.

MONUMENT ERECTED WHERE COMMODORE WILKES CELEBRATED THE FIRST
FOURTH OF JULY WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER IN 1841

and the opposite mainland; 500 on Hoods Canal; Clallams, at Port Discovery, 150; at Port Townsend, 70; and at New Dungeness, 200; Birch Bay, 300; Palapuyas (Puyallups), 600; Chikecles (Chehalis) and Puget Sound, 700; Nisqually, 200; Suquamish, at Port Orchard, 150; Chinooks, 200. The whole population of Oregon was placed at 20,000; 700 to 800 of whom were Canadians and Canadian half-breeds; 150 Americans and the remainder Indians.

Regarding the treatment of employees, by the Hudson's Bay Company, Wilkes says: "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 laboring 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 are 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."

Even in view of this condition, the commander considered it a pretty good arrangement, one insuring peaceful and well behaved settlements. Officers of the company "afforded us every assistance that lay in their power, both in supplies and means of accomplishing our duties. There are many persons in the country who bear testimony to the aid and kindness rendered to them in their outset, and of their hospitality it is needless to speak, for it has become proverbial." In fact Wilkes and his men availed themselves of that proverbial kindness to such an extent as to incur the dislike of some American writers who have charged them with showing bias in favor of the company.

Regarding the work of the missionaries and the liability of the country to become the home of a liquor consuming population, the explorer makes the following observations:

"Little has yet been effected by them in christianizing the natives. They are principally engaged in the cultivation of mission farms, and in the care of their own stock in order to obtain flocks and herds for themselves, most of them having selected lands. As far as my personal observation went, in that part of the country where the missionaries reside, there are very few Indians, and they seemed more occupied with the settlement of the country and in agricultural pursuits, than missionary labors.

"I cannot but view this territory as peculiarly liable to the vice of drunkenness; the ease with which the wants of man are obtained, the little labor required, and consequent opportunities of idleness will render it so. The settlers of the Willamette Valley have with a praiseworthy spirit engaged to prevent the establishment of distilleries, and there are yet no places where spirits can be bought to my knowledge in the territory.

"It is highly creditable to the H. B. Company that on vessels arriving on the coast with spirits on board, in order to prevent its introduction, they have pur-

chased the whole, while at the same time their storehouses were filled with it. They have, with praiseworthy zeal, interdicted its being an article of trade, being well satisfied that it is contrary to their interests, and demoralizing in its effects on all the tribes and people with whom they have to deal, rendering them difficult to manage, quarrelsome among themselves, and preventing their success in hunting. Endeavors have likewise been made by the officers of the company to induce the Russians on their side to adopt their example, and do away with it as an article of trade, but hitherto without success. It no doubt has been one of the causes effecting the decrease of the native tribes, as it was formerly almost the only article of trade."

Nisqually had already been the scene of an interesting missionary movement. The journal of April 9, 1839, states "the Reverend Mr. Leslie and brother Willson arrived with the intention of making at this place a small missionary establishment." Jason Lee, shortly after the arrival of the missionary party of 1837, paid a visit to Nisqually and decided the place offered a field for missionary effort. Rev. David Leslie and William H. Willson were sent there to get the work under way. Leslie remained but a few days and returned to Oregon, but Willson, on the seventeenth, cut the first tree for the mission building and continued at his work until he had completed a mission house. The site selected was "a spot of ground north of the small river"—one which had been suggested by James Douglas.

That the Methodists were not to have the field to themselves is shown by the following note taken from "Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon, during the past forty years," issued by the Catholic Church in 1878:

"About the 8th of April, 1839, Rev. D. Leslie, a Methodist minister, arrived at Cowlitz, en route to Nisqually where he intended establishing a mission among the Indians. This information at once prompted the Vicar General at once to despatch an Indian express to Father Demers at Vancouver, asking him to proceed at once to Nisqually in order to plant the true seed in the hearts of the Indians there. Father Demers left immediately and reached his destination in six days, during which he was drenched with cold and continuous rain."

Father Demers gathered a large crowd of Indians together and celebrated the first mass. "Among the throng there were counted Indians of twenty-two different nations. After having given orders to build a chapel, and said mass outside of the fort, Father Demers parted with the Indians, blessing the Lord for the success of his mission among the whites and Indians, and reached Cowlitz on Monday, the 30th, with the conviction that his mission at Nisqually had left a very feeble chance for a Methodist Mission there. Brother Willson, whom Minister Leslie had left orders with to build a house, on a certain piece of land, must have been despondent at being witness to all he had seen."

A year passed before the Methodists took any further steps toward the development of the Nisqually Mission. Following the arrival of the Lausanne with the "great re-enforcement" of 1840, Rev. John P. Richmond, M. D., was assigned to the Puget Sound country and accompanied by his wife, four children, Miss Chloe Aurelia Clark, a teacher, and W. H. Willson, a carpenter, left Vancouver, crossed by the river and trail route to Nisqually and there took up the mission work in the summer of 1840. August 16th, Miss Clark and Mr.



CHIEF SLUGAMUS KOQUILTON

Indian who pointed out the place on Sequalitchew Lake, Pierce County, where first July 4th celebration west of the Mississippi River was held in 1841 by Commodore Wilkes and his men. Chief Koquilton attended that celebration.



INDIANS IN THE HOP FIELDS

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Willson were united in marriage by Reverend Mr. Richmond, they being the first full blood white couple married north of the Columbia River.

Doctor Richmond was a native of Maryland, born in 1811, received an education for the medical profession and following his marriage to Mrs. America Talley, became a missionary circuit rider of the Methodist Church in Illinois. In 1839 he was assigned to Oregon and July 5, 1841, delivered the oration at the first Fourth of July celebration ever held on the Pacific coast. The following extracts from that address show the speaker to have been forceful and not afraid to speak his mind even in a country under the control of people owing allegiance to another flag.

"The average man, faithful to the lines of human reason and experience, and unconsciously inclined to attribute to Deity thoughts similar to his own, often makes most grave and hazardous ventures with respect to the will and the designs of Providence. Upon Fourth-of-Julys, especially, are we irresistibly impelled to entertain the belief that the whole of this magnificent region, so inestimably rich in the bounties of nature, and susceptible of measureless development, is destined to become one of the physical ingredients of our beneficent Republic. The time will come, though you and I may not live to realize it, when these hills and valleys will have become peopled by our free and enterprising countrymen, when yonder towering mountains will look down upon magnificent cities, fertile farms, and smoking manufactories. Every succeeding Fourth of July there will gather together hosts of freemen to recall the glorious past of their country and to renew their fidelity to the maxims of the fathers of the Republic as embodied in that grand state paper which has been this day eloquently and effectively read to us.

"Still further than I have ventured to define, the eye of the philosopher may penetrate the future to view its wonderful and inevitable developments. It may see the sure and steady advance of our dominion to the frozen regions of the North and to the narrow strip of land which connects this continent with its sister of the South; when, in this 'New World' there will have arisen into boundless wealth and power the grandest nation which, in all the annals of mankind, will have appeared upon earth.

"* * * While it would be untrue to claim that Christianity was the founder of civilization, knowing as we do that the greatest of all past civilizations was just expiring when Christ appeared, yet it is undeniably true that the world's civilization of today is indissolubly connected with the religion of Christ; and neither could survive the fall of the other. This permits me to say of our mission in this remote region that by bringing to these savage children of the wilderness the truths of Christianity, we encourage in them that future development of character which will fit them to act creditably their destined parts as citizens of the Republic."

Doctor Richmond's laudible missionary ambition was doomed to disappointment. The Catholic priests, clothed in their impressive black gowns, carrying their pictures and symbols and their Catholic ladder, were able to exert a far greater influence over the Indians than were the Methodists. While the Agricultural Company men were kind to the Methodists and extended to them every courtesy and much assistance, still it was to the Catholics that they gave that deep respect and consideration which, being observed by the Indians, induced them also

to turn to the priests. The Methodist mission was a failure and in the summer of 1842, Doctor Richmond returned to the Willamette Valley and later to the Atlantic Coast.

While living at Nisqually Doctor and Mrs. Richmond became the parents of the first white child born on Puget Sound. Francis Richmond was born at the mission February 28, 1842. A few days after the Richmond family left Nisqually, their cabin was burned by the Indians.

"There was an Indian who became infatuated with bright, black-eyed baby Francis," says Clarence B. Bagley in 'In the Beginning,' "and first made efforts to obtain possession of his person by traffic, and, failing in this, he proceeded to abduct him. As the Indian afterward explained, his object was to adopt the little fellow into his tribe.

"One day Doctor Richmond had gone to the fort, the mother was in the main room busy with domestic duties, the baby was in the cradle in the outer room or shed, and the other children were off on a ramble. The mother heard a rustling and a slight cry from baby and hastened to the room to find the cradle empty and the outside door open. Glancing through the open window, she saw the Indian with the baby in his arms, making off over the prairie toward the Sound. With her to see was to act. She seized a loaded rifle, which was ever at hand, sprang to the outside door and drew a bead on the Indian, but if she was quick, the Indian was equally so, for he saw her in time and turning held up the baby between him and her, and continued to retreat backward. This, no doubt saved his life, as Mrs. Richmond was a dead shot with the rifle.

"At this moment she saw her husband on a rising ground coming from the fort, and making a sign which he recognized, he started on the run. The mother left the house in pursuit of the retreating Indian, the pursued and the pursuer keeping about the same relative distance until the latter came to one corner of the palisades of the fort, when the doctor coming up behind him knocked him down with a cane. The mother handed the gun to the father and picked up the baby. The Indian sprang up and seized the cane, but, after quite a scuffle, the doctor recovered possession of it and again knocked his antagonist down, after which he took the gun back to the house for the mother and went to the fort and reported the circumstances to the officers. Search was made for the Indian and after much time spent he was found concealed under a mat. His head and face were badly bruised and swollen, and, the doctor interceding for him, he was let off with light punishment.

"When the Richmonds were embarking for their return home, this same Indian was discovered prowling around suspiciously, and was taken in custody to the fort, but, no doubt, later wreaked his revenge so far as possible by the destruction of the house."

During the summer of 1841, William Kittson was succeeded as superintendent at Nisqually by A. C. Anderson who gives us the first mention of Snoqualmie Pass; also some information about the transfer of live stock from the Hudson's Bay to the Agricultural Company. After harvest Anderson set out with a party of men and crossed the Cascades by the "Sinahomish Pass" following an Indian trail into the "Yachimah" country where he met with cattle in charge of a party of men who had driven them from the posts at Nez Perce, Colville and Okanogan. Edward Higgins gives it as his opinion that the "Sinahomish" was

the Snoqualmie, at the head of the Snoqualmie or Snohomish River. "Yachimah" of course refers to Yakima. The cattle were brought through the mountains to Nisqually and in October, at which time Anderson was ordered to Vancouver, another large herd arrived.

Anderson says: "A large number of ewes were introduced at the same time. These were the results of purchase made that summer in California by Chief Factor, now Sir James Douglas. They were driven up by land via the Umpqua and Willamette valleys. I cannot state the numbers, leaving Nisqually as I have said just as they were arriving. There were a good many swine, used chiefly for provisioning the people. No settlers in the country at this time, and only the Wesleyan Mission, under Doctor Richmond, near the present site of the fort, with the aid and concurrence of the company. The dairy was conducted by an English woman, whose husband superintended the farming operations."

Nothing is known as to the number of sheep in this first band imported from California. It must have been large. Three years after its arrival nearly seven thousand pounds of wool were clipped, a quantity which had grown to 13,000 pounds in 1854. Thoroughbred rams were imported and in 1854 the bands had grown to such size that it became necessary to reduce them. Doctor Tolmie, then in charge at Nisqually, started with a band of between three thousand five hundred and five thousand sheep which were sold to the settlers of the Willamette Valley. Mr. Bagley has a letter written by Jesse Applegate in which the writer requests a mutual friend to tell Doctor Tolmie that he will have no trouble disposing of a large number of sheep in the valley, where they were worth around \$10 a head; but that if he could drive them to the mines in California they would sell there at from \$15 to \$25 a head for mutton. When it is remembered that these sheep were grown with practically no expense beyond that of the hire of a few herders, it is easy to understand the reluctance with which the Agricultural Company surrendered its fine grazing lands following the boundary treaty.

Shearing time at Nisqually was a time of celebration for the Indians. The men caught and tied the sheep which were then carried to the women shearers, seated on mats on the floor of the large shearing house. Two women were assigned to each sheep, one shearing the forepart of the animal and the other the hindpart. If the sheep lay quiet, and the shearers were experienced, the task was quickly and easily done.

William H. Willson and his wife, the first white couple married in what is now the State of Washington, were destined to play a leading part in the affairs of the country. Mrs. Willson became the first teacher of an American school in the country. In 1842 the Methodists established at Salem, the Oregon Institute with Mrs. Willson as teacher. The institute was the forerunner of the University of Oregon. On his way out from Boston on the ship Hamilton, W. H. Willson had completed his medical studies under Dr. Elijah White and about 1843 he became Doctor Willson and one of Oregon's pioneer physicians. This same year he assisted in forming the Provisional Government and the year following the Legislature granted to L. H. Judson and W. H. Willson "the right to construct a mill-race from the southern branch of the Santiam River to the eastern branch of the small stream which runs to and drives the mills at Chemeketa, formerly owned by the Methodist Episcopal Mission." M. M. McCarver, as speaker of the

Provisional Legislature signed this "Charter" and it was here that the first woolen mill west of the Rocky Mountains was built.

Willson was a member of the Oregon Exchange Company, which in 1849, coined the famous "Oregon Beaver" gold coins. This, the first mint west of the mountains, was at Salem and turned out \$57,500 in five and ten dollar pieces. Because of the emblem stamped upon the coins—a beaver—this money was known as the "Beaver money" and was so rich in natural yellow gold that the United States Government offered a bonus for each coin turned in—an offer that soon disposed of the famous old coins.

An interesting story is told of this first woolen mill. When the first cloth was woven a suit pattern and the first blanket were sold at auction. All the "leading citizens" of pioneer Oregon were, of course, present in Salem and the bidding was spirited. The prices realized were \$125.00 in each case, quite a price to pay for a blanket or a suit pattern. The woolen mill and other industries established and operated by the men who came to Oregon in connection with the Methodist Mission, were profitable enterprises and many of these men became wealthy.

CHAPTER XI

DOCTOR MC LOUGHLIN SEES THE END OF BRITISH RULE NORTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER—ARRIVAL OF SIMMONS-BUSH PARTY—THEIR DEALINGS WITH HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—FIRST SAWMILL IN OPERATION—THE SHINGLE TRADE—PRICES PAID BY THE SETTLERS—TROOPS SENT TO FORT STEILACOOM—BEGINNINGS OF SEATTLE—DOCTOR MAYNARD'S STORY—CHOLERA IN THE IMMIGRANT TRAINS—YESLER BRINGS SAWMILL—INDIAN NAMES OF SEATTLE—FOUNDING OF OLYMPIA—BALCH RESENTS ATTEMPTED HOLD-UP IN OLYMPIA, RELOADS HIS CARGO AND CARRIES IT TO STEILACOOM.

When Dr. Elijah White led his little party of American settlers into Vancouver in the fall of 1842, Doctor McLoughlin recognized it as the beginning of the end of British domination, at least in the territory south of the Columbia River, and he believed settlement rapidly would be made. The Hudson's Bay Company had the only large supply point in the territory and Doctor McLoughlin, expecting that the arrival of American settlers would increase the demands upon his establishment, increased the following year the acreage of grain and other crops, and it was well that he did. Otherwise many of the immigrants of '43 and '44 would have suffered.

Perhaps Doctor McLoughlin was looking beyond profits for his company and the satisfying of his inclination toward kindness, and saw in the coming legions an opportunity to increase his own influence. In a letter to Sir J. H. Pelly, Nov. 15, 1844, he intimated that his retirement to Oregon might be followed by his election to the head of the new state.

Late in December, 1844, a motley crowd of immigrants arrived at Vancouver. Long days in the smother of the desert's dusts, and the battle with the mountains and rivers had removed all surplus flesh. Men were sinewy; with faces tanned, leathery and bearded. Women were gaunt and thin with complexions from which wind and weather had erased the softer tints. Checks were pinched; eyes were sunken; clothing was reduced to rags; but these American pioneers had lost none of that spirit of determination which had sent them on their long journey.

John Minto, a member of this immigration and afterward prominent in Oregon affairs, tells a story about Daniel Clark, another member. Clark had been a ferryman on the Grand River in Missouri and when he reached the Cascades of the Columbia, he turned his boat into the stream and successfully shot the rapids. He was a tall, lanky youth of nineteen and the great river of the west seemed to hypnotize him, so much so that upon his arrival at Vancouver he started out to examine everything upon its surface or its banks.

Lying in the stream in front of Vancouver were British ships. One of these at once attracted the attention of the young Missourian who obtained a canoe

and went out to examine the vessel. His clothing was threadbare. Hunger and exposure to wind and storm had pinched his face, and given his skin the color of an Indian. But he was an American and was soon on board the Britisher without the formality of asking anybody's consent.

Young Clark stumbled into the captain's cabin. The British commander was considerably surprised and promptly demanded to know what he was doing there. The question and the manner in which it was put aroused Clark's spirit. He replied: "We are from Missouri and have just come across the Rocky Mountains and are out here to rule this country."

Slowly the British captain once more looked him over and then replied:

"Young man, I have been in every sea and in every port, and I have seen the inhabitants of every nation; and you Americans are the most singular people I have found on earth."

It was a large immigration—some one thousand five hundred persons—and so far as Western Washington is concerned, the first of any importance to this section. In this crowd of people were Michael Troutman Simmons, a Kentuckian, and his friend, George W. Bush, and their families. Bush was a half negro and under the Oregon law, framed by Peter Burnett, not entitled to remain in that territory. Bush's wife was a white woman. During the long and trying trip across the plains Bush had shown himself possessed of such high character as to win the admiration and friendship of all those with whom he came in contact. He had made many friends, and they now saw the injustice of the Oregon law and desired to do something to assist the man refused admittance to the land of his choosing. Simmons, Bush and a few others camped at Vancouver and, through the winter, made "shakes" for the Hudson's Bay Company. Some historians say Simmons was under obligations to Bush for borrowed money. However that may be, the Kentuckian saw in the country north of the Columbia River a place in which his mulatto friend might find a home and soon was considering a trip into the region around Puget Sound.

In July, Simmons, George Waunch, David Crawford, Charles Eaton, Niniwon Everman, Seyburn Thornton, William Shaw, David Parker and John Hunt crossed to Budd Inlet and at Tumwater began the first American settlement in Western Washington. They called it New Market. The waters of the upper part of the Sound were explored and in September Simmons returned to Vancouver for his family and other settlers.

September 27th Doctor McLoughlin gave Simmons an order on Doctor Tolmie at Nisqually for supplies, the letter saying that Simmons "is going with some of his friends to settle at the falls at the Chute River. He has applied to me to get an order on you for grain and potatoes, but I presume you have not more than you need for your own use. If you have any to spare please let him have what he demands and charge it to home. Colonel Symonds and his friends passed the winter in our vicinity. They have been employed by us in making shingles and procuring logs. They have all conducted themselves in a most neighborly, friendly manner, and I beg to recommend them to your kind assistance and friendly offices."

"Home," to which Doctor McLoughlin desired the goods charged, was the home station at Vancouver.

Shortly after receiving the order, Simmons set out for the Sound, accom-



COLONEL AND MRS. MICHAEL T. SIMMONS
First white settlers on Puget Sound

panied by his family, James McAllister, David Kindred, Gabriel Jones, George Bush and their families and J. Ferguson, Reuben Crowder and S. B. Crockett. Fifteen days were consumed in cutting out the road from the Cowlitz Landing and making the trip to New Market. A little later in the fall J. R. Jackson took up a farm north of the Landing at a place which later was given the name of Jackson Prairie, and the next year S. S. Ford, Sr., and Jerry Borst settled on the Chehalis River and the Packwood and Eaton families joined the New Market settlement.

To Simmons Tumwater Falls and its water-power had been one of the main attractions and he soon laid plans to harness the falls to the task of supplying the settlement with flour and lumber. From granite boulders found near the falls, burrs were made and a small flour mill was placed in operation in the fall of 1846. The flour was coarse and unbolted, but it was wholesome and relieved the settlers of the long haul from the Hudson's Bay mill above Vancouver. Simmons was joined by A. B. (Tony) Rabbeson, Edmund Sylvester, Frank Shaw, Gabriel Jones, Jesse Ferguson, John Kindred and A. D. Cornifix in building a sawmill. From the Hudson's Bay Company they obtained the iron work of an old upright mill, organized the Puget Sound Milling Company and were soon turning out fir and cedar lumber at the rate of about 100 feet an hour.

In a letter signed by Peter Skene Ogden and James Douglas, Doctor Tolmie is informed of the transfer to the Americans of the mill machinery as follows:

"We have given Mr. Simmons a crank and other irons for a saw mill, of which Mr. Forrest will send you an account and the weight, such irons being charged by the pound, and you will carry it to his account, at the rate of 20 cents per pound.

"We have promised to take shingles from Simmons' people for the coming winter at former prices; they have spoken to us about getting sheep and cattle on shares and also for purchase, but we have given them no encouragement to expect a compliance with their wishes on that point.

"As soon as the steam vessel arrives, she will be employed as last year in transporting cattle to Fort Victoria, and you will please to make the necessary preparations for that purpose.

"Accompanying you will receive notes of hand as follows: David Kindred, \$6.74; Gabriel Jones, \$82.93; M. T. Simmons, \$53.43; James McAllister, \$24.31, being the amount of their Vancouver accounts when they left this place last year. As soon as they have paid the amount due, you will return these notes to the drawers. Charge no interest on these notes, as they have been making payments on their accounts for many months past, and the sum is so small that the interest is not worth charging."

"Tony" Rabbeson was the first sawyer. Everybody for miles around was present when the first slab ever cut in a Puget Sound sawmill fell away from the log. After two years' operation the mill was sold to Capt. Clanrick Crosby for \$35,000. Crosby had recently arrived from California, and his measurement of values seems to have been considerably inflated.

There is not at hand a detailed description of that first sawmill on Puget Sound, but it was not much in advance mechanically of the first Oregon mill described in Geer's "Fifty Years in Oregon," as follows:

"It was driven by an overshot wheel twenty-four feet in diameter and thirty inches in width, which required three minutes to make one revolution and the

machinery was so geared up that every time the wheel revolved once the sash-saw would be raised and lowered at least ten times. The cog gearing was made of fir blocks and would wear out after one week's service, necessitating the replacing of one every hour or two, while the only belt was the one reaching to the drum to which the sash was attached. This belt, made of cow skins with the hair still on one side would stretch to such an extent that when we were not making a new block for a cog we were taking up the slack. We made a new one one day which measured forty feet. The first afternoon we used it we cut out a surplus foot four times, and by the time it was worn out—it lasted a week—we had fifty feet of surplus hide and still forty feet of belt. There was no waste material about the mill anywhere!

"My special task in this work was to 'off-bear' the mill's output, to do which, however, was not difficult. The logs were delivered on a hillside just above the mill by a team of oxen and we could easily saw one every half-day. When we wanted a new log we cleared the mill of all obstructions and removed the 'chunk' which retained the 'boom' on the hillside. This done the log would surrender to the law of gravitation and with great velocity roll into the mill, usually taking its place on the carriage without assistance. In fact the speed made by the logs in this operation was the only rapid motion ever seen about the mill, and was an event to which we looked forward twice a day with great interest.

"But the one feature about that mill which I enjoyed to the full was the progress of the carriage, as it pushed the log into the saw. It was a constant struggle as to which would surrender. Sometimes the saw would give up, and as the carriage endeavored to proceed against the dead saw, the mill would shake and tremble for a moment and all motion would cease, while the water would pour over the stationary wheel until the extra force would cause the belt to slip, when the wheel would turn half over, empty out its buckets and again come to a standstill. Sometimes a cog in the carriage gearing would break while the saw was savagely eating its way through a pine knot and, having no resistance, the remaining machinery would virtually run away with itself until the excited 'foreman' succeeded in shutting off the water. Oh, there were times when things were exciting in that old mill!

"But when everything was running smoothly it was great fun. Having 'set' the log and started the works going, there was a good long rest in store until the saw reached the further end. There was nothing unseemly about the gait of the carriage. It was deliberate a part of the time. With the screws turned, the 'dogs' firmly driven in and the water turned on, as soon as the big wheel became filled, the picnic began. * * * Of course, in a mill of this character, it was utterly impossible to saw lumber accurately. Nearly all planks which were intended to be an inch thick were two inches at one end and a half inch at the other—often a mere feather in the middle. For this reason a house we built was a foot wider at one end than at the other and was narrower in the middle than at either end and for the same reason we had great difficulty in making a roof that would force the water to run from its comb to its eaves."

Geer continues humorously to describe the old mill, and its owner's attempt to saw into thin stuff, for box-making, a cottonwood log:

"On account of the uncertain 'cut' of the saw, it usually used up an inch of



FOUR GENERATIONS OF MICHAEL T. SIMMONS' DESCENDANTS: MRS. M. D. HOLMES, MRS. GEORGE MILTON SAVAGE, MRS. A. L. CLARK, AND FRANCES ELLEN CLARK.

material as it went hammering its way through a log, and to get a half-inch board from this process was not only a fearful waste of raw material, but the precise result to be obtained was a matter for the wildest conjecture. However, we sawed up that cottonwood log, three feet in diameter, got seven thin boards—and a wagon load of sawdust. I stacked them out in the sun in a loose pile to season, and within three days they had warped themselves out of the lumber yard and were found in a neighbor's corral, a mile down the creek!"

James McAllister, who had been the first to take a claim distant from the Tumwater settlement, built the second sawmill in 1851. It was on McAllister (Medicine) Creek near the mouth of the Nisqually, and sawed some of the first lumber ever exported from the Sound. This was in 1852, and the lumber went to the San Francisco market.

McAllister and wife had six children and they lived in two big burned-out stumps while their house was being made ready. One of the daughters later wrote that "they found it very comfortable, the burnt out roots making such nice cubby-holes for stowing away things. Mother continued to live in her stump house until father built a house, the work being necessarily slow, for father had but few tools."

Hand-made cedar shingles were "legal tender" for the first few years of American settlement. The post at Nisqually bought the shingles, shipped them to the Hawaiian Islands and the settlers received goods in exchange. The prices paid to the settlers ranged from \$1.50 to as high as \$10 the thousand, with the average a little more than \$3. As these men had come from the hard-wood country of the Middle West, a country where oak and hickory were rived into clapboards, the frow and the mallet were tools with which they were well acquainted. With easily-riven cedar to work upon, good wages were possible and many hundreds of thousands of shingles were exported. The old books of the Nisqually post show that James McAllister furnished the company with 220,000 shingles, for 35,500 of which he received \$10 the thousand. A good shingle maker could earn from \$5 to \$15 a day.

Doctor Tolmie, who had promoted the hand-made shingle trade, became somewhat alarmed as to its future and in 1849 wrote Douglas that the settlers were making so many that he feared he would not be able to find a market. Douglas replied "that we must assist these poor people and cannot see them suffer for the necessities of life." The doctor was instructed to continue buying, but to reduce the price to \$3 a thousand. The shingles piled up and then came the discovery of gold in California and Capt. Alexander Monat and the brig Sacramento. California had gold, but no shingles. Monat had a ship to load and Doctor Tolmie received \$13 the thousand for 121,000 hand-made shingles. From the little Tumwater mill Captain Monat obtained a small supply of lumber for which he paid from \$60 to \$100 the thousand.

That the pioneers did not fare badly at the Nisqually store is shown by this price list: Axes, \$1.25; drawer knife, 90 cents; oats, 50 cents a bushel; peas, 90 cents a bushel; potatoes, 25 cents a bushel; wheat, 80 cents a bushel; wool, 16 cents a pound; bullocks, \$18; mares, \$13.50; salt-pork, 10 cents a pound; coffee, 25 cents per pound; molasses, 55 cents per gallon; brown sugar, 12½ cents a pound; salt, 70 cents a bushel; Epsom salts, 16 cents a pound; nails, 4 cents a pound; clasp nails, 13 cents a pound; gunpowder, 30 cents a pound; ammunition lead, 1

cent a pound; twist tobacco, 40 cents a pound; leaf tobacco, 26 cents a pound; tin kettle, \$1.80. Flour, imported flour from Chili and from the Atlantic Coast, sometimes went up to as high as \$50 a barrel and at all times brought a high price.

Amusements, perhaps partaking of the somewhat "rough-and-tumble" life of the pioneer days, were not unknown. When the British war vessel, the *Fisgard*, was in Nisqually Bay through the anxious months of 1846, the sailors laid out a half-mile race course on one of the prairies. It was a fast track, with grand stand and other things necessary to a complete racing field, and "Jack Ashore" spent his days trying to master the mystery of sticking to the back of an Indian pony while that tough and headstrong animal was in rapid motion. After the sailors left the Sound the track was used by Indians, many of whom came from over the mountains to race their horses there.

Early in May, 1849, the little settlement was thrown into great excitement by Patkanim's attack on Fort Nisqually. Sometime before this wily chief tried to organize the Sound Indians in a concerted attack upon the American settlers. A great council was held on Whidby Island. The Nisquallies refused to take part, the council broke up in a row which so frightened Cornefix and Rabbeson that they gave up their intended settlement and fled to New Market. Patkanim was no ordinary Indian. When he appeared at the gates of Nisqually House he said he had come to punish some of the Indians for frightening the two Americans away from the island. Under the pretext of having a gun repaired he was admitted to the post. About this time a gun was discharged. It seemed to have been an agreed signal and brought a fusilade of shots from the Indians outside the stockade. At the open gates stood Leander C. Wallace, a man named Walker and another named Lewis, all Americans. Wallace was instantly killed, and Walker and Lewis were wounded. Lewis died a few days later.

Hastily closing the gates, the men in the fort trained the swivel gun upon the Indians who took to cover in the brush. Doctor Tolmie, in trying to get the body of Wallace inside the stockade, was attacked and narrowly escaped with his life. The Indians retired and sent word that the Americans would be permitted to leave the country, provided they did not take their property. The Americans replied that they had come to stay. Block houses were begun at Tumwater and Skookum Chuck.

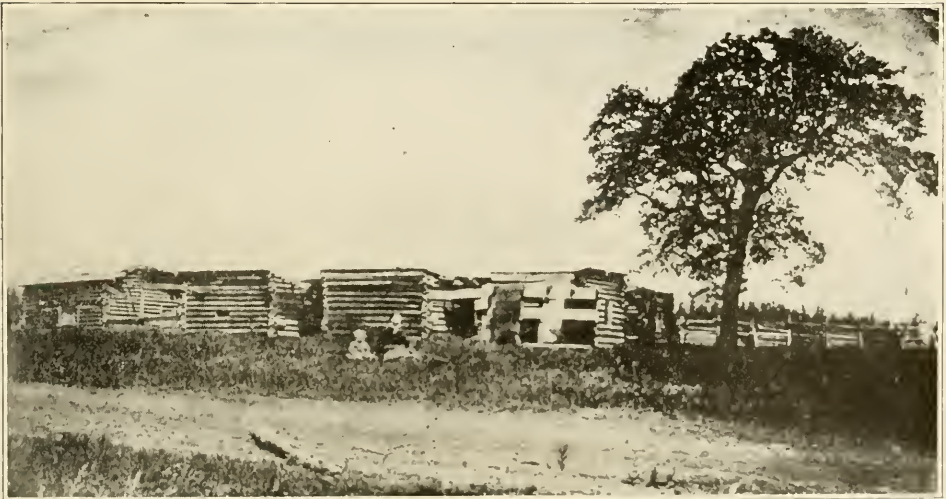
Governor Lane, accompanied by Lieutenant Hawkins and five men, the only United States force in the territory, came to the Sound bringing arms and ammunition to the settlers. Lane requested Doctor Tolmie to refuse to sell arms and ammunition to the Indians. While at Tumwater he heard of the arrival in the Columbia of the United States ship *Massachusetts* with two companies of artillery. He at once wrote to Doctor Tolmie asking him to tell the Indians of the arrival of the soldiers.

Capt. B. H. Hill and his company of artillerymen were sent to the Sound and in August, 1849, began the erection of Fort Steilacoom. Twenty acres of land were rented from the Agricultural Company for \$50 a month, a rental arrangement which was continued for almost twenty years.

About this time Oregon was divided into two Indian districts, J. Quinn Thornton being appointed sub-agent for the northern. Though an able man, Thornton seems unfitted to deal with Indians. Late in July he visited the Sound, and spent



OLD FORT STEILACOOM



EATON'S FORT

Built in the spring of 1856 as one of the defenses against the Indians

some weeks gathering information about the Nisqually attack. Ignoring Doctor Tolmie, Thornton made the error of offering a reward of eighty blankets for the surrender of the Indians who killed Wallace and Lewis. Friction developed between Thornton and Governor Lane, Thornton resigned and Captain Hill took up the task of bringing the Indians to trial.

The large reward was a tempting bait to Patkanim who surrendered several of his tribesmen and a slave, and they were tried in Steilacoom in September, Judge Bryant presiding. It was the first court held north of the Columbia. The trial resulted in the conviction of Quallawat and Kassas. Patkanim had tried to fasten the crime upon one of his slaves, but under the cross examination by the American attorneys, this testimony was broken down and the two men found guilty. They were hanged. The cost of this little Indian war to Oregon was about \$3,000. Patkanim learned a lesson and through the remainder of his life was a friend to the white settlers. There is a story that the chief was taken on a sailing vessel to San Francisco. Here he saw many Americans and, upon his return told his tribesmen there was no use fighting the white men, there are too many of them. Following the signing of the treaty of June 15, 1846, many American immigrants came to the little colony at Tumwater.

In 1847 John Holgate, a native of Butler County, Ohio, drove across the plains one of the wagons in which were brought to Oregon the first fruit trees from the Eastern states. Eight hundred small grafted trees, set closely together in the bottom of two wagon boxes, with soil packed around the roots, were kept in a growing condition while transported overland. Every tree lived. They were brought from a nursery at Salem, Iowa, set in a nursery at Salem, Ore., and became the progenitors of millions of trees planted in Oregon and Washington orchards. The Llewellyns were the promoters of this industry and Holgate was one of the wagon drivers.

Holgate arrived in Oregon in time to take part in the closing scenes of the Cayuse war during which he fell victim to measles; was nursed back to health by a kindly old Hudson's Bay man, who told the younger man of the wonderful country around the Sound. In the summer of 1849 Holgate set out alone from Portland, and spent some two months cruising about Puget Sound. On the Duwamish River, a short distance above where it emptied into Elliott Bay, he took up a claim and then returned to the Willamette Valley.

The settlers in Oregon were so much impressed with Holgate's recital that a number of them decided to visit the country. Holgate went to other parts of the country, and when, in the summer of 1851, Henry Van Asselt, Luther M. Collins, Jacob and Samuel Maple arrived, Jacob Maple took the Holgate claim. Holgate returned some time later and took land nearer the mouth of the river. Col. I. N. Ebey seems to have been the first white man to visit the Duwamish River; at least his account of an exploring trip, made in 1850, is the first written record. He ascended the river to Lake Washington to which he gave the name Geneva.

September 26th J. N. Low, David T. Denny, Lee Terry and Capt. Robert C. Fay landed on what is now known as Alki Point. They were in search of land, explored the country and decided to settle. Leaving Terry and Denny to build a house, Low went to Portland where their immigrant party awaited the report of the advance guard. At the Oregon town Low found the schooner Exact about

ready to sail to the Sound and arranged with Captain Folger to convey his party to their future homes.

Of the landing of this party of pioneers at Alki Point on November 13, 1851, Prof. E. S. Meany, in his *History of Washington* says :

"As the first of these passengers landed, Young Denny emerged from a bower of brush, rubbing his eyes, 'I am mighty glad to see you folks,' said he, 'for the skunks have eaten all my grub.' Lee Terry had gone on an errand, leaving Denny alone to hold down the claims destined to evolve into a metropolis.

"The landing was hastily accomplished, and then the men tugged away on the task of carrying the goods beyond the reach of the incoming tide. A dreary autumn rain was falling. There was no shelter. The schooner continued on its way to Olympia. The colony was alone. Arthur A. Denny turned to his friend and said: 'Low, white women are scarce in these parts. We had better take care of what we have.' He found his own wife sitting on a log, her back against a tree. In her arms was a babe but a few weeks old. She was weeping. 'Come, come, wife, this is no way to begin pioneering.' 'Oh, you promised when we left Illinois that we would not settle in a wilderness. Now see where we are.'

"The foundation of Seattle was laid in a mother's tears. This colony was the real nucleus around which grew the city. On the arrival of the *Exact's* passengers, it comprised twenty-four souls—twelve adults and twelve children—as follows: Arthur A. Denny and wife with three children, Louise C., Margaret Lenora, and Rolland H.; John N. Low and wife with four children, Alonzo, Mary, John N. V., and Minerva; William N. Bell and wife with four children, Laura, Olive, Virginia and Lavina; Carson D. Boren and wife with one child, Gertrude; Louisa Boren, the sister of Mr. Boren and of Mrs. Arthur A. Denny; Charles C. Terry, brother of Lee Terry; David T. Denny and Lee Terry, who had remained from the advance guard."

Forest fires had pretty well denuded the point of its timber. The little that was left was used in building cabins. Low's soon was finished and was occupied by the entire company until another was built for Arthur Denny. In December the brig *Leonesa*, Capt. Daniel S. Howard, arrived in search of piles and the settlers contracted to supply the cargo. Lee Terry went to Puyallup where he bought a yoke of oxen, and soon everybody was engaged in supplying the first cargo of timber ever shipped from Elliott Bay. Seattle's commercial life was built on piling—a cargo supplied to a sailing vessel before the first homes were completed. The little settlement was named New York. Visitors laughed and said: "New York—Alki," meaning it might be a city "by-and-by." The by-and-by remains—the New York is forgotten.

Plenty of fine timber was found on the eastern shore of Elliott Bay, but the question of its availability arose. With a bunch of horseshoes tied to a clothes line A. A. Denny, Carson D. Boren and W. N. Bell set out in an Indian canoe, crossed to the north shore and began a survey. The short line failed to touch bottom and the surveyors moved closer in shore near what is now known as Interbay at Smith Cove. From this point the shore line was followed around to West Seattle and back to Alki. The investigation having shown the bay well adapted to their needs, it was decided to move a part of the settlement to the eastern shore and February 15, 1852, Denny, Boren and Bell staked out claims. Boren's claim had its southwest corner at what is now King Street and First

Avenue South and was the southernmost of the three first filings. A. A. Denny's claim laid north of Boren's and Bell's still further north. A short time later D. T. Denny filed on a claim still further north, one fronting on the bay and running across to the shore of Lake Union.

Preparations were now made for removing from Alki to the new claims. On March 31st Dr. D. S. Maynard arrived. At Olympia Maynard had met Chief Seattle and had asked the old Indian for information regarding the best fishing grounds on the sound. Seattle told him of the Duwamish River and the fine bay into which it emptied and the Vermonter was so much interested that he set out for Elliott Bay. Every settlement was seeking population and when Maynard asked the Seattle pioneers for a site for a fishing establishment, they urged him to become a permanent settler. He finally consented and the lines of the claims were re-arranged so that Maynard took land on the south side of Boren's.

Dr. D. S. Maynard was a native of Vermont, a pioneer of 1850. He was educated for the medical profession, married and took up his practice in Ohio. His first marriage proving unhappy, the doctor, April 9, 1850, left his Ohio home and set out on horseback for the West. May 16th he crossed the Missouri River at St. Joseph and with a mule, a buffalo robe, a gun, a few medicines and his surgical instruments he joined an immigrant train bound for Oregon. Strong, with considerable ability, a happy disposition, and a willingness to be of service he soon won friends. Throughout the journey he kept a diary, to which we are indebted for the following information:

Hardly had the train started on its journey than cholera broke out among the immigrants and the doctor found his days and nights occupied in caring for the stricken. May 29th he himself became a victim of the disease, his diary expressing the fact in two short sentences thus: "Took sick with the cholera. No one meddled or took any notice of it but George Moon. May 30th—Feel better. Start on foot. Continue to get better. Travel up the Little Blue twenty miles."

His method of treatment must have been successful and with such determination it is no wonder the doctor soon was in perfect health. But the dread disease did not permit him any rest—one entry saying: "Find plenty of doctoring to do. Stop at noon to attend some persons sick with cholera. One was dead before I got there, and two died before the next morning. They paid me \$8.75. Deceased were named Israel Broshears and William Broshears and Mrs. Morton, the last being mother to the bereaved widow of Israel Broshears. We are eighty-five or ninety miles west of Fort Kearney."

The next day the journal saying, "Made my arrangements to shift my duds to the widow's wagon when they come up in the morning."

The main part of the train had gone ahead leaving the widow and her belongings behind. Seven members of her party having died she was left entirely helpless and the doctor undertook to look after her interests.

Fear of the cholera, added to the weakened condition of many of the teams, caused the caravan to break up and for a time Maynard seems to have acted as messenger and physician to the widely scattered bands. On July 4th he "left the big creek and went to Independence Rock. Celebrated a little." The cholera district had now been left behind and one scarcely can blame the doctor for

"celebrating a little." The next entry says, "Oxen sick; vomiting like dogs. Old Nig looks bad," and the doctor, becoming veterinarian, administered large doses of salt pork. "Kept guard for fear of Mormons," is an unsatisfactory entry and leaves one to guess at a probable threatening of a Mountain Meadow Massacre. In fact, the dangers and trials through which the doctor and his party of immigrants passed is merely hinted at in the journal and one regrets that he found his time so fully occupied as not to permit of more detailed statements.

Through July the doctor was busy treating both human and live stock, looking after the all important question of food supply and arguing with other members of the company who objected to his delaying the train on account of the sick. That his policy was founded on wisdom is shown by the entries made after the Bear River was passed. With everybody, human and animal, in better physical condition as a result of having received proper care, much better progress was made. Just before reaching Fort Hall the doctor was called to minister to a sick papoose—his first Indian patient.

After entering that long road across the desert from Fort Hall to Fort Boise, the troubles increased. Two of the oxen died, the wagon was coupled shorter and the load was lightened by throwing some of the property on the desert. Day-time driving and night-time watching of the teams began to tell on the doctor who says he was "nearly sick, but no one knows it but myself." Fort Boise is described as "a miserable hole with one white man and fourteen Sandwich Island niggers." Two days after passing the fort, August 26th, the party began the ascent of the Blue Mountains, Mrs. Broshears and the doctor taking turn about driving and guarding the cattle from Indian thieves. The doctor's cheerful disposition seems to have been wearing down under this continual labor, one entry in the journal stating: "Here we began climbing the Blue Mountains, and if they don't beat the devil." He leaves his reader to draw his own comparison.

The Columbia River was reached September 8th and here a rascally Indian stole the doctor's horse—one he had bought a few days before for the handsome price of \$55. At the Dalles, on the sixteenth, the cattle were sold, the goods loaded on boats and the party started down the river for Vancouver, which was reached after "a hard time, in consequence of the Indian being so darned lazy. By rowing all the way (from the Cascades) myself, we got to the fort at 1 in the morning as wet as the devil. * * * Found a gentleman in the person of Mr. Brooks." The journal entries thereupon lose element of discontent. No time was lost at Vancouver and the journey to the American settlement on the sound was soon begun. Two miles above the mouth of the Cowlitz, a stop was made at the home of Judge Barbee where the travelers "were kindly received, and treated as if old acquaintances." They left the judge's house "loaded with kindness." "M. T. Simmons', our place of destination, where we were received with that degree of brotherly kindness which seemed to rest our weary limbs, and promise an asylum for us in our wornout pilgrimage," was reached September 25, 169 days after the doctor had left Northern Ohio.

The "Widow Broshears" was a sister of Simmons and it soon became apparent that the dangers and tribulations which she and Doctor Maynard had overcome in their long journey had established a bond of sympathy. The Legislature of 1852-53 granted a divorce to Doctor Maynard, and despite objections by the



VIEW FROM DENNY HILL, 1882

bride's family, they were married January 15, 1853, and went to Seattle to live. Doctor Maynard died March 13, 1873. Mrs. Maynard died October 15, 1906, a few months after celebrating the ninetieth anniversary of her birth.

Doctor Maynard's fishing camp on the marsh in the southern end of the Seattle settlement developed into a busy place. Large numbers of Indians were employed and many barrels of salt fish and fish oil found their way to the San Francisco market. He also opened a store.

Through the summer of 1852 the settlers cleared land, built houses and prepared rough timber for market. The brig Franklin Adams, Capt. L. M. Filker, was loaded with a cargo of 12,000 lineal feet of squared timbers—timbers from which the slabs and bark had been removed with a broad ax—8,000 lineal feet of piles, 10,000 hand-made shingles and 30 cords of wood. The John Davis, Capt. George Plummer, also was loaded.

In May a townsite was laid out and in October came Henry L. Yesler, looking for a site for a steam sawmill. Yesler was attracted by the fine timber on Sgwudux (West Seattle) and was about to locate there when the four landholders on the east side of the bay offered to rearrange their lines so as to permit him to take a claim, and he settled in Seattle. Yesler's claim was of peculiar shape. It began on the waterfront at the foot of the present day Yesler Way and ran in a long thin strip eastward to the eastern boundary of other claims where it spread out on the hill. As the machinery for this mill was already on the way from Ohio, Yesler, in October began the buildings. Among the first of these was the famous old cook house, for some years the embryo city's theater, church, court room, hotel and civic center.

Fred Grant, in his History of Seattle, says the cook house was "as the name implies, the eating house of the mill hands. But in addition to this use it was the town hall, court room, meeting house and hotel. All the legal business was transacted here and here nearly all social gatherings were held. It was the lounging place where the men collected and heard the news and told stories. A low, long, rambling affair without architectural pretensions, it possessed a certain homely attractiveness and was the last of the log buildings to be taken down."

With the surveying of the townsite the question of a name for the future city presented itself and it was proposed to give the place the name of Seattle, the Indian chief who had shown himself so friendly to the pioneers, though it is said that the chief did not care for the honor and so expressed himself. The plat of the Town of Seattle was filed in May, Dr. Henry A. Smith settled at Smith Cove, George N. McConaha arrived and hung out his law shingle and on November 19th, Dr. D. S. Maynard, the town's first justice of the peace, performed the first marriage ceremony in the county. The contracting parties were John Bradley and Mary Relyea, both of Steilacoom. A little while later both of them and their two children escaped death at the hands of Indians only by the narrowest margin.

Mukinkum and Tsehalalitch were Indian names applied to parts of the present City of Seattle. From the very earliest settlement of white people, even before the filing of the first plat, the place was known by its present name. The often made assertion that the city was named for an Indian named Noah Sealth was attacked by Thomas Prosch, in the July, 1908, number of the Washington Historical Quarterly, the writer asserting that after diligent search he had been

unable to find any record of any such Indian. There was, however, an Indian named Seattle—Chief Seattle, of the Suquamish tribe, living on the west side of Agate Pass at Port Madison. This Indian lived as Seattle, was known to the early pioneers as Seattle, died as Seattle and was buried as Seattle, and that his name should have been twisted into Sealth, Prosch regarded as "an unfortunate error, one which should quickly be dismissed from the public mind."

George Gibbs and A. A. Denny both averred that Chief Seattle's mother was a Duwamish woman, but that he belonged to the Suquamish tribe between which and the Duwamish an unfriendliness existed. This dislike was so pronounced that G. A. Paige, agent for the tribes in 1857, recommended separate reservations for them. James H. Groudy was placed in charge of the Duwamish tribe on a reservation near the river of the same name.

Present day Indians pronounce the name Seattle as do the whites and each August, at Suquamish, celebrate the anniversary of the arrival of Chief Seattle as ruler of the tribe.

Seattle is said to have obtained his chieftainship through a clever stratagem. Indians from up the Duwamish River were reported on the war path for Suquamish scalps. Seattle, then a young man, was sent with a small party of warriors to repel the invaders. Late in the evening he led his men up the river to a convenient bend where a log was placed across the stream in such a manner as to make its top surface level with the surface of the water. The warriors took stations on the bank and awaited the coming of the larger band from upstream. Soon they heard the singing of the approaching enemy. As the first canoe rounded the bend it struck the obstruction, throwing its passengers into the water, where they soon were killed by Seattle's men. Other canoes met the same fate and the threatened invasion failed. Seattle was elected to the chieftainship as a reward for this service.

Early in the spring of 1848 Thomas W. Glasgow made a canoe trip down the Sound from Tumwater, and on Whidby Island, at Penns Cove, built a cabin and planted wheat and potatoes. He then returned to Tumwater and urged A. D. Cornefix and A. B. Rabbeson to accompany him to his new home. They went in Indian canoes to the head of Skookum Bay, made the portage to Hoods Canal and set sail down that body of water. Here they found large numbers of Indians many of whom had not seen a white man.

One of the camping places was at the mouth of the Skokomish River, and as the travelers made their arrangements for the night, a large band of Indians gathered, manifesting great curiosity in the preparations of the evening meal. It was Cornefix's turn at the camp work and an old chief, seeing him cooking and washing dishes, concluded he must be a slave. The old chief tried to buy Cornefix, offering his companions a large number of skins, muskets, blankets and two of his Indian subjects. It was considered a great joke on Cornefix, and his companions talked so much of it that Cornefix became angry and returned to the settlement.

Glasgow and Rabbeson continued to the island and had been there but a few days when Patkanim, chief of the Snoqualmies, arrived at the head of a large party of Indians. They were met by other Indians and preparations were made for a great pow-wow. The initiatory ceremony was a big hunt. Wings of willow and other brush were built across the island from Ebey's Landing on the west shore to Penns Cove. A corral was built and then the Indians formed a



CHIEF SEATTLE
(Sealth)

skirmish line some distance back of their trap. This line, composed of howling savages and barking dogs, beat the brush so thoroughly that sixty deer were driven into the corral and slaughtered.

Having filled their stomachs, the Indians opened their council. Through Glasgow's Indian wife, the white men learned that the subject under discussion was the driving out of the "Bostons." Patkanim urged that this be done at once, saying that the Americans were few in numbers but if allowed to continue to settle in the country they soon would outnumber the Indians who would be loaded into "fire boats" and taken to an island where the sun never shone and where they would be left to die.

Sno-ho-dum-tah, "Old Gray Head," chief of one of the tribes on the upper Sound, advised against any such proceeding and said that before the coming of the white men, his people had lived in constant dread of the northern Indians; but now the northern tribes were afraid to come into the settlements and his people were living in peace. The white men he had found to be good neighbors and he would not do anything to cause them trouble. This led to a row, and the council broke up.

Rabbeson, not caring to be one of the first victims of this proposed annihilation, took to the woods and made his way back to Tumwater. Cornefix, through the assistance of his wife and a friendly Indian, two days later escaped.

Col. Isaac N. Ebey, William Wallace with his wife and three children, and three bachelors, Mounce, Paffson and Friend were the next white persons to attempt settlement on the island. In December, 1851, they were joined by Col. Walter Crockett, a veteran of the War of 1812, and a pioneer of '51. Crockett brought a large family with him and was followed the next year by John Alexander, wife and three children of Illinois. About this time R. H. Lansdale settled at Penns Cove. Alexander settled on the claim upon part of which Coupeville later was built. In November, 1852, a son, Abram L., was born to Mr. and Mrs. Alexander, he being the first white child born on the island. About this time Richard B. Halbroke, a sailor of Puritan Plymouth, and Capt. Thomas Coupe, another sailor, decided they had never, in all their travels, seen a more attractive land and cast their lot with the other settlers. Coupe's name has come down to modern times in the name of the town which was laid out on his donation claim. John Kineth, a Bavarian saddler, and a Mr. Cronmeyer and other settlers arrived in 1853-54.

Samuel Hancock, one of the first men to cross the sage brush country lying in Eastern Oregon, between the Blue and Cascade mountains, arrived in Olympia in 1849. He came to the Sound from San Francisco in search of coal. Hiring a crew of seven Indians he set out from Olympia, followed the coast line to the mouth of the Snohomish up which stream, and the Snoqualmie, he traveled to the prairie above the falls. At Deception Pass he met Lummi Indians who told him the black stone he sought could be found on Bellingham Bay. He crossed to the mouth of the Stillaguamish, upon which stream he found some indications of coal and continued his explorations of Whidby Island, later becoming one of its early settlers. Before going to California, Hancock, in 1847, assisted Rabbeson in burning a kiln of brick on the farm of Simon Plomondon on the Cowlitz. It was the first kiln of brick ever burned in Washington.

Levi Lathrop Smith and Edmund Sylvester came over from Oregon in 1846

and built a cabin in Budd Inlet. The two men had townsite, or rather, city-building ambitions, and following the erection of their first unpretentious log building, named their town Smithfield. The last election held under the Provisional Government, in 1848, resulted in the election of A. B. Rabbeson as sheriff, and Levi Smith representative from Lewis County. Smith was subject to fits and while crossing the bay to his home, in August, was stricken, fell from the boat and was drowned. This was the first death in the American settlement. Sylvester, fearing unknown heirs might appear and claim Smith's undivided half interest in the townsite in later years, denied all knowledge of his unfortunate partner, and if asked some question regarding Smith would say that he had never heard of any such man.

In 1847 a trail was cut through the woods to Tumwater. The next year Rev. Father Pascal Ricard established St. Joseph Mission, and the succeeding year Smithfield rose to the proud distinction of possessing the only two-story store building on the Sound. Following the fortunate sale of the pioneer sawmill to Captain Crosby, Simmons began the erection of the store building. The brig *Orbit* arrived in Budd Inlet with a cargo of merchandise. This was unloaded into Simmons' new 25 by 40 foot, two-story building and the *Orbit* sailed away with the first cargo of piling sent from the site of what is now Olympia.

During his first four years on the Sound, fortune smiled on Simmons. But she was preparing to deal him a blow. On board the *Orbit* when she came to Budd Inlet was a young man named Charles H. Smith. He made friends easily and when the brig sailed to San Francisco, Simmons sent him along in charge of the cargo of piling. He was also given cash and credits amounting to some \$60,000 with which he was to buy merchandise in the California city. In San Francisco young Smith decided to take advantage of the good start Simmons had given to him, and left for parts unknown.

Swantown had its beginning when John M. Swan arrived in Smithfield in 1850 and took up a claim on the east side of the settlement. It had then risen to the dignity of frame houses and an increasing population. Col. I. N. Ebey, who seems always to have appeared upon any early day scene where action and intelligence were required, suggested that the name Smithfield be changed to Olympia. It met with the approval of the settlers.

And then came the brig *George Emory*, Capt. LaFayette Balch, with a cargo of merchandise from Portland, Me. Balch was a believer in preparedness and carried on his vessel a house all ready to be put together. The merchandise cargo was unloaded and the captain was ready to open a rival store when he met with opposition from the townsite owner. Sylvester, fearing competition might injure the Simmons enterprise, placed an exorbitant price on his brush covered town lots; Balch reloaded his goods, sailed to Steilacoom and founded a rival town. Instead of injuring the future state capital, the rivalry between its people and the inhabitants of Steilacoom seems to have been beneficial. Olympia for a pioneer town, entered upon an era of rapid development. As the 4th of July, 1851, approached, its people discussed holding a celebration.

John Butler Chapman, the year before attempted to found Chehalis City, on Grays Harbor. His city persistently refused to grow beyond its one house and Chapman moved to Steilacoom. He was chosen orator of the day and in a patriotic address urged the formation of a new territory. It was a popular



CHIEF SEATTLE'S DAUGHTER AND HER DOMICILE

theme—one which had been discussed by the settlers for some months. A year later another celebration was held at Olympia and the address this time was delivered by Daniel R. Bigelow, a young lawyer who had crossed the plains the year before. Sentiment for a separate territorial government was increasing rapidly. The natural outgrowth of this political movement was the establishment of the first newspaper north of the Columbia River.

CHAPTER XII

FIRST NUMBER OF OLYMPIA COLUMBIAN—ITS CURIOUS ADVERTISEMENTS—VERY VALUABLE TO THE HISTORIAN—BRIEF STORIES OF STEILACOOM, PORT TOWNSEND, ETC.—COAL FOUND ON BELLINGHAM BAY—FIGHT OPENS FOR SEPARATION FROM OREGON—CONVENTION AT “UNCLE DARBY” HUNTINGTON’S—OREGON, TOO, FAVORS DIVISION—NAME FOR NEW STATE DISCUSSED IN CONGRESS—COUNTIES ORGANIZED—CITIZENS RAISE MONEY TO OPEN NACHESS PASS ROAD—WINTHROP’S PLEASING REFERENCES TO ROAD BUILDERS’ CAMP—AID HASTENED TO IMMIGRANT TRAIN—DISHEARTENING EXPERIENCES OF THIRTY-SIX WAGONS—CROSS NACHESS RIVER SIXTY-EIGHT TIMES—TRAVELERS SUFFER FROM COLD AND ARE SUBJECTED TO LABORS OF ALMOST SUPERHUMAN CHARACTER—AN IMPASSABLE HILL AND HOW IT WAS CONQUERED—DREADFUL WIND MOUNTAIN—A ROYAL FEAST AT CLOVER CREEK—NAMES OF THE HEROIC NACHESS PASS PARTY—TINKHAM’S FAVORABLE REPORT ON SNOQUALMIE PASS ROAD POSSIBILITIES.

Volume I, No. 1 of the Olympia Columbian was issued at “Olympia, Puget Sound, Oregon Territory” on September 11, 1852, with J. W. Wiley and T. J. McElroy as editors and publishers. Six months later the editors, in commenting upon the close of their first half year, said:

“Well, we commenced the publication of this paper six months ago, without a subscriber and without a dollar. Since that time, we have ‘kept batch’—done our own cooking—our own washing—our own mending; cut our own wood—made our own fires, and washed our own dishes; swept out our office—made up our own beds—set up the type for our paper—done our press work on a ‘Ramage, No. 913’—and composed our own editorials out of the cases—writing paper being a ‘luxury’ of which we have deprived ourselves ever since we have been here—for this purpose.”

Copies of that first issue of Washington’s first newspaper are exceedingly rare. The paper, started with such small financial foundation, grew in importance and soon enjoyed a good advertising patronage and a circulation of 350 copies. As a source of historical information the Columbian is valuable—nearly all the stores, hotels and other commercial enterprises north of the Columbia placed advertisements in its columns and most of the people in the same territory read its four pages. Its “news” often was stale, but the covering of a district stretching from the Columbia River to the Canadian border, gathering all the important happenings through a press service consisting of the chance travelings to and fro of pioneers, was a difficult undertaking.

In the first issue R. S. Bailey, S. S. Ford, Jr., and John Edgar are reported to have returned from a trip to Mount Rainier. From the snow line they “pursued their way upward by the back bone ridge to the main body of the

mountain, and to the height, as near as they could judge, of nine or ten miles." The paper urged the necessity of opening a road over the mountains. September 25th Doctor Bigelow, who had been prospecting for coal in the Skookum Chuck neighborhood, had returned to Olympia well satisfied with his investigations. "Elis" began a series of articles on separation of Northern Oregon from that part lying south of the Columbia. The correspondent charged the Legislature with being unjust and with neglecting the country north of the river. "Puget Sound, Past and Present" is a review of the history of American settlement. Olympia, in two years had grown from one log cabin to a fair sized town with many nice residences, stores, etc.

Skookum Chuck coal attracted attention and the issue of October 2nd said J. W. Trutch was surveying a railroad line into the field. One week later Dr. R. H. Lansdale, of Whidby Island, had returned from an exploring trip over the mountains. Lansdale's journey was made to find a trail for a wagon road and led him up the Snohomish, Snoqualmie and Black rivers to a pass through which he reached the headwaters of the middle fork of the Yakima River and Blue Lake. An old Indian trail was followed by the doctor, who thought it possible to build a wagon road along the same route.

The news columns of this old newspaper are of very little more historical value than the advertising columns. The importance of the hotels of the country is shown by advertisements of several widely separated stopping places. Each hotel advertisement is decorated by a little cut of a plain and unattractive three-story house—a house looking more like a prison than a place of cheer or entertainment. These same little cuts were used in advertisements of ship and house carpenters, house for sale or rent, farms for sale and for land claims.

Weed & Hurd's meat market advertisement was adorned with a cut of a sickly looking cow. Hays, Ward & Company were operating their "splendid sawmill two miles above Olympia at the falls of the De Shutes" and advertising lumber with a cut of a low, wide spreading tree that might have been used equally well in an advertisement of fruit trees. Queer looking hat and shoe cuts were used to attract attention to the announcement "New Goods Hourly expected to arrive per brig Jane." Jane was a slow traveler, at least Andrew J. Moses kept the advertisement "standing" for several weeks. Long waiting must have given a keen edge to the bargain hunters' expectations.

"New York Markook House. Charles C. Terry & Co. Thankful for past favors take this opportunity to inform their numerous friends and customers that they still continue at their well known stand in the Town of New York, on Puget's Sound, where they keep constantly on hand and for sale, at the lowest prices, all kinds of merchandise usually required in a new country. N. B. Vessels furnished with cargoes of Piles, Square Timbers, Shingles, etc. New York, September 1, 1852. tf."

Publicity experts of modern times would find many flaws in this, the first advertisement ever run by a King County store; but the little lower case "tf." at the end shows Terry's intention was to let the world know he was in business. New York next spring became Alki; but Terry continued his advertising. M. T. Simmons wanted forty to fifty ax-men and eight sawyers to attend his shingle mill—this is the first want ad ever published in the country. Simmons also wanted to rent his two-story store building on Water and First streets, Olympia; Weed &

Hurd were operating a bakery and beef market and the "splendid, coppered and copper fastened bark, Louisiana, Alfred Drew, master," would soon sail for China. The ship John Brewer, Thomas C. Thomas, master, was to sail for London, direct and the public was informed that the ship had excellent accommodations.

Jane must have arrived, as a little later, she and the ship Persia are advertised as ready to sail for San Francisco. "Andrew J. Moses keeps constantly on hand a general assortment of merchandise," and desired to employ twenty-five shingle makers. In addition to being a civil engineer and conveyancer, H. A. Goldsborough was interested in the real estate firm of Simmons & Goldsborough. Edmund Sylvester was landlord of the Olympia House at Main and Second streets and advertised "private rooms furnished to those wishing them." The bill of fare contained all kinds of fish, game and the "finest of Oregon beef, mutton and pork," prepared "by an accomplished Chinese cook who comes highly recommended by the American consul at Canton."

W. M. Smith, proprietor of Smith's Express, was operating the clipper yacht "LaPlete, weekly between Olympia, Port Townsend, touching at Poe's Point, Johnson's Ranch, Nisqually, Whidby's Island, Steilacoom and New York." A. M. Poe offered town lots in Olympia for sale and Bigelow & Brooks were attorneys at law. Isaac Wood & Sons had 500 salmon barrels on hand and facilities for making more when those were sold. Samuel Williams, near Olympia, had "pockets and purses to let." G. A. Barnes was the local wholesaler with a stock of dry goods, groceries, provisions, and hardware, and Balch & Palmer were general merchants at Steilacoom.

At Cowlitz Farms E. D. Warbass conducted a general merchandise business; Warbass & Townsend, grocers, were located at Monticello. Wells, Fargo & Company announced the completion of their organization and the opening of service between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

The largest advertisement was one for sarsaparilla which, according to numerous testimonials, was good for all kinds of ailments and was for sale by George Abernethy & Company, merchants, Oregon City. Portland was represented by W. B. Otway, commission merchant and land agent; William Seton Ogden, commission merchant; and P. A. Marquam, attorney at law, with a branch office in the Coffin Block, Olympia. San Francisco lumber and produce commission merchants were also among the advertisers.

One of the prominent features of the Columbian office was the "Editors' Table." It was not a literary department for the review of other publications, but an intensely practical table upon which subscribers placed specimens of the products of their fields, orchards and gardens. The bachelor editors show their appreciation of these contributions by frequent mention of the names of donors; but woe to the man who returned his paper with "Refused" written upon it. Of the first of these the editor says:

"First Discontinuance. It is worthy of remark that the first person thus far who has ordered a discontinuance of the 'Columbian' is Mr. J. Borst, of the Gehalis, a wealthy farmer at the mouth of the Skookum Chuck. Mr. B. informed us he never ordered the paper, but was perfectly willing to settle up for the six months, with the assurance that when he did want to become a subscriber



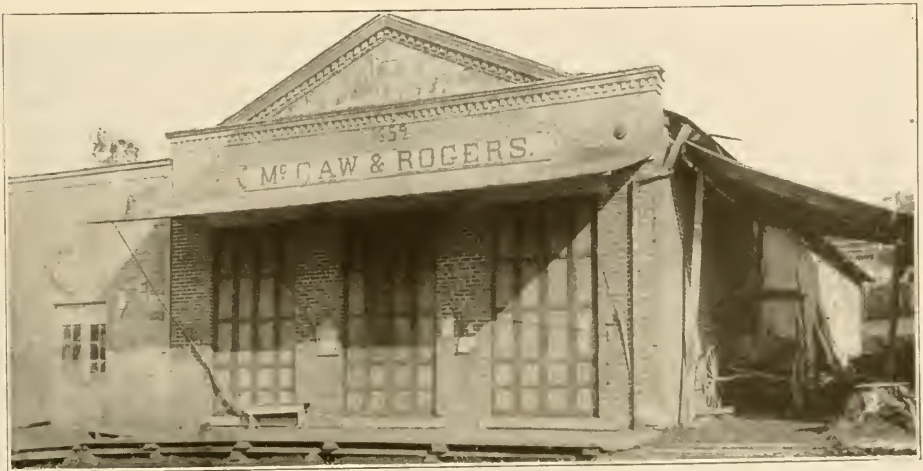
Peter Runquists' old blacksmith shop



Balch & Webber's store, the first in Pierce County. Torn down about 1905



Old courthouse, still standing. Here the famous Leschi was tried



First brick building in the northwest
HISTORIC BUILDINGS IN STEILACOOM

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATION

he would give the order himself. Let this be a warning to all who even think of discontinuing."

The first story of a crime was "covered" in the spring of 1853—the "news" being some days old before it was given to the *Columbian's* readers. One night in April, Robert Buchanan and Hugh Hunter, discharged soldiers who had taken claims at Spanaway, began a drinking bout which terminated in the murder of Buchanan and the suicide of Hunter. According to the story told by Indians, the two men quarreled, Hunter arose and plunged his knife into the body of his former comrade killing him almost instantly. The murderer lay down beside the dead body of his comrade and slept until morning. He awoke, seemingly unaware of what had taken place and when the Indians informed him, deliberately rolled up his sleeve and slashed his arm with the knife with which he had killed Buchanan. This proved too slow and Hunter loaded his gun, rested the muzzle against his chin and blew off his head. The Indians, when they saw him loading his gun, took to the woods and told the settlers at Steilacoom who went out and buried the bodies.

Alfred A. Plummer, a rugged, capable native of Maine, crossed the plains to California, in 1849, and for a short time ran a hotel in San Francisco. Desiring to get back into the latitude of his native state, Plummer the following spring left San Francisco on the brig *Emory*, Captain Rachel, and voyaged to the Sound. Landing at Port Townsend, he took up a claim and began clearing land and planting a garden. In a very short time Plummer was joined by F. A. Pettygrove, one of the first settlers on the site of Portland, Oregon, L. B. Hastings, who crossed the plains in 1847 and later made some money as a trader during the days of '49; David Shelton, afterwards the founder of the Mason County town of Shelton; T. A. Ross and T. Tallantacre. All had fought ague at Portland until exhausted. Hastings and Pettygrove built the first store. The year 1852 brought Albert Briggs, of Vermont, who took a claim adjoining that of Plummer. Sailing masters passing the townsite were struck with its beauties and possibilities and in a few years several of them quit the sea and took up their residence there. Among these were Capt. Enoch S. Fowler, Capt. Henry E. Morgan and Capt. Henry Tibbals who built the first hotel. Charles Fisenbeis, a native of Germany arrived in the late '50s and built the first bakery.

LaFayette Balch, when he became angry at Edmund Sylvester for not selling Olympia town lots at a reasonable price, sailed out of Budd Inlet, anchored his vessel at Steilacoom and began building a rival town. On the beach he found Frederick Rabjohn, William Elders and William Bolton, flotsam left by the British ship *Albion* when that vessel was seized for violating the United States revenue laws. Balch arrived January 23, 1851, and soon was erecting a large store building. Simmons' Olympia emporium was of two stories, and Balch, not to be outdone by the rival, built his to the same height. It was a Steilacoom landmark for many years—standing until 1905.

In August came John B. Chapman who took up a claim about a mile away from the point chosen by Balch. Chapman's experience on Gray's Harbor had shown him the futility of building one-man cities, and for some time he successfully curbed his town site promoting inclinations. Later they "broke out" in the Steilacoom City plat. Balch, running true to his seafaring experience, called his town Port Steilacoom and a lively rivalry developed. The firm of

Balch & Webber did a large business. Townsite booming was a side line to the more important shipping of lumber, piles, shingles, cord wood, furs, fish and hides. San Francisco was the market; also the point from which the firm obtained its stocks of merchandise.

To Dr. Elijah White belongs the distinction of being Old Oregon's first townsite booster. Doctor McLoughlin had city building ambitions when he took his Oregon City land claim in 1828; but he was a mere novice when compared to Doctor White, who introduced real townsite booming when he established Pacific City on Baker's Bay. Asserting that his city had a park filled with deer, handsome residences, schoolhouses, business buildings of large size and all the other attractions of up-to-date cities of the time, the doctor sold lots right and left and "left" his victims to discover their mistake. James D. Holman built and furnished a \$28,000 hotel and bought a large tract of land. Later he laid out and named the seaside resort of Ilwaco.

Capt. J. W. Russell, another Pacific City victim, moved to Willapa Harbor in 1851 and joined the oyster fishing colony at Bruceport. About this time the schooner Robert Bruce entered Willapa Harbor in search of a cargo of oysters for the San Francisco market. Among the members of the Bruce's crew were Mark Winant, John Morgan, Alexander Hanson and Richard J. Milward. While the crew was absent from the vessel the cook set it on fire and the "Bruce Boys," as they were afterward known, were marooned on the shores of the bay. They were pioneers in the founding of Willapa Harbor settlement.

Capt. William R. Pattle, while hunting timber for the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1851, discovered coal on Bellingham Bay. This attracted attention in that direction. Capt. Henry Roder and R. V. Peabody came, organized the Whatcom Milling Company, and built a sawmill at the lower falls of Whatcom Creek. Nicholas DeLin took a claim at the head of Commencement Bay in 1852, built a water-power saw mill and laid the foundation for the settlement of what afterward grew into Tacoma.

From Olympia south at the close of the year 1852 stretched the trail to the Cowlitz Landing. Farms were being opened at various places along this trail. Some of these later became the sites of flourishing towns. They were of little importance at that time. Monticello, on the Columbia, and a little settlement at the Cascades added their share to the population of Clark County. Vancouver, Olympia, Steilacoom, Seattle, and Port Townsend were the leading settlements of the territory. The population of none of them exceeded a few hundreds—certainly a small representation with which to present the plea for a separate territorial government.

With its first issue the *Columbian* took up the fight for a separation of the northern from the southern half of Old Oregon. It charged the people of the southern side of the territory with being unjust to the northern half. It demanded a larger representation in the territorial legislature. It gave John B. Chapman credit of having first proposed such separation. It asked that the new territory be named Columbia—hence the newspaper's name—*Columbian*. Its first issue carried a report of the address delivered by Daniel R. Bigelow at the Fourth of July celebration, held two months before the paper was established, and in this same issue announced its object in life to be the building up

of a new territory which would some day develop into a new state. It was an interest-arousing appeal and events of the next few months show this appeal was well received. It bore fruit and is a clear demonstration of the power of the press.

A meeting of delegates from the various settlements was called for October 25. The convention met in the home of H. D. Huntington, "Uncle Darby," at Monticello, and was called to order by William B. Plumb. G. N. McConaha was elected chairman and Dr. R. J. White, secretary. The delegates had assembled for one special purpose—the drafting of a memorial to congress—and no time was lost in getting down to the business in hand. The committee appointed to draft the memorial consisted of Quincy A. Brooks, Dr. D. S. Maynard, William B. Plumb, Alfred Cook, J. R. Jackson, E. L. Finch, A. F. Scott, F. A. Clark, C. S. Hathaway, E. A. Allen, E. H. Winslow, Seth Catline and N. Stone.

At the afternoon session this committee reported a memorial which stated that it was 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." The fifth of the nine reasons for desiring this action stated "those portions of Oregon Territory lying respectively north and south of the Columbia River, must, from the 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."

This memorial was signed by G. N. McConaha, R. J. White, Q. A. Brooks, C. S. Hathaway, E. H. Winslow, A. Cook, A. F. Scott, William Bell, A. A. Denny, L. M. Collins, G. B. Roberts, N. Stone, L. H. Davis, C. H. Hale, S. D. Ruddell, E. J. Allen, A. B. Dillingbough, J. R. Jackson, D. S. Maynard, F. A. Clarke, William M. Plumb, A. Wylie, Seth Catline, J. N. Low, C. C. Terry, A. J. Simmons, S. Plumond (Plomondon), H. A. Goldsborough, G. Drew, M. T. Simmons, H. C. Wilson, L. B. Hastings, S. S. Ford, Sr., B. C. Armstrong, J. Fowler, A. Crawford, H. D. Huntington, W. A. L. McCarkle, N. Ostrander, C. F. Porter, E. L. Finch, H. Miles, P. W. Crawford, and S. P. Moses.

The Oregon Territorial Legislature adopted the resolution. In the meantime, however, the petitioners sent a copy to Gen. Joseph Lane, Oregon's representative in Congress. On December 6, Lane introduced a resolution asking the committee on territories to examine and report upon the question presented in the memorial. The committee reported a bill for the organization of the new territory and Lane took up the fight to have the bill enacted. In his speech favoring the bill, Lane pointed out the immense size of Oregon and said that the proposition of admitting, as a state, any territory of such size was "at variance with the interests of the country, and with every principle of right and justice."

Objection to the name Columbia was raised by Mr. Stanton, of Kentucky, who said the nation always had a District of Columbia and that he would like to see the name of the new territory changed to Washington. Lane expressed his willingness to have the name so changed and Mr. Stanton said: "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.'” Some objection was raised to this name. A few congressmen, thinking it would lead to confusion in handling the mails, suggested some Indian name be chosen. The bill passed the House on February 10, and was sent to the Senate.

In his History of Washington, Prof. E. S. Meany says the bill was received in the Senate, “where Stephen A. Douglas, chairman of the committee on territories, reported the bill favorably with an amendment. As time was short the amendment was withdrawn. It was not printed, and only recently a search in the manuscript records of the Senate showed that the Douglas amendment did not favor an Indian name, but simply added two letters making the suggested name, ‘Washingtonia.’” The bill passed the Senate March 2, and received the signature of President Fillmore the same day.

Two days after signing the Organic Law creating the Territory of Washington, Fillmore, the whig, was succeeded in the Presidency of the United States by Franklin Pierce, a democrat. The organizing of the territory, the appointing of its governor and other officers, therefore devolved upon the new administration and led to the appointment of democrats. Isaac I. Stevens, then in charge of the United States Coast Survey, became governor, with J. Patton Anderson, United States marshal, and Charles H. Mason, secretary. Anderson started at once for his new post. Stevens, who had graduated from West Point, in 1839, as an engineer, went to Minnesota in charge of the survey for the railroad from St. Paul to Puget Sound. He did not arrive in the territory until late in the fall.

The results of the Monticello Convention were far greater than the delegates had hoped for. Very few, perhaps, expected Congress to so quickly grant the request for a separate territorial government. That the Oregon Territorial Legislature did not expect such action was shown by the steps taken to provide for a more just representation in that body from the country north of the river. Four new counties were created during the session of 1852-53. First of these was Pierce, named in honor of Franklin Pierce, then President-elect, with two precincts, one at the Steilacoom City home of John B. Chapman, and the other at the home of Henry Murril on Nisqually Plains. Thomas M. Chambers, William Dougherty and Alexander Smith were named county commissioners, John Bradley, sheriff and John B. Chapman, clerk.

King County, named in honor of Vice President-elect William R. King was organized with Arthur A. Denny, John N. Low and Luther M. Collins as commissioners, David C. Boring sheriff, and Henry L. Yesler clerk. Its boundaries were the northern line of Pierce County, the summit of the Cascade Mountains on the east, the parallel of latitude running through Pilot Cove on the north and the Pacific Ocean on the west. The whole of the Olympic Peninsula north of this parallel was organized as Jefferson County, named in honor of Thomas Jefferson, its officers being Lucius B. Hastings, Daniel F. Brownfield and Albert Briggs, commissioners; Henry C. Wilson, sheriff and Alfred A. Plummer, clerk. One election precinct, at the home of Dr. D. S. Maynard, in Seattle, was provided for King County, while Jefferson was given two—one at the home of L. B. Hastings,



SIMON PLOMONDON

Rev. Father Hylebos says Plomondon had sixteen wives in the course of his long life, and more children than he could enumerate.

in Port Townsend and the other at the home of Daniel F. Brownfield, New Dungeness.

Island, the fourth county, contained all the rest of Western Washington north of King and east of Jefferson with precincts at the homes of S. M. Holderness, Snohomish, and R. H. Lansdale, Whidby Island. Its officers were Samuel D. Howe, John Alexander and John Crockett, commissioners; George W. L. Allen, sheriff, and Richard H. Lansdale, clerk.

The Columbian was unstinting in its praise of the work of Col. I. M. Ebey, who was given credit of obtaining this legislation. Ebey also put through the Legislature a memorial to Congress asking for an appropriation of \$30,000 for the building of a military road from Puget Sound over the Cascades to Walla Walla, and a bill to establish mail routes on the Sound. Mail service on the Sound at this time was in an unorganized condition—a sort of haphazard arrangement depending upon the chance vessel or traveler.

The creation of the Territory of Washington was the natural outgrowth of American ideals of government. Settlers north of the Columbia demanded larger representation in Oregon territorial councils; they wished to enjoy a wider application of the principle of home rule, and they felt themselves entitled to greater consideration at the hands of the Federal Government at Washington.

Among the many needs which it was hoped the separate-territory idea would supply, none stood out more distinctly than that of roads. From the Cowlitz Landing to Tumwater stretched the one road of the territory. It was cut out by the first party of Americans when they crossed to the Sound in 1845. The government had done nothing towards its improvement. If a mud hole became impassable, the traveler filled it up with tree boughs or puncheons or cut a new way around. Stumps and rocks were removed by the same agency. The rough trail was innocent of grading through its tortuous and torturing length. Its evil reputation reached the far places. Even the immigrants crossing the plains to Oregon knew of it. The mud was often a foot or more in depth. Both women and men who journeyed over it by foot enjoyed wading the streams that it crossed as this removed from their clothing the accumulated mud.

After overcoming the dangers of the plains-Columbia River route, immigrants, were satisfied to remain in the Willamette Valley. Settlers in Western Washington realized the importance of providing direct connection with the immigrant trail at some point east of the Cascade Mountains. The building of a military road from the Sound to Walla Walla was one of the arguments used by the Columbian in urging separation. Quincy A. Brooks, in one of his speeches, said that freight rates between Portland and the Sound were as high as between the Sound and New York. Passenger rates over this dreadful road were as high as between New Orleans and Boston. Under such conditions, Puget Sound could not hope to attract immigrants from the Willamette.

Late in April, 1853, Olympia people received the welcome news that Congress had appropriated \$20,000 to the build a military road from Fort Steilacoom to Walla Walla. Road meetings became popular. They were "largely attended, and a general and generous enthusiasm prevailed." Settlers volunteered services, money and provisions, and the Columbian said: "Warm hearts and willing hands are not wanting in Washington, and it only needs the surety that the road is

practicable, and soon the line of light will guide the toil-worn and weary immigrant to the home to which we most heartily bid him welcome."

Reports received from the national capital said that Capt. George B. McClellan had been dispatched to the Sound to build the road. Local leaders, realizing that the Federal appropriation could not immediately become available, determined to go ahead with the work. The settlers pledged labor, cash and provisions. Early in June an exploration party set out, followed soon by construction gangs. James K. Hurd became treasurer of the volunteer organization and his statement shows more than \$1,000 in money contributed. Toiling through the summer months they cut a road from the James Montgomery claim, on the Nisqually Plains, through the unbroken forest to a point beyond the crest of the Cascade range. This volunteer force was divided, the one on the west side being under the supervision of Edward J. Allen, while that on the eastern slope was in charge of Whitfield Kirtley. As a road builder Allen was a success and his men opened the rough trail to a point some six or eight miles beyond the summit. Kirtley failed to hold his men together, trouble developed, and the force returned to Olympia.

The road was little better than a trail, but it represented the united effort of the settlers. Even the Indians had helped. When A. J. Baldwin, in charge of transporting the provisions from Olympia to the road-making camp, needed pack horses, "Chief" Leschi, later to become famous in history, furnished them, and his brother Queimuth went along as guide. Gen. I. I. Stevens was then surveying the route for the Northern railroad to the Pacific coast and had not negotiated his Indian treaties. When Leschi learned that Baldwin was not receiving pay for the use of his own horses, the Indian refused to accept payment for the hire of his.

Late in September Allen returned to Olympia and reported the road open to a point well beyond the summit. With twenty men he had opened some sixty miles of road in about sixty days.

As Allen once wrote, "the road was not sandpapered," but it was hoped that immigrants would find it usable. Accustomed as were the builders to the big trees, the stumps, the streams and mud holes, they felt they had accomplished a great work. If it was found unsatisfactory by those who later came over its heart-breaking obstructions, these imperfections should have been charged to the difficulties which nature had placed in the way.

Theodore Winthrop, crossing the continent from Puget Sound eastward, thus describes one of the road makers' camps in his "Canoe and Saddle:":

"A score of men were grouped about a fire. Several had sprung up, alert at our approach. Others reposed untroubled. Others tended viands odoriferous and frizzling. Others stirred the flames. Around the forest rose, black as Erebus, and the men moved in the glare against the gloom like pitmen in the blackest coal mines.

"In such a platonic republic as this a man found his place according to his powers. The cooks were no base scullions; they were brothers, whom conscious ability, sustained by universal suffrage, and endowed with the frying pan. Each man's target of flapjacks served him as platter and edible table. Coffee, also, for beverage, the fraternal cooks set before them in infrangible tin pots—coffee ripened in its red husk by Brazilian suns thousands of leagues away, that we, in

cool northern forests, might feel the restorative power of its concentrated sunshine, feeding vitality with fresh fuel.

"My hosts were a stalwart gang. I had truly divined them from their cleavings on the hooihut (road). It was but play for one of these to whittle down a cedar five feet in diameter. In the morning this compact knot of comrades would explode into a mitraille of men wielding keen axes, and down would go the dumb, stolid files of the forest. Their talk was as muscular as their arms. When these laughed, as only men fresh and hearty and in the open air can laugh, the world became mainly grotesque; it seemed at once a comic thing to live—a subject for chuckling, that we were bipeds with noses—a thing to roar at; that we had all met there from the wide world to hobnob by a frolicsome fire with tin pots of coffee, and partake of crisped bacon and toasted doughboys in ridiculous abundance. * * * Coarse and rude the jokes may be, but not nasty, like the innuendoes of pseudo-refined cockneys. If the woodsmen are guilty of uncleanly wit, it differs from the uncleanly wit of cities as the mud of a road differs from the sticky slime of slums.

"* * * As I started, the woodsmen gave me a salute. Down, to echo my shout of farewell, went a fir of fifty years' standing. It cracked sharp, like the report of a howitzer, and crashed downward, filling the woods with shattered branches. Under cover of this first shot, I dashed at the woods. I could ride more boldly forward into savageness, knowing that the front ranks of my nation were following close behind."

This was in August. The road makers were still expecting the arrival of the Government agents with assistance. Lieutenant Hodges and Captain McClellan came to Olympia, journied over the road and gave it their approval. They had done nothing towards its construction. McClellan, in a later report, advised against crossing the Cascades with the railroad. The application of his name to any Washington highway is unjust.

From Steilacoom, on September 26th, Allen wrote:

"Friend Smith: This will be handed to you by Mr. Aiken, the first emigrant who has crossed upon the Puget Sound Emigrant Road. He left a train of thirty-five wagons upon the Wenas River, and reports sixty in all as having crossed the Columbia. Some of them are out of flour, and he brings in a letter addressed to M. T. Simmons, praying the Washingtonians to send out relief to them. I have sent out from our camp on Puyallup 300 pounds of flour, and have come in to Steilacoom to pack out more for our own use. The train is under the guidance of Nelson Sargent.

"EDWARD J. ALLEN."

The response was prompt. Aiken left the next morning with 1,000 pounds of flour and was accompanied by B. Gordon, T. Bush, J. Kindred, M. Jones, O. Cushman and W. Sargent. Just as the last of their flour was consumed, the 300 pounds sent out by Allen reached the immigrants, then camped on the eastern side of the mountains. These began the climb to the summit.

Nelson Sargent, under whose guidance the immigrants were making their way to the Sound, left the settlement early in the season and met the train at the Grand Ronde Valley. When he left Olympia it was supposed McClellan would

carry out instructions and prepare the mountain road for use that season. At the Grand Ronde Sargent told the immigrants they could find the best of land on the Sound and advised them to turn north from the Columbia and, with his relatives, made the trip over the new road. James Biles, one of the leaders of the party, decided to accept Sargent's advice. Others joined and when the Umatilla River was reached on August 15th, they left the main party and turned north up the Columbia.

Thirty-six wagons were driven to old Fort Walla Walla, the present day Wallula. Here the immigrants expected to find boats in which to cross the Columbia to the mouth of the Yakima. It was the first of many disappointing experiences. There were no boats at the fort and four days were spent in whipsawing lumber from drift wood and in building a boat. Eight times the train crossed the Yakima River before it reached the Naches where another disappointment was met.

McClellan, empowered by the government to award contracts for the construction of the road had failed to carry out his instructions. Kirtley, of the volunteer road makers, also had failed to provide a road.

Sixty-eight times the wagon train crossed the Naches River. It was slow traveling, some days but three miles were made and at one place they were forced to travel fifty miles without feed for horses and cattle other than that afforded by browsing from bushes at the roadside. Everybody, men, women and children of ten years or more, worked on the road. Trees were cut, rocks and stones were removed; tunnels were driven beneath great logs to let the wagons through, or with small logs, earth and stones the weary workers built runways to carry their wagons over great fir and cedar logs.

Traveling up the canon of the Naches had been hard; but the descent of the western slope was worse. At the summit, barefooted children in tattered clothing shivered in the frost-laden air of October mornings. Food supplies were almost exhausted, but now that they had reached the summit, the immigrants took new hope. Lean cattle and bony horses were hitched to the wagons containing the little property saved from the long trip. Women and little children trudged through muddy paths brushed by bushes heavy with the chill October rain. In many places this had turned to ice.

Leaving the summit glades the train set out down the new road. The first day's travel brought it to what one of the women called the "jumping off place"—the edge of a great bluff too steep for descent by ordinary methods.

A consultation was held and it was decided to lower the wagons with ropes. But the available ropes were found to be too short. Women wept and men cursed, and then James Biles said: "Kill one of the poorest of my steers, make a rope of his hide and see if that will be long enough. If not, kill another." Three lean and starved steers were killed before the required length of the rawhide was obtained. This was passed around trees and the wagons were lowered down the steepest part of the hill to a place where the cattle could be hitched to them. Rough locked and with pieces of knotty logs attached as drags, they were taken to camp at the first crossing of the Greenwater River. For two days men and women and animals labored on the hill. Two wagons were wrecked. While the men were thus engaged, the women and children descended the hill by a circuitous route through the woods. One of these parties, composed of Mrs. James Long-

mire and Mrs. E. A. Light, together with their children, were suddenly confronted by a man who exclaimed:

"My God, women where did you come from? Are there any more of you?"

The man was Andrew Burge, in charge of the transportation of supplies to the men in the road camp.

Burge told the immigrants it would be almost impossible for them to make their way over the road to the settlements and advised them to return to the eastern side of the mountains. But having come thus far the travelers were not disposed to take this advice and continued on down hill, across the Green-water and at last arrived at the settlements.

Not a day passed that some animal did not fall by the wayside and die of starvation. Among the exhausted animals was a fine thoroughbred Kentucky mare belonging to C. B. Baker. It was decided the most humane thing to do under the circumstances was to kill the beast and thus relieve her of further suffering. Mrs. Baker, hearing of the plan, refused to permit the execution, remained with her and after great search and exertion succeeded in getting food from the surrounding woods, and water from the stream. All day the devoted woman remained with the beautiful mare and later brought her into camp. A few days later the incident was repeated, Mrs. Baker again refused to allow the fatal shot to be fired, again saved the mare's life and finally brought her to the American settlement. Many locally famous race horses of Oregon and Washington trace their ancestry to this Kentucky mare.

Among the immigrants was Tyrus Himes, wife and four children, the oldest of whom was George H. Himes, secretary of the Oregon Historical Society, then a boy of about ten. At one of the crossings of White River that primitive bridge, the foot log, served as a means of passing from one side to the other. The men were fully occupied in getting the exhausted animals and the wagons across the stream and the women and children were left to shift for themselves. One end of the foot-log, resting on the surface of the swift running stream, swayed up and down in the current. All the women and children save Mrs. Himes and her children crossed safely and took up the march through the mud to camp. Taking one child at a time, the ten-year-old boy succeeded in getting his younger brother and two sisters across safely and then returned for his mother. Everything was going well until they reached the place where the swift water poured over the swaying slender log. Losing control of her nerves, the mother fell into the stream; but without breaking the hold which her young son had upon her wrist. Quick as thought the boy grabbed the swaying branch of an overhanging tree and with words of encouragement, and a mighty effort, pulled his mother from the water. They were the last to cross the log—all the others had preceded them up the muddy road and had passed out of hearing. Himes, in telling of this experience, says they walked two miles to the camp and made a supper on potatoes, eaten without salt or pepper.

The long, dreary pull over Wind Mountain occupied seven days, during which time the horses and oxen lived on the late fall leaves of the vine maple. This part of the trip is thus described by James Longmire:

"I must not forget to mention that in these dark days—seven of them—we and our half-starved cattle worked the road every day. We bridged large

logs, which already lay on the ground, by cutting others and laying them alongside them till we had a bridge wide enough for the oxen to draw our wagons across; then all, except John Lane, E. A. Light and myself, left their wagons on account of their failing oxen, which they drove before them to Boise Creek Prairie, where there was good grass. Lane, Light and I arrived first, the rest following soon after their cattle and horses. Four miles farther on we reached Porter's Prairie, where Allan Porter had taken a claim. He was in Olympia at the time.

"We again crossed White River, which made the seventh time, and pushed on to Connell's Prairie, thence to the Puyallup River. We found the river low and filled with humpback salmon, so we armed ourselves with various weapons, clubs, axes, and whatever we could get, and all went fishing. Every man who could strike a blow got a fish, and such a feast we had not enjoyed since we had potatoes boiled in their jackets, only fish were far ahead of potatoes.

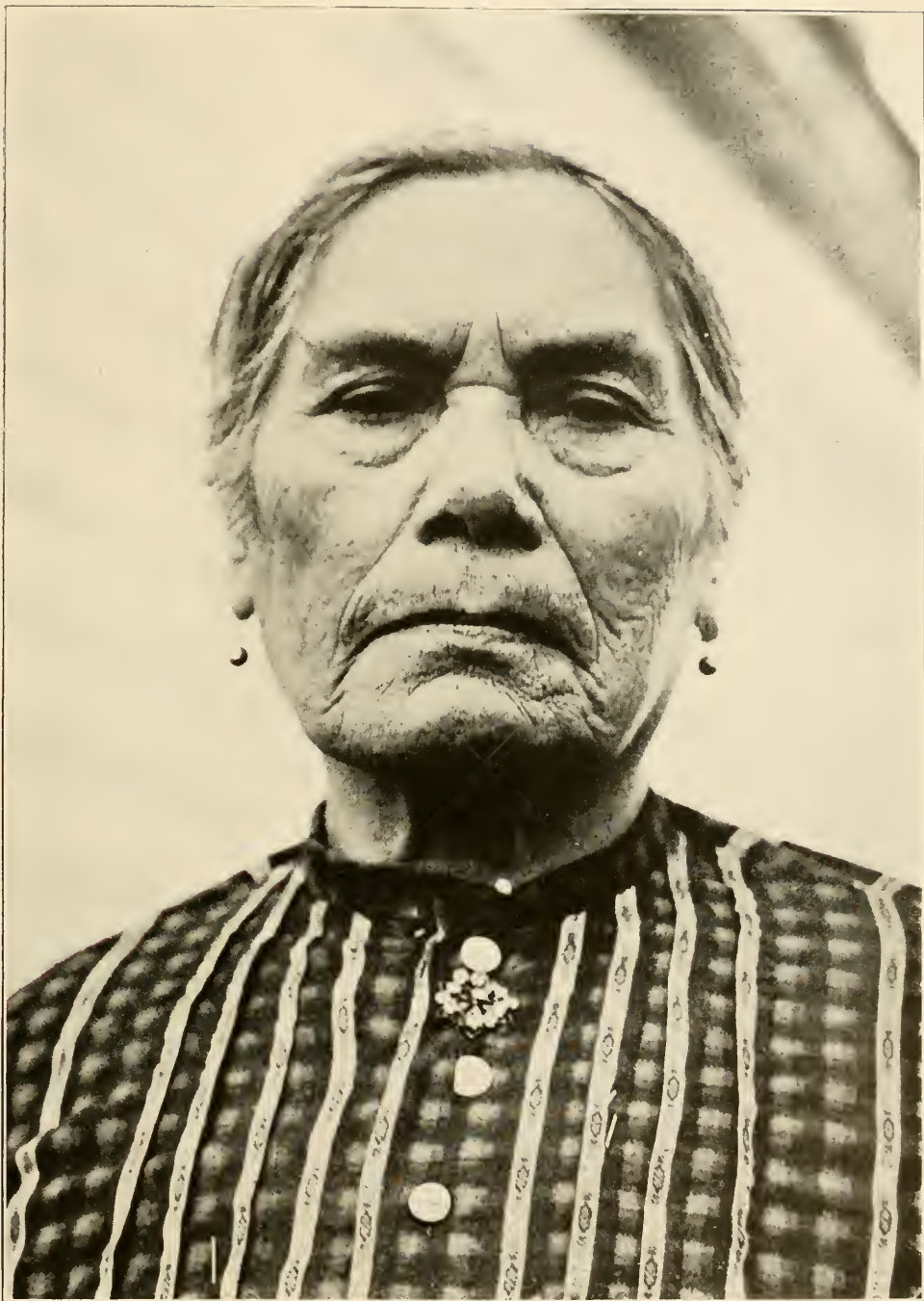
"A royal feast it was, and John Moyer declared they were the best fish he had ever eaten; some of the party stayed up all night, cooking and eating fish. All relished them but my wife, who was indisposed, but she was fortunate in finding an Indian who had just killed a pheasant, which she bought—her first purchase on Puget Sound, and one which caused much merriment in our party, as the Indian was perfectly nude."

On the banks of Clover Creek on the Nisqually Plains, the immigrants camped near the homes of civilized white people. Burge and others had preceded the train into the settlements, and Steilacoom and Olympia both sent out parties to welcome the new arrivals. Settlers supplied fresh vegetables and Doctor Tolmie sent a fresh beef as a present. Regarding this beef, Himes says Doctor Tolmie gave it into the charge of Mrs. Mary Ann Woolery—"Aunt Pop"—to whom all owed a debt of gratitude for her many cheering words and stories told when the way over the mountains seemed the darkest. "Aunt Pop" was instructed to hold the beef until the two oldest men of the train arrived in camp when they should distribute it among the immigrants.

"Soon a man came with a knife and said he was going to have some meat. Mrs. Woolery said: 'No, sir.' He replied: 'I am hungry, and I am going to have some of it.' In response she said: 'So are the rest of us hungry; but that man said I was not to allow anyone to touch it until the two oldest men came into camp, and they would divide it evenly.'"

"He said he could not wait and was told that he would have to do so. Demanding to know upon whose authority she acted the man started for the meat when Mrs. Woolery replied: 'There is my authority,' holding up her fist—she weighed a hundred pounds then—and she said: 'You touch that meat and I'll take that ox-bow to you,' grabbing hold of one."

In a short time the two oldest men arrived, the meat was divided and the half-starved travelers enjoyed an old-fashioned boiled dinner of beef and vegetables. The name of the man who aroused "Aunt Pop's" anger is not given by any of those who have written accounts of this expedition. It may have been the one man in the party who refused to labor on the road but remained one day's travel behind the others and came over the trail they had made for him. Himes gives the names of those composing the party as follows, the names in parentheses being the names of the men the girls later married:



MRS. MARY ANN PLOMONDON ST. GERMAIN

Washington's oldest native white daughter. She is a daughter of Simon Plomondon, one of the strongest characters of pioneer days, though he could not read nor write, kept no record of time and remembered no dates. Mrs. St. Germain, who now lives in Tacoma with her daughter, says she was born in April, 1827, her mother being Veronica, daughter of Chief Schenewah, whom Simon Plomondon married when he came to Cowlitz prairie, in order to maintain peace between himself and the Indians. When she was eleven, Mrs. St. Germain was baptized and given the name of Mary Ann, and at fifteen she became the wife of Henri St. Germain, who died nine years ago at the age of eighty-six. They lived together sixty-six years and had fifteen children, seven of whom are living. While Mrs. St. Germain's recollections of her father's movements do not coincide fully with written history, her account is accurate enough to make her easily the state's oldest living native white daughter.

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James Biles.
 Mrs. Nancy M. Biles.
 George W. Biles.
 James D. Biles.
 Kate Biles (Sargent).
 Susan B. Biles (Drew).
 Clark Biles.
 Margaret Biles.
 Ephemina Biles (Knapp).
 Rev. Charles Byles.
 Mrs. Sarah W. Byles.
 David F. Byles.
 Mary Jane Hill (Byles).
 Rebecca E. Byles (Goodell).
 Charles N. Byles.
 Sarah I. Byles (Ward).
 John W. Woodward.
 Bartholomew C. Baker.
 Mrs. Fanny Baker.
 James E. Baker.
 John W. Baker.
 Leander H. Baker.
 Elijah Baker.
 Mrs. Olive Baker.
 Joseph N. Baker.
 William LeRoy Baker.
 Martha Brooks (Young).
 Newton West.
 William R. Downey.
 Mrs. W. R. Downey.
 Christopher C. Downey.
 George W. Downey.
 James H. Downey.
 William A. Downey.
 R. M. Downey.
 Louise Downey (Guess).
 Jane Downey (Clark).
 Susan Downey (Latham).
 Laura B. Downey (Bartlett).
 Mason F. Guess.
 Wilson Guess.
 Austin E. Young.
 Henry C. Finch.
 Varine Davis.
 James Aiken.
 John Aiken.
 Glenn Aiken.
 Wesley Clinton.

J. Wilson Hampton.
 John Bowers.
 William M. Kincaid.
 Mrs. W. M. Kincaid.
 Laura Kincaid (Mead).
 James Kincaid.
 John Kincaid.
 Susannah Kincaid (Thompson).
 Joseph C. Kincaid.
 James Grant.
 Mrs. James Grant.
 Harris Grant.
 Mrs. Harris Grant.
 All of the foregoing were from
 Kentucky.
 Isaac Woolery.
 Mrs. Isaac Woolery.
 Robert L. Woolery.
 James H. Woolery.
 Sarah Jane Woolery (Ward)—
 born on Little Sunday.
 Abraham Woolery.
 Mrs. Abraham Woolery (Aunt
 Pop).
 Jacob Francis Woolery.
 Daniel H. Woolery.
 Agnes Woolery (Lamon).
 E. A. Light.
 Mrs. E. A. Light.
 Henry Light.
 George Melville.
 Mrs. Geo. Melville.
 Kate Melville (Thompson).
 Robert Melville.
 Isaac H. Wright.
 Mrs. I. H. Wright.
 Benjamin F. Wright.
 Mrs. B. F. Wright.
 James Wright.
 Rebecca Wright (Moore).
 Eliza Wright (Bell).
 William Wright.
 Byrd Wright.
 Grandfather Wright.
 Grandmother Wright.
 James Bell.
 Annis Wright (Downey), all from
 Missouri.

Tyrus Himes.	Mrs. William Whitesel.
Mrs. Tyrus Himes.	William H. Whitesel.
George H. Himes.	Nancy Whitesel (Leach).
Helen L. Himes (Ruddell).	Clark N. Greenman.
Judson W. Himes.	Daniel E. Lane.
Lestina Z. Himes (Eaton).	Mrs. D. E. Lane.
Joel Risdon.	Edward Lane.
Henry Risdon.	William Lane.
Charles R. Fitch.	Timothy Lane.
Frederic Burnett.	Albert Lane.
James Longmirè.	Margaret Whitesel.
Mrs. James Longmire.	Alexander Whitesel.
Elcaine Longmire.	Cal. Whitesel, all from Indiana.
David Longmire.	Widow Gordon.
John A. Longmire.	Mary Francis Gordon, or McCul-
Tillathi Longmire (Kandle).	lough.
Asher Sargent.	Mrs. Mary Ann McCullough Porter.
Mrs. A. Sargent.	————— McCullough.
F. M. Sargent.	————— Frazier.
E. Nelson Sargent.	Mrs. Elizabeth Frazier.
Wilson Sargent.	Peter Judson.
Matilda Sargent (Saylor).	Mrs. Peter Judson.
Rebecca Sargent (Kellett).	Stephen Judson.
Van Ogle.	John Paul Judson.
John Lane.	Gertrude Shoren Judson (Delin).
Mrs. John Lane.	John Neisan, from Illinois.
Joseph Day.	William H. Mitchell.
Elizabeth Whitesel (Lane).	John Stewart, from states unknown.
William Whitesel.	

To this list James Longmire adds the names of John Moyer, Ivan Watt and Will Clafin, young men who made the journey with him and who, a short time after their arrival, went to work in the logging camp of Bill Harmon. Fortunate indeed was the man or woman who upon his arrival in the new territory, possessed two good shoes. Most of them wore shoes badly worn, some had one shoe and one moccasin made of cow hide. Clothing was torn and ragged, but the stores of Steilacoom and Olympia were drawn upon and the immigrants were soon scattered into the various settlements where they took up the task of claiming the wilderness.

Lieutenant Richard Arnold was put in charge of the road-making operations in the spring of 1854 and May 23 he left Steilacoom for the mountains. Taking up the work where Allen and his party had quit, Arnold continued the road work until the money at his disposal had been expended when he returned to Olympia and wrote a report in which he urged the Government to appropriate \$10,000 additional. This was the last of Federal assistance on the road. Its difficulties, especially the steep bluff just west of the summit and the Mud Mountain hill, were considered too great obstacles for practical road making. Several parties of immigrants came through the pass road that year. The Indian war of 1855-56 and the enthusiastic work of Seattle people for the

Snoqualmie Pass, practically closed the old route for many years and it returned to its original condition.

When Captain McClellan reported the crossing of the Cascades by railroad to be out of the question, Governor Stevens sent A. L. Tinkham to Snoqualmie Pass with instructions to measure the snow and take other observations. Tinkham, January 21, 1854, with five Yakima Indians, entered the pass, measured the snow, which he found to be seven feet at the summit, and come out on the western side. He had found no serious obstructions and when his report was made to the governor, Seattle people at once realized the importance of taking advantage of this favorable statement. In the summer of 1855 Judge Lander, Dexter Horton, F. Matthias, Charles Plummer, C. D. Boren, A. F. Bryant, J. H. Nagle, Charles Walker, Doctor Bigelow and others made a trip to the summit. One of their camps was made on what has since been known as Rattlesnake Prairie. In the night some of the explorers heard dry weed stalks rustling in the wind and jumped to the conclusion that the prairie was infested with rattlers. It was called Rattlesnake Prairie. Doubtless no rattlesnake was ever closer to this prairie than the Valley of the Yakima River on the east side of the mountains many miles away. The exploring trip of the Seattle pioneers resulted in a long and earnest effort to improve the pass with a wagon road; an effort that was to continue down to very recent times and the building of the Sunset Highway, an automobile road over the long-constructed trail of the pioneers.

CHAPTER XIII

UNITED STATES SENATE ACTS FAVORABLY ON MONTICELLO MEMORIAL—NORTHWEST CELEBRATES—GOVERNOR STEVENS BEGINS WORK AT ONCE—HIS ARRIVAL IN OLYMPIA AND ATTENDANCE AT A BANQUET AT WHICH HE COULD NOT EAT A MORSEL—FIRST LEGISLATIVE ELECTION—GOVERNOR URGES ROAD BUILDING AND POINTS OUT NEED OF SETTLEMENT WITH HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—EIGHT COUNTIES CREATED—WOMAN SUFFRAGE DEFEATED BY ONE VOTE—GOLD DISCOVERED AT STEILACOOM—DEATH OF MC CONAHA—INDIANS RAID BELLINGHAM.

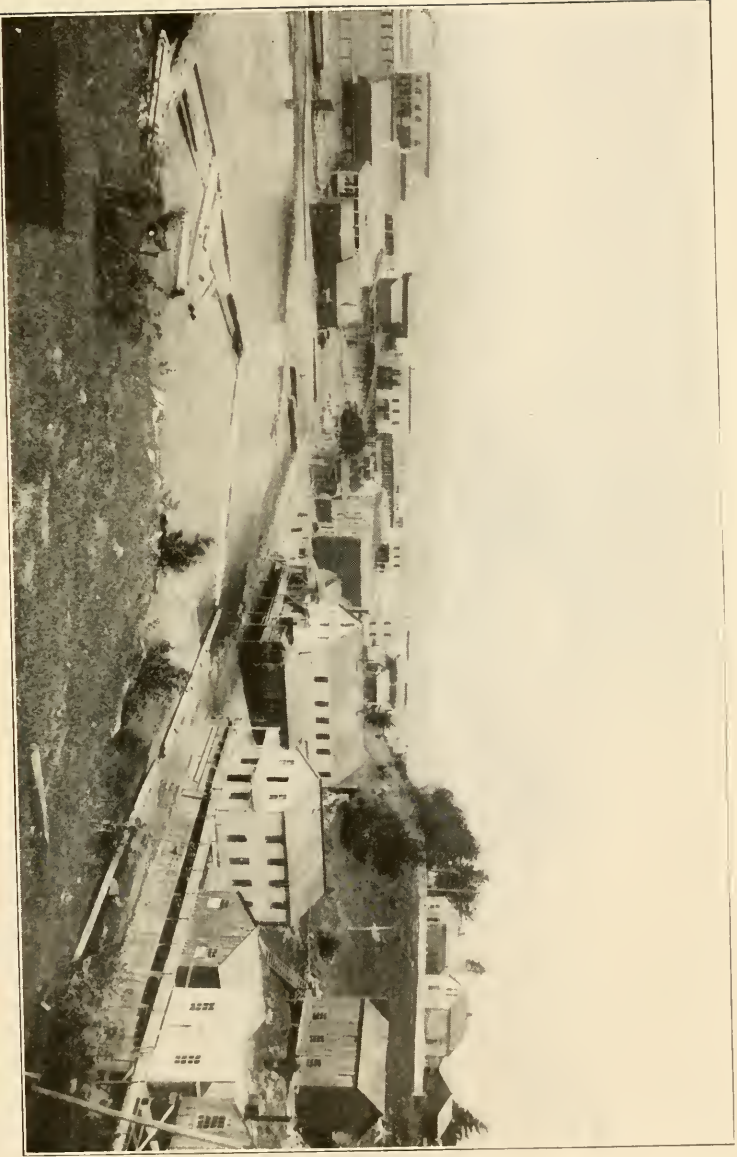
One day in April, 1853, a mud-bespattered old man rode horseback into Olympia and told the people he had just come from the Columbia River where it was reported that the United States Senate had adjourned without taking action on the Monticello memorial. To Olympians he was a veritable "old man of sorrows." Few were those who dismissed the matter with the remark that better luck would crown their efforts another time—they were not those who held town lots on margins.

And then, on the 25th, came the news that the ancient messenger had been misinformed, and that in reality the Senate had on March 2nd passed the bill, the President had appointed officers who even then were on their way West, and Gen. Isaac I. Stevens was to survey the route for a railroad from St. Paul to Puget Sound across the northern side of the United States. Olympia celebrated. It was a long way to Washington, D. C., and the delay in receiving the news only whetted the appetite for celebrating.

The first of the officers to arrive was United States Marshal J. Patton Anderson. He came with instruction to take a census, a work that was not completed until in December when it was announced that the total population was 3,965, of whom 1,682 were voters. No wonder General Lane had adroitly side-stepped the question of his congressional colleague as to the number of people in the new territory. This small population was distributed among the counties as follows: Pacific, 152; Lewis, 616; Clarke, 1,134; King, 170; Jefferson, 189; Island, 195; Thurston, 996; and Pierce, 513. Anderson found thirty-one sawmills in operation with an estimated annual output of 45,000,000 feet. Washington rapidly was laying the foundation of her lumbering industry. After serving as the territory's first United States marshal, Anderson became its second congressional delegate. When the Civil war began he joined the Confederate army.

Working westward from St. Paul, Governor Stevens explored the route for the northern railroad and arrived in Olympia on the evening of November 25th. The little town had made great preparations for his reception. The largest hotel (the Washington) prepared its best rooms; its chef's ambition was to make the governor's table a Lucullan landmark.

BELLINGHAM'S WATERFRONT IN THE EARLY '80s



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All was in readiness when a tired, dirty and hungry little man appeared and asked for something to eat. The cook, his mind occupied with the importance of preparing a meal for the governor, was not disposed to be disturbed and informed the man that he was too busy to attend to his wants.

"But," said the stranger, "I am hungry. Can't you give me some of the scraps at the kitchen table?"

Even the coming of the governor was not sufficient excuse for refusing such an appeal and the stranger was given "some scraps at the kitchen table." His hunger satisfied, the visitor walked out into the street where he was recognized as the governor. The man who made the discovery seized a hammer and began beating a circular saw hanging to a post. From the day the first circular saw used in a Western Washington sawmill became worn out in service, its beating has been, and still is, the signal for the gathering of the timber clans. It is the sawmill town's dinner bell, fire bell and general rallying call.

From cabins and bunkhouses, from saloon and lodging house and from the boats along the water front, came the people to give the long-expected visitor a welcome in keeping with his important station. He was taken to the hotel and seated at the head of the table upon which was spread the feast. But the governor's appetite had been so well satisfied with the "kitchen scraps" that he could not eat a morsel set before him.

Three days after his arrival the governor issued a proclamation setting Monday, January 30, 1854, as the day for electing members to the Territorial Legislature and a delegate to the United States House of Representatives. Election precincts in the various counties were named as follows: Clark, Columbia City, Cascade City and Walepta; Lewis, Monticello, Cowlitz Landing and Jackson's; Pacific, Chinook City and Pacific City; Thurston, Olympia, Shoalwater Bay, Chambers Prairie and Ford's; Pierce, Steilacoom and Tallentire's; King, Alki and Seattle; Island, Penns Cove and Bellingham Bay; Jefferson, Port Townsend and Port Ludlow.

Before this time party politics had been almost unknown in Washington. The *Columbian* was established as an independent paper. Editor Wiley, sometime before the arrival of Stevens, had retired from its staff; but the prospect of a political fight brought him back to the editorial desk and in its issue of December 3rd, the *Columbian* became the *Pioneer* and announced a change in policy from "Whiggery" to "Straightout, radical Democratic." The older pioneers did not receive this sympathetically. Editor Wiley soon found he had stirred up serious animosities. The Democrats held a convention, nominated a ticket, and, with Columbia Lancaster as their standard bearer, prepared to wage warfare upon all things "Whiggery." The Whigs, taken by surprise at the action of the only newspaper in the territory, held a convention in Olympia on January 2nd and nominated a ticket with Col. William H. Wallace as candidate for congressional delegate. A row developed among the Democrats. Col. M. T. Simmons had an ambition to serve the territory in the national capitol but his party had gone down to the Columbia River for a candidate, who, it was charged, would be favorable to Oregon interests. Simmons came forward as an independent Democratic candidate, and Editor Wiley proceeded to give the "bolter" a severe castigation.

Simmons had as well saved his effort—for "Basaltic Formations"—that being the campaign name for Columbia Lancaster, was elected. Stevens was the

Democratic appointee of a Democratic President. Federal patronage was an important item. Lancaster received 698 votes; Wallace 500 and Simmons 18.

The complete list of candidates shows nearly all the men prominent in the affairs of the territory to have been on one or the other of the two tickets. For the Council they were (those names preceded by an "×" being the successful candidates) Jefferson and Island counties: × W. T. Sayward, 78; L. B. Hastings, 37; J. O. Martin, 30. King and Pierce: × G. N. McConaha, 270; × LaFayette Balch, 165; W. P. Dougherty, 133. Thurston: × B. F. Yantis, 214; × D. R. Bigelow, 198; S. D. Ruddell, 163; E. J. Allen, 148; Samuel James, 1; O. Cushman, 1. Lewis and Pacific: × Seth Catlin, 136; × Henry Miles, 74; George Drew, 50; Alexander Abertethy, 39; H. D. Huntington, 7; Jehu Scudder, 5. Clark: × William H. Tappan, 164; × D. F. Bradford, 118; H. J. G. Maxon, 64; F. A. Chenoweth, 11; Ira Patterson, 3; J. D. Biles, 1. Jefferson: × D. F. Brownfield, 29; H. C. Wilson, 24; A. Briggs, 7. Island: × S. D. Howe, 57; Walter Crockett, 26; R. H. Lansdale 1; R. Peabody, 1.

House of Representatives. King: × A. A. Denny, 87; William Heebner, 19; John M. Chapman, 1; L. F. Thompson, 1; Thomas Tallentire, 1. Pierce: × L. F. Thompson, 196; × John M. Chapman, 111; × H. C. Moseley, 110; P. M. Muse, 103; Lemuel Bills, 67. Thurston: × Leonard Durgin, 186; × David Shelton, 181; × Ira Ward, 169; × C. H. Hale, 165; A. J. Chambers, 161; J. W. Goodell, 150; G. Hartsock, 130; George Gallagher, 128; S. S. Ford, 43; A. W. Moore, 34; T. W. Glasgow, 34; J. H. Roundtree, 33; D. K. Wilden, 23; O. Cushman, 16; E. Sylvester, 2; E. J. Allen, 1; S. D. Ruddell, 1. Lewis: × H. D. Huntington, 61; John R. Jackson, 53; F. A. Clarke, 53; L. H. Davis, 47; J. C. Cochran, 7; Thomas Roe, 2; George B. Roberts, 1; Charles Holman, 1; Nathaniel Stone, 1. Clark: × J. D. Biles, 142; × F. A. Chenoweth, 127; × A. J. Bolon, 122; × Henry R. Crosbie, 116; × A. L. Lewis, 104; Ira Patterson, 69; William Hendrickson, 67; C. E. Stiles, 64; William M. Simmons, 44; J. J. Lancaster, 20; Joseph Gibbons, 12; T. J. Fletcher, 4; W. F. Crait, 2; William Potter, 1; H. J. G. Maxon, 1.

The successful candidates assembled in Olympia February 27, 1854, and elected G. N. McConaha president of the Council and F. A. Chenoweth, speaker of the House.

Governor Stevens' message expressed confidence in the future greatness of the territory and urged the legislators to proceed to their work with care and an earnest effort. One of the first acts necessary, the governor said, was the extinguishing of the Indian title to the lands, and the enactment of property land laws. The importance of urging Congress to appropriate funds for road building was pointed out and the governor suggested that the Legislature ask for the construction of military roads from the Columbia River to the Sound; from Steilacoom to Seattle; from Seattle to Bellingham and for the completion of the road over the Cascade Mountains—this in order that the Sound country might be placed in direct touch with the immigrant road from across the plains. Stevens' opinion was that the northern route, via the falls of the Missouri River, would be found better as an immigrant road than the southern route.

Puget Sound's mail service was little better than no service at all. Many times sailing vessels from San Francisco would bring California and eastern newspapers into the country four or five weeks ahead of the United States mails.



GOV. ISAAC I. STEVENS

Washington's first territorial governor. (Bust by Victor Alonzo Lewis, after studying all available photographs and drawings, and consulting with men who knew the governor personally.)

The mails came by way of the Columbia River and Portland. Governor Stevens urged the Legislature to memorialize Congress to improve this poor service; also to provide for a surveyor general and for a continuation of the geographical surveys. Had the governor prepared his message from a Bible text that text would have been "ask and ye shall receive."

The message called attention to the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, the governor considering it important that the claims of this organization be defined and its title to land extinguished. With regard to the older Hudson's Bay Company, "great difficulty it is apprehended cannot occur. Their right to trade with the Indians is not recognized, and will no longer be allowed. Under instructions from the Secretary of State I have already addressed a note to them on this subject, and have allowed them until the 1st of July, next, to wind up their affairs. After that time the laws regulating intercourse with the Indians will be rigidly enforced."

Congress, having made liberal appropriations of land for the establishment of schools, the governor suggested memorializing that body for a grant of land for a University. "Let every youth, however limited his opportunities, find his place in the school, the college, the university, if God has given him the necessary gifts." Here is the beginning of Washington's fine institutions of higher learning. Governor Stevens had already bought a large number of books for the territorial library and now asked the legislators to provide for their care. In framing statutes for the new territory the governor suggested using the laws of Oregon, in so far as this was practical. The need of laws for the new territory was given first consideration by the Legislature's appointment of Judges Edward Lander, Victor Monroe and William Strong as an advisory commission in framing these laws. With the assistance of these jurists Washington was enabled to profit by the experience of the Oregon Provisional Government and most of the laws adopted by this first Legislature stood the test of time and practical application.

In order to provide for greater representation and a more just system of local government, the Legislature created the eight counties of Whatcom, Sawamish—later changed to Kitsap—Skamania, Wahkiakum, Clallam, Chehalis, Cowlitz and Walla Walla, the later including all the territory east of the Cascade Mountains, a large part of the present State of Idaho and a strip along the western edge of Montana. Provision was made for locating roads from Steilacoom by way of Seattle to Bellingham Bay; from Steilacoom to the Columbia River and from Olympia to Willapa Harbor. At the suggestion of the Legislature Governor Stevens left Olympia March 25th for Washington, D. C., to prosecute the building of the Northern railroad.

That this first legislative assembly contained men of radically progressive ideas is shown by the fact that woman suffrage was defeated by but one vote. Professor Meany hints that this measure might have become law had it provided for giving the vote to Indian women married to white men. This it did not do, one of the legislators had an Indian wife and the bill was defeated. Prohibition of the liquor traffic also was defeated.

While the legislators were framing laws the people were thrown into wild excitement by the discovery of gold at Steilacoom. On April 8th A. J. Bolon reported the discovery. Dr. P. M. Muse had panned out some beautiful specimens of the yellow metal and everybody who could get away hastened to the

new "diggings" on the Steilacoom beach, which for a few days, was turned into a typical gold camp, with claims staked and mining companies organized. Doctor Muse had found a pocket from which he took about \$25 worth of gold. That was the end of it.

A strange coincidence is related of Pacific County's representatives. J. L. Brown, one of the nominees, died before the election. Jehu Scudder was elected but died before the Legislature met. Henry Feister, Scudder's successor, arrived in Olympia on the morning of March 30th, was sworn in and died that evening while seated in the bar room of the Washington Hotel. Another fatality was to mark the closing scenes of the session. Of this sad event, A. A. Denny, King County's representative, has left the following account:

"I had made arrangements for a large canoe and crew of Indians to take me home on the morning after adjournment, and was hurrying to the boat, when a 'committee from headquarters' gave chase. Headquarters was the place where the 'boys' were having a high old time. I was captured and taken back to headquarters. I was offered a glass of whisky, and upon declining, the crowd yelled:

"'Make him drink! Make him drink!'

"They grabbed me by the collar, and I settled back for what I supposed was going to be a nasty fight, when Elwood Evans spoke up as follows:

"'No, boys, don't make him drink. I propose that we drink to the health of the only member of the Legislature who consistently lives up to the principles of the Maine liquor law.'

"This seemed to satisfy the crowd. They drank most heartily to my health, and I made my escape to the waiting canoe. As I hastened along I noticed my good friend, George N. McConaha, president of the first Council, running like a deer with another 'headquarters committee' at his heels. They caught him, and the last time I saw my friend the committee was marching him back to headquarters. Now Mr. McConaha was a man of superior parts, and one I always held in the highest esteem. He had previously been addicted to the liquor habit, and I never saw a man make more heroic efforts than he did to overcome that habit. So you can imagine with what feelings of sorrow I pushed off the Olympia beach with my canoe.

"On his return Mr. McConaha's canoe was overturned in a storm off the southern shore of Vashon Island, and he was drowned. The delay and the liquor at the 'headquarters' may have had nothing to do with his death, but there are many people who will always believe that he would have continued in a long life of usefulness if he had not been overtaken by that unfortunate committee."

In May two large canoes of well armed northern Indians appeared in Bellingham Bay, ransacked the homes of some of the settlers, who had taken to the woods upon the approach of the hostiles, and killed David Melville and George Brown. Few and far between were the settlements of the lower Sound country at this time and constant fear of attack by these bloodthirsty northern tribes, who always beheaded their victims and carried the gruesome trophies back to their northern villages, served to retard the development of the country. In August Col. I. B. Ebey, collector of customs received instructions to remove the customs house from Olympia to Port Townsend. The same month Ward & Hays placed their new flour mill at Tumwater in operation. Its capacity was twenty bushels of wheat an hour. About this time Silas Galliher and the first of the year's immigrants arrived over the Naches Pass road.

CHAPTER XIV

GOVERNOR STEVENS BEGINS TREATY-MAKING WITH INDIANS IN ORDER TO EXTINGUISH THEIR TITLE TO LANDS—FIRST CONFERENCE AT MEDICINE CREEK—LESCHI TEARS UP CHIEFTAIN'S CERTIFICATE AND GRINDS FRAGMENTS INTO EARTH WITH HEEL—DID HE SIGN THE TREATY?—SECOND TREATY MADE NEAR MUKILTEO—JAMES G. SWAN DESCRIBES THE "WAH-WAH"—SOUTHWESTERN INDIANS GROW INSOLENT—GOVERNOR GOES EAST OF MOUNTAINS—SIGNS OF INDIAN WAR DEVELOP AS GOVERNOR AND HIS HELPERS EXERT PRESSURE TO BRING INDIANS TO TERMS.

In his first message to the first Legislature, Governor Stevens pointed out the necessity of extinguishing the Indian title to lands. Congress had declared in favor of this, but had failed to appropriate money. To procure this money was one of the aims for which the governor journeyed to the national capitol in the spring of 1854. The efforts of Stevens and Delegate Lancaster obtained from Congress provision for the appointment of a surveyor-general; better mail service; money to build a wagon road from Fort Benton to Walla Walla and to make a treaty with the Blackfoot tribe of Indians. In the refusal of Secretary of War Jefferson Davis to recommend further work on the Northern railroad is to be seen the surface indications of one of the numerous plots leading up to the Civil war. Stevens, not to be thwarted, completed the railroad work with his own money and the assistance of volunteers—the Government later reimbursing him.

December 4, 1854, the Legislature assembled in its second session. The governor's message said the time had arrived for the settlement of the Indian land question and with his customary energy the governor plunged into the work. Beginning with the tribes nearest Olympia and longest in touch with white settlements, the governor, December 26th, held a council on the She-nah-nam, or Medicine Creek with the delegates of the Nisqually, Puyallup, Steilacoom, Squawksin, S'Homamish, Steh-chess, T'Peeksin, Squi-aitl, and Sa-heh-wamish tribes and bands of Indians, occupying the lands lying round the head of Puget's Sound and the adjacent inlets.

Under the terms of this treaty the Indians agreed to accept \$32,500, to be paid in annual installments, three small reservations, one an island in the Sound, one of 1,280 acres of high land and one of the same size near the mouth of the Puyallup River. In return they were to surrender their title to the whole of the country. The treaty was signed by sixty-two Indians and witnessed by the signatures of nineteen white men, among them being M. T. Simmons, Indian agent; James Doty, secretary to the commission; C. H. Mason, secretary of the territory; Benjamin F. Shaw, interpreter, George Gibbs and the governor's young son, Hazard Stevens.

At this time tribal government was a thing of the past with the Nisqually Indians. They had no recognized chief and the tribe had broken up into small bands. Without some recognized authority with which to negotiate, Stevens found his hands tied. To supply this authority he issued a certificate of chieftainship to Quiemuth, at the same time making Quiemuth's brother, Leschi, a sub-chief.

Few things in the history of the State of Washington have occasioned so much controversy among historians as have Governor Stevens' Indian treaties. Defenders of the governor say the instructions of the Federal Government placed restrictions upon his action; that too much was expected and too many burdens laid upon his shoulders. His critics accuse him of impatience, of a disregard for the rights of natives and of drinking to excess. Chief among the governor's defenders stands his son, Gen. Hazard Stevens. The original records of the Medicine Creek treaty are lost from the Government archives. Arrayed against Gen. Hazard Stevens are some of the pioneers, who accuse the governor of unjust treatment of the Indians and because of that unjust treatment of being the cause of the Indian outbreak of 1855-56.

Three days were spent in negotiating the first treaty. Leschi, who seems to have led the forces opposed to the treaty, objected to the land selected for the reservation and told the governor his people wanted bottom land upon which they could learn to farm, and some prairie land for pasturage. The Nisquallies, or that band of that nation led by Leschi, were closely connected by blood relationship with the Klickitat tribe. They were "horse" and not "canoe," Indians and were not content to be confined upon small, rough and heavy timbered lands. They wanted to retain the homes in which they had lived for years. This request the governor refused to grant; Leschi tore up the chieftain's certificate given to him by the governor, stamped its pieces into the earth and left the council ground.

Leschi's name is the third of those signed to the treaty. Whether or not that signature is genuine has a large bearing on subsequent events. L. F. Thompson, living near the council grounds at the time the treaty was made, says:

"After the treaty was over the Indians came to me and said that Leschi would not sign the treaty for the Nisquallies and Puyallups. They were the Indians Leschi represented. But M. T. Simmons told Leschi that if he did not sign it he would sign it for him. From what the Indians told me at the time and from what the whites told me, I am positive that Leschi never signed the treaty."

Thompson's opinion is held by a large number of other pioneers. Hon. James Wickersham, in a paper prepared for the Washington State Historical Society sums up the question with these words:

"Let us pass, however, for the sake of the argument, that they (the Indians) did sign the treaty. Did they understand it? Did it contain the contract agreed upon? Were they over-persuaded by their guardian? Were they deceived and mistaken? If so, it is not their contract and should be set aside as being obtained through fraud and intimidation.

"Let us continue our evidence on these points and call the interpreter at the Medicine Creek treaty, Col. B. F. Shaw, of Clark County, now a member of the State Senate. On the 11th of March, 1893, Colonel Shaw made a statement in writing which I have in my possession touching these matters, and from it I make the following suggestive quotations. He said: 'Leschi and Quiemuth did

sign the treaty. The fault was in the treaty. They said: "Can you get the Indians to sign the treaty?" I answered: "Yes, I can get the Indians to sign their death warrant." Their idea was that in a few years the Indians would die out and the reservations would be large enough.

"My opinion is that the treaties were humbugs—premature, and that the Indians did not understand them, although we endeavored to do it; they did not realize it. When they got home they were dissatisfied. Two or three days after the treaty was made I rode over to Nisqually and met Leschi and Stahi, and they were very much dissatisfied and they complained very much. I told them that if anything was wrong it would be fixed by the Government. They were very much excited and accused me of deceiving them. I denied it and told them that I had told them just what the governor had said. They tried to get a new treaty. They asked me to report their dissatisfaction to the governor. I told the governor, but the treaty was sent to Washington. The governor promised to get them other reservations. The trouble seemed to die out slowly until after the Walla Walla treaty; then there was dissatisfaction. Over-persuasion and persistency brought about the Walla Walla treaty. The governor was a persistent man. It did not seem to dawn upon Leschi what the treaty was, what it meant. He was called a tyee, etc., and flattered.'

"Now, this is the evidence of the interpreter, the mind through which the contracting parties made the treaty—the contract. The treaty or contract was prepared and given to the interpreter. 'Can you get the Indians to sign this treaty?' 'Yes, I can get the Indians to sign their death warrant.' In this question and answer you have the whole injustice of the Medicine Creek Treaty laid bare. It was a contract obtained through over-persuasion and deceit; through promises not in the record; by imposition upon minds unaccustomed to written contracts; a contract obtained from the weak by the strong; from the ward by the guardian; from the child by the parent, and wholly without consideration—unfair, unjust, ungenerous and illegal. Any American court of justice would have set such a contract aside as fraudulent and void because of the imposition upon the weak by the strong, and for failure of agreement of minds and considerations."

Judge Wickersham's indictment of the Medicine Creek Treaty might, with equal force be brought against all the treaties made between the Federal Government and the native tribes. The powerful eastern and central-western tribes possessed a semblance of national unity; they were governed by chiefs who exercised an authority recognized by the tribal members, and in this the Government sought to establish justification for driving hard diplomatic bargains.

The Western Washington treaties cannot be justified upon even this pretext—the native race here had not advanced to the dignity of even a tribal government. The little government they recognized was of the most primitive character—a kind of patriarchal form yet in the making. The so-called nations were sub-divided into so many small bands that Governor Stevens found it necessary to organize tribes and appoint chiefs before he could carry out his treaty plans. The Chinook jargon, "an unintelligible language" of about 300 words, was used in the council negotiations and discussions. In the use of even this poor language vehicle, interpreters were necessary. The Indians, having signed an agreement for the sale of their lands, naturally expected pay-

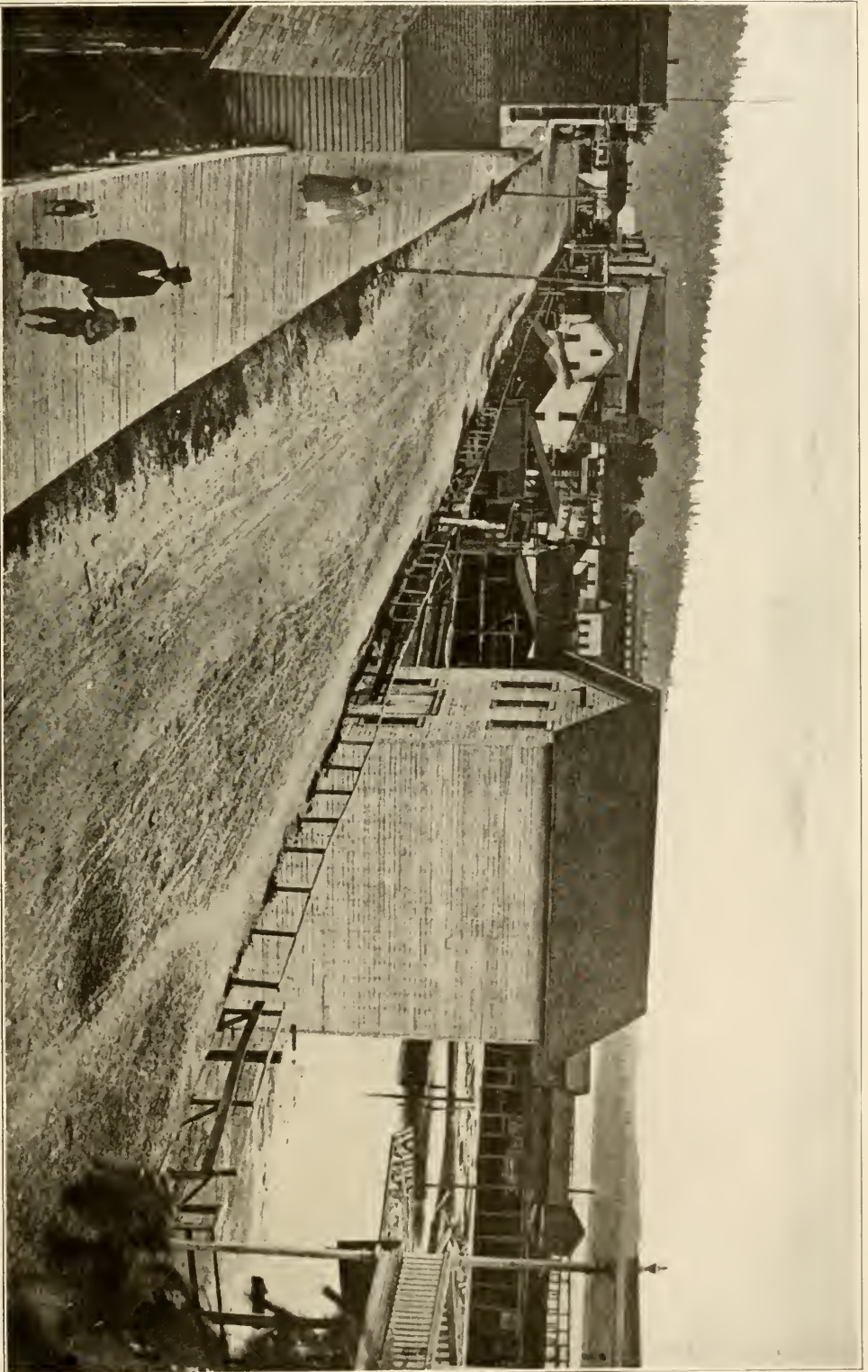
ment. Had this payment been promptly made the Indians might have forgotten their dissatisfaction with the terms of the treaties; might have accepted the reservations provided for them in such a miserly spirit, and made up their minds they were victims of circumstances over which they had no control. This was not done, the dissatisfaction increased, developed into revolt and led to a cruel war. Having driven a hard bargain, the Government delayed action and some five or six years elapsed before Congress ratified the treaties. No doubt the action of Governor Stevens in hastening the treaties through without giving the Indians time in which to fully consider the matter, contributed to the dissatisfaction; but the real cause of the trouble is to be found in the plan adopted by the Federal Government in treating with the native races. That plan sought to make of the Indian tribes responsible nations and at the same time wards of the white man's government.

At Point Elliott, near Mukilteo, on January 22, 1855, Stevens concluded his second treaty. It was signed by some eighty-two Indians, among them being Seattle, chief of the Duwamish, Suquamish and allied tribes; Pat-ka-nim, chief of the Snoqualmie, Snclomish and other Snohomish River, Valley Indians; Ch6w-its-hoot, chief of the Lummi and other border tribes, and Goliah, chief of the Skagits and allied tribes. That Goliah did not represent all the Indians of the Skagit Valley developed later when those living on the upper reaches of the river refused to be bound by this treaty. Four days after signing the Point Elliott Treaty the governor and his treaty-makers met the Indians inhabiting Hoods Canal and the southern side of the Straits of Fuca and concluded the Point-No-Point Treaty. It was signed by fifty-six Indians the principal ones being Chits-a-mah-han, known to the whites as the Duke of York, chief of the Clallams; Dah-whil-luk, of the Skokomish, and Kul-kah-han, or General Pierce, chief of the "Chem-a-kum." Another four days intervened and the Neah Bay Treaty was signed on January 31. Tse-kauwtl, and forty-one sub-chiefs of the Makah Tribe signed this treaty.

In February an attempt was made to sign a treaty with the Indians of the southwest corner of the territory. James G. Swan, at the governor's request, acted as one of the interpreters at this council, and in his "The Northwest Coast, or Three Years' Residence in Washington Territory," (Harpers, 1857), gives a descriptive report of the event. Because of the author's connection with the negotiations and the early date at which the story was published, much of it is given a place here.

"The Camp-ground," writes Swan, "was situated on a bluff bank of the river, on its south side, about ten miles from Gray's Harbor, on the claim of Mr. James Pilkington. A space of two or three acres had been cleared from logs and brushwood, which had been piled up so as to form an oblong square. * * * * * Around the side of the square were ranged the tents and wigwams of the Indians, each tribe having a space allotted to it. The Coast Indians were placed at the lower part of the camp; first the Chenooks, then the Chehalis, Queniault and Quaitso, Satsop or Satchap, Upper Chehalis and the Cowlitz. These different tribes had sent representatives to the council, and there were present about 350 of them and the best of feeling prevailed among them all.

"The white persons present consisted of only fourteen, viz.: Governor Stevens, Gen. George Gibbs (who officiated as secretary to the commission),



FIRST AVENUE, SEATTLE, ABOUT 1876

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Judge Ford, with his two sons who were assistant interpreters, Lieut.-Col. B. F. Shaw, the chief interpreter, Colonel Simmons and Mr. Tappan, Indian agents, Doctor Cooper, Mr. Pilkington, the owner of the claim, Colonel Cocke, myself, and last, though by no means least, Cushman, our commissary orderly sergeant, provost marshal, chief story-teller, factotum, and life of the party—"long may he wave." Nor must I omit Green McCafferty, the cook.

"After Col. Mike Simmons, the agent, and as he has been termed, the Daniel Boone of the territory, had marshaled the savages into order, an Indian interpreter was selected from each tribe to interpret the jargon of Shaw into such language, as their tribes could understand. The governor then made a speech, which was translated by Colonel Shaw into jargon and spoken to the Indians, in the same manner the good old elders of ancient times were accustomed to deacon out the hymns to the congregation. First the governor spoke a few words, then the colonel interpreted, then the Indians; so that this three-fold repetition made it rather a lengthy operation."

The treaty provided for one reservation for all the Indians in the country. It was to consist of land on the coast between Gray's Harbor and Cape Flattery. The Government was to furnish schools, carpenters' and blacksmiths' shops, teachers, a doctor, a sawmill, agricultural implements and to pay \$40,000 in cash. Continuing Swan says:

"After this had all been interpreted to them, they were dismissed till the next day, in order that they might talk the matter over together, and have any part explained to them which they did not understand. The following morning the treaty was again read to them after a speech from the governor, but, although they seemed satisfied, they did not perfectly comprehend. The difficulty was in having so many different tribes to talk to at the same time, and being obliged to use the jargon, which at best is but a poor medium of conveying intelligence. Several of the chiefs spoke. The speech of Narkarty, one of the Chenook chiefs, will convey the idea they all had.

"'When you first began to speak,' said he to the governor, 'we did not understand you; it was all dark to us as the night; but now our hearts are enlightened, and what you say is clear to us as the sun. We are proud that our great father in Washington thinks of us. We are poor, and can see how much better off the white men are than we are. We are willing to sell our land, but we do not want to go away from our homes. Our fathers, and mothers, and ancestors are buried there, and by them we wish to bury our dead and be buried ourselves. We wish, therefore, each to have a place on our own land where we can live, and you may have the rest; but we can't go to the north among the other tribes. We are not friends, and if we went together we should fight, and soon we would all be killed.'

"This same idea was expressed by all, and repeated every day. The Indians from the interior did not want to go to the reservation with the Coast or Canoe Indians. The governor certainly erred in judgment in attempting to place five different tribes on the same reservation; but his motive was, that as they were so few, being mere remnants of once powerful bands, it would be better to have them concentrated at one point. They, however, did not think so; their ancient prejudices were as strong as ever; and they knew that they never could agree to live together. They were willing to concentrate at a given place

on their own lands, and it is a pity the governor did not see the benefit that would arise to them by so doing. A hundred Indians, all that remained of the Chenook Tribe, if located at any point, would be in nobody's way, and certainly there is plenty of room in their possessions. So of each of the other tribes.

"The whole together only numbered 843 all told, as may be seen by the following census, which was taken on the ground: Lower Chehalis, 217; Upper Chehalis, 216; Queniults, 158; Chenooks, 112; Cowlitz, 140.

"I think the governor would have eventually succeeded in inducing them all to sign had it not been for the son of Carcowan, the old Chehalis chief. This young savage, whose name is Tleyuk, and who was recognized chief of his tribe, had obtained great influence among the Coast Indians. He was very willing at first to sign the treaty, provided the governor would select his land for the reservation, and make him grand tye, or chief over the whole five tribes; but when he found he could not effect his purpose, he changed his behavior, and we soon found his bad influence among other Indians, and the meeting broke up that day with marked symptoms of dissatisfaction. This ill-feeling was increased by old Carcowan, who smuggled some whisky into the camp, and made his appearance before the governor quite intoxicated. He was handed over to Provost-Marshal Cushman with orders to keep him quiet until he got sober. The order went forth expressly forbidding either whites or Indians bringing one drop of liquor into the camp.

"The following day Tleyuk stated that he had no faith in anything the governor said, for he had been told that it was the intention of the United States Government to put them all on board steamers, and send them away out of the country, and that the Americans were not their friends. He gave the names of several white persons who had been industrious in circulating these reports to thwart the governor in his plans, and most of them had been in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was assured that there was no truth in the report, and pretended to be satisfied, but, in reality, was doing all in his power to break up the meeting. That evening the governor called the chiefs into his tent, but to no purpose, for Tleyuk made some insolent remarks, and peremptorily refused to sign the treaty, and, with his people refused to have anything to do with it. That night, in his camp, they behaved in a very disorderly manner, firing off guns, shouting, and making a great uproar. We did not care a pin for their braggadocio, but the governor did; and the next morning, when the camp was called, he gave Tleyuk a severe reprimand, and taking from him his paper which had been given to show that the Government recognized him as chief, he tore it to pieces before the assemblage. Tleyuk felt this disgrace very keenly, but said nothing. The paper was to him of great importance, for they all look on a printed or written document as possessing some wonderful charm. The governor then informed them that as all would not sign the treaty, it was of no effect, and the camp was then broken up."

During the week spent in the deliberations, Swan says the governor showed great forbearance and a desire to do everything he could for the Indians. They danced, raced on the river, gambled and ate the good food provided by the governor and the utmost good feeling prevailed until Tleyuk rebelled. The account of

this attempt at treaty making reads much like the accounts of others—the Indians did not want to leave their homes.

“Our whole system of treaty making with these frontier Indians is wrong,” says Swan. “They cannot be made to understand why the agents sent to them to make treaties are not empowered to close the bargain at once, instead of referring the matter back to Washington, and awaiting the tardy action of Government. Many of them had been at the treaty-making a few years before at the mouth of the Columbia, where Doctor Dart attempted to make a purchase of their lands; but he was so totally unfitted for the duties of the office that the treaty was instantly repudiated at Washington, and himself removed. But the Indians had acted in good faith. They told me that they did not offer their lands to Doctor Dart, but he told them he would give them a certain price, which they agreed to, and they could not understand why they did not get what they were told they would receive. Consequently, they regarded Doctor Dart and his treaties as humbugs and placed no more on what Governor Stevens told them than they had on Doctor Dart, when they found that the governor was also obliged to refer his treaties back to Washington, and that it might be possibly two years before they would be finally placed on the reservation.”

Governor Stevens now transferred his operations to the east side of the mountains. June 11th, after three weeks of negotiation, the governor and Gen. Joel Palmer, representing Oregon, concluded treaties with the Yakima, Walla Walla, Cayuse, Umatilla and Nez Perce tribes. From this council ground, near the present City of Walla Walla, the governor went into Montana where he made treaties with the Flatheads, Blackfoot and other tribes. Simmons, Shaw and others returned to the Sound from the Walla Walla council and July 1st were successful in concluding treaties with the Quinaielt and Quillayute tribes. In less than one year's time, Governor Stevens had made treaties with more than seventeen thousand Indians and in doing so had extinguished the Indian title to more than one hundred thousand square miles of land now making up much of the territory of the states of Washington, Idaho and Montana.

Congress, in passing the Oregon Donation Land Law of 1850, “got the cart before the horse.” Under this law each settler was granted 320 acres of land with an additional 320 acres to each settler's wife. How Congress, in the face of its policy of recognition of the possessory rights of Indian tribes to their lands, expected white settlers to take and retain possession of their donation claims, remains a mystery. With millions of acres lying idle, and plenty of room for both whites and Indians, the early settlers on the Sound encountered no opposition from their Indian neighbors—in fact the Indians were glad of the opportunity of getting white man's food, clothing and implements. More settlers came and the Indians began to feel the pressure of this constantly increasing swarm. Soldiers and renegade whites imposed upon the Indian, swindled him, abused his women and introduced diseases that threatened to exterminate the race.

The first Legislature asked Congress to provide for the surveying of the donation claims held by the settlers. The Government then tried to get the horse into his normal position—ahead of the cart—by instructing the governor to extinguish the Indian title to the land. The governor, in carrying out these instructions, added to that “vague unrest” which always precedes an uprising of a people—barbarian or civilized—who feel themselves imposed upon. Even before

the governor left for Washington in March, 1854, and almost one year before the signing of his first treaty, this unrest was showing on the surface. It had existed, to a greater or less extent, from the very day the first settler cut the first tree for the first cabin. The War of 1855-56 might well be called a continuation of the Cayuse war of 1847—the culmination of a series of events, the climax of the contest between ignorance and enlightenment, between barbarism and progress, the natural result of the evolutionary processes of civilization. The land could not remain in an undeveloped state—the hunting ground of a roving band of primitive people—it must yield itself to the higher demands of a higher type of humanity. The regrettable thing about it is that the original owners were treated unjustly by civilization. Governor Stevens was the able agent of an advantage-taking government. Not a free agent, but one willing to drive a hard bargain for his employer.

CHAPTER XV

LESCHI'S ORATORY EMPLOYED TO STIR REDS AGAINST WHITES—GOVERNOR, FORESEEING TROUBLE, URGES SHIPMENTS OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION BUT SECRETARY OF WAR REFUSES—INDIAN PLOT TO KILL GOVERNOR—AGENT BOLON MURDERED—MAJOR HALLER IN RUNNING FIGHT WITH 1,500 INDIANS—VOLUNTEERS CALLED FOR—KILLING OF MC ALLISTER AND CONNELL—MASSACRE IN WHITE RIVER VALLEY—BATTLE OF CONNELL'S PRAIRIE—LIEUTENANT SLAUGHTER KILLED—A VISIT BY LESCHI TO FOX ISLAND—PEARSON'S REMARKABLE RIDE—A THREAT FROM "OLD PEPE"—"OLD PEPE" SHOT—GENERAL WOOL'S INDIFFERENCE—MANY FORTS BUILT AND WAR PREPARATIONS CONTINUED—THE BATTLE OF SEATTLE—LESCHI TURNS TO FLIGHT—BATTLE AT THE DALLES.

Leschi, when he tore into fragments his commission as sub-chief, trampled the pieces into the earth of the Medicine Creek council ground and left for his home, threw down the gauntlet of war before Governor Stevens. Leschi's tribesmen knew this action meant war. Many years afterward old Pa-al-la told Ezra Meeker:

"Leschi tear up paper; I saw him do it, and then I knew he would fight."

Many of the Indians knew it would be a losing fight, that the "whites get big guns; lots of ammunition" and that even if the Indians killed all the soldiers, more would come. Under the influence of the able Leschi's oratory they decided to make a last stand for the protection of their homes and hunting grounds.

"The first and last of the Stevens treaties were apparently the immediate cause of the war that followed," says Thomas Prosch, "for the Indians affected by them were the ones that entered upon it, while the Indians affected by other treaties generally abstained, though the terms of the treaties were substantially alike."

That Governor Stevens feared the treaties would bring trouble with the Indians is perhaps shown by a letter written to Secretary of War Davis August 15, 1854, while the governor was in Washington, D. C., and in which he said:

"Arms and ammunition are much needed on Puget Sound, in order that the settlers may protect themselves from Indian depredations. The militia of the territory has not yet been organized, though efficient steps to this end will be taken the coming winter. If under these circumstances arms and ammunition can be issued, I will request that it may be done without delay. I will suggest that 1,000 stand of arms and 100,000 cartridges, with a few revolvers, be placed in depot at Fort Steilacoom, in charge of the commandant, subject to the requisition of the government of the territory."

Davis replied that the law would not permit his granting the request.

Although the governor did not at the time know it, the storm already had broken in the Northwest. August 22d, just seven days after the writing of the letter, the Ward train of immigrants was attacked about twenty-five miles east of Fort Boise by a band of sixty Indians. Eight men were killed, the women ravished, then killed in the most brutal manner and some of the little children were burned alive. On the Sound Captain Jewel and another man were murdered by the Clallams, and M. T. Simmons took the field against them. Indian camps on Hoods Canal were destroyed by the revenue cutter Jeff Davis, a number of Clallams were taken prisoners and others killed by cannon shots.

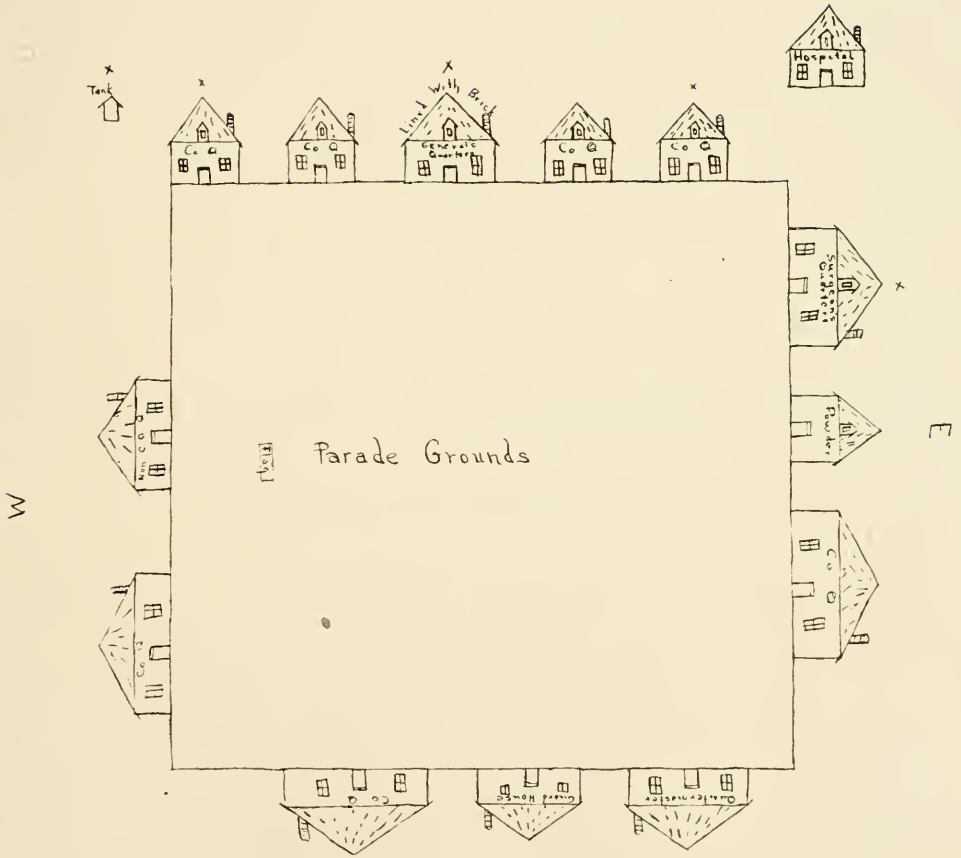
At the time Governor Stevens concluded the Medicine Creek treaty, the total military force on the Pacific coast numbered but 1,200 men. Of these only 335 were stationed in Washington and Oregon. News of the dissatisfaction felt by the Nisquallies spread to other tribes, until by the time the governor was ready to take up the treaties with the Indians on the eastern side of the mountains, every tribe from the California line to British Columbia and from the ocean to the Rocky Mountains was ready to meet all treaty-making advances with suspicion. Weeks were spent on the Walla Walla council ground; many speeches were made and one attempt to kill the governor and his party was defeated only because Chief Lawyer, of the Nez Perce tribe, in the night, moved his family into the governor's camp. So quickly and quietly was it done that only a few, even of the governor's men, knew of it, and when morning came the murderous Yakimas, Cayuses, Walla Wallas and Umatillas saw that to carry out their plans they would have to risk the chance of spilling the blood of the powerful Nez Perce chief. Pretending to be satisfied with the treaty, they marched up and signed their names. R. R. Thompson was appointed agent of the Umatilla reservation; W. H. Tappan to the Nez Perce, and A. J. Bolon to the Yakima. The Indians retired to their homes to await the payments of money which the governor had promised as soon as the treaties could be confirmed by Congress. Then Governor Stevens set out for the Blackfoot country.

About this time Washington and Oregon became much excited by the reported discovery of gold on the sandbars of the creeks and rivers of the Colville country and many men left their work and their homes for the "diggings." Charles Walker, L. O. Merilet, J. C. Avery, Eugene Barrier and a Mr. Jamieson went from Seattle through the Snoqualmie Pass into the Yakima country where they found unmistakable evidences of the murder of O. M. Eaton and Joseph Fanjoy, King County men who had preceded them.

The miners met a party of Yakima Indians who not only pretended friendship but offered to put them on the trail to the mines. Upon the pretense of showing them this trail the Indians induced Jamieson and Walker to leave the camp and go with them. Hearing shooting from the direction in which their companions had gone, Merilet, Avery and Barrier rightly concluded Jamieson and Walker had been led into ambush and murdered. They hid in the woods and made their way back to Seattle.

Sub-Agent Bolon, on his way with supplies for Governor Stevens met Chief Garry, of the Spokane tribe, who told him of the murders committed by the Yakimas. Bolon set out alone for the Catholic Mission on the Ahtanum where he met Kamiakan, chief and leading warrior of the Yakima tribe. What took place at this meeting is not known. Bolon left the mission accompanied by Qual-

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HOW THE BUILDINGS ORIGINALLY WERE SITUATED ABOUT THE PARADE GROUNDS AT FORT STELLACOOM

From a sketch made by Dr. Woodruff in 1871

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chen, a nephew of Kamiakan and three other Indians, and on his way back to The Dalles was murdered by his guides who cremated his body. Bolon's failure to return caused Nathan Olney to send a friendly Deschutes Indian into the Yakima country as a spy. He found Kamiakan defiant and preparing for war, a statement which was verified by a letter from the Catholic priests, who wrote Olney that the mission Indians, ever since their return from the treaty council, had been talking war.

It became plain that the Indians must be thoroughly whipped or the country abandoned. Major Haller, with 100 men, a howitzer and camp equipment, was ordered to proceed from The Dalles into the Yakima country to co-operate with a force to be sent from the sound under the command of Lieut. W. A. Slaughter. Haller left The Dalles October 2d and had proceeded about sixty miles northward when, near the site of Toppenish, he was attacked by about 1,500 Indians. For three days the small detachment fought a running battle. In the night following the second day's fighting, a courier started for The Dalles for reinforcements. The next evening the force was divided; the horses, except the few required for carrying the wounded, were turned loose that they might find water and food; all excess baggage and supplies were destroyed and the soldiers set out for The Dalles.

Haller, with the wounded led the retreat, Captain Russell, in command of the second detachment, bringing up the rear. In the night the two divisions became separated and Haller, in an effort to reunite his command, set a signal fire. Instead of attracting the attention of Russell, it brought down upon the small detachment a force of hostiles, who with great persistency hung upon the flanks of the retreating soldiers until they met reinforcements under Lieutenant Day at a point some twenty-five miles north of the Columbia. Realizing that the force under his command was inadequate Haller asked Maj. G. J. Rains, in command at Vancouver, for 1,000 men. Rains, after calling on Acting-Governor Mason for two companies of volunteers and on Governor Curry, of Oregon for four, took the field in person. His campaign, conducted in a half-hearted manner, accomplished nothing and resulted in his removal by General Wool. Rains later became a commander in the Confederate army.

The storm soon broke upon the Sound settlements. In July Patkanim appeared at Fort Steilacoom and told his white friends there was going to be a war. On his way back to the upper Snoqualmie he stopped at Seattle where he told A. A. Denny that trouble was brewing and he was going to take his people far back into the mountains on a hunting trip. Patkanim in his attack on Nisqually in 1849, had learned the power of the white man and had made up his mind to escape it, if possible.

September 28th, Lieut. W. A. Slaughter set out from Fort Steilacoom with a small force to cross into the Yakima country and there co-operate with Major Haller. On the headwaters of the Yakima he heard of Haller's defeat and returned to the Sound. On the night of September 27th A. L. Porter, of Porter's Prairie, King County, while sleeping in the brush near his home heard Indians prowling about. Making his escape down White River Porter warned the settlers who flocked into Seattle. They appealed to Acting-Governor Mason for protection. Taking a small force of soldiers from Fort Steilacoom, Mason visited the neighborhood from which Porter had fled, talked with the Indians—all of whom

professed friendship for the whites, and told the settlers to return to their homes, that there was no danger along the White and Green rivers.

Dissatisfaction among the Indians increased and Mason, October 15th, issued a call for two companies of volunteers. The response was immediate and in a few days Capt. Gilmore Hays and Capt. C. Eaton announced their companies ready for duty. On the twenty-third Mason instructed Eaton to take up the patrol of "the whole country between the Snoqualmie Pass and the southern pass of the Cascades south of Mount Rainier or Lewis River Pass, looking into each of these passes and intercepting any Indians that may be found traveling the mountains from the seat of war. * * * Should you meet any unusual or suspicious assemblage of Indians, you will disarm them, and should they resist, disperse them, and put any who resist or use violence to death, or send them to Fort Steilacoom in irons, or bound as you may deem best. Any Yakima Indians or other savages of the tribes now at war whom you may discover west of the Cascades, acting as an emissary to incite the tribes now at peace to join the war party, you will hang."

Next day the company, nineteen strong, set out in search of Leschi, who, with his brother, Quiemuth, was then sowing fall wheat on their large farms east of Steilacoom. So quickly did the volunteers move that the two Indians were taken by surprise and barely escaped capture. Quiemuth left the plow in the furrow. Cattle and horses were running at large over the farm and some of these the soldiers appropriated to their own use. From Leschi's home the volunteers moved north. Having reached the Puyallup River the little force was divided, one squad under Eaton, the other under Lieutenant McAllister and both sides of the stream were scoured for Indians.

Camp was established in a prairie on the Puyallup River, part of the force was sent back to Steilacoom for supplies and McAllister asked permission to reconnoiter the old military road to the point where it crossed White River. This request being granted, McAllister and Connell set out and had been absent about an hour when Captain Eaton and J. W. Wiley, editor of the Pioneer and Democrat, went up the trail to explore a slough, reported to be in bad shape for crossing. Wiley says:

"After determining that it would require not more than two men for two hours to free from all danger horses passing over it, we started on our way back to camp. When within about 200 yards of the house containing our baggage the sharp report of a rifle was heard, followed immediately by a second. A few seconds elapsed, bringing us to a standstill, after which five additional shots were fired, when Captain Eaton coolly responded to the shots: 'My God! Our boys are gone!' We immediately hurried toward camp, Captain Eaton giving orders to the following effect: 'Boys, saddle up your horses; get your baggage all in readiness, and above all things keep cool!'"

McAllister and Connell were killed on the twenty-seventh.

Leschi, on the twenty-fifth, had established his camp on the Green River, having as a part of his force a band of Klickitats. Sunday, the twenty-eighth, a band of hostiles, led by Chief Nelson, attacked the settlement on White River between the present cities of Kent and Auburn, killing William Brannan, wife and one child; George King, wife and one child; Harvey Jones and wife and Enos Cooper, who was working for Jones. The attack began as the settlers

were sitting down to their Sunday morning meal. The Jones family was attracted to the door by the peculiar grunting noise made by the Indians in lieu of a rap and when the mother opened the door, she was confronted by armed savages. Hastily closing and fastening the door, Mrs. Jones prepared to defend the house from the Indians who now sprang from the ground with terrorizing warwhoops. Mr. Jones was sick in one of the rooms, Mrs. Jones took the children into another room and covered them with feather beds. The old fashioned muskets with which the Indians were armed not having great power, the mother thought the feather beds offered the best protection for her children.

Shots rang out and musket balls began tearing splinters from the house. Jones fell with a shot through his lungs and was soon dead. Mrs. Jones and Cooper decided to attempt to escape by the back part of the house and Cooper, with an axe, pried loose one of the windows, leaped through and tried to reach the timber. He was shot down. The Indians broke open the doors, pulled the children from their hiding place and took them before Nelson, seated on a block of wood in the yard. The chief told the children they should not be harmed and for them to go with an Indian, down the road to the house of John Thomas. The Indian soon deserted the children who were left to shift for themselves. The oldest boy, not yet seven years of age, finding the two younger children a handicap to his movements, hid them in a small depression and started out alone to find help. As he was passing along the trail he suddenly came upon his mother, badly wounded and left to die. The boy's joy at finding her still alive was short lived. Urging him to hasten the children to safety she told him she was mortally wounded and could not live and that the Indians might return any moment and kill them. The lad bade his mother goodbye, returned to the hiding place of his two small charges and set out down toward the Thomas house.

The house was empty. Furniture, bedding and household utensils were scattered around and a savage dog, standing guard over the scene of desolation, would not permit the children to approach. They trudged on and soon were greatly frightened by the sudden appearance of an Indian. Hiding the children in the bushes, the boy confronted the Indian, who proved to be Tom, a frequent visitor at the home. When informed of the massacre the Indian told the boy to take his two little charges to his wigwam and that when the moon was high that night, he would take them all down the river to Seattle. At the wigwam, Tom's squaw hid the little orphans under a bear skin where they soon were sound asleep. About midnight they were taken down the White River in Tom's canoe and delivered to another friendly Indian named Dave who took them across the bay to the officers of the U. S. Decatur, then lying in the Seattle Harbor.

News of the massacre had reached Seattle before Dave arrived with the three refugees. It was brought in by the Cox and Kirkland families, who, having heard the firing at the homes of their neighbors, took flight and with a young man named Lake, made their escape. Capt. C. C. Hewitt, with forty men and four northern Indians went to the settlement Monday morning. The Jones house had been burned to the ground; Mrs. Jones' body was found some distance away; also that of Cooper. They were buried and Hewitt's men went on to the Brannan home about a mile distant. The bodies of Mrs. Brannan and her infant child were found in the bottom of a well; Brannan's body, literally cut to pieces, was found in the house where he had made a brave fight. Hewitt,

in his report says: "We proceeded to the house of Mr. King, or, rather, where his house was, which we found burned to ashes and where the most horrible spectacle of all awaited us. George King, the fourth child befriended by Nelson, was held captive by the Indians until spring when he was turned over to the military authorities at Steilacoom and later sent to friends in the East.

News of the White River massacre, spreading swiftly, ended the hope of a bloodless peace being brought about. Through the night following the massacre, express riders carried the news of the outbreak to the scattered settlements far up remote valleys and on the desert prairies. Families were awakened, and hastily gathering their belongings, started for the towns and larger settlements. Men, women and children, swearing, crying or praying, toiled along the way. Chicken coops and kitchen furniture; the women's clothing and the horses' harness piled together in the bottom of wagon beds were moved down the dark trails through the forest to places of safety. Cattle, sheep, horses and hogs, in many cases driven by the boys and girls, took up the march. It was an excited and noisy exodus from the farms.

Out of all this disorder soon came order. Block houses were built in many parts of the territory; volunteer military forces were organized; most of the friendly Indians on the east shore of the Sound were gathered together on the islands or on reservations on the west shore and, having cleared the way for action the authorities began an aggressive campaign.

Capt. M. Maloney, U. S. A., and Capt. Gilmore Hays, of the volunteers, October 24th started for the Yakima country by way of the Naches Pass. They were to co-operate with the forces of Major Rains in a campaign against the east-of-the-mountain hostiles. Rains was delayed and it became necessary to warn Maloney and Hays of the danger of entering the hostile country. William Tidd, a carpenter living at Steilacoom, who had been chosen express rider, was dispatched by Mason with orders to overtake Maloney and inform him of the change of plan. Tidd set out on the twenty-seventh, passed through the Puyallup Valley the day McAllister and Connell were killed, crossed Connell prairie and two days later arrived at the Maloney and Hays camp. Tidd, A. J. Bradley, Joseph Miles, Dr. M. P. Burns, George R. Bright, A. B. Rabbeson and Col. A. B. Moses, aide-de-camp to Captain Maloney, were sent with dispatches to Olympia, the rest of the force falling back as rapidly as possible to the valley of the White River.

Arriving at Connell's Prairie the small detachment of seven men were greatly surprised to find it the camping place of Leschi's and Nelson's warriors. No less surprised were the Indians, who had not expected white men to enter their camp from the east, and who made professions of friendship for the dispatch bearers. Leaving the camp the white men started down the narrow road cut through the swamp to the west from the prairie and were soon surrounded by the outpost which the Indians had established there. Firing started almost immediately and at the first volley from the hostiles Moses and Miles were mortally wounded. Miles, being shot from his horse, fell into the mud at the side of the road. Other members of the company pulled him out of the mire but he ordered them on, saying he was done for. After traveling about a mile Colonel Moses became so exhausted from loss of blood that he no longer could sit in the saddle. Dismounting, his comrades carried him some 200 yards into

the brush, wrapped him in their coats and then rode full speed down the road toward the settlements. At Finnell's Creek they found their way barred by another ambush. They dismounted and took to the brush where they engaged the Indians in hand-to-hand fighting of such strength as to make possible a successful retreat to the place in which they had left Moses.

Realizing there was no hope of his getting out of the fight alive, Moses urged his companions to hasten away, saying: "Boys if you escape, remember me." They were his last words. Returning to the edge of the bluff Tidd, Rabbeson, Bradley and Bright, worked their way down the creek, traveled all night through the freezing rain and about noon the next day reached the Puyallup River about three miles above the forks. For three days and nights they traveled through the cold rain and mud without food and reached the settlement at Tallentire's house on the Nisqually Plains.

Colonel Moses' body was taken to Olympia for burial, and pathetic enough was the group that gathered about his young widow, to support her in her great trial. The coffin was placed in a farm wagon. It being a military funeral, a brass band, or young Olympia's beginning of one, was in attendance, and as the grieving cavalcade moved off toward the cemetery the band played one of the two tunes it knew—"The girl I left behind me," while a bleak autumn wind whistled its requiem to the honored dead.

Doctor Burns, becoming separated from other members of the party, had an exciting experience in the woods and when he arrived in the settlements declared that his horse had been shot from under him and that later he had killed seven Indians. His horse about a month later came into Lieutenant Slaughter's camp, saddle, saddle-bags, sword and other equipment being just as the doctor left it.

Captain Maloney, November 3d, sent Lieutenant Slaughter with fifty regulars, and Captain Hays with the same number of volunteers, into the interior to track the Indians and learn their camp place. Scouts soon found the hostiles in camp on the bluff on the right bank of White River, with a kind of reserve camp on Green River some two miles distant. From opposite sides of the deep canon of the stream the fight began at about 8 o'clock in the morning. The Indians, hiding behind logs and driftwood, shot down one regular who had been sent to fell a tree for a footlog across the swift stream. Both sides then settled down to shooting at every suspicious movement. This was kept up until late in the afternoon, when the white force withdrew to camp on the prairie. The soldiers reported thirty Indians killed—an estimate considered by many to be altogether too high. At the close of the war the Indians declared they had not lost a man and that each of the "dead Injuns" counted by the troops was obtained by shooting holes in an Indian cap held aloft on the end of a stick while the owner safely lay behind a log. The Indians said this, the first battle of the war west of the mountains, was "hiu he-he, hiu he-he," (lots of fun).

"Next day I started a command after them," says Captain Maloney in his report, "and found them on the opposite side of Green River. They showed but little fight. We had two wounded; but I can't say how many Indians were wounded."

Through the rest of November the troops were kept in pursuit of scattered bands of hostiles along the White and Puyallup rivers, neither side gaining material advantage.

With fifty regulars and two companies of volunteers from the commands of Hays and Wallace, Lieutenant Slaughter moved to the Puyallup River and on the night of the 25th went into camp near the scene of the killing of McAllister and Connel. The camp soon was surrounded by Indians who occasionally fired and almost continually yelled through the night. The soldiers returned the fire, mortally wounding Chief Kanasket who, when brought into the camp said he knew his time had come, that he was willing to die and that if he had the power he would renew the fight and keep it up as long as there was a breath of life in his body.

The Indians killed one soldier, stole about forty of Slaughter's horses, and, learning of the loss of Kanasket, one of their main leaders, beat a retreat to safer ground up the river. Slaughter crossed over to the White River and on December 4th went into camp near the scene of the massacre of October 28th. Here he met the volunteer force of Capt. C. C. Hewitt. Slaughter, Hewitt, Lieutenant Harrison, Doctor Taylor, Corporals Berry and Clarendon met for consultation at one of the abandoned cabins. A big fire was built and the soldiers were drying out their rain-soaked clothing when the Indians suddenly attacked, killing Slaughter, Berry and Clarendon and wounding Privates Beck, Nolan, McMahan and Grace.

John Swan, agent in charge of the temporary reservation for friendly Indians on Fox Island, was greatly surprised on the afternoon of January 5, 1856, to see six large canoe loads of Indians landing on the beach in front of his house. Among the visitors he recognized Leschi who approached in a friendly manner and told the agent he had come to "talk peace." Leschi said Swan always had treated the Indians kindly and that if he would go with them to their camp toward the mountains, they would work for him; but that they would not talk to Colonel Simmons who they accused of having deceived them in regard to the Medicine Creek treaty. News of the arrival of Leschi and his band of thirty or forty warriors was taken across the bay to Steilacoom to Captain Keyes at the fort. Keyes sent a messenger to Doctor Tolmie with a request for the use of the steamer Beaver, then lying at the wharf. This request was granted at once. Seeing the vessel approaching Swan went out in a small boat, talked with Captain Maloney and then returned to the island. Leschi and his band remained about thirty hours talking with Swan and the Indians, after which they returned to their country by way of the Narrows, Commencement Bay and the Puyallup River. Leschi denied having had a hand in the White River massacre and about a month after his visit to Fox Island, again requested Swan to "talk." This time the "talk" was held in the Indian camp on Green River, Swan making the trip into the hostile country.

The Puget Sound Courier of February 8th says:

"The duty of Mr. Swan is perilous, and there are few who would like to undertake it, but from his long intercourse with them, and the confidence with which they regard him, he will probably return to us unmolested. Of course, it cannot be expected that any terms of peace will be proposed that can be accepted. Prudence and policy require that first of all they should be punished. They may have been wronged; we believe that they have been; that the executive of this territory has most grossly imposed upon them, but as one wrong does not justify another, however much the Indian can say in his own behalf, justice requires that

a proper atonement shall be made for the lives of the men, women and children who were massacred at White River before a peace can be thought of."

Governor Stevens returned from the Blackfoot country on January 19th and announced the war would "be prosecuted until the last hostile Indian is exterminated." The Indians knew the end of their protest against the treaties was fast approaching and desired to make the best terms possible.

October 28th, the day upon which the Indians massacred the settlers of the White River Valley, Governor Stevens started for Olympia from the scene of his successful treaty-making with the Blackfeet.

The next evening, just at dark, Express Rider W. H. Pearson, exhausted and riding a horse that staggered from hard-running, arrived at Governor Stevens' camp with dispatches in which Acting-Governor Mason informed his superior of the outbreak of the tribes east of the mountains and of the danger with which the homeward trail was beset. Pearson's ride deserves a far more prominent place in the history of the Northwest than that usually given it. Leaving The Dalles Pearson bravely turned his face toward the unknown but certain dangers lying between him and Governor Stevens. All day and all night he rode toward the Walla Walla Valley and the hostiles then known to be encamped there. Just as day was breaking he reached the Billy McKay Ranch on the Umatilla. McKay had left for safer quarters. Pearson lassoed a horse from a band grazing near the house and, after subduing the untamed animal, had just succeeded in getting him saddled and bridled when, glancing back over the trail, Pearson saw a band of Indians in pursuit. Hastily mounting, Pearson whipped his horse out of jumping and bucking into a keen run and as he turned toward the east, heard the approaching hostiles yell: "Kill the white man!"

Across the valley like the wind rode Pearson with the yelling savages at his heels. The unbroken horse, under the urge of whip and spur, responded with a burst of speed that carried his rider well in advance of the pursuing band, and as they ascended the hills encircling the valley, began to add to the distance separating them. Across the Umatilla hills the race continued all day. Knowing that the Indians, now left well behind, would pick up and follow his trail as soon as fresh mounts could be obtained, Pearson, at dark, turned from the trail at right angles and after traveling three or four miles, again turned east and traveled in a course parallel to that of his daylight ride. In the night he crossed the Walla Walla River and at daybreak turned into a small valley for a few hours' rest. For two hours his horse was allowed to eat the rich fall grass; the trail was again taken up and followed to the camp of Red Wolf, a friendly Nez Perce chief, where a fresh horse was obtained for the onward journey. Lapwai was reached the following day and Pearson took a full day's rest—the first rest he had had since leaving The Dalles.

With a fresh horse and a young Nez Perce brave as guide, Pearson started from the Lapwai camp for the Bitter Root mountains, choosing the shortest and at the same time most rugged and dangerous pass. Night found the travelers high in the mountains with a furious snow storm coming on. A great fire was built and the white man and his Indian companion prepared to pass the night. Roaring through the trees on the mountainside the wind seemed bent on carrying all before it. Suddenly a tree crashed to the earth, pinning the young Indian beneath it. "Now I am in for it," thought Pearson. "The Nez Percés will never believe this

young fellow's death was an accident. They will say I murdered him and will try to get my scalp." Pearson removed the tree, dragged the insensible body into the fire light and was much relieved when the young man opened his eyes and said he was not seriously injured.

For three days the storm raged. The snow was piled in drifts making the use of horses out of the question. Pearson sent the Indian with the horses back to Lapwai and strapping on a hastily-made pair of snow shoes he set out on the trail alone. Following the signs which the Indians had left high up on the tree trunks, Pearson, after four days of extremely hard traveling, arrived at the camp of the friendly Flatheads near Fort Owen in the Bitter Root Valley. Although almost completely exhausted the express rider rested but a few hours, and, mounted on a horse furnished by the Indians, again took up the trail. Three days later he rode into the governor's camp on the Teton.

Mason, Simmons and others of the governor's friends in their letters advised Stevens to return to Olympia by way of the eastern coast. Fear, either of white man's criticism or red man's warfare, was an element lacking in the governor's make up. He at once said he would return to the capital by the way over which he had traveled into the Indian country. Ammunition was brought up from Fort Benton, the small party was strengthened in every way possible and the westward march taken up. At the forks, where the trail divided, one branch going by the Pend d'Oreille and the other by Lake Coeur d'Alene, the former route was traveled for a couple of miles and camp established.

Early next morning, this two-mile stretch was retraced, the Coeur d'Alene trail entered, and with all the haste possible, followed to the mission. Just as darkness was settling down over the mission and its Indian camp, Stevens, Pearson, Craig, Looking Glass, Spotted Eagle and Captain John, three Nez Perce chiefs, pushing ahead of the main body of the party, dashed into the Indian encampment, and with guns ready for instant use demanded of the excited Indians: "Are you friends or enemies? Do you want peace or war?" The Coeur d'Alenes were not long in declaring for peace.

In much the same way the Spokanes were visited and won over to the side of peace. Four of Bolon's men were rescued at the Spokane camp, a side trip was made to the Colville country; two companies of miners joined the party which was organized on a military basis. While these details were being worked out, a half-breed arrived in the camp with a message from Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox who sent word that he intended soon to take the governor's scalp. From the Spokane-Colville country the governor went south and was holding a council with the Nez Perces when a messenger arrived with news of the death of Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox and the defeat of the hostiles by Captain Kelly and the Oregon volunteers. Accepting the offer of a strong body guard of Nez Perce warriors, Governor Stevens and his little band of white men, set out for The Dalles where he received further details of the defeat of the enemy.

Col. J. H. Kelly, in his report of the battle of December 7, 1855, says his command was attacked by about four hundred Indians and that the loss, on both sides, was heavy. "Among the killed yesterday was the noted chief of the Walla Walla, Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox. He was taken prisoner by my command on the 5th inst., near his camp on the Touchet, and during the battle yesterday made an effort to escape. In doing so he was killed together with four others, who were made



THE SEATTLE WATER FRONT IN 1878

prisoners at the same time, and who also attempted to get away." A recently published account of this battle, written by one of the surviving volunteers, gives the following details:

"Old Pepe," as *Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox*, or the Yellow Serpent, was known to the soldiers, approached the volunteers under a flag of truce and pretended friendship for the whites. While the commanders talked with the chiefs, the soldiers and warriors pointed their guns at each other and went through the motions of fighting. Old Pepe rode up to Kelley and said:

"I see your boys are like mine—they are keen for a fight. But we older men have better sense. We knew you were coming so I have ordered five big fat cattle to be slaughtered and roasted and I started to meet you and have you come and take supper with me."

For about one hour the commanders and chiefs talked. Old Pepe motioned to his warriors to retire and they rode away on a gallop. The soldiers followed until they came to a narrow trail leading under a steep bluff where it would be necessary for them to travel in single file. Nathan Olney, through the light snow that was falling, saw the trap ahead and, spurring his horse to the side of the commander, told him if he led his men into that narrow pass not a one of them would come out alive. Turning aside the soldiers went into camp on level ground and when some of Old Pepe's warriors came and asked them to come to supper, Olney yelled to them that the chief had gone to bed and that they would all be on hand for breakfast.

Morning dawned bright and cold with about three inches of snow on the ground. While the saddle blankets were thawing out before the camp fires, a few of the volunteers went forward to inspect the trail through which the Indians had desired to lead them. On the opposite side of the creek flowing through the defile in the hills, they found many "nests" in the thick, low-growing brush, each "nest" had held an Indian sharp-shooter, now at some safer place of hiding. Piled along the top of the over-hanging cliff were many tons of stone, and as Olney had said, had the soldiers entered the narrow trail perhaps not one of them would have come out alive.

Breaking camp the soldiers advanced some three or four miles when they came upon the main camp of the hostiles. Between one hundred and fifty and two hundred lodges each with its campfire stood in the little valley; but not an Indian was to be seen—except far away upon the top of the surrounding hills and cliffs. Old Pepe remarked that he "guessed his people got scared." Among the volunteers was a small band from The Dalles. They went under the name of the "forty thieves"—one of them saying the Indians' fright would not prevent the soldiers from enjoying a breakfast of Indian food, scraped away one of the fires and at a depth of a few feet, uncovered a cache containing brass kettles and other utensils filled with wheat, peas, camas and other foods, as well as clothing. Men and horses ate their fill, the remainder was destroyed and the soldiers marched back to their wagon train.

The next night the prisoners attempted to escape, Doctor Bates, said to be the fleetest man in the company, having a foot-race in overtaking Champoeg Jim, the man under his personal charge. The morning march was taken up under fire, prisoners and guards being placed about the middle of the column. The guards demanded the privilege of having a hand in the fight, especially after they had

come upon the dead bodies of five of their comrades. At every opportunity Old Pepe called to his warriors. About 2 o'clock the fight became very hot and those guarding the prisoners requested permission to take part in the scrimmage. Olney ordered the guards to tie their prisoners. Old Pepe replied: "No tie men! tie dogs and horses." The prisoners resisted; some one shot Champoeg Jim and all except a fifteen-year-old lad, who declared he was a Nez Perce with a Cayuse mother, were killed. The soldiers have been charged with removing the skin from Old Pepe's body and of having made it into razor straps. Diligent search and inquiry fails to prove this charge. They did, however, cut off his ears and scalp lock, and for some time the ears were on exhibition at Salem. Warfield, one of the guards, becoming tired of showing the scalp to morbidly curious visitors, is said to have buried it near his home in the Willamette Valley.

Arriving at Portland Governor Stevens was much surprised to learn that General Wool, commanding the Department of the Pacific, after declaring war did not exist in the territory, had returned to his headquarters in California. Volunteers raised for Stevens' relief had been disbanded by Wool who said the governor could look out for himself. Some months before, Wool, while attempting to appropriate to himself the credit of winning one of General Taylor's battles in the Mexican war, had been quietly rebuked by Governor Stevens. Wool's opportunity to "get even" had arrived and Stevens was to handle the Indians as best he could without any assistance from the regular army.

Before departing for the south, the commander of the department left orders with his subordinates which practically tied their hands and made their co-operation with the volunteer forces impossible. Col. Silas Casey understood the situation and, after he became commander of the Sound District, rendered valuable assistance; but in so doing he risked serious trouble with General Wool. Another element entering into the tangled military affairs, was the old jealousy between men of the regular and volunteer forces. The latter opened the Walla Walla Valley for Stevens' passage to Olympia, where he arrived on January 19th. Arriving at the capital the governor found his hands full. Regular army officers, acting under orders from Wool had refused to supply the volunteer forces with arms or ammunition. Governor Douglass, of Vancouver Island, was appealed to for aid and replied that he would supply arms and ammunition if Governor Stevens would draw on the United States treasury for their payment. This Stevens could not do and Douglass, still objecting to accepting territorial scrip, replied:

"I must cordially acknowledge the moral obligation which binds Christian and civilized nations to exert their utmost power and influence in checking the inroads of the merciless savage, and it is a cause of sincere regret, on my part, that our means of rendering you assistance comes indefinitely short of our wishes."

Douglass gave his personal order on the Hudson's Bay Company for \$5,000 worth of supplies; the steamers Beaver and Otter were, at different times, employed by the territorial officials; Douglass took measures to prevent the Northern Indians from coming into Sound waters and the Victoria and Nisqually posts of the two British companies furnished arms, ammunition and other supplies to the value of more than \$25,000.

Hazard Stevens, in his "Life of Gen. Isaac I. Stevens," says:

"The first act of the governor after grasping the situation was to indite a letter to Wool announcing his safe return, and suggesting the energetic and aggressive

military measures by which the outbreak could be speedily quelled." Ignoring the appeal for a "talk," made to Swan by Leschi the governor announced a war of extermination, called for volunteers and laid his plans to teach the hostiles a severe lesson. Lieut.-Col. Silas Casey, commanding the district of the Sound, practically ignored the orders of his commanding general, Wool, supplied the volunteers with a limited amount of ammunition and threw the regular forces into closer co-operation with those of the territory.

Nearly all of the first volunteers had been called for three months' service, that service to be more in the nature of home guard duty. In order that he might use the volunteers wherever needed and for a longer period, Stevens called for troops to serve six months. These were made up of three battalions, known as the Northern, Major Van Bokelen; Central, Maj. Gilmore Hays and the Southern, Major Maxon.

To the Northern Battalion was assigned the difficult task of preventing the trans-mountain tribes from communicating with those on the Sound. Trails and roads were cut and block houses built. Forts Tilton and Alden were built below and above the falls of the Snoqualmie with other forts near the mouth of the Snohomish, on Bellingham Bay, at Port Townsend, Seattle and other points. Belonging to this organization were eight Northern Indians and a large number of Snoqualmies under Patkanim.

On Yelm Prairie, twenty miles east of Olympia, the Central Battalion assembled and built Fort Stevens; Fort Montgomery and block houses at other points. Regulars under Colonel Casey built a block house called Fort Slaughter on the Muckleshoot prairie. The Southern Battalion served along the Columbia and with the Central around the head of the Sound.

These troops were called into service on January 23d, the governor at the time declaring "that the war shall be prosecuted until the last hostile Indian is exterminated." On the 25th Stevens, in a message to the Legislature said:

"I am opposed to any treaties; I shall oppose any treaty with these hostile bands. I shall protest against any and all treaties made with them—nothing but death is mete punishment for their perfidy—their lives should pay the forfeit."

Within a few hours after this message was read in the Legislature, the governor, on board the steamer *Active*, appeared in the Seattle harbor where he was entertained on board the U. S. *Decatur* and tried to induce Commander Gansevoort to leave the harbor with his ship and cruise in other parts of the Sound. Rear Admiral Phelps, then navigating officer on the *Decatur*, tells of this visit as follows:

"The governor, recently returned from visiting the Coeur d'Alene and other trans-mountain tribes, scoffed at the idea of Indian troubles, and on the evening of the 25th concluded a speech addressed to the settlers, with these emphatic words: 'I have just returned from the countries of the Nez Perces and Coeur d'Alenes. I have visited many tribes on the way, both going and coming, and I tell you there are not fifty hostile Indians in the territory, and I believe that the cities of New York and San Francisco will as soon be attacked by Indians as the Town of Seattle.'"

Such contradictory statements, made so near together, can be attributed to but one thing—the governor had dined too well on the Government vessel. No doubt the Indians, by this time, had heard of the governor's call for 1,000 volun-

teers and his announced policy of a war of extermination. Had the governor followed up the visit of Leschi to Swan, peace might have been established between the tribes west of the mountains and the whites. As it was the Indians planned a last desperate campaign, the first blow of which was to be an attack on Seattle.

After the White River massacre the citizens of Seattle took steps to protect the little village from Indian attack. Yesler's sawmill had been cutting heavy timbers for the San Francisco market, but when the hostile attack threatened, these timbers were used in the erection of a block house. It stood near the intersection of First Avenue and Cherry Street and the builders made the mistake of providing but one entrance, and that, strange to say, was on the side facing the forest from which any attack was certain to come. In it were placed two nine-pound cannon from the Decatur. Even while Governor Stevens was being entertained on the ship, and was telling the people they were secure from Indian attack, friendly Indians in touch with the hostiles' camp on Lake Washington, brought a warning of the approaching battle.

Citizens of the town and the marines on the Decatur were sitting down to breakfast on the morning of the 26th when an Indian woman ran through the settlement yelling: "Hiu Klickitat Tom Pepper's house." "Tom Pepper's house" was in the southern part of the town, near the tide flats. Captain Hewitt's company, mustered out of service the evening before, took up the defense. Sailors from the Decatur fired a cannon shot into the house and almost immediately the hostiles, hid in the woods on the western slope of the hill above the village, began the attack. There was a wild scramble for the block house, and then it was discovered that the entrance was on the wrong side. A twelve-year-old girl was forced to remain for two hours crouched behind a stump just a few feet away. Milton Holgate, age sixteen, was killed at the block house door by an Indian hid behind a stump near the site of the present day Alaska Building.

Along Third Avenue to about Marion Street and thence westward to the bay stretched the hostile line of attack. It was within easy rifle shot of the block house and had it not been for the timely warning given by the friendly Indians, and the heavy shot from the Decatur, the village and its inhabitants would have been wiped out. Over the settlers' heads screeched the shot from the ship's cannon to the target on the hillside. Splinters were torn from the trees; or the shot, lying silent for a time, suddenly exploded, creating consternation among the Indians, who did not understand this kind of ammunition. The guns from the Decatur soon drove the assailants back from their first position into the woods near the top of the hill. From this point their musket fire was of little effect.

All day the fight continued, with an intermission at noon when the Indians retired to a beef dinner prepared by their women from animals stolen from the settlers. During this lull most of the women and children were removed from the block house to the Decatur and the bark *Brontes*. Toward evening scouts reported the Indians placing inflammable material around houses in the outskirts of the settlement. Fearing this was intended for use as a signal to other Indians to join in the attack, Captain Gansevoort turned his guns upon the houses and blew them to pieces. With darkness the hostiles withdrew. The whites had lost two killed—young Holgate at the block house, and Robert Wilson, killed while defending the exposed southern side of the town. The number of Indians killed is not known.

After the battle the settlers increased their fortifications by erecting another block house at the southern end of the settlement near the present intersection of Occidental Avenue and Jackson Street, with a strong stockade of logs and other timber connecting it with the first block house at First and Cherry.

Coquilton, Leschi and the Yakima chief, Owhi, are supposed to have led the attack upon Seattle. Sending a defiant message that they soon would return and take the village in spite of the ship and its big guns, the Indians withdrew.

Pressure from three sides was now brought against the hostiles. The Northern battalion, with Patkanim's Snoqualmies, swept the country north of Green River to the mountains. To a certain extent Patkanim was a mercenary ally—he was to be paid \$80 for the head of each hostile chief and \$20 for the head of each hostile brave taken in battle, and, it is said, did not scruple to sacrifice his slaves when hostile enemies were not plentiful. Indian auxiliaries were recruited from the Snoqualmie, Squaxon, Chehalis and Cowlitz tribes, the total number being 118 with a total service of 5,004 days.

From the west and southwest the Central and Southern battalions and the regulars drove the Indians toward the northeast. Several skirmishes were fought in the latter part of February and the early part of March, the hostiles giving away slowly. On the morning of March 10th, Captain White, of the Pioneer Company, was ordered from camp on Connell's Prairie to repair the road to the White River crossing. The men had just begun their day's labor when the hostiles opened a murderous fire from their hiding places in the brush. White ordered his men to shelter. For half an hour they withstood the fire of two or three times their number. From the main camp of the troops, about a mile away on Connell's Prairie, reinforcements were sent. White, learning that reinforcements were on the way, ordered a retreat to the top of the hill. The Indians, mistaking this for a sign of weakness, charged, only to meet a storm of bullets which sent them to cover.

"Most of the other companies had by this time gained positions," says the captain in his report: "and the battle raged hot and furious. The fight continued until about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and, considering the great advantage the Indians had over us, I consider it one glorious victory. We completely routed them with great loss on their part. Three men of my command were pretty badly wounded, but none dangerously. I think the Indian force must have been near 150 strong—ours all told, did not exceed 100."

Realizing his cause was lost, Leschi turned to flight. Up White River he led his band, through the Naches Pass and down into the Yakima country where his hungry people were fed by Kamiakan. Those not going over the mountains with Leschi, dispersed as silently and mysteriously as they had assembled some months earlier. Scouts reported but few Indians in the country, and these few "with no fight in them."

Kamiakan, notwithstanding the presence of regulars at The Dalles, when the Southern battalion moved northward, planned an attack on the little settlement at the Cascades of the Columbia. Col. George Wright, whom General Wool had placed in command of military operations on the Columbia, early in March, 1856, began moving his troops and supplies up the river from Vancouver to The Dalles. Wool returned about the fifteenth and ordered the troops guarding the blockhouse at the Cascades to other parts of the territory, leaving

Sergt. Matthew Kelly and eight men to guard the important five-mile, wooden rail tramway over which Wright's supplies were being hauled from the lower to the upper end of the portage.

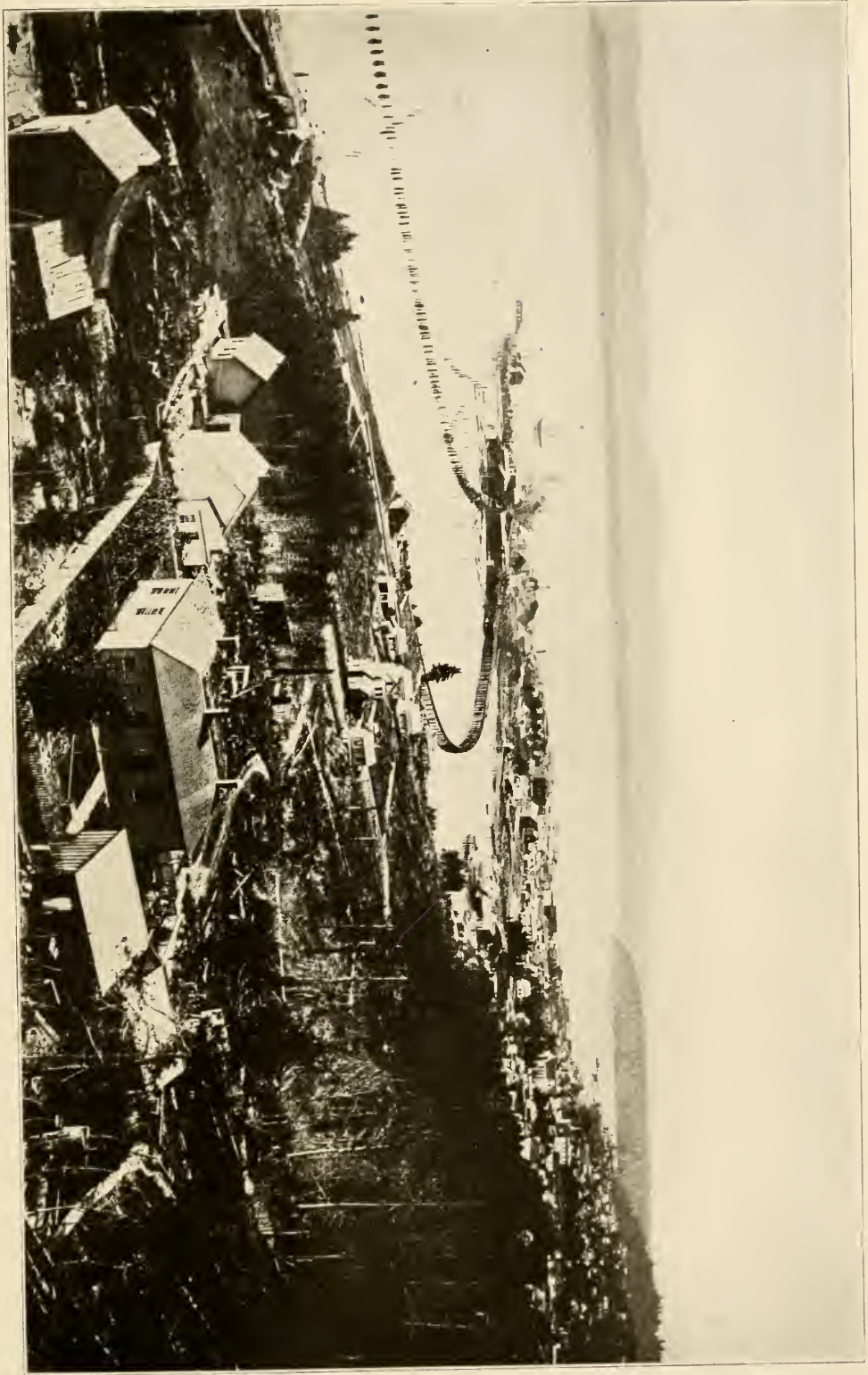
On the upper river were two little steamers, the Mary and the Wasco. At the upper landing of the portage road stood the Rock Creek sawmill. A short distance below was Bradford's store and between the store and the lower end of the portage was the blockhouse built by Captain Wallace the preceding fall. Wallace and his men left the blockhouse on March 24th. Two days later, early in the morning as the men were going to their labor in the sawmill, the air was rent with an Indian warwhoop, followed immediately thereafter by volleys of rifle shots. The timber from the mill to Bradford's store was alive with hostiles determined to supply themselves with ammunition and food from the stores being taken up the river to The Dalles. The little steamer Mary, her fires out, lay at her moorings. As the first rifle shot echoed back from the Oregon shore, three members of her crew boarded the boat. James Lindsay, the fireman, with an Indian bullet in his shoulder, lighted the fires. The Indians, knowing if the boat was permitted to leave it would return with reinforcements, made a determined effort to kill the crew. John Chance, the steward's boy, armed with an old dragoon pistol, shot an Indian who climbed on top of the pilot house, and was himself shot in the leg. Engineer Buckminster, with one hand on the whistle cord blowing a blast of challenge to the attackers, with the other handled a revolver with deadly effect. The cook, badly wounded jumped overboard in his excitement and was drowned. Lying flat on the floor of the pilot house Hardin Chenoweth, with Indian bullets sweeping the deck, gave the signals and guided the little vessel into the stream. With a last challenging blast from her whistle, the Mary headed into the swift current on her way to The Dalles and Colonel Wright's soldiers.

At the mill B. W. Brown, his young wife and her younger brother were killed and their bodies thrown into the river. From all directions men, women and children ran to the two-story log store building. One man fell mortally wounded; another, slightly wounded, remained for two days hidden under a rock. James Sinclair, in the excitement following the first attack, opened the store door and was shot dead. The doors were then barricaded and the people turned their attention to defending their fort. The stairway to the upper floor was on the outside of the building. Removing the stovepipe the men rapidly enlarged the hole through which it passed to the upper floor and were soon replying to the shots and howls of the attackers.

Luckily for the forty persons inside the protecting walls of the building, a case of Government rifles and a good supply of ammunition had been left there that very morning. Without these nine rifles defense would have been almost impossible. The hostiles, driven to the rocks of the cliff above the store, kindled bonfires and began dropping blazing brands upon the dry roof above the heads of the defenders. Holes were cut through the shingles and with brine from a barrel of salt pork, the men extinguished the fires.

Night settled down with no relief in sight. Hours before the thirsty people had drunk everything available to quench thirst. Even the few bottles of whisky and ale had been consumed and everybody called for water. The coming of darkness was greeted with joy; water, millions of gallons of which flowed in the

SEATTLE WATER FRONT FROM BEACON HILL ABOUT 1881



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TILDEN FOUNDATION

river a short distance away, would be obtainable; and then the hostiles, setting fire to every building within their reach, made a determined effort to take the store. A young Spokane Indian, stripped to the skin, slid down the bank to the river and brought back a pail of water. It was dangerous and the people decided to go without water rather than let the young Spokane make another trip. The second day and night passed in much the same way as the first and the Spokane boy made another trip for water. Sinclair's body was slid out of the building into the water. Just at daylight on the morning of the third day, the sound of the whistles of the Mary and the Wasco carried to the now discouraged people in the store, the joyful news of the arrival of the soldiers. The whistle had not ceased blowing when the sound of firing was heard, followed in quick succession by the yells of the troops as they landed and drove the Indians from their position.

Simultaneously with their attack upon the store, the hostiles had attacked the nine men at the blockhouse lower down the portage. Down the tramway track, ahead of the hostiles, ran a friendly Cascade Indian, warning the people who ran for the lower end of the portage where the women and children were placed on board boats and sent to Vancouver. The men remained behind to defend the Government goods piled along the bank. They were without arms and when the Yakimas appeared were forced to take to their boats and the Indians burned everything they could not carry away. The scene at the blockhouse was similar to that at the store; the Indians, finding the men armed, retreated to the hills, kept up an almost constant firing but without serious damage.

The arrival of the Cascade refugees at Vancouver led Captain Morris to expect an attack upon that post. Obeying orders from General Wool, Morris refused to arm the citizens and sent his stores, with the women and children, to the Hudson's Bay post. Of the 100 men under his command, Morris sent forty to the relief of the Cascades. The command of this small party was given to Lieut. Philip Sheridan, afterward famous as a Union commander in the Civil war. They went up the river on the steamer Belle to the lower Cascades and, finding all the buildings burned, crossed to the Oregon shore where he learned of conditions existing up the river. Attempting to land on the Washington side, upon their return, Sheridan's men met a furious fire from the Indians and were forced to drop down the river. Here they met the steamer Fashion with thirty volunteers from Portland and about an equal number from Vancouver. These were landed, the steamer returned to Portland and next morning returned with another company of volunteers. The little cannon which Sheridan had brought from Vancouver was loaded on a boat, taken to San J Island opposite the blockhouse and everything was in readiness for an attack upon the savages among the rocks back of the blockhouse, when the men under Sheridan were greatly surprised to hear the notes of a bugle float down on the air from the upper landing. The Indians, hearing the bugle notes, vanished in the woods. The volunteers cursed, and it is said, Sheridan himself joined in heaping maledictions upon the leader of Wright's men for attacking an Indian enemy with music.

Kamiakan's Yakimas made good their retreat. Not so their Cascade allies. Sheridan found them huddled together on one of the islands, accused them of lending assistance to the Yakimas, a charge which they vigorously denied. Lining

the men up, rifles in hand, Sheridan again asked them if they were guilty, and upon being told they were not, inserted his finger in the muzzles of the guns, removing freshly burned powder. Thirteen were arrested, tried by military commission and next day hanged.

An incident of the battle of the Cascades shows that cruelty in warfare was not always confined to the savage race. Chief Spencer, a friendly Indian who had been acting as guide for Colonel Wright, was returning with his family from The Dalles. Following the battle, Joe Meek asked Sheridan if he had seen anything of the Spencer family and suggested a search be made. Sheridan afterward wrote: "In my experience, I have been obliged to look upon many cruel scenes in connection with Indian warfare on the plains since that day, but the effect of this dastardly and revolting crime has never been effaced from my memory." The bodies of the mother, two boys, three girls and a baby were found beside a path over which they had been traveling. All had been strangled, the girls having been ravished by their white murderers.

The battle of the Cascades resulted in the death of James Sinclair, B. W. and Mrs. B. W. Brown, George Griswold, James Watkins, Henry Hagler, Jacob Kyle, Jacob White, Richard Turpin, Norman Palmer, — Calderwood, — Bourbon, George Watkins, Jacob Rousch and three regular army soldiers. Wright at once began the erection of strong blockhouses and continued his campaign against the hostiles east of the mountains.

Under the command of Col. B. F. Shaw, volunteer troops, later in June, crossed through Naches Pass, passed through the Yakima country to Walla Walla and July 11th met their Nez Perce allies. From the Nez Percés Shaw learned that a band of hostiles had established camp in the Grand Ronde Valley in Eastern Oregon. Guided by Captain John, the Nez Perce chief, Shaw moved rapidly forward and under cover of darkness on the night of July 16th, took up a position commanding the Indian camp in the valley below. Morning showed the Indians defiant. Captain John went forward under a flag of truce, for a parley with the hostiles who at once set up a cry to shoot the flag bearer. Instantly realizing the danger confronting Captain John, Shaw threw his hat on the ground, called to his volunteers and Nez Perce allies to follow, and with his long red hair waving in the wind, led the charge to the rescue. Such an avalanche of avenging fury was not to be withstood by the hostiles, who, breaking into numerous bands, fled toward the hills, fifteen miles across the valley. For the entire distance the pursuers hung on their flanks. Forty were killed. One hundred pounds of ammunition, 200 horses and mules, many of which bore the Government brand, and all the Indians' camp equipment and provisions were captured. Shaw lost three killed and four wounded. This signal victory served to put an end to the dissatisfaction felt by Looking Glass, Red Wolf, Joseph (not he of later fame), and Eagle-from-the-Light, all of whom now became as steadfast in their friendship for the whites as were Captain John and Lawyer.

Shaw returned to the Sound. Wright, having by this time decided nothing but severe punishment would teach the Indians their first lesson of submission to white man's authority, began a campaign which after several months' fighting, resulted in peace.

CHAPTER XVI

DEEP HATREDS PRODUCED BY INDIAN WAR—PROSCH'S EPITOME OF THE CASE—THE RESORT TO MARTIAL LAW—CLASHES IN COURT NARROWLY AVERTED—GOVERNOR ARRESTED AND FINED \$50 WHICH HE SOON REMITTED—RECORDS SAID TO HAVE BEEN TAMPERED WITH—GENERAL WOOL'S CRUEL AND BASELESS CHARGES—GOVERNMENT'S DELAY IN REPAYING SETTLERS A GREAT BURDEN UPON THEM.

The Indian war in Washington was especially prolific of hatreds, not between the races at war, but between factions among the whites. Thomas W. Prosch, a pioneer who came to Washington a short time after the close of the war and who became acquainted with many of those who played the leading roles through that period of excitement, arson and murder, thus closes a brief history of its events.

"The Indian wars of Washington Territory were now ended. The two races had clashed and one been overcome by the other. The Indians were subdued. Chief Ka-mi-a-kin was driven into life exile in British Columbia; Chief Ow-hi shot while trying to escape from the troops; Chief Qual-chen hanged. The Indians had paid for the killing of the gold-miners and Agent Bolon. They had learned the lesson, learned by other Indians before them 1,000 and 2,000 miles to the east. No matter what their thoughts and feelings subsequently were, they were determined in Washington Territory to fight the white men no more. It was better so for them and for us.

"It is not always agreeable to say good things of the Indians, and not always grateful to say bad things of the whites, in contrasting them, but the most atrocious, fiendish and barbarous acts of the struggle herein briefly treated were those of our own people—the cruel, cold-blooded killing of the wife and six children of Chief Spencer, the killing and mutilation of Chief Peu-peu-mox-mox, and other deeds of similar character that we all know of but shrink from mentioning."

Prosch perhaps realized that he was too close to those "deeds" which "all shrink from mentioning" to pass judgment thereon. In the sixty years that have elapsed since the war death has removed nearly all those who took a prominent part in it. Hatred died with the actors of the period. Time had clarified the atmosphere and restored normal perspective by softening prejudice and weakening partisanship. Many opposing forces and interests entered into the conflict. Preceding chapters show some of these to have been civilization vs. barbarism; white race vs. red race; regular army vs. volunteers. Added to these were American settlers vs. the Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound Agricultural companies; Protestantism vs. Catholicism; civil vs. military law; private greed vs.

public weal and the question ever present in American communities—politics—with democracy arrayed against “whiggery.”

The political fight began when Editor Wiley changed the name of his paper from *The Columbian* to *The Pioneer and Democrat*. The conflict between civil and military law began March 9, 1856, when Governor Stevens sent acting secretary of the territory, Isaac W. Smith, to Muck Creek with instructions to order L. A. Smith, John McLeod, Charles Wren, Henry Smith, John McPhail, or McFeel, and other settlers to leave their claims and take up their residences in Olympia, Fort Nisqually or Steilacoom. These men, ex-Hudson's Bay employees married to Indian women, were suspected of giving aid to the hostile Indians. Teams belonging to the men had been impressed into the service of the volunteer forces—McLeod at the time being absent with his team in that service.

The order came at spring seeding time. The men were farmers; some of them had grain and potatoes stored and they had other property which they left exposed to weather or thieves. Smith reported these facts to the governor who insisted that the men be held in one of the towns. They wrote asking permission to protect their property. The letters were not answered. Wren, L. A. Smith and McLeod, regardless of the governor's orders, visited their homes. This brought an order for their arrest and confinement at Fort Steilacoom. Wren, Smith and McLeod retained Frank Clark and W. H. Wallace, Steilacoom attorneys, who, April 2d, began habeas corpus proceedings. Hearing of this the governor, April 3d, proclaimed Pierce County under martial law.

When the time for holding the regular May term of the United States District Court arrived, Judge F. A. Chenoweth, confined to his home by illness, requested Chief Justice Edward Lander to act in his stead. Judge Lander left his volunteer company in Seattle, went to Steilacoom, and May 3d prepared to open the court. Governor Stevens sent Col. B. F. Shaw and a company of volunteer troops with instructions to enforce martial law. Judge Lander, however, opened court, but adjourned without transacting any business. Seeing trouble brewing, he sent deputy sheriffs to summon every male citizen sixteen years or more of age in the county to attend court on May 7. Governor Stevens' reply was instructions to Shaw that “martial law must be enforced.”

Citizens and volunteer soldiers, in this new excitement, forgot the Indian war. Wednesday, May 7th, dawned with thirty armed citizens on the side of the judiciary, opposed to Colonel Shaw and his force of about twenty soldiers. The citizens decided to uphold Judge Lander and if they had to fire upon their neighbors among the soldiers, to take the leader first. They were armed with revolvers, the soldiers with muskets. Shaw marched his men into the room. The judge, realizing that resistance to Governor Stevens' orders would precipitate a fight, submitted to arrest and was removed to Olympia.

Olympia was in Judge Landers' own district and the regular term of court was due to open May 14th. May 13th, the governor declared martial law in Thurston County and ordered Capt. Bluford Miller and a company of volunteers to Olympia. Disregarding the governor's proclamation Judge Lander opened his court, ordered the arrest of the governor for contempt and sent United States Marshal George W. Corliss to bring the governor before him. The marshal went to the governor's office, lost his grit and returned with news of the arrival of

Miller and his men. Court was adjourned and Judge Lander sought refuge in the law office of Elwood Evans. Miller kicked in the door, arrested the judge and carried him off to Camp Montgomery.

With the authorities of the civil courts under arrest, the governor now turned his attention to punishing Smith, McLeod and Wren. At Camp Montgomery on May 20th a court martial was convened with Victor Monroe, judge advocate, and Quincy A. Brooks, recorder. Clark and Wallace, defendants' attorneys, filed a protest in which they alleged that the volunteer forces were not organized according to either territorial or federal law, and therefore were without legal authority to try the case; also that the offenses, with which the men were charged—"giving aid and comfort to the Indians with whom the United States are at war"—was one of treason and therefore a civil case. The court adjourned, and upon reconvening announced it found the charge preferred against Smith "constitutes the crime of treason, and that this court has no jurisdiction" in such cases. Being in doubt as to its next step, the court appealed to the governor for instructions.

About this time Judge Chenoweth, having recovered from his illness, appeared in Steilacoom, instructed the sheriff to increase the number of his deputies and made other preparations for holding court. On the twenty-fourth the judge addressed a note to Lieutenant-Colonel Casey in which he stated his belief that "there must be a collision between the citizens and the volunteers, both of which are now assembled at Steilacoom, and a scene of bloodshed will be inevitable. I therefore respectfully ask you to furnish a sufficient number of United States troops to preserve the peace and prevent bloodshed." Casey, in his reply, said "it appears to me that nothing can justify an executive in suspending the writ of habeas corpus but an overruling necessity, and in my opinion that necessity did not exist in this case."

Judge Chenoweth continued his arrangements for opening court. With orders to arrest the judge should he hold court, Lieut. Silas B. Curtis, of the volunteers, on the morning of the twenty-fourth, marched into Steilacoom. At the courthouse he found about fifty armed and determined citizens prepared to defend the judge, who, it was announced would convene his court at 1 o'clock that afternoon. Curtis, before entering the volunteer service, had been a Clark County school teacher, an educated, law abiding citizen, and did not relish the prospect of trouble presented by that group of citizens. A messenger immediately was sent to Governor Stevens, Curtis saying in his letter that he would "make no forcible attempt to arrest the judge until I receive further orders from Captain Maxon or some higher authority. I will try to prevent a collision till I hear from you." The governor, this same day, issued a proclamation abrogating martial law.

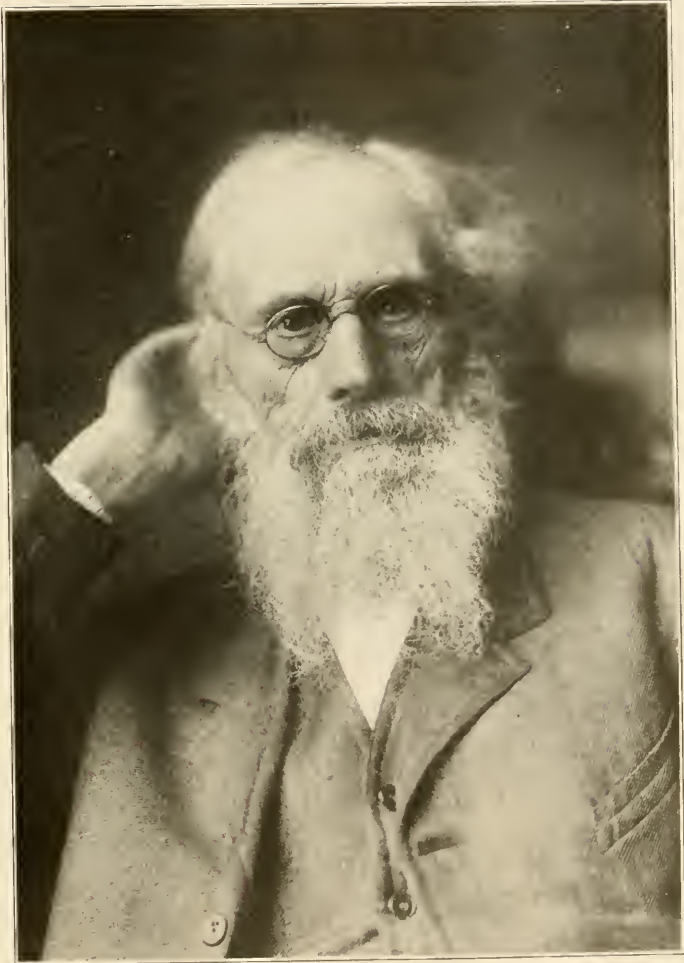
Judge Chenoweth arrived and opened court at 1 o'clock. Colonel Casey came over from Fort Steilacoom, talked with Curtis and the latter withdrew his men and returned to camp. In a letter to Gov. Fayette McMullen, dated March 6, 1858, Judge Chenoweth says: "The business transacted that day (May 24, 1856) was the hearing of a cause in Admiralty, Dun and others vs. the Steamer Water Lily, and the granting attachments in the matter of the habeas for the body of Edward Lander, chief justice, and others. The opinion given in that case you have seen. On the following day the attachment was returned by bringing Col.

Benjamin F. Shaw before me, and as he refused to make the return according to law, I committed him to prison and ordered the marshal to keep him in close confinement without bail until he made the return. As martial law had now been abrogated, and as Governor Stevens seeing I was determined to enforce the law, he addressed me a respectful note asking me to dispose of the matter by a fine or accept bail in Colonel Shaw's case and allow him to return to his command. This letter was so different from the haughty and dictatorial language that had been held up to that time that I determined to do what I could to comply with the request." Shaw agreed to turn his prisoners over to the court and himself to appear at the next term for such orders as the judge might give him, and was discharged.

In a little pamphlet entitled "A Statement of the Facts Pertaining to the Proclamation of Martial Law," etc., published in "Steilacoom, June 24, 1856," and evidently issued with the aim of vindicating the governor, is given the transcript of a case in which Charles Wren, Lyon A. Smith and John McLeod were tried upon the charge of "Giving aid and comfort to the Indians with whom the United States are at war." From this pamphlet it seems that W. W. Delacy appeared before Judge Chenoweth May 29th and swore to the complaint which was filed in the court of J. M. Bachelder, United States commissioner. The trial began May 31st, lasted until June 5th and resulted in a dismissal. Many witnesses were examined; one of the most important pieces of testimony being that Leschi, in February, had visited some of the accused men and had tried to induce them to arrange a "peace talk" with the authorities. The prosecution failed to show that any of the accused had given aid or comfort to the hostiles. The little pamphlet, now very rare, was published anonymously.

May 28th, the court martial held its last session, reversed its preceding decision by declaring it had jurisdiction over the cases of McLeod and Wren and asked the accused men to plead. Both pleaded "Not Guilty" and the judge advocate then read a paper in which the court decided the "further prosecution of the charges against John McLeod and Charles Wren involves the absence of many valuable officers from the command of the troops, and * * * as martial law has been abrogated in this county, I desire no further proceedings be had before this court against the accused, and that they be turned over to the civil authorities." Ezra Meeker, in his "Pioneer Reminiscences," says the men were not turned over to the civil authorities but were discharged and returned to their homes and that the official records fail to show any further proceedings against them.

Judge Lander, back on his bench, pressed the contempt proceedings against the governor. The United States marshal, with a warrant, was sent to make the arrest. This time the governor did not forcibly resist—he submitted to arrest and was fined \$50 and costs. Several weeks passed and the governor, July 10th, filed a unique document with the court, one in which Isaac I. Stevens "by virtue of the authority vested in me as governor, as aforesaid, in order that the President of the United States may be fully advised in the premises and his pleasure known thereon, do hereby respite the said Isaac I. Stevens, defendant, from the execution of said judgment, and all proceedings for enforcement and collection of said fine and costs until the decision of the President of the United States can be made known thereon."



EZRA MEEKER

Judge Lander's reply was an order for the governor's imprisonment. Some of the governor's friends paid the fine. One of the regrettable things about this disgraceful travesty on justice is that the records show signs of having been tampered with—they are incomplete and many papers are missing. The respite issued by the governor was stolen from the archives, taken to Seattle by a prominent attorney, and destroyed during the fire of June 6, 1889.

Governor Stevens' appeal to the President met a prompt response and on September 12th, Secretary of State William L. Marcy, wrote the governor that the President "After a full consideration of them" (the facts relating to the declaration of martial law) "has not been able to find in the case you have presented a justification for that extreme measure." January 24, 1857, the Territorial Legislature in joint resolution, decided that the governor "in any attempt to interfere with our courts of justice, or to try citizens before a military tribunal, acted in direct violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that any such attempt to exercise unconstitutional power, tends to the subversion of our institutions, and calls at our hands for the strongest condemnation."

General Wool charged the settlers with having prolonged the war for the purpose of robbing the Indians and the Federal treasury. He not only indorsed Captain Cram's "Military Memoir"—one of the most unjust and false attacks upon the "Oregon country" ever written—but used his influence to have it published by the Government. Cram could see nothing good in the eastern part of the territories—"a region only fit for the occupancy of the nomadic tribes who now roam over it, and who should be allowed peacefully to remain in its possession." Cram, dead, is never mentioned except as his bilious attack is referred to. White men have converted the country which he said contained "but little that is at all valuable or useful to civilized man" into great wheat fields, beautiful meadows and the most prolific orchards in the world.

Intended as a crushing argument against paying the claims of the volunteers for service and supplies furnished during the war, the Memoir, with General Wool's influence, delayed such payment and thus greatly retarded recovery from the paralyzing conditions at the close of hostilities. Wool's narrow prejudice against the volunteers, the force chiefly responsible for crushing the uprising west of the mountains, received the condemnation of Secretary of War Floyd, who sent commissioners to the territory to investigate. This commission, consisting of Capts. Rufus Ingalls and L. F. Smith and L. F. Grover, on October 10, 1857, reported that Washington Territory had incurred an expense of \$1,481,975.45 for subsistence, equipment and pay of its troops, a sum amounting to about one-third that of Oregon. Congress dilly-dallied. Two years later R. J. Atkinson, of the treasury department, was placed in charge of the work of making a settlement. Atkinson placed each bill under the microscope—and reported against the claimants. The people of the territory were called plunderers and Wool's charge against them—that of keeping up hostilities for the sake of profit—was reiterated. The Hudson's Bay claim was allowed in 1859; in 1861 the Government began paying the settlers—payments which were strung out over a period of about ten years.

Doubtless many of the claims were excessive, but the delay in the settlement of just claims was a great hardship and the country's development suffered accordingly. Farmers, having been driven from their fields by the hostiles, upon their

return found those fields choked with weeds and underbrush. Houses and barns had to be rebuilt. Development was slow, but the pioneer spirit was strong and undaunted even by Indian war. Farms were opened, villages grew into towns, commerce was established and prosperity again took up her abode in the land.

CHAPTER XVII

LESCHI TWICE SAID TO HAVE ATTEMPTED TO MAKE PEACE—HE SURRENDERS TO COLONEL WRIGHT—LESCHI AND OTHER LEADERS WARNED BY GOVERNOR STEVENS THAT THEY WILL BE PUNISHED—LESCHI OFFERS AGAIN TO SURRENDER TO UNITED STATES ARMY OFFICERS—FINALLY IS BETRAYED BY A KINSMAN WHO, IN TURN, IS SHOT FOR HIS TREACHERY—JURY DISAGREES AT LESCHI'S FIRST TRIAL—QUIEMUTH MURDERED IN GOVERNOR STEVENS' OFFICE—LESCHI'S SECOND TRIAL RESULTS IN INFLECTION OF DEATH PENALTY—LESCHI'S SPEECH TO THE COURT—HIS EXECUTION DELAYED BY A RUSE—MASS MEETINGS HELD—INDIAN FINALLY IS EXECUTED BY OFFICERS SPECIALLY DESIGNATED—REBURIAL OF CHIEFS' BODIES THIRTY-FIVE YEARS LATER.

Twice, Leschi's supporters allege, he met failure in his effort to re-establish peace. The first effort—his visit at Christmas time, 1855, to the former Hudson's Bay employes, resulted in their refusal to act and brought down upon them the charge of treason, martial law and the loss of much of their property.

The second attempt, Leschi's visit to Agent Swan on Fox Island, was followed by the governor's announcement of a war of extermination. Then followed the battles of Seattle and Connells Prairie in both of which the Indians were defeated. They fled through Nachess Pass to the Yakimas. Kamiakin advised Leschi to make peace with Colonel Wright, commander of the regular forces. Wright accepted the Indian chief's surrender and Leschi "laid aside all his angry feelings."

Thoroughly whipped the Nisquallies and Puyallups returned in small bands to the reservation on Fox Island. In August, 1856, Governor Stevens went to the island and held a council with the Indians, who although admitting defeat, still were decidedly antagonistic to the reservation provided for them by the Medicine Creek treaty. Governor Stevens then did what he might have done a year and a half earlier—he asked the Indians what they wanted. The Nisquallies said they wanted a reservation eight miles square, the land to include their old homes. The Puyallups wanted six miles square at the mouth of the Puyallup River.

The next step was to survey the lands. Stevens told Chief Squatahan, of the Puyallups, that the Indians would have to furnish a guide to show the surveyors where to run their lines. They started from a point near Fern Hill southeast of Tacoma, ran eastward, the surveyors constantly pressing the Indian guide to the northward, and struck the Puyallup River far below the point desired by the Indians. Here the surveyors told the guide to swim the river and they would pick up the line on the opposite shore at his landing place. The water flowed swiftly past the point, the Indian was carried some distance down the stream

and a "jog" in the line was the result. Having crossed the river, the surveyors pursued the same tactics used on the left bank, the guide was pressed westward and the line brought out near Brown's Point. In crossing Commencement Bay the guide was again urged to the left and landed far south of Point Defiance, the place selected by the Indians. It was a mean advantage to take.

In addition to providing these two reservations, one for the Nisquallies and one for the Puyallups, the Fox Island council also provided for a new reservation, on the Muckelshoot Prairie, for the Duwamish River bands.

Having provided reservations for the Indians who had taken part in the outbreak, Governor Stevens now turned his attention toward the punishment of the leaders of the tribes at war. Leschi, Nelson, Quiemuth and others, following the battle of Connells Prairie, fled to the Yakima country, arriving there late in March. On June 18th the governor wrote Colonel Wright, commanding the regular troops in the Yakima country, saying:

"I will, however, respectfully put you on your guard in reference to Leschi, Nelson, Kitsap and Quiemuth from the Sound, and suggest that no arrangement be made which shall save their necks from the executioner."

These Indians already had made their peace with Colonel Wright, who later wrote:

"With regard to the three named, I sometime since received a letter from Governor Stevens, suggesting no terms should be granted them, but inasmuch as they came in and departed in security previous to that time, and appeared determined to be our friends, I would not take any harsh measures without proof of their guilt."

Peace was not to be established without another conflict between civil and military authority. Governor Stevens, from the beginning of the trouble, had chosen to consider the killing of white people by the Indians as murder, punishable under the civil law, and not as acts of warfare.

Through all the correspondence between the governor and the military authorities, the fight over the surrender of the three leading chiefs raged for months. At Fort Steilacoom Colonel Casey was caring for more than one hundred Indians. October 20th he requested the governor to relieve him of the responsibility, saying the governor's agents refused to receive them on the reservations. Governor Stevens' reply was that the Indians had not been sufficiently punished to make their presence on the reservations safe for the friendly Indians there, and a request that Casey "assist me in apprehending Leschi, Quiemuth, Stahi, Nelson and other murderers."

About this time Leschi returned to the neighborhood of his old home and sent a request that Doctor Tolmie meet him at a point near Fort Nisqually. Doctor Tolmie wrote of this meeting as follows:

"In October, Leschi came, and as I was the first white man he ventured to meet, he desired me to acquaint the Americans, that if they needed that assurance, he would cut off his right hand in proof of his intention never to fight them again. He expressed his willingness to surrender to Colonel Casey commanding at Fort Steilacoom, but that officer considered it most prudent that Leschi should, for a time, remain in the woods, as prejudice ran high against him. Soon after, tempted by a large reward, Sluggia entrapped Leschi by treacherous promises

of complete reconciliation with the Olympia White Chiefs, and he was soon after imprisoned on the charge which has led to his condemnation."

The reward for Leschi's betrayal was fifty blankets, offered June 15th, by James Tilton, adjutant general of the volunteer forces. Sluggia, or Sluggy, who was Leschi's nephew, and E-li-kuk-al, on November 13th, coaxed Leschi into the woods where he was bound by his captors, taken to Steilacoom and was delivered to S. S. Ford, Jr. The next day he was taken to Olympia and delivered to Governor Stevens. It was the first time the two men had met since the day of the Medicine Creek treaty when Leschi had torn up his commission as chief and left for his home on the Nisqually.

Judge Chenoweth had just closed a term of court at Steilacoom. An express messenger was sent after him. He returned and November 16th, three days after the betrayal of the chief, opened a special term for the purpose of trying Leschi for the murder of Col. A. B. Moses. Col. William H. Wallace and H. R. Crosby were Leschi's attorneys, the prosecution being conducted by Frank Clark and J. S. Smith.

Sluggy, the betrayer, testified that Leschi, at the time Moses was killed, was on the eastern side of the mountains. A. B. Rabbeson, a member of the Moses party, said the prisoner was in the band of hostiles which made the attack. Through the burning of the old Steilacoom courthouse on April 5, 1859, the transcript of the testimony was destroyed; the newspapers of the time said a number of witnesses were examined but did not publish details. Testimony would have been of little avail anyway in saving the Indian's life—he already had been pronounced guilty of murder by officialdom, and the people generally wanted a Roman holiday with Leschi as the victim. Among the members of the jury were William M. Kincaid, Ezra Meeker, Albert Balch, Sherwood Bonney and I. H. Wright. The judge instructed the jury that if it found the killing of Moses to have been an act of war it should return a verdict for the defendant. Eight of the jurymen voted for conviction. Outside the courthouse was gathered a large crowd of people, nearly all of whom thought the Indian should be convicted. A vote for acquittal was fraught with possible danger. With faces from which all the blood had fled, four men continued to vote against conviction. The jury notified the judge it could not agree. Judge Chenoweth replied that it must agree. Two of the four were won over for conviction.

"I will never vote to condemn that man," said Kincaid, and Meeker held the same opinion. The jury was discharged. Leschi was held for a new trial. In December Yelm Jim avenged the betrayal of Leschi by killing Sluggy. He was not brought to trial—even the whites who were active in demanding the punishment of Leschi considered Sluggy's punishment deserved.

After the capture of Leschi, the brain and directing force of the Nisqually Tribe, Quiemuth, decided further resistance useless and, on November 18th, surrendered at the residence of George Brail on Yelm Prairie. He immediately was taken to Olympia by James Longmire and others, arriving at the governor's office at 2 o'clock in the morning. Governor Stevens was awakened and began at once to arrange to send Quiemuth to Steilacoom. At 4 o'clock the governor left the office, locking the door behind him. James Longmire, lay down on the floor before the fire and went to sleep. Suddenly the door was opened, a hand holding a revolver was thrust through the aperture, and a shot rang out. The five men in

the room rushed to the door, the revolver was changed to a long bladed knife. Quiemuth was stabbed through the heart and fell to the floor. The hand disappeared and none of the witnesses to the tragedy could name the murderer. Suspicion settled upon Joseph Bunton, son-in-law of James McAllister, the first man killed by the Indians. Governor Stevens filed a complaint against Bunton who was examined before James C. Head, at Olympia, and released, but it now is generally admitted that Bunton was the murderer.

Through the re-districting of the territory, Leschi's second trial was held in Olympia, beginning March 18, 1857. Wallace and Clarke were his attorneys. The testimony was practically the same as at the first trial; but Judge Lander, in ruling that "all those present became principals," opened the way for the jury's verdict of "guilty as charged in the indictment, and that he suffer death." The prisoner was sentenced to be hanged in Steilacoom on June 10th.

A. B. Rabbeson, the principal witness for the prosecution, swore that Leschi met the Moses party on the prairie and, by traveling a circuitous route, much longer than that traveled by the dispatch bearers, entered the trail through the swamp ahead of the party and had been present with the attacking party. Lieutenant, afterward general, A. V. Kautz, and Doctor Tolmie went to the prairie, made a survey of the two trails and prepared a map which, they declared, disproved Rabbeson's testimony—it would have been impossible, they said, for the Indian to have covered the ground. This map now became the basis for an application for a new trial, which application was denied and Leschi's attorneys appealed to the Supreme Court.

December 17th Acting Chief Justice McFadden, of the Supreme Court, in a lengthy opinion, confirmed the verdict of the District Court and the next day Leschi was sentenced to be hanged January 22, 1858. Col. B. F. Shaw acted as interpreter and through him Leschi delivered to the court the following address:

"I do not see that there is any use of saying anything. My attorney has said all he could for me. I do not know anything about your laws. I have supposed that the killing of armed men in war time was not murder; if it was, the soldiers who killed Indians were guilty of murder, too.

"The Indians did not keep in order like the soldiers, and, therefore, could not fight in bodies like them, but had to resort to ambush and seek the cover of trees, logs and everything that would hide them from the bullets. This was their mode of fighting, and they knew no other way. Doctor Tolmie and Quatlith, the red headed chief (Colonel Shaw) warned me against allowing my anger to get the best of my good sense, as I could not gain anything by going to war with the United States, but would be beaten and humbled, and would have to hide like a wild beast in the end. I did not take this good advice, but nursed my anger until it became a furious passion, which led me like a false Tamanoos.

"I went to war because I believed that the Indians had been wronged by the white men, and I did everything in my power to beat the Boston soldier, but for lack of numbers, supplies and ammunition I have failed. I deny that I had any part in killing Miles and Moses. I heard that a company of soldiers were coming out of Steilacoom, and determined to lay in ambush for it; but did not expect to catch anyone coming from the other way. I did not see Miles or Moses before



THE OLD TERRITORIAL CAPITOL BUILDING, OLYMPIA
This interesting structure was erected just before the Civil war

or after they were dead, but was told by the Indians that they had been killed. As God sees me, this is the truth."

Leschi, a convert to the Christian religion under the teaching of the Catholic priests, then made the sign of the cross and repeated the words, "Ta-te mono, Ta-te lem-mas, Ta-te ha-le-hach, tu-ul-li-as-sist-ah"—There is the Father, this is the Son, this is the Holy Ghost, these are all one and the same, Amen.

By a vote of 986 to 549 Governor Stevens at the July, 1857, election was chosen territorial delegate to Congress. Lafayette McMullen, of Virginia, was appointed governor of the territory and was occupying that office when Leschi's conviction was confirmed by the Supreme Court. The change in governors had not brought a change in sentiment—the old partisan fight still raged with Leschi as one of the pawns. Governor Stevens, to punish former employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, had supplanted civil law by that of the military branch of government. This action had tended to break down respect for all law. Leschi's trial threw the regular-army faction into the camp of the Hudson's Bay Company, to which was also joined the force of those settlers who blamed Governor Stevens and his treaties for the Indian war. Political partisanship, a desire for revenge, and the necessity of justifying the treaties and the action of the volunteer forces backed by Stevens, supplanted justice. The administration was democratic. Many of those engaged in the defense of Leschi were whigs. One side needed a scapegoat—Leschi would supply that need. The other was determined to prevent the carrying out of the plan, and justice fled.

The sentence of the court was that Leschi should be hanged on January 22d, between the hours of 10 o'clock A. M., and 2 o'clock P. M. Frank Clark, the whig attorney of Leschi, induced an Indian to swear out a warrant for the arrest of George Williams, sheriff of Pierce County, and C. McDaniel, his deputy, on the charge of selling liquor to the Indians. The warrant was issued by J. M. Bachelder, United States commissioner, who also held the position of sutler at Fort Steilacoom, and at 10 o'clock on the morning of the day set for the execution of the Indian, Fred Kautz, deputized United States marshal for the occasion, took the two men into custody and locked them up in the Steilacoom jail. Williams refused to deliver the death warrant to other officials; the time set for the execution passed and Leschi's life was saved.

Mass meetings were held. Resolutions condemning the military officers at Fort Steilacoom, the sheriff of Pierce County, Doctor Tolmie, Frank Clark, in fact all those having anything to do with the defense of the Indian or the prevention of his execution, were passed. These meetings brought a prompt reply from the military officers who, obtaining possession of an idle printing plant at Steilacoom, began the publication of a four-column, four page paper called the Truth Teller. The paper, "devoted to the dissemination of truth and suppression of humbug," was edited by "Ann Onymous" and contained signed articles written by Kautz, McKibbin and Shaaff, of the regulars; Williams, the sheriff; Bachelder, the United States commissioner; Frank Clark, Leschi's attorney; and Doctor Tolmie. But two numbers of the Truth Teller were issued. They contain the "other side" of the story and in many ways contradict the news published by the Pioneer and Democrat, the only other paper in the territory at that time and the organ of the Stevens-McMullen faction.

In an effort to obtain a pardon, the friends of Leschi now appealed to Gov-

ernor McMullen. Doctor Tolmie, in a lengthy letter to the governor, reviewed the history of the war, gave the Indians' side of it and said that he had "known Leschi since 1843, as a well-disposed, peaceable Indian, of superior ability" who had made a peace with Colonel Wright—a peace which the civil authorities refused to recognize—and closed his appeal with the words:

"Our territory needs population, and the sooner its good name is re-established as a safe field for immigration, the better will it be for all those whose interests lie on this portion of the American continent." The appeal was made in vain—Leschi was again sentenced to the gallows. In order that the execution might be accomplished as quickly as possible, the Legislature passed a special act suspending certain laws in conflict with the holding of special sessions of the Supreme Court and providing that that court "hold a special session * * * on or before the first Thursday of February." This act was adopted February 3d and the next day Judges Chenoweth and McFadden opened the court and sentenced Leshchi to hang February 19th. Everybody in the territory was tired of the quarrels. Some of Leschi's friends even had made up their minds his execution would be best—it would at least put an end to the questionable proceedings.

In a depression in the plains about a mile east of the present day Steilacoom hospital, a gallows was built. William Mitchell, deputy sheriff of Thurston County, to whom had been assigned the execution, appointed Charles Grainger as executioner. On the morning of February 19, 1858, Mitchell, Grainger and a posse of twelve deputies, took the Indian from the jail and hanged him. Grainger later gave the following details of the event:

"I felt that I was executing an innocent man. I had had charge of Leschi for two weeks before he was taken to Steilacoom. He was cool as could be—just like he was going to dinner. On the scaffold he thanked me for my kindness to him. He said again that he was not guilty; that Rabbeson had lied when he said he saw him in the swamp, and that he would meet him before his God and he would tell him there he lied. He said he was miles away when Moses was killed.

"Leschi was a square-built man, and I should judge would weigh about one hundred and seventy pounds. He was about five feet six inches tall. He had a very strong, square jaw and very piercing, dark-brown eyes. He would look almost through you, a firm but not a savage look. His lower jaw and eyes denoted firmness of character. He had an aquiline nose, and different kind of features than these flathead Indians—more like the Klickitats. His head was not flattened much, if any at all. He had a very high forehead for an Indian.

"I saw Leschi in 1853 at McAllister's on the Nisqually. McAllister told me he was a good, faithful Indian. George McAllister and Joe Bunton both told me that Leschi met them on the way and helped them.

"He did not seem to be the least bit excited at all, and no trembling on him at all—nothing of the kind, and that is more than I could say for myself. In fact, Leschi seemed to be the coolest of any on the scaffold. He was in good flesh and had a firm step and mounted the scaffold without assistance, and as well as I did myself. I felt then I was hanging an innocent man, and I believe it yet."

Death by hanging is a dreadful death to an Indian. Leschi, at the foot of the scaffold, looked up at the noose. Calmly he climbed the ladder and took his place on the trap. For about fifteen minutes he prayed. His last words were that he

bore malice toward none save one man and on him he invoked the vengeance of heaven. But few Indians were present. Some of these tenderly removed the body from the scaffold, placed it in a box and took it away. Three days later the body was buried in a secluded spot where it lay for thirty-five years, or until July 4, 1895, when the Indians re-buried the bodies of both Leschi and Quiemuth on the Nisqually reservation near their old homes.

The re-burial services were conducted by the Indians, Henry Martin, a Nisqually, opening with a brief statement. The entire proceedings were conducted in the Indian tongue, both Nisquallies and Puyallups taking part. Hymns, sung to gospel tunes, and prayers by the various members and speeches in which the Indians told of deeds performed by Leschi and Quiemuth and events of the war. George Leschi, in the course of his remarks, said:

“Governor Stevens tried to cut down our reservations. The white men wanted our lands and tried to move our people to the salt water, but Leschi was our chief and he told the governor our people would not leave the land of our fathers. We did not want to go. We had always lived here, long before the white men came, and we wanted to die here. The governor could not understand Leschi, and told him he wanted our land and our people must go to the salt water. It was then that Chief Leschi went out, but he did not go out to kill. He did not want to do that. He only wanted to keep the governor from sending him and our people away from our homes. Then Governor Stevens sent men out to bring him back, and it was then they tried to take him that war broke out and James McAllister was killed.”

The procession consisting of more than one mile of carriages, buggies, wagons, people of horseback and people on foot, moved from the church to the new grave four miles distant. Many white people attended the simple ceremony at the grave beneath the firs in which were laid the bones of the two chiefs.

CHAPTER XVIII

LIBERAL OREGON LAND LAW COMPARATIVELY EASY TO FOLLOW IN OREGON BUT NOT IN WASHINGTON—HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY SEEKS TO EXPAND TO SOUTHWARD OF NISQUALLY RIVER—COLONEL EBEBY SENT TO ESTIMATE VALUE OF HUDSON'S BAY HOLDINGS—GOVERNOR STEVENS SETS \$300,000 AS VALUE OF PROPERTY IN WHOLE OF WASHINGTON—LEGISLATURE MEMORIALIZES CONGRESS BEGGING TO BE FREED FROM "O THIS UPAS"—HUDSON'S BAY PEOPLE FILE CLAIMS REACHING \$4,970,036.67, BUT AFTER LONG INVESTIGATION THE TOTAL IS CUT TO \$650,000 AND PAID—EDWARD HUGGINS BECOMES AMERICAN—TELLS OF PROFUSE PASTURAGE ON PLAINS AND OF HUNTING WILD CATTLE.

The Oregon donation land law of September 20, 1850, granted every male white settler in the territory 320 acres of land. It further provided that if the settler married before December 1, 1850, the wife should be entitled to an additional 320 acres in her own name. It was a generous provision for the encouragement of settlement. In Oregon, proper, little difficulty was met by the settlers in establishing their rights to the lands upon which they made improvements. North of the Columbia, however, the land was held by three claimants—the Indians, the British corporations and the actual settlers. The Stevens' treaties put an end to the Indian claim.

So far as Americans were concerned, the joint occupancy treaties of 1818 and 1827 were inoperative north of the forty-ninth parallel. Oregon extended to Alaska; the treaties covered the entire country; nevertheless before the negotiation of the boundary treaty of 1846, the little settlement at Tumwater contained the only Americans in the entire country. The practical closing of the country to settlement was not due to any violation by Great Britain of treaty stipulations; but to the desire of the Hudson's Bay Company to retain its exclusive and profitable fur trading privileges. The boundary treaty confirmed to the British corporations their buildings and lands; provided for the purchase of the same by the United States; but failed to define the boundaries of the lands.

The indefinite language of the treaty led to friction between the companies and the American settlers. Doctor Tolmie, with the object of strengthening the title, or extending the limits, of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company claims at Nisqually, drove a herd of cattle to the south side of the river. The settlers sent a sharply worded protest giving the company one week in which to remove the cattle. The meeting, of which this protest was the result was held in Tumwater, November 5, 1848, the notice being prepared by I. N. Ebey, A. B. Rabbeson and S. B. Crocket. At both Nisqually and Vancouver Americans squatted upon the rich lands claimed by the companies. They were ordered off their claims and appealed to the Federal Government for protection, though in several

instances the settlers with their own rifles undertook to defend what they believed were their rights.

Under instructions from Secretary of State W. L. Marcy, Governor Stevens, upon his arrival in the territory, began an investigation of the claims of the two companies and his report, filed June 21, 1854, said the companies made extravagant claims—even to the extent of the whole of Washington north and west of the Columbia. The Hudson's Bay Company alleged that its charter from the British Government gave it an exclusive right to trade in the district and practical sovereignty over the country. In his report Governor Stevens said: "As this is manifestly inconsistent with the purpose of the treaty, the term 'possessory' must be one of limitation," and the claimants stood on the same footing as property owning subjects of other lands ceded to the United States and therefore limited to lands actually enclosed and cultivated and the buildings thereon. Under the most liberal interpretation of the treaty, the companies' rights were mere rights of occupancy and automatically would end with the termination of their charters. Their title was not transferable.

Governor Stevens sent Col. I. N. Ebey to Fort Vancouver with instructions to make a valuation of the Hudson's Bay holdings. His report is interesting as it shows that at the treaty date, 1846, the Hudson's Bay Company was cultivating about two hundred and fifty acres, at the fort, and about two thousand acres near the mill some miles up the river. The grist mill, built in 1836, had fallen to decay and was of little value. The sawmill was built after the signing of the treaty. Ebey estimated the value of the Vancouver holdings at \$32,000, a figure which the governor raised to \$50,000. Of the fort buildings Ebey said:

"The Hudson's Bay Company have a stockade fort, on the inside of which are ten houses, eight of which were erected before the treaty of boundary between the United States and Great Britain, and two have been erected since. There are about twenty cabins built outside the enclosure, and a large warehouse near the bank of the river. The buildings on the inside of the enclosure are so old, and the timbers and materials of which they are constructed so decayed, as to render them almost wholly valueless. The cabins on the outside of the enclosures are, with few exceptions, built of slabs, and were erected by the servants of the company for their own convenience; they are mostly old, dilapidated huts, most of which are untenanted and are left to decay."

Evidences of intended abandonment were visible everywhere. Buildings had been allowed to decay; fields were no longer cultivated; fences were down and most of the live stock removed. The land, which a few years earlier had been the scene of so much life and industry, was producing little more than a large number of claimants. Among these Bishop Blanchette claimed the old fort site as a Catholic Mission. This claim was pressed before the Department of the Interior and the United States courts for many years and led to much litigation. The mission tract of land was also claimed by James Graham, chief clerk of the company at Vancouver and a naturalized citizen. Clark County, under a law granting counties the right to file pre-emption claims to 160 acres of land for county seat purposes, claimed this amount of the old fort site and sold lots for which the authorities accepted payment. Over all these claims the United States made a military reservation of one square mile. Similar conditions were found to exist at other points—the land which the company had grazed and cultivated

was claimed by from one to three persons. Some of these claimants were British subjects.

Governor Stevens reported the total value of the holdings of the two companies to be \$300,000, distributed as follows: Vancouver, \$50,000; Fort Walla Walla, \$5,000; Fort Colville, which had been allowed to decay, \$25,000; Forts Okanogan and Koutanie, \$5,000; Forts Hall and Boise, \$15,000; Fort Umpqua, Champoeg granary and Souvrie's Island property, \$15,000; property at the mouth of the Cowlitz, near Chinook and on Cape Disappointment, \$5,000; Cowlitz farms, \$30,000; Fort Nisqually and farms, \$150,000.

"I have given the above valuation," writes the governor, "as the most which, in my opinion, the United States should pay for the purposes of extinguishing all the rights of these companies within the territory. I have given in all cases a liberal estimate, and somewhat above that of the most experienced gentlemen I have consulted. No obligation or imperative necessity is imposed upon the United States to extinguish these rights or purchase this property. But the United States are bound to take immediate steps for making confirmations promised in the treaty of 1846."

The governor recommended the appointment of a commission with power to effect a settlement. The report found its way into the Government archives at Washington and here it rested until the close of the Civil war—the nation was too busy to attend to Hudson's Bay matters in Washington Territory and Americans and British were left to work out their own destiny and settle their own troubles.

Congressional Delegate Columbia Lancaster "wobbled" in such a manner as to indicate a pro-Hudson's Bay attitude. Clark County citizens held a meeting December 16, 1854, and adopted resolutions in which Lancaster was charged with having "made false representations in Congress respecting the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company in Washington Territory, guaranteed to them by the treaty of June 15, 1846, the nature of which was to defraud the settlers of their just rights to lands claimed under the donation law and to create a false idea of the magnitude of the possessory rights of said company for the purpose of inducing our Government to purchase those rights at an exorbitant price; therefore, resolved, that the political relation of representative and constituent between us is hereby dissolved." Hon. Joseph Lane, Oregon's delegate, was asked to represent the Clark County citizens.

Clark County citizens had an admirable directness about them. On the Sound the Pioneer and Democrat was regularly lambasting the two companies, and in one of its editorials declared that the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, at the treaty making date, had but 200 acres enclosed by fence, and "yet that company has the audacity to lay claim to a scope of country twelve miles wide and fifty miles long—or extending from the Nisqually to the Puyallup rivers, and from Puget Sound to the summit of the Cascade Mountains." The Hudson's Bay Company was called a "chartered and exclusive monopoly of trade, labor and human bondage."

Governor Stevens, replying to a query of the Legislature, replied that in his opinion "possessory rights" of the companies "simply gave them a right to their buildings and enclosures" and that these rights would cease with the expiration of the charter in 1863.

The Legislature memorialized Congress, averring that the people of Washington desired the companies' claims to be "settled, rendered definite and certain, for as they now stand with their claims extending over an indefinite extent of country, unmarked by any boundary, and those claims not asserted until some emigrant locates and improves, they hang like an incubus upon the best interests of the territory. Your memorialists would therefore most earnestly pray that some steps may be taken, and that speedily, by which our territory shall be freed from this Upas, beneath whose branches everything in our midst withers and dies."

The memorial found its way into the graveyard for state papers at the national capital. The \$300,000 Upas flourished without hinderance until April 8, 1865, when Charles D. Day, as attorney for the two British companies, filed with the Government a statement in which the Hudson's Bay Company asked \$1,388,703.33 for its property in Washington and Oregon; \$4,460,000 for relinquishment if its right to navigate the Columbia River and \$973,333.33 for its exclusive trading privilege. Day, as attorney for the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, requested the United States to pay for "first the tract of land at Nisqually, extending along the shores of Puget Sound, from the Nisqually River on the one side, to the Puyallup River on the other, and back to the Cascade range of mountains, containing not less than 261 square miles, or 167,040 acres; \$798,133.33. Secondly—The land and farm at the Cowlitz River known as the Cowlitz Farra, consisting of 3,572 acres, * * * \$126,533.33. Thirdly—The company also owned and possessed livestock, consisting of 3,100 head of neat cattle, 350 horses and 5,300 sheep," the greater part of which, since the signing of the treaty, had been "either killed or driven away and entirely lost to the company" which felt itself damaged to the extent of \$243,333.34. Total value of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company's farms and "lost sheep" was \$1,168,000, which added to the amount asked for the Hudson's Bay "rights" and property, brought the total up to \$4,970,036.67.

Hearings were conducted in several places. Depositions of army officers transferred to forts far removed from Fort Steilacoom were taken; witnesses were examined in New York, Washington and other cities. At the hearing in Victoria Edward Lander represented the company and W. C. Johnson the United States. The testimony is highly interesting.

Edward Huggins, who came to Nisqually as a clerk in 1850 and became manager upon the retirement of Doctor Tolmie in 1859, testified that at the time of his coming to the fort the company was pasturing on the plains between five and six thousand cattle; about ten thousand sheep and 275 horses. Some of these, Huggins said, were shipped to Vancouver Island; but a greater number had been killed by squatters on the company's lands. The loss thus caused Huggins placed at \$150,000 for cattle, \$8,000 for horses, \$20,000 for sheep and \$160,000 for loss suffered through being deprived of use of the lands jumped by the settlers. He admitted the United States had paid \$50 a month rental to the company for lands occupied by Fort Steilacoom.

The American settlers' side of the story was brought out in hearings at Olympia, Steilacoom and Oregon City. The testimony taken in these hearings, and published in a Government report, fills a good sized volume. It shows the Puget Sound Agricultural Company to have been a subsidiary of the Hudson's

Bay Company; that its live stock, excepting the sheep, was of poor breeds and that following the signing of the treaty of June 15, 1846, the company began shipping large numbers of horses, cattle and sheep to Vancouver Island and other points. That the cattle were wild, so wild in fact that Doctor Tolmie sold "killing rights" to settlers and trusted to the latter's honesty to report and pay for the number slaughtered. The price was \$5 a head and the doctor asked that he be informed of the location of the hide, which, apparently, was the most valuable part of the animal.

It shows that for about twenty years the United States paid the company a monthly rental of \$50 for the land occupied by Fort Steilacoom and that this land had been claimed by a settler who died leaving his claim in the hands of Doctor Tolmie as administrator, and that the land was never a part of the company holdings. James Flinn, the first claim jumper, came in 1851 and took up land outside the company fence.

The hearings came to a close in July, 1867, the evidence was referred to a commission which reported September 10, 1869, awarding \$450,000 to the Hudson's Bay Company and \$200,000 to the Agricultural Company. The money was paid to Great Britain as agent for the two companies. Months passed and on May 24, 1872, Delegate S. Garfield introduced in the House of Representatives, a resolution asking the President to communicate to the House his reasons for making final payment without demanding that the Agricultural Company pay more than \$50,000 back taxes. Uncle Sam lost another \$50,000 to the British corporation when the resolution was laid upon the table.

Decade after decade, orators have pointed to the boundary treaty of June 15, 1846, as a signal victory won by American diplomacy from artful British statesmen. A careful study of the official reports convinces the investigator that the British were winners. That treaty was a compromise of conflicting claims in which the United States had as good title to Old Oregon to 54° 40' as did Great Britain. It either did or did not give the United States title to Washington north and west of the Columbia River. In the little transaction of September 10, 1869, the United States bought that title for \$650,000. British diplomacy became the catspaw of British corporations and Uncle Sam furnished the chestnuts. The power of the Hudson's Bay Company was not limited to the making of advantageous treaties between Great Britain and foreign powers. In 1868 it cost the Dominion of Canada £300,000 to obtain her freedom from the political features of the Hudson's Bay charter.

Edward Higgins, the last manager of the Agricultural Company became an American citizen and for many years resided on the original farm at Nisqually. In the later years of his life he wrote entertainingly of early days in Pierce County. Higgins says the first cattle were brought from California about 1834 and that they were wild and wicked. These increased rapidly and by 1852 numbered between six and seven thousand head. They roamed over the plains eastward from Nisqually and into the foothills of the Cascades, becoming wilder all the time. When the settlers began fencing in the land the cattle became a nuisance. No fence would turn them, crops were destroyed and the farmers, classing the cattle along with bears, deer and other wild animals, began hunting them with dogs and guns. Officers stationed at Fort Steilacoom took much the same view as did the farmers and it was not uncommon for bands of hunters

from other sections of the territory to come to the plains for a wild cattle hunt. The animals became so wild that it was sometimes harder to kill an old Spanish bull than it was to kill a buffalo—and equally as dangerous.

Along with the first cattle were brought a number of Spanish horses; tough, wiry animals of considerable intelligence, and these were used by the hunters who trained them to stand the charge of a wild bull until the hunter fired. The crack of the gun was the signal for a quick turn to the side and if the hunter happened to be a poor horseman, he was thrown from the saddle and left on the ground to face the charging animal. If the hunter missed, or his horse was not quick enough to dodge the onrushing animal, the horse sometimes was gored.

The old flint-lock musket used by the hunters was an inferior gun and made close range shooting necessary. Having fired, the hunter turned his horse aside, hastily poured a quantity of powder from his powder horn into the muzzle of the musket, dropped a ball down on top of the powder, and carrying the gun in an upright position, was ready for another shot. Ramming down the charge of powder and ball was out of the question and the result was a lowering of the penetrating force of the charge. Sometimes as high as thirty head of animals would be slaughtered in a single hunt and their carcasses sent as beef to Victoria. Such methods of hunting soon exterminated the wild cattle; Nisqually Plains became donation and homestead claims, the nutritious blue bunch grass was plowed up or killed out by too close pasturing and followed the cattle into the list of things of the past. The most diligent cultivation failed to make the gravelly soil of the plains produce profitable crops; fields again were turned into pastures which produced a scant growth much inferior to the original blue bunch grass which, Huggins says, he has seen waving in the breeze like great fields of ripening grain. Present day visitors to the American Lake army post can scarcely believe that the dry and gravelly reaches of almost barren country once produced such verdant and nutritious pasturage.

CHAPTER XIX

BEGINNINGS OF THE RAILROAD MARK END OF PIONEER PERIOD—SAN FRANCISCO'S HANKERING FOR ICE LEADS TO EXPEDITION TO WASHINGTON—SAN FRANCISCO BUILDS GOOD WHARVES—STORIES OF EARLY MILL BUILDING—FIRST CARGO OF SPARS—ELIZA ANDERSON SENT TO SOUND—SEATTLE BECOMES UNIVERSITY SEAT—INDIANS ATTACK BOAT FROM BENEATH—FIRE ON LIME VESSELS—DANCING THE FIRST AMUSEMENT—WHOLE SOUND SOMETIMES JOINED IN GRAND BALL—DANCING IN AID OF SANITARY COMMISSION—GREAT JULY FOURTH CELEBRATION IN SEATTLE—THE STAMPEDE TO CALIFORNIA—ONLY TWENTY PERSONS LEFT IN BELLINGHAM—THE "PIG" WAR ON SAN JUAN ISLANDS—GENERAL PICKETT LANDS MEN—EVERYTHING READY FOR HOSTILITIES WHEN GEN. WINFIELD SCOTT OPENS NEGOTIATIONS AND BRINGS ABOUT PEACE—ALLEGATIONS THAT AMERICANS HARASSED THE BRITISH AND DID ALL THEY COULD DO TO BRING ON A WAR.

After more than seventy years of American settlement, pioneering is, to a certain extent, still a feature of life in Western Washington. Almost within sound of the bustling life of modern cities are to be found forests of lordly firs and cedars whose somber aisles remain untrod by human feet. They are as wild and unconquered as in the days of Gray, Mears and Vancouver. Their subjugation means pioneering. History, however, requires a beginning and an end to its periods and for the purposes of this work, the Pioneer Period will be considered as ending with the completion of the Kalama-Tacoma line of the Northern Pacific Railway.

This date, December 16, 1873, marks the close of one epoch in the history and the opening of another. It witnessed the binding together of Puget Sound and the Columbia River with a band of steel, the beginning of interstate communication by railway. It saw the founding, in the little sawmill settlements in the edge of the forest, of nearly all present day Western Washington cities; the further subjugation of the country became a matter of development—a spreading out from settled communities rather than the establishment of civilization's outposts upon the edge of a savage-inhabited wilderness. It marked the end of pioneering without railway transportation.

How agriculture, the foundation upon which civilization rests, had its beginning in the country of Old Oregon under the fostering care of Dr. John McLoughlin at Vancouver and Nisqually has been shown in preceeding chapters. The arrival of American settlers—farmers from the farming districts of the Middle West—was followed by the opening of farms on this far western frontier. To the men and women accustomed to the conquering of the Mississippi Valley wilderness of oak, hickory, walnut and maple, the forests of Western Washington did not present a hopeless project—alder, maple, fir and cedar would burn as eas-



PANORAMA OF THRIVING ABERDEEN

ily as the eastern hardwood, and the stumps in time would rot. These pioneers came from a race of wilderness conquerers. Labor was the common lot of all—to live upon the labor of others was a disgrace—and the pioneer farmer entered upon the subjugation of the forest with a vision of certain success and with no thought of failure.

The brushy growth of the so-called prairies and the river valleys fell before axe and brush scythe. Fire became the advance agent of civilization and each summer's dry season brought increasing clouds of smoke from the battle line. Wider reaches of fertile soil were left behind its waves and each returning spring saw new fields turned over for planting.

Pioneer farmers of Western Washington faced soil and climatic conditions widely different from those of the Middle West. New problems of crop production were confronted and in that spirit of co-operation which has always characterized the outposts of western civilization, the pioneer joined hands with his neighbors in solving those problems. The Agricultural Society became an important institution. Olympia, Seattle and other candidates for commercial supremacy held annual agricultural fairs. Forward looking citizens from all walks of life were members of the agricultural societies and took part in their discussions. The school teacher, the minister, the sawmill man and even the sailor gave of his time, his thought and his experience toward the upbuilding of the primary industry.

Farm products occupied the place of first importance at the fairs—a place won only after a neck-and-neck race with the pioneer housewife who was indeed a "power in the land." No elaborately ornamental furniture was to be found in her home. Her kitchen utensils were limited in number but what she lacked in equipment she made up in resourcefulness, efficiency and a cheerful willingness which brought forth wonders from the crude materials. Her department at the fairs was as successful as was her devoted labor in the home.

The pioneer fair was more than a "punken show." To be sure the pumpkin, large of size, beautiful of color and rich of flavor, was there and other products of field and garden, but the fair possessed an educational feature—a blending of "punken show" and farmers' institute as conducted by the extension department of the modern agricultural college. Its main educational feature was the annual address, usually delivered by a speaker of practical agricultural experience and scientific knowledge.

Lumbering, in addition to providing a market for farm products, was of assistance in clearing land. The logger removed the trees leaving land strewn with brush, branches and tops. Close upon his heels ran the slashing fire. The "burn" cleared the land of vegetation leaving a bed of ashes upon which grass seed was sown, and the dairy cow, taking her place in stump-and-log-strewn pasture, began placing Western Washington on the dairy map of the world and her owner in prosperity. Such pioneering was not confined to the early days—it is still a feature of Western Washington life. The logger is not a robber—he harvests a crop of slow-growing timber and prepares the land for the planting of other crops which will give annual returns.

Slow and laborious were the land clearing methods of the pioneers. Patient oxen, the block and line, and the grubbing hoe have given away to dynamite, stump pullers and gasoline or steam driven donkey engines.

In the sand at the bottom of Colonel Sutter's Sacramento Valley mill race,

James Marshall, in February, 1848, discovered particles of gold and set in motion one of the greatest treasure-seeking immigrations the world has known. The world's adventurers sought the Golden Gate. On the hills around San Francisco Bay a city sprang from the earth. It was at the small end of a funnel whose wide mouth, far back in the mountains, gathered a golden stream. From the placer mines along the creeks and rivers it was "all down hill" to San Francisco and the little Spanish town grew rapidly into a frontier city. Great wealth, acquired suddenly as the result of some fortunate "find," turned the heads of hard-working prospectors and life in the embryo city became a riot of money spending. "Whiskey straight" became flat and vapid—the revelers yearned for the sparkling wines and the bright lights of the bacchanalian resorts of older communities. Sparkling wines, without ice, were almost as flat as whiskey straight. Ice became a necessity. It was not obtainable on San Francisco Bay, but surely the rivers of the north country could supply the need. The ship *G. W. Kendall*, fitted as a floating ice house, was sent to Puget Sound after a cargo of ice. In due time the *Kendall* returned to the Golden Gate. San Franciscans, greatly to their surprise, learned that the rivers entering Puget Sound did not freeze. The ship had failed to find ice, but rather than return empty, loaded instead a cargo of Puget Sound piling and square timbers.

The piling driven into the mud were capped and floored with the hand hewn square timbers and San Francisco built some really good docks and wharves. Other ships came north, not for ice which was almost unknown until the building of the railroad into the Sierra Nevada Mountains brought it from the lakes of that region, but for lumber, piling and shingles. California gold built San Francisco, much of it with lumber from Western Washington. California gold, by way of the lumber-carrying sailing vessel, assisted in the building of early day sawmill towns on Puget Sound.

Yesler's mill, the pioneer steam plant of Western Washington, had been cutting lumber only a few days when the second steam mill, built by J. J. Felt, began operating at Appletree Cove on the western shore of Madison Head. After shipping a few cargoes of lumber Felt sold the mill to George A. Meigs, who, finding the location undesirable, dismantled it and moved the machinery to Port Madison. The mill had been but a short time in its new location when it was burned. Clearing away the twisted machinery and charred timber, Meigs built a much larger mill, added other industries and by 1858 was challenging Steilacoom for first place in the commercial life of the Sound.

George A. Meigs, born in Vermont, a man of strong prohibition tendencies, would not permit the sale of liquor in Port Madison. He built and managed the town's sawmill and shipyard, built ships in which lumber from the mill was carried to distant markets and became one of the leading financial figures of the country. Port Madison was more than the typical sawmill town—it had a brass foundry, an iron foundry in which the largest mill and ship work could be handled, it had stores containing large stocks of dry goods—but it had no saloons. Fire again destroyed the mill—May 21, 1864—with a loss of \$100,000. Meigs began rebuilding before the ashes were cold. Eight years later William H. Gawley, for fifteen years manager of the San Francisco end of the business, was taken into the firm which became Meigs & Gawley. It was a period of wild stock gambling, Gawley "played the game," lost, and in the panic of 1873 carried the

firm to ruin. Meigs rallied, and reorganized the business as the Meigs Lumber & Shipbuilding Company.

Early in 1854 the Pioneer & Democrat undertook to compile the statistics of the Sound's lumber business. Of the twenty-four mills then in operation in Western Washington but one, the Puget Mill Company, at Teekalet, Port Gamble, replied to the paper's request for reports of output. It gave its sawed lumber output for the year at 2,204,912 feet; 38,000 shingles and 42,103 feet of piling, the whole having a value of \$70,999.60 of which \$28,474.82 was export business and \$42,524.78 domestic.

The Puget Mill Company, organized by a few "down east Yankees" who are said to have borrowed the original \$65,000 with which the business was established, is still in business. March 29, 1853, the ship L. P. Foster sailed from Boston, Mass., having on board 8 barrels of apples, 250 empty barrels, 50 empty half-barrels, 18 barrels of butter and salt, 10,000 feet of pine boards, 13,500 brick, 8 cases of boots and shoes, 30 barrels of beef, 58 barrels of cement, 6 barrels of codfish, 8 barrels of coffee, 12 packages of clothing, 40 boom chains, 24 doors and frames, 6 barrels of dry goods, 7 bales of dry goods, 10 bolts of duck, 40 boxes and 60 barrels of flour, 350 feet of glass, 12 packages of hardware, 5,000 pounds of iron, 10 barrels of lard and salt, 4 coils of lead pipe, 50 pounds of lead, 23 barrels molasses and syrup, 44 casks of nails and spikes, 300 feet of oak and spruce lumber, 144 pails, 20 barrels of pork, 4 barrels of rice, 10 boxes of soap, 20 barrels of sugar, 6 boxes of tobacco, 6 chests of tea, 21 windows and frames and 6 wheelbarrows. It was the first Puget Mill Company cargo.

July 15, 1853, the schooner Julius Pringle, fifteen days out from San Francisco, arrived at Port Discovery. On board the Pringle were Capt. W. C. Talbot, Cyrus Walker, Hill and Nathaniel Harmon, E. S. Brown and James White, natives of the State of Maine who were seeking a location for a sawmill. Puget Sound with its hundreds of sheltered bays and inlets offered many locations and the Maine men, after investigating, selected that of Teekalet, or Port Gamble. They cleared the land for a 40 by 70 foot sawmill. September 4th the L. P. Foster arrived, bringing in addition to its stock of merchandise, Capt. J. P. Keller, wife and children and several other settlers from East Machias, Maine. Residences and stores were built around the sawmill; the Foster's cargo was unloaded and the ship itself became a member of the Sound's lumber carrying fleet. Offices were opened in San Francisco, the schooners Kaluna, J. B. Brown and Cynosure were added to the original Puget Sound-San Francisco fleet composed of the Foster and the Pringle, and the clipper brig Boston was put on the run to the Sandwich Islands.

Cyrus Walker, one of the best known of Puget Sound's mill managers, became the local head of the business in 1861 and lead it into a position of great financial strength. Early in its career the company began buying timber lands. Operating its own fleet, it reaped the enormous profits then made by cargo carriers. Its merchandising operations were conducted upon a large scale and with much profit.

Thousands of acres of Government land, covered with the finest timber, were open to any buyer who could pay for them at the rate of \$1.25 an acre. The profits of the company were invested in land and early in its history it became the owner of vast tracts which it was able to hold in reserve for future harvesting. It bought land on both the eastern and the western shores of the Sound and on the

islands and is today one of the state's largest owners of realty. From some of this land, the company, years ago, removed the merchantable timber. Because of the state's system of low taxation upon logged-off or unimproved lands, the company has been able to hold much of this property, some of which is now growing its second crop of timber for harvest. Small settlements have grown into cities—hundreds of Seattle's vacant and unimproved lots belong to the Puget Mill Company. They were bought years ago for very low prices and the increase in the value of its lands alone would have made the stockholders of the company wealthy.

Through the fortunate sale of a cargo of spars, cut from the north end of Camano Island, Thomas Cranney obtained the money with which to build a mill at Utsallady. This was in 1857 and the mill began operating the following year. Utsallady soon became an important sawmill town, the mill passed to the ownership of the Puget Mill Company in 1876, and, with the coming of the railroads to the main land, the town dwindled away.

Early in 1853 W. P. Sayward and J. R. Thorndyke began building a mill at Port Ludlow. It cut 3,000 feet a day when it began sawing in September, but its capacity was increased until it became an important cargo shipper. Sayward and Thorndyke brought in a large stock of merchandise, advertised and were soon supplying many of the Sound settlements, distributing their goods by means of a fleet of small vessels. At Port Ludlow were manufactured the first steel plows cast in the Sound country. Amos Phinney & Company, in 1858, leased the mill property for \$500 a month, operated the mill successfully for a time, then failed, paying their creditors 25 cents on the dollar. The Puget Mill Company bought the property in 1878 and added it to its other large holdings.

Capt. William Renton, master sailor, met Charles C. Terry in 1853, and under the influence of that enthusiastic promoter of Alki, was induced to join Terry in building a sawmill on the wind-swept point. Wind and tide carried the logs out into the Sound. Renton moved the mill to Port Orchard where it was operated successfully for a number of years, was sold to Colman & Falk and, following a partnership disagreement, was burned. Renton, after selling the mill in 1862, moved to California intending to retire from business, but two years of inactivity drove the idea out of his mind, and loading a ship with mill machinery, he set out for the North. Renton and Theodore Williams sounded the Port Blakely harbor, found it satisfactory and were soon unloading their cargo. This was the beginning of the Port Blakely mill, later the largest in the world. Its initial daily capacity of 50,000 feet placed it among the largest of that period.

It was a cargo mill, its first cargo being furnished to the ship Nahumkeag, Captain Gove, May 28, 1864, within two months from the time the first lumber was cut. In common with other mills on the Sound the Port Blakely passed through numerous changes in ownership, several fires and rebuildings—each new mill being built on a larger scale than that which had been burned.

J. R. Williamson, W. J. Adams, Marshal Blinn, W. B. Sinclair and Hill Harmon in 1857, placed Seabeck on the Puget Sound map as a sawmill town. It, like other mills, was a profitable enterprise. C. B. Bagley says that Captain Williamson once told him the profits of the Seabeck mill, in one of its earlier years, was \$120,000, a sum much larger than the first cost of the plant. Capt. Marshal Blinn, another member of the firm, made a sworn statement that his



THE FIRST LOGGING

income one year reached \$34,000. Williamson sold his interest in the Seabeck mill and built a new one at Freeport on the east side of the West Seattle Peninsula.

With the single exception of Port Townsend, every town established on Puget Sound before 1870 owes its existence to the lumbering industry. Roeder & Peabody laid the foundations for the present City of Bellingham, when, in 1853, they built a water power mill at the lower falls of Whatcom Creek. For twenty years this mill was operated by water power and was then rebuilt as a steam plant. The water power is still utilized and for more than half a century has been turning the wheels of wood working plants. Tacoma, long before the name was generally known to white men, had its beginning in May, 1853, when Nicholas DeLin placed his water mill in operation. The Indian war put the small and erratic mill out of business, but it later was operated by F. M. Spinning and others. John W. Ackerson came to Commencement Bay in 1868 and with Charles Hanson began building a mill at Commencement City—later known as Old Tacoma. David Livingston built a little mill on the Snohomish River in 1863 at which time Port Discovery, west of Port Townsend, was an important sawmill town. In 1858-59 S. L. Mastie & Company, of San Francisco, built the Port Discovery mill, which during its first year and a half of operation cut 9,000,000 feet of lumber. For about twelve years it was a heavy producer.

Many of these early day sawmills were owned by foreign stockholders. They made enormous profits—profits which went to distant parts of the country and were not as beneficial in improving the country as they might have been had more of the mills been owned at home. Profits invested in Government lands, even, went into the Federal treasury at Washington.

Western Washington's lumber industry is a sort of filter into whose wide mouth has been poured many men of many moulds of character and mentality. From earliest days the producing end of the business has been no place for physical weaklings. Men strong of bone and muscle and sound of wind find in Western Washington's forest giants, marks worthy of their best. Days spent in furnishing the motive power for a faller's or buckers' saw, in dodging branches—the back fire of conquest—broken from falling cedar or fir monarchs or in nimble-footedly side-stepping rolling logs, breed a daring race. Small wonder that many a "Lumber Jack's" or "Timber Beast's" occasional visit to the towns and cities was a period of wild and reckless money spending—that many a man became enmeshed and as a piece of obstructing material no longer useful, was discarded. Other men, while employed as swampers, buckers or fallers, gazing for a moment through the fog-laden or sun-flooded forest saw visions of future success, and, turning their strength and daring in that direction, arose to positions of influence and power in the state's industrial, professional and political life. It is and has been an industry filled with romance. It's a red-blooded industry, one in which alertness, industry and clear-headedness count for more than do the smiles of the Goddess Fortune.

Perhaps the first cargo of spars ever shipped from Western Washington was that of the Dutch ship Williamsburg. This was in the early '50s. Their fame spread rapidly and within a few years the French government sent the bark *Anadgr* to Utsallady for a cargo of spars which found their way into the Brest navy yard and later carried the sails of French men-o'-war into every sea. Many of these spars were from 80 to 100 feet long with a butt measurement of from

thirty to forty inches. Their preparation for market was a difficult task. First the ground upon which the tree was to fall was cleared and made level—the spar's value depended upon its length and freedom from fracture. The felling of the tree was entrusted to none but the most skillful axemen. Flags of all maritime nations have flown from spars from Puget Sound.

Indian canoes, propelled by paddles or primitive sails, made up Western Washington's first mosquito fleet. Up and down the snag- and drift-filled rivers, across the bays or through the channels of the Sound, they carried freight and passengers for some years before the white men entered the transportation business. They were succeeded by plungers—small schooners, broad of beam with a spread of sail apparently out of proportion to their length but in keeping with their great carrying capacity.

The Beaver and the Otter, the Hudson's Bay steamers which sailed the waters of the Sound in the pre-territory days, were followed by the little steamer Fairy, which arrived at Olympia, October 31, 1853, on board the bark Sarah Warren. She soon was in service, traveling back and forth between Olympia and Seattle with stops at Steilacoom and Alki, the fare for one way being \$10.

Next year John H. Scranton and James Hunt obtained the mail contract and a larger and faster vessel became necessary. In San Francisco they bought the steamer Major Tompkins, lately bought off the Sacramento River run by its competitors. After a three weeks' trip up the coast the Tompkins arrived at Olympia September 20th and was greeted by a celebration. Her sailing radius included trips to Victoria and she was the first American vessel regularly to visit that port. She went on the rocks at the entrance to Victoria Harbor February 25, 1855, and sank.

About a month before the sinking of the Tompkins Capt. William Webster brought the forty-nine-foot steamer, Water Lily, to the Sound on board a San Francisco schooner. She began towing coal scows down Black River from the recently discovered mines and shortly afterward snagged and sank.

When the Tompkins sank, C. C. Terry became captain of the Fairy and the little vessel again was on the Seattle-Olympia run where she remained until autumn when the Traveler, the first iron propeller on the Sound was brought to the coast in sections from Philadelphia and put together in San Francisco. She came to the Sound on board the brig J. B. Brown, of the Puget Mill Company fleet, and sliding into the water at Port Gamble began a notable career. Capt. John G. Parker, who brought the Traveler to the Sound, later became prominent in shipping affairs and was succeeded by his sons, Captains Gilmore and Herbert Parker. The Traveler was the first steamer to enter the waters of the White, Snohomish and Nooksack rivers. In 1857 she was bought by William N. Horton, her engineer, transferred to the Olympia-Port Townsend run and while hove to under Foulweather Bluff, in a storm on the night of March 3, 1858, sank carrying down with her Capt. Thomas Slater, Purser Truman H. Fuller, a passenger named Stevens and two deck hands. Engineer Horton and two Indian deck hands, after a long and perilous swim, reached shore.

Scranton and Hunt's mail contract brought them trouble. Late in August, following the sinking of the Major Tompkins, the steamer Constitution was put on the Olympia-Victoria mail route with Hunt as master, John L. Butler, pilot and Charles E. Williams purser. Scranton & Hunt's contract gave them \$36,000



AT THE MOUTH OF THE HOQUIAM RIVER



LUMBER CARRIERS LOADING AT RAYMOND

a year. Freight and passenger rates were high, but the Constitution was not a money maker, she fell into the hands of the United States Marshal and was sold. A barkentine rig took the place of her steam engines and she became a unit in the growing lumber carrying fleet. Puget Sound's pioneer tug, the powerful and successful Resolute, owned jointly by George A. Meigs and the Puget Mill Company, arrived in 1858 under the command of Capt. I. M. Guindon.

Early in 1859 John T. Wright and Bradford Brothers bought the new Portland-built 279-ton steamer Eliza Anderson, sent her to the Sound, where under the command of Capt. John Fleming she began a career equalled by that of no other northwestern vessel. For years her name was known to every inhabitant of Western Washington and, it is said, probably no steamer of her size and speed ever made so much money. As a training school for captains and pilots her record is as notable as that of her earnings. In the early days she collected high rates—passenger fares from Olympia to Seattle being \$6.50; to Port Townsend, \$12.50 and to Victoria \$20. Freight rates were proportionately high and her owners soon obtained mail contracts that added handsomely to her revenues.

Such success was certain to attract competition. Other owners entered their boats on her run, but one after another they were either driven off or bought off. The Enterprise, Alexandria, Josie McNear, New World, Wilson G. Hunt and others were vanquished, sought a less strenuous existence on other Sound runs or left for the Columbia or Sacramento.

Early in the '70s the Starrs obtained the mail contract, and the Eliza Anderson, bought off for \$1,500 a month, was tied up at an Olympia dock while John B. Allen, her owners' agent and later United States Senator, collected the money and deposited it each month in an Olympia bank to the credit of Capt. D. B. French, her fortunate owner. After four years of this profitable idleness, the Anderson again plowed the waters of the Sound. While lying at her dock in Seattle one day in the early '80s, she sprung a leak and sank. When she was raised from the water it was discovered that her timbers of fir were in excellent condition—it was a strong argument for advocates of fir lumber in shipbuilding. Capt. Tom Wright bought the boat, put her on the Seattle-New Westminster run where she operated until seized for an alleged violation of the immigration laws in 1885. Whether or not Wright was guilty of smuggling Chinamen across the line from British Columbia is immaterial—by the time he had fought the case through the courts he and the Anderson were out of business and the boat passed to other owners.

Gold was discovered in the Klondike in 1897 and was followed by a big demand for vessels in which to carry gold hunters and their supplies into the north country. Tied up to an out-of-the-way dolphin, the Eliza Anderson was taking a well-earned rest. She belonged to one of the Alaska shipping companies, which one day discovered her, hauled her out of retirement, decided she was sea-worthy and sent her north. Successfully she made the trip up the coast, carried her passengers into port and then sank down to her last rest beneath the waters of Dutch Harbor.

From farm, store, mill and home men, women and children gathered at the dock to witness the arrival of the boats from other communities and their departures. Hale fellows were the captains—jolly men with ruddy faces and stories to tell. Carrying with them the gossip of the neighborhood—a neighborhood that extended from Olympia to Victoria and included every sawmill town

and hamlet on the Sound, they were always welcome and the center of an interested group of listeners as soon as their boat touched the landing place. Not only did they become walking editions of newspapers, but also filled the place now occupied by the messenger boy and parcel delivery service. Did mother want a piece of kitchen ware or some dry goods, the captain was the man who brought it on his next trip. He was purchasing agent for farmers and sawmill men, employment agent and at times served as a somewhat boisterous Cupid by delivering messages and letters for the love-lorn. He was a useful man, was the captain of one of Puget Sound's pioneer mosquito fleet.

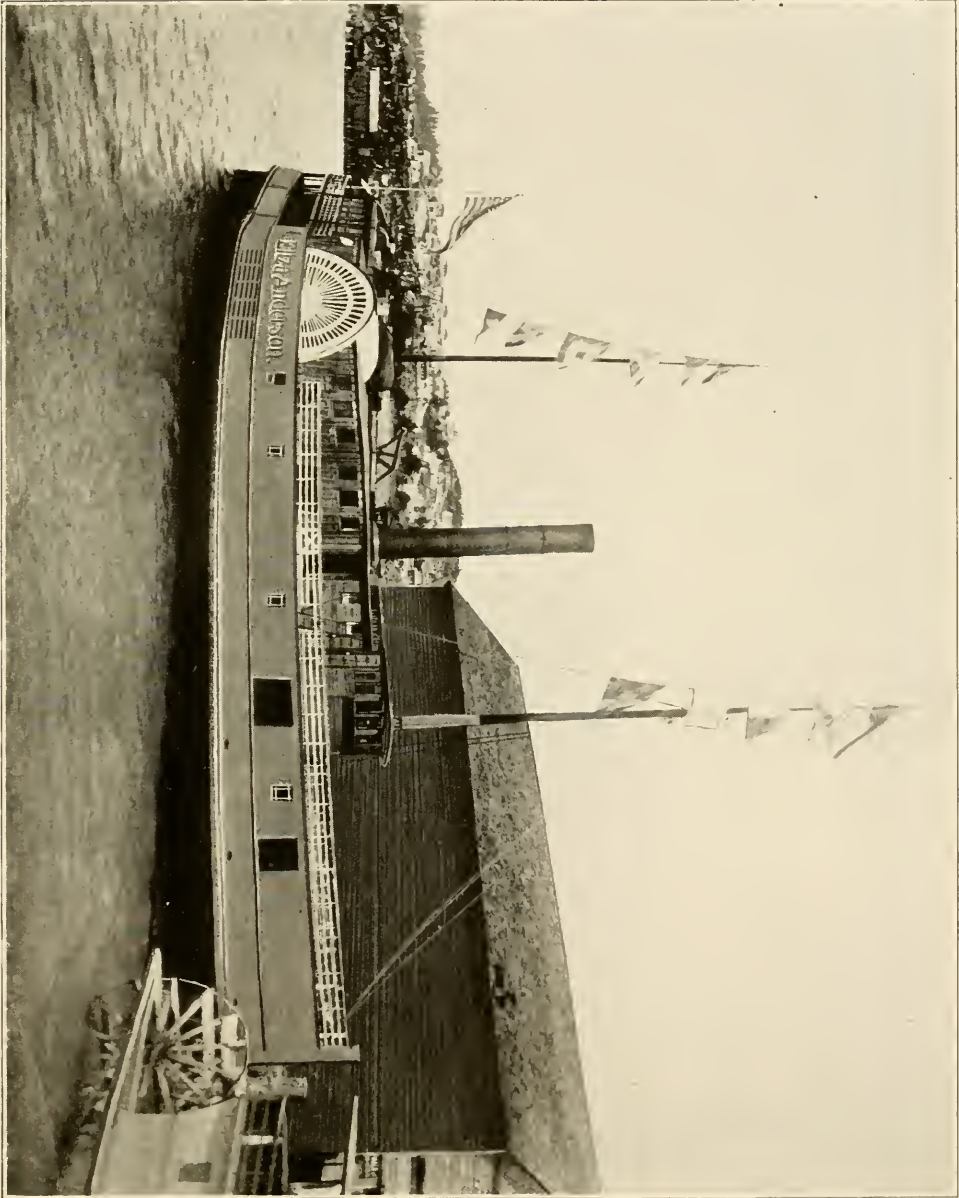
Perhaps the biggest event of the year 1859 was the launching on September 9th, of the Julia Barclay, the first steamer built on Puget Sound. It was the first time Puget Sound people had had an opportunity to see a large steamer launched and from far and near they traveled to Port Gamble. Henry Owens, master builder, had superintended the construction of the boat, built for a company composed of Capt. D. T. Bradford, of Oregon, Capt. T. W. Lyle and Capt. G. R. Barclay, of the Sacramento River and A. Barker of San Francisco. Yellow fir was used in the construction of the steamer which had a keel length of 145 feet, beam 30 feet, hold 6 feet, a registry of 274 tons and a paddle wheel 20 feet in diameter—not a big boat if measured by present day standards, but a "floating palace" for that early day. After a short experience on the Sound the Julia, as she afterwards was known, was taken to the Columbia River where she soon established a reputation as a fast traveler, a reputation which she maintained for fourteen years, when she was retired to become a pig sty in the "bone yard" at Portland.

Capt. William Hammond arrived on the Sound in 1859 and at Fort Ludlow began the building of the first ocean-going steamer constructed in Western Washington. It was the steamship John T. Wright, 174 feet in length, 27 feet beam with a hold 10 feet deep. She was on the Sound but a short time and was taken to the Sacramento River. Captain Hammond remained on the Sound and for many years was one of its prominent ship builders.

One of the famous early day vessels was the little 100-ton schooner General Harney, built in 1859 on Bellingham Bay by Capt. Henry Roeder. Her first cargo, lumber from the Utsaladdy mill, was carried to Port Townsend and used in building a Catholic Church. As the lumber was being unloaded the priest came on board, blessed the vessel and predicted for her a long and useful career. Subsequent events proved the prediction to be prophesy. No sooner was the lumber unloaded than the Harney was sent back to Bellingham and assisted in moving the soldiers under Captain Picket from old Fort Bellingham to San Juan Island where they played so prominent a part in the famous pig war on that island.

Seattle became the seat of the territorial university in 1860. Capt. H. H. Lloyd, an Englishman who came to the coast in 1858, became master of the Harney which, under charter of Hillory Butler and F. H. Whitworth, carried the foundation material for the first university buildings to Seattle from San Juan Island. One dark stormy night the little vessel put into Griffin Bay on the south side of San Juan Island and all hands, except the captain turned in. Standing watch in the darkness, Lloyd heard something scraping the boat. Investigation revealed two canoes heavily loaded with Indians who were tapping the sides of the vessel.

THE PIONEER STEAMER, ELIZA ANDERSON



Quietly the captain awakened his crew, armed them and prepared for trouble. Lloyd challenged the Indians who said they had venison for sale. A quantity was bought and all hands set about working the Harney into deeper water.

A short time before this, Capt. Duncan Warren, sailing through the northern waters in a small sloop, met a somewhat similar experience. Warren waiting for no explanations, seized his Henry rifle, killed sixteen Indians and made his escape.

Money earned by the Harney on the university contract enabled Captain Roeder to buy the Chuckanut stone quarries, and after carrying thousands of wild cattle from Nisqually to Vancouver Island, then during the exodus of the Hudson's Bay Company, the schooner again entered the stone trade, this time between the Chuckanut quarries and New Westminster. Stone, brick and lime were carried to McNeil's Island in 1873 to be used in the construction of the Federal penitentiary. This was followed by a period of carrying lime from San Juan to Tacoma and it was on one of these trips that water trickled through the decks, slacked the lime and set the schooner on fire. She was hastily beached and covered with mud. Five days later she continued her journey, little the worse for the experience except that the wood of her 500 lime barrels was burned to charcoal.

Dancing easily occupied first place on the list of pioneer amusements. That community was small indeed which did not have its own dancing hall or pavilion. The floor of the pioneer kitchen yielded as much pleasure as though finished in the most elaborate manner. Further east the pioneer minister had been positive in his declaration that the "fiddle" was an instrument of the devil. The movement westward produced a more liberal opinion and the "fiddler" often divided honors with the minister as the welcome guest in pioneer homes.

Small, community dances were of frequent, even of nightly occurrence. Now and then the whole neighborhood, from Olympia to Victoria, joined in a great ball. In planning for these larger events many things must be considered. One of the first was the weekly trip of the boat—the big dances were oftentimes held on the night following its arrival, and as the boat in the '60s touched at Olympia, Steilacoom, Alki, Seattle, Port Madison, Port Gamble, Port Townsend and Victoria, the dance attendant was almost sure to meet friends from one or perhaps all of these thriving settlements. At other times small steamers and plungers, or the Indian canoe, were used to carry dancing parties back and forth. The pioneer found no more serious or insurmountable difficulty in traveling from Olympia to Seattle or from Seattle to Port Townsend to a dance than does the present day Seattle dancer in riding on the interurban to a ball in Tacoma.

Though far removed from the sound of the guns that settled the questions of states' rights and Negro slavery, Western Washington people took a lively interest in the conflict and in their loyalty to the Federal Government, rendered every assistance within their power. Exposed, as they were, to Indian attack, the little settlements could furnish but few men for the service in the army. Two efforts to raise volunteers failed. First of these, initiated by Governor Stevens in May, 1861, resulted in the organization of Company B, Puget Sound Rifles, which soon was disbanded. The governor went East, became a major-general of volunteers and fell in the Battle of Chantilly, September 1, 1862.

In the fall of 1861, Col. Justus Steinberger began organizing the First Wash-

ington Territorial Volunteer Infantry. At both Steilacoom and Vancouver small companies were mustered into the service, taken to Alcatraz Island, San Francisco Bay, and served there as a check upon the designs of certain men who were accused of trying to organize a separate government to be known as the Pacific Confederacy. Charles P. Eagan, a first lieutenant remained in the army and later became a brigadier-general.

In proportion to population, the women of the territory furnished the Sanitary Commission a larger amount of supplies than did any other state in the Union. The Sanitary Commission was an important feature of the army organization—to it was assigned the hospitals; a large part of its funds and supplies were voluntary contributions. One of the largest and most successful of the war-time dances was given for the benefit of this fund. Clarence B. Bagley, of Seattle, has one of the invitations which reads as follows:

Grand Ball in Aid of the U. S. Sanitary Fund

Mr. _____.

The Company of yourself and lady is respectfully requested at a Ball to be given in Steilacoom on Friday Evening, Nov. 28th, 1862 the proceeds of which are to be devoted to the relief of the sick and wounded Soldiers who have taken up arms in defence of the Union, the Constitution and the Laws.

Managers

Steilacoom—Capt. W. C. Pease, Lieut. J. M. Selden, Lieut. J. E. Wilson, officers U. S. Rev. Steamer, W. L. Shubrick; Dr. J. B. Webber, J. M. Bachelder, Charles Eagan, A. B. Rabbeson, S. McCaw, Edward Huggins, Lt.-Col. T. C. English, Capt. Edward Barry, Lieut. G. E. Hall, Lieut. J. R. Hardenburg, F. C. Seaman, Capt. Thos. Wright, David P. Wallace, W. J. Doane—the last three officers of the steamer, Eliza Anderson.

Olympia—Gov. Wm. Pickering, W. W. Miller, Edward Giddings, Jr., James M. Hayes, E. T. Gunn, Charles E. Williams, George Barnes, T. F. McElroy, J. J. Westbrook.

Tumwater—N. Crosby, Jr., Geo. Biles, John Scott, J. M. Garry.

Port Townsend—E. S. Fowler, H. L. Tibballs, F. A. Wilson, A. F. Learned.

Seattle—H. L. Yesler, S. B. Hines, Joe Foster, Charles Plummer.

Port Madison—G. A. Meigs, John Webster, Gen. B. R. Stone.

Teekalet—M. S. Drew, Cyrus Walker, Fred Drew.

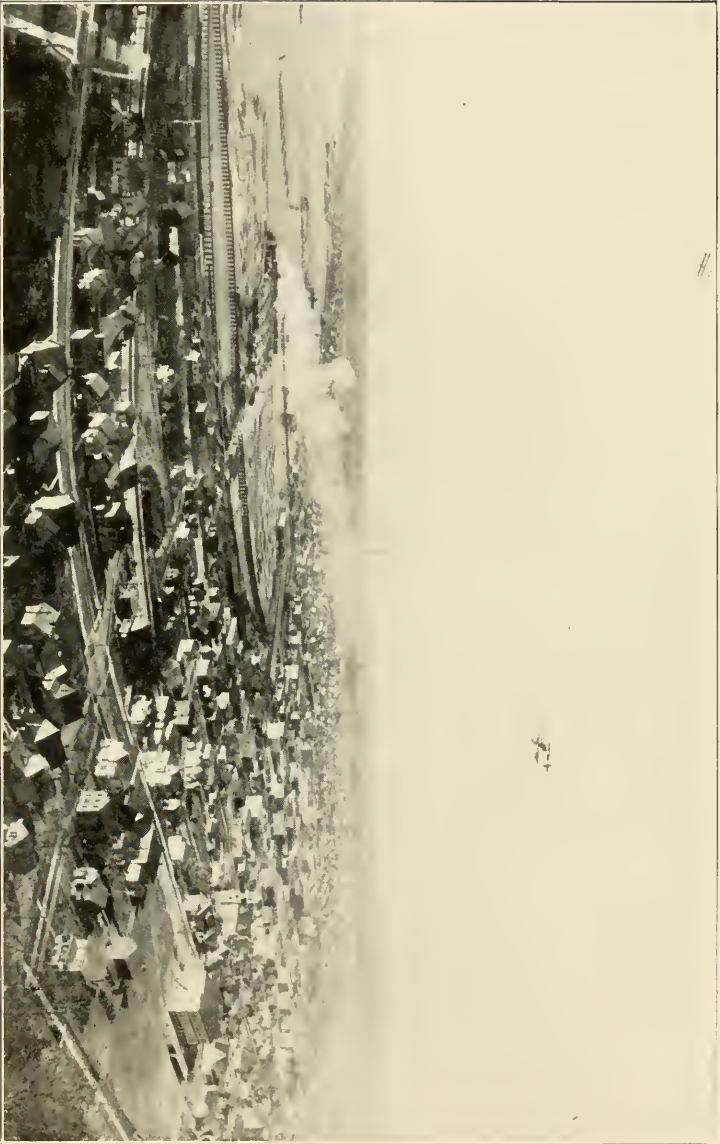
Port Ludlow—Wm. T. Sayward, Amos Phinney.

Floor Managers

Frank Clark, Jas. E. D. Jester, Egbert H. Tucker, J. D. Laman.

Tickets, \$5.00

The Puget Sound Herald of December 4, 1862, says the Sanitary Fund Ball was "the most signal success, in the matter of balls in Steilacoom," if not in the entire territory. "Owing to the admirable arrangements of the managers, everything worked to a charm, the supper was recherche and abundant, the



BELLINGHAM AS SEEN FROM A BALLOON

music the best we ever heard, and the company numerous and unexceptionable." The editor, the elder Prosch, appears especially to have been pleased with the music and supper arrangements, twice referring to the latter which he writes "was decidedly a feature of this ball; being on the most liberal scale and in the best style yet witnessed in this territory." Henry Hertz "proved himself not only a master of the violin but also a master of the order of dancing; for his calling was pronounced better, in point of time, than any we had before been favored with."

It is evident that Hertz was a busy man, also that the old-fashioned square dances made up the larger part of the program so much enjoyed by those who attended, and for which they paid the sum of \$300. The Steamer Eliza Anderson made a special trip to Steilacoom from Olympia but neither the Steilacoom nor the Olympia papers mentions boats from other settlements.

The men whose names appear on this old dance invitation were leaders in their communities. Yesler, who perhaps more than any of them, possessed "sporting blood" later built the famous old Pavilion at Seattle. Fourth of July celebrations were big events on Puget Sound in the early days. For two years before 1868 the Seattle celebration had been held "on the sawdust"—that rapidly growing fill stretching south from the Yesler mill just west of Pioneer Place. As July 4, 1868, approached the committee began arranging the customary bowery dancing floor on the sawdust. Yesler, knowing he would be called upon to give lumber, suggested a permanent structure and told the committee he would furnish ground and lumber if the citizens would erect the building. The compact was carried out and when the Fourth dawned the southeast corner of First and Cherry streets, now occupied by the Lowman Building, was covered with a long, rambling structure to which was given the name Yesler's Pavillion. Its walls were of rough and unfinished boards, but for years it was an important feature of Seattle's civic and social life.

With this new building, Seattle laid plans for a Fourth of July celebration that would surpass anything yet attempted by rival towns. It was a two-day event. At 1 o'clock on the afternoon of July 3 the Olympia delegation arrived bringing with them on board the Eliza Anderson the Olympia Fire Company, who "had their engine in excellent trim, and, being all dressed in excellent uniform, made quite a creditable display." Marching under the evergreen "Welcome" arch, spanning the street approach to the boat landing, many of the 200 Olympians joined the dancers in the Pavilion. The reporter for the Olympia Transcript, writes that 100 ladies were present at the dance which lasted all night, and came to a temporary pause with the "booming of heavy artillery at sunrise." The one disagreeable feature of the night's festivities was the supper, so "poorly cooked that no one ate."

Headed by the Seattle Brass Band, George F. Fry, leader, the procession formed at 11 o'clock on the morning of the Fourth, marched through the streets and filed into the Pavilion, where seats were found for every visitor and every citizen of the town. A floral car carrying little girls, the Olympia Fire Company, lodges of the Order of Good Templars, in regalia; Free Masons, in uniform, and citizens on foot and on horseback made up the procession, which, having taken seats, was called to order by Chairman "Father" Denny. Rev. Daniel Bagley prayed, Rev. Mr. Whitworth read the Declaration of Independence

and James McNaught delivered the oration. McNaught's speech did not meet with the approval of the Transcript man who wrote:

"The oration as a whole, we consider was a failure. The orator commenced by saying he could not imagine why the committee selected him to orate, and told the story of the old maid praying for a husband and the owl answering her, and thought the committee some like the old maid, and in that particular choice we think so too."

James McNaught became one of the foremost attorneys of the territory, and later in life, as attorney for the Northern Pacific Railway, achieved a reputation almost national in character and retired to an elegant home up the Hudson River above New York.

The present thriving City of Bellingham, occupying the larger part of the eastern shore of Bellingham Bay, some fifty-nine years ago was the scene of Western Washington's first real boom. In the early fall of 1857 some Indians carried to the Hudson's Bay traders at Victoria small quantities of gold dust which they said they had washed from the sand bars far back in the mountains. Close upon the heels of the Indians came white men, also carrying gold dust from the river's bars; notwithstanding opposition by the Hudson's Bay Company and Governor Douglas, a stampede of miners followed. Douglas attempted to stop the tide by issuing a proclamation declaring the gold-bearing sands of the Fraser and Thompson's rivers the property of the British crown and forbidding all persons entrance into the country. He had as well saved his ink and paper.

The little Steamer *Sea Bird*, Captain Francis Connor, at this time was making weekly trips from Olympia by way of Steilacoom, Seattle and the ports across the Sound to Port Townsend. But two newspapers were published in the territory, the *Pioneer* and *Democrat* in Olympia and the *Herald* in Steilacoom. Early in April, 1858, Charles Prosch, of the *Herald* heard the news of the strike—some of the miners had crossed from Victoria to Port Townsend and thus Connor, of the *Sea Bird*, heard the story which he told Prosch and which was to the effect that the "Hudson's Bay Company have received within the last ten months, 110 pounds of gold dust from the Indians. It was obtained from surface diggings, without the aid of anything more than pans and willow baskets of the Indians."

It is said copies of the *Herald* sold for \$5 each in San Francisco. Thousands of miners, congregated there for the winter, heard the news and every boat that would sail was pressed into service. On the Sound the news brought business, other than that of outfitting miners, to a standstill. Logging camps were closed, soldiers deserted Fort Steilacoom, farmers left their fields unplanted and every man who could do so started for the mines.

Traffic on the Fraser was in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company. Government officials were either its agents or under its control and prevented outsiders from entering or ascending the river. An American port from which miners might cross to the Fraser by land became a necessity and early in the spring the little settlement around the water-power sawmill at Whatcom took on a rapid growth. That Whatcom was not to enjoy a monopoly of the business soon became evident—Semiahmoo, on the long sand pit opposite Blaine, and right on the international boundary received a share of the travel. Across the long

wide mud flats on the eastern shore of Drayton Harbor piles were driven and a wharf built. Old stubbs of this wharf, the first built at Blaine, are still to be seen at low tide.

When the rush of miners set into Bellingham Bay, Whatcom had a population of about twenty white persons. Sixty days later fully five thousand were camped on the townsite. Wharves were built out to deep water, immense hotels were erected, a city government outlined, a newspaper, the *Northern Light*, established, stores opened, and all signs pointed to the building of a city. Capt. W. W. DeLacy was assigned to open a trail to the mines. For many years the Hudson's Bay agents had tried to find a pass through the mountains between Bellingham Bay and its forts on the upper Columbia. They had failed. DeLacy within sixty days opened a trail by way of Sumas Lake to Fort Thompson on the Fraser.

Late in April the advance guard of the California miners arrived and by the middle of the following month every vessel from the south carried gold seekers. The *Herald* of May 14th reports the arrival at Whatcom of the *Constitution* with 150 and of the *Panama* at Port Townsend with a full list. Following these came other ships with thousands of passengers, June 18th, 19th and 20th the *Panama*, *Pacific* and *Cortez* landed a total of 2,500 at Victoria, Whatcom and Sehome. Before the month closed four other steamers arrived bringing about three thousand. The San Francisco papers reported great excitement in that city and estimated the number of miners who had gone into the Fraser River district to be more than twenty thousand.

September brought an end to the rush—the diggings played out—the amount of gold had been overestimated and the miners returned. A few had made good strikes, but by far the larger number came out impoverished. Whatcom's two-story brick building, the first structure of its kind erected in Western Washington, and the big hotels stood deserted. W. Bausman & Company issued the last edition of their *Northern Light* in which appeared the laconic obituary "Whatcom has gone in, and the *Light* has gone out."

In a broad way the stampede was of great benefit to Western Washington. Stampeders into newly discovered gold fields are men of imagination—dreamers of dreams and seers of visions. Fraser and Thompson rivers having failed to bring these dreams to realization, the men settled down to the less exciting but more satisfying work of developing the resources of the country in which many of them, through lack of money upon which to travel further, were forced to remain, and Western Washington received the benefit.

Returning Fraser River gold seekers, stranded in Victoria in the spring of 1859, heard wonderful stories of the beauties of San Juan Island, where, it was said, fertile lands could be obtained in a country abundant with deer and the best of fishing. A number of the miners took up claims, planted crops and opened the way for the final settlement of the old "fifty-four forty or fight" boundary controversy between the United States and Great Britain. A few years ago Charles McKay, at that time seventy-four years of age, and the last survivor of the party of miners, wrote an interesting account of the San Juan "Pig war" the incident which really forced the arbitration of the question of ownership of the island.

The treaty of June 15, 1846, established the boundary through the main ship channel southward from Point Roberts to the Fucan straits and thence

westward to the ocean. Two channels existed. The broadest and deepest of these, the Canal de Haro, separated San Juan and Vancouver islands, and, by Americans, was set forth as the true boundary. Sir James Douglas, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company and Governor of Vancouver, established a sheep camp on San Juan Island. The Territorial Legislature included the island in Whatcom County when that county was established, and the sheriff levied taxes on the flocks. The tax was not paid, the sheriff seized a number of the sheep and Governor Douglass wrote to Governor Stevens demanding to know if the sheriff in seizing the sheep had acted with authority. Governor Stevens replied, May 12, 1855, stating that "the sheriff, in proceeding to collect taxes, acts under a law directing him to do so. Should he be resisted in such an attempt, it would become the duty of the governor to sustain him to the full force of the authority vested in him." Secretary of State W. L. Marcy was advised of the facts in the case and urged Governor Stevens to take a more conciliatory course in the matter until it could be brought to the attention of the two governments.

Here the matter rested until the coming of the miners in the spring of 1859. McKay says the island "appeared to be a loadstone, for we got stuck there at once." In a few days other Americans took up claims and planted gardens. One of these, Lyman A. Cutler, planted a potato patch with seed brought from the mainland twenty-five miles away. Cutler's potatoes were growing nicely when a pig belonging to Charles J. Griffin, resident agent of the Hudson's Bay Company, entered the garden and began making a meal on the young tubers. Cutler became very angry. Driving the animal out, Cutler set out to interview the British agent, who, upon being informed of the destructive habits of his pig, replied that it was up to the American to provide better fencing and thus exclude the British pig from the American vegetables. Cutler returned to his home, found the fence destroyed and the pig again eating his potatoes. A rifle shot broke the stillness of the forest and Cutler started on another visit to the British agent. In reply to an offer to pay for the pig, then lying dead in the spud patch, Griffin told Cutler he would send to Victoria for a gunboat and have the pig killer arrested.

"The gunboat came to arrest him," writes McKay, "and I had to plead with Cutler to hide, for I knew that Cutler was a good shot and was going to kill all that would come to arrest him. If there was any shooting to be done we all had to take a hand in it, for we could kill all that could come. We were all fine riflemen and could hit a ten-cent piece at one hundred yards. So you see it was not fear that caused me to coax Cutler to hide—I did not want those men killed. Finally Cutler took my advice and when they came to arrest him, he was not to be found. That saved bloodshed."

After having dodged the gunboat the Americans decided to celebrate the 4th of July. A fine flag pole was raised and on the morning of the 4th a large flag was run up. There were fourteen men in the American party and a resolution was passed that each of them should make a speech. Each speaker was given an ovation—even to the Welshman, who declared that San Juan Island should not only be independent of Great Britain, but should have a government of its own. The flag was kept flying for four days and brought a visit from General Harney, then commander of the western division.

Early in July, Harney, on board a steamer, sailed through the straits on his



Cemetery, American Camp

Fort San Juan, American Camp

Charles McKay

Cemetery, English Camp

"Old Broadway," English Camp

WHERE THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN NARROWLY ESCAPED WAR
OVER A ROOTING HOG

way to the upper Sound. From the deck of the vessel he spied the American flag and, turning to the captain, said:

"Take this glass and see if you can tell if that is an American flag."

The captain, after looking through the glass, told Harney that the flag was that of the Hudson's Bay Company. This did not satisfy the general who again took the glass and after some little time ordered the captain to put the vessel into the island.

General Harney's surprise at seeing an American flag was no greater than was that of the little band of fourteen Americans when they saw a warship flying their country's flag put into the bay. Harney landed and asked:

"Are you Americans?"

The settlers replied that they were, told him the story of the killing of pig and appealed to the general for protection. Harney told them if they would send him a petition signed by twenty-five persons, he would send a company of soldiers to the island. Whether or not the petition was presented McKay does not say but the general ordered Captain Pickett with Company D of the Ninth Infantry from Fort Bellingham to the island—this "for the purpose of protecting the upper Sound country from a possible attack from Northern Indians and for the protection of American citizens in their rights as such."

Pickett landed his company of sixty-eight men on the island July 27th and at once issued a proclamation saying his instructions were to establish a military post to prevent of incursions of Northern Indians and closing with the words:

"This being United States territory, no laws, other than those of the United States, nor courts, except such as are held by virtue of said laws, will be recognized or allowed on this island."

The cause of the closing sentence of the proclamation was the arrival, that same day, of the British warship *Satellite*, which, after landing a magistrate, sent over from Victoria to punish Cutler, sailed away. The *Satellite's* arrival at Victoria aroused Governor Douglass who sent the ship back to the island with a proclamation declaring the land to be British soil and the action of Pickett an invasion. To give strength to his proclamation Douglass ordered the British ships *Satellite*, *Tribune* and *Plumper* to establish a blockade of the island and prevent the landing of Americans.

From his entrenched position on the highland Pickett refused to withdraw, and declared he would resist the landing of British sailors from the three vessels before his camp and would shoot as long as he had a man left. Former Governor Stevens, who happened to be in the territory, visited the island a few days after Pickett's arrival and August 4th set out with dispatches in which Captain Pickett requested General Harney to send reinforcements. Stevens arrived in Olympia August 8th, and after sending the dispatches to General Harney at Fort Steilacoom, called upon Governor Gholson and asked for the mobilization of the territorial militia.

Ordering Forts Bellingham and Townsend to be abandoned, General Harney instructed Lieutenant-Colonel Casey to gather all troops on the Sound and go to Pickett's assistance. Slipping past the British vessels in an early morning fog, Casey landed his men under a bluff and marched them into Pickett's camp. The steamer upon which the men had traveled then boldly entered the harbor in front of the camp and unloaded its army supplies. It was now a question of

fight or back down. Douglass hastened to Admiral Robert L. Baynes, commander-in-chief of the British forces on the Pacific coast of America, who had just arrived at Esquimalt, and demanded that the admiral expel the American force. It is said the admiral's reply was a refusal to plunge the two nations into war over a pig, and that Douglass then hastened to the Vancouver Island Legislature with his demand. The Legislature was not willing to back up the Hudson's Bay Company and here the matter rested until the arrival of Gen. Winfield Scott, who had been sent with instructions from President Buchanan to arrange a peace while the matter could be submitted to Washington and London.

General Scott opened correspondence with Governor Douglass and arranged for a joint occupancy of the island by both American and British troops. This compromise brought a storm of protest from the people of the territory. They had just fought an Indian war and then had a territorial militia for co-operation with the regulars in maintaining American rights in American territory. More than one thousand American miners were in Victoria waiting for an opportunity to capture the town. Victoria business men, fearing an attack, put their money on board the British ships in the harbor. Everything was in readiness for extending the American claim to "fifty-four forty," when General Scott effected the compromise, restored peace, and November 10th sailed for San Francisco.

No less an authority than Gen. George B. McClellan has said:

"It is a fact not generally known that the movements which are referred to here in the occupation of San Juan had their origin in a patriotic attempt on the part of General Harney, Governor Stevens, of Washington Territory, and other Democratic Federal officers on that coast, with the knowledge and zealous concurrence of Captain Pickett, to force a war with Great Britain, in the hope that by this means the then jarring sections of our country would unite in a foreign war, and so avert the civil strife which they feared they saw approaching."

After clearing the straits the steamer upon which General Scott sailed for the south developed engine trouble and it was found necessary to enter the Columbia River for repairs. From St. Helens, Oregon, General Scott wrote to General Harney suggesting that the latter ask for a transfer to the St. Louis department and closing with an order for such transfer, but adding:

"If you decline the order, and I give you leave to decline it, please throw it into the fire."

If General McClellan's opinion was well founded, and Harney, Pickett, Stevens and others were trying to arouse the anger of the British lion, the Territorial Legislature, when it met in January, acted in a manner calculated to increase rather than diminish the possibilities of a clash. Resolutions reviewing the whole history of the controversy and praising Harney and Pickett for their prompt action were passed. Harney, April 10th, sent Pickett back to the island as commander. Scott appealed to Secretary of War John B. Floyd and that official ordered Harney to "Washington City without delay." Pickett remained on the island until the breaking out of the Civil war when he returned to his native State of Virginia, joined the Confederate army, and in leading the famous charge at Gettysburg won lasting fame.

Two camps of soldiers—one British and one American—were now established on the island. Between them existed the best of feeling and the men settled down to await the action of London and Washington. Britain made the first

move for the settlement of the controversy December 10th, when Lord Lyons suggested that the question be submitted to the King of the Netherlands, the King of Sweden and Norway, or the President of Switzerland for arbitration. December 24th the State of South Carolina passed an ordinance of secession from the Union, the storm which McClellan says Harney, Stevens and Pickett had seen gathering, broke, and threw the nation into the Civil war. Nine years passed before another attempt was made to establish definite ownership of the island.

Writing of this period McKay says "we had peace and lots of fun." The commander of the British camp seized a boat belonging to the British customs officers, would not return it and defied the owners. A political row developed and Queen Victoria, upon the request of Victoria politicians, removed the commander. About this time McKay succeeded in having the American commander removed. The telegram which McKay sent to San Francisco, and which resulted in the removal of the American commander, was the first ever sent from the island and cost the sender \$45. The British gave the Americans a great feast and the Americans returned the compliment by giving another feast at which they fed their guests every kind of food they could prepare. When the Englishmen had eaten until the Americans thought they could eat no more, the waiters cleared away the dishes, which were washed and again placed upon the tables.

"What are you going to do?" asked one of the Englishmen.

"We are going to serve the balance of our feast," replied the waiters.

"My eyes! We can't eat any more."

"Well, if you can't eat any more the waiters will carry away the dishes."

"The writer was invited to that feast and knew of the trick. There was not another thing to put on the table, but the bluff worked well," says McKay.

Through the period of joint occupancy settlers enjoyed freedom from taxation and customs duties. The United States levied a heavy duty on all wool importations. Federal customs officers grew suspicious of the large quantities of wool yielded by San Juan Island sheep and, being unable to prove the settlers guilty of smuggling wool from Vancouver Island, took a census of the sheep. The census showed that each animal was growing an annual clip amounting to more than one hundred and fifty pounds! The annals of wool do not show its parallel.

Because the arbitrator, the President of Switzerland, was given the right to draw a new line in case he found neither the Canal de Haro or Rosario Straits to be the boundary intended by the treaty of June 15, 1846, the United States Senate refused to confirm the treaty signed in 1869 by United States Minister Johnson and Lord Clarendon and the question was referred to the Joint High Commission. In May, 1871, the commission, sitting in Washington, D. C., voted to submit the question to Emperor William I, of the German Empire. After an exhaustive investigation by three German scientists, Emperor William, October 21, 1872, rendered a decision in which he declared the Canal de Haro to be the boundary contemplated by the original treaty. It was the line proposed by Lord Aberdeen in his conference with American Minister McLane, in London, in May, 1846, and but for the desire of Governor Douglass to make the United States pay the Hudson's Bay Company another, and additional, sum for its "possessory rights" perhaps would never have been disputed.

About a year after the German emperor had made his decision, President Grant appointed Gen. Hazard Stevens commissioner on the claims of British

subjects on the island. General Stevens made a canvass of the island, but failed to find any British subjects—McKay was right when he said it was a loadstone—every Britisher had become an American citizen. Beautiful marble monuments now mark the sites of the British and the American camps. They were erected October 21, 1904, by the Washington University State Historical Society.

CHAPTER XX

STORY OF A PIONEER WEDDING—"HARD BREAD'S" HOTEL—SHOT AT FORT SUMTER
ENDS AMBITIOUS ROAD PLANS IN NORTHWEST—SEATTLE'S FIRST NEWSPAPER—
FAMOUS OLD RAMAGE PRESS NOW IN UNIVERSITY MUSEUM—LOTTERY CONDUCTED
FOR GOOD ROADS PURPOSES—MANY YEARS BEFORE, SNOQUALMIE PASS IS MADE
PASSABLE.

J. G. Parker, commissioned by Governor Stevens in 1853, was the first express messenger over the route. In the fall of 1860 the Federal Government began letting daily mail contracts in the Northwest. Portland, already beginning to boast metropolitan pretensions, became the hub from which radiated mail route spokes in all directions. Winsor obtained the Portland-Olympia contract and established the first daily service between the two towns. The trip required three days—days when the stage route patron might be forced to wade through the mud and water of flooded swamps or steep hills, jolt over rough corduroy and sleep where night might overtake him. One writer has said that such passengers, after completing the journey, went into quarantine for a week to get rid of insects in their clothing and the rheumatism in their joints.

Winsor, resourceful and courageous, with a touch of the quiet dare-devil in his make-up, was as successful in his stage route venture as he was in the joke that led to his marriage. The first week in June, 1853, Rev. C. H. Kingsley was called from Portland to Rainier to unite a Mr. Fox and a Miss Dray in marriage. Winsor, a friend of the bride and one of the guests, pretended to be much disappointed that he was not the "lucky bridegroom" and as an evidence of sorrow, was wearing a crepe band around his hat. Early day marriages, like early day dances, drew to them the young people from many miles around. Ministers were few in number and as there were present on this occasion several couples who, from all appearances, Winsor judged to be candidates for matrimony, he suggested they embrace the opportunity and told the minister he had "better marry a lot of them this time so you won't have to come so often." All of those named by Winsor said they were not ready. Winsor then turned to a young lady from Monticello and asked her if she was ready. She replied with the question: "Did you ever know a girl that was not ready—if she had a chance?"

One joke led to another and finally to a dare that the girl and Winsor take the chairs recently occupied by the bride and groom; then that they arise. Other guests told the minister to "say the ceremony in fun;" and he replied that if he said the ceremony "it would be no fun"—a reply which the girl and Winsor did not hear. In as few words as possible the minister "said the ceremony" and closed by pronouncing the couple husband and wife.

On the occasion of her fiftieth wedding anniversary, Mrs. Winsor, in telling of her marriage said the minister's last words were "such a shock that Mr. Winsor

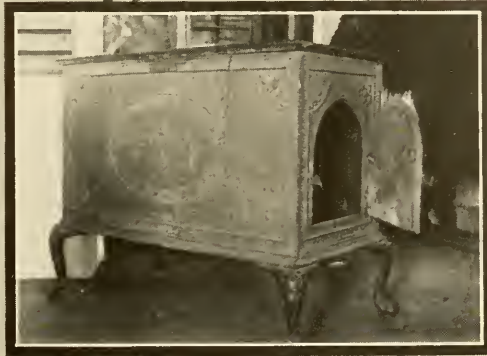
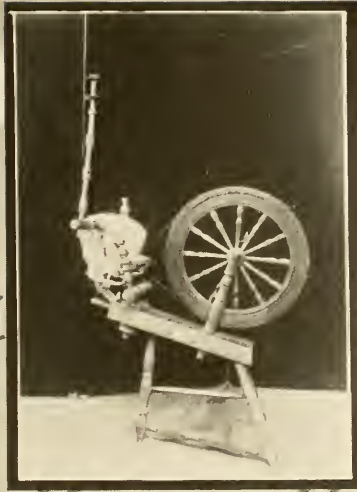
could not speak when he realized what we had done. I did not realize it as soon as he did, and went to my father's house. Mr. Winsor came to visit me and said that as neither of us cared for another, if I was willing and wished it, we would try what life had in store for us together. We have celebrated our fiftieth anniversary."

Vigorous were the lamentations of those forced to travel this pioneer road. It, however, was not without its resting places. At the crossing of the Chehalis River, near the mouth of the Skookum Chuck, was the hospitable home of Joseph Borst. John R. Jackson, a Scotchman who came by way of Missouri in 1845 and settled on Jackson's Prairie, was a genial host and the fame of Mrs. Jackson's cooking lived in the memory of every traveler. Near the present City of Castle Rock was "Hard Bread's Hotel," famous, but shunned by travelers, because its bachelor proprietor fed his guests on hard tack.

Newcomers raised such a protest over the road, and the high tariffs charged, that Congress finally heard the petitions and legislative memorials, and appropriated money for improvements. From the Landing down the Cowlitz Valley to Monticello a primitive road was opened. It served the needs of the people until the building of the railroad in 1873. It was a link in a construction scheme through which the Federal Government expected to supply Western Washington with a system of good roads. Another link was a projected road from the mouth of the Columbia by way of the head of Sound to Port Townsend—175 miles to be built at an estimated cost of about ninety thousand dollars. Still another link was a continuation of the Monticello-Steilacoom Road to Fort Bellingham. The first shot fired on Fort Sumter at the opening of the Civil war shattered this ambitious plan.

Congress, early in 1857, authorized the construction of the Fort Steilacoom-Fort Bellingham Road and in August W. W. Delacy began surveying the route. Lieutenant Mendell was placed in charge of construction and the work was prosecuted to the Stillaguamish River when orders came to disband the crew of laborers. Many returning Fraser River miners found needed employment on this road, which was completed to Seattle in October, 1860. In that month Rev. Daniel Bagley, wife and son Clarence, arrived in the Elliott Bay settlement, having driven overland from Salem, Oregon, in the first buggy ever brought to King County. High winds threw great trees across the road almost immediately after the Bagley buggy had passed and for some years wagon traffic over the route was impossible.

The great difficulties encountered in crossing the Cascade Mountains by the Naches Pass immigrant road, coupled with the favorable report made by Lieut. A. L. Tinkham, in January, 1854, caused Puget Sound people to turn towards the Snoqualmie Pass for a solution to the important problem of trans-mountain communication with the eastern part of the territory. Seattle, fully expecting to become the western terminus of Governor Steven's Northern Pacific Railroad, took the initiative in the building of a wagon road through the pass. In the summer of 1855, Judge Lander, Dexter Horton, F. Matthias, Charles Plummer, C. D. Boren, A. F. Bryant, J. H. Nagle, Charles Walker, Doctor Bigelow and others explored the route to a point well beyond the summit. They reported no serious difficulties but the Indian war breaking out about the time of their return, the matter was held in abeyance for three years.



The first spinning wheel made in the territory

Father Blanchet's stove

Miniature of old Convention Hall in Olympia Medicine chest of Daniel R. Bigelow and
barometer of Gov. Isaac I. Stevens

RELICS IN THE MUSEUM OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In the spring of 1859 Seattle held road meetings, subscribed \$1,050 and a little later sent T. D. Hinkley and a crew of workmen into Rangers Prairie, from which point the road was surveyed to and beyond the summit. Some grading was done in the early fall. Gold miners, bound for the Colville country, drove their pack trains over the route; Congress was asked to lend assistance and a bill appropriating \$75,000 for the building of a military road from Walla Walla to Seattle was introduced in the House of Representatives. Seattle looked forward hopefully to early action when the Civil war gave the Government more serious problems.

From an Olympia printing plant James R. Watson on August 15, 1863, published the first edition of the Gazette, Seattle's first newspaper. With sample copies of the new sheet, Watson journeyed to Seattle, solicited subscriptions and advertising and was so successful that the Gazette again made its appearance December 10, this time from an office in the village it sought to serve.

Watson's press, an old Ramage, is preserved as a highly prized relic in the State University Museum. It had a long and interesting career when Watson brought it to Seattle. From New York it was sent to Mexico in 1834 and was later taken to Monterey, Cal., where for a number of years it was used by the Spanish governor for the printing of official proclamations. August 15, 1846, it printed the first issue of *The Californian*, California's first newspaper, and began a "first newspaper" record perhaps unequalled by any other press ever made.

The first issue of San Francisco's first newspaper—*The Star*—was printed on the old press and in the fall of 1848 it printed the first issue of the *Alta California*. A little later it printed the first issue of the *Portland Oregonian*, Oregon's first newspaper, and from Portland was brought around to Olympia on the schooner *Mary Taylor* and used by McElroy & Wiley in printing the first issue of *The Columbian*, Washington's first paper.

Watson bought it in 1863, brought it to Seattle and installed it in the Gazette office. Washington's first daily, the *Puget Sound Dispatch*, Seattle, was printed by it on April 23, 1866, and on August 5, 1876, it brought its long record for "firsts" to a close when it was used by Samuel L. Maxwell in printing the first issue of the *Intelligencer*, the forerunner of the *Post-Intelligencer*.

The Gazette had been in existence about one year when its editor discovered that because of Western Washington's lack of a trans-mountain road, Oregon was attracting nearly all the immigration. In a stirring editorial he appealed to his readers to renew their efforts in behalf of the Snoqualmie Road. Seattle set another campaign in motion, enlisted the co-operation of other towns, raised money, and in October, 1865, saw her efforts crowned by success—an immigrant train of six wagons ascended the Valley of the Yakima, crossed through the pass and arrived on the Sound.

Like nearly every other public improvement of the period, the road became a political issue. Levi Farnsworth, appointed commissioner by the Territorial Legislature to investigate both the Snoqualmie and Naches passes, reported "that after an impartial examination * * * I find the Naches the most practical." Some weeks earlier the commission had written to John Denny suggesting that he proceed to raise funds, as his report to the Legislature would be favorable to the Snoqualmie Pass. At that time, however, Farnsworth had not

visited Nachess Pass—neither had he been entertained by the people of Steilacoom and Olympia.

Seattle people continued their efforts in behalf of the road. Money was raised in various ways and each spring the preceding winter's contribution of fallen timber was removed, and considerable work done; but the people began to realize the task of making a permanent highway was one requiring sums considerably larger than they could contribute. An attempt to finance a toll road failed; the Northern Pacific Railroad, after flirting with Seattle and the Snoqualmie Pass, jilted the former for Tacoma; Seattle's own railroad, after building to Newcastle was unable to reach the pass and the wagon road degenerated into a cattle trail used for but little except the driving of thousands of head of Yakima sheep and cattle to the Seattle market.

November 12, 1875, the Territorial Legislature passed a law, section 1 of which provided "That any person residing in this territory, who is desirous of aiding in the construction of a wagon road across the Cascade Mountains, shall have the right to dispose of any property, real and personal, situate in this territory, by lot or distribution, under such restrictions and conditions as are provided in this act." It was Washington's lottery law and the "restrictions and conditions" sought to guarantee ticket holders fair play.

In a short time territorial newspapers began running the largest advertisements they had ever carried in their columns. In large sized display type these advertisements announced:

"A GRAND DISTRIBUTION.

"A chance to win \$100,000 for the small sum of \$5.00."

"Washington Territorial Lottery, legalized by an act of the Legislature in aid of a great road from the City of Seattle, through the Cascade Mountains, via Snoqualmie Pass to Walla Walla; approved by his Excellency, Governor Ferry, November 12, 1875.

"Three hundred thousand dollars' worth of real estate in the City of Seattle, and in cash, to be distributed. Draws July 4, 1876. Sixty thousand tickets and 5,575 prizes. Tickets \$5.00 coin each or eleven for \$50.00. Grand prize, Yesler's steam saw mill and mill property in the City of Seattle, valued at \$100,000. (The rents from the mill and mill property equal \$700 per month.) Some of the most eligible and best business lots in the City of Seattle will be distributed, including Hovey & Barker's corner, on Mill and Commercial streets, and the Pacific Brewery property. The prizes to be drawn and distributed will be as follows:

"First Prize—the steam saw mill and mill property, valued at \$100,000.

"Second Prize—Hovey & Barker's corner, \$14,000.

"Third Prize—Pacific Brewery property, \$5,000.

"Together with 1,011 lots in various parts of the City of Seattle and additions thereto, valued from fifty dollars to fifteen hundred dollars each; also sixty-one prizes in farming lands in King County, and \$25,000 in gold divided into 4,000 prizes of \$5.00 each, and 500 prizes of \$10.00 each. No scheme of this kind ever offered to the public presented such great inducements to try for a fortune. The general public can invest with the greatest confidence, the distribution being authorized by law and guarded in every particular. Nothing of the kind can be fairer for all concerned."

The Gold Coin Lottery, a \$20,000 proposition managed by B. Conkelman, held a drawing April 3, and caused so much dissatisfaction that Yesler and his associates of the First Grand Lottery found the law under which they were operating, attacked in the courts. Judge J. R. Lewis declared the law unconstitutional. Some \$30,000 said to have been collected from the sale of tickets was not accounted for and ticket holders, after charging their loss to experience, forgot the incident as quickly as possible—at least that is the conclusion drawn by present day investigators who try to obtain the unwritten part of the lottery history from ticket holders still living. One of C. B. Bagley's interesting historical documents is a letter from H. L. Yesler in which the writer says he is financially embarrassed as a result of the lottery deal and that as soon as he can raise the amount he will pay the Oylupia Transcript's lottery printing bill of about \$700.

During the next six years other efforts were made to build the road. The Northern Pacific, in 1883, completed its Cascade division, solved the problem of trans-mountain communication with Eastern Washington and Snoqualmie Pass.

While planning for the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, promoters of the fair decided to attempt a New York to Seattle automobile race. The Cascade Mountains presented the one unconquered obstacle. Commissioners of King and Kittitas counties joined hands, supplied funds and built a road through Snoqualmie Pass and thus initiated a latter day movement for overcoming the difficulties the pioneers had found insurmountable. The exposition's automobile race turned the attention of the state highway commission to the road; expert engineers laid out a plan; the engineering mistakes of the pioneers were corrected; the state supplied men and money and where the pioneers labored so long and so earnestly to build a wagon road, modern road builders constructed an automobile highway. With appropriate ceremonies Governor Lister, on July 1, 1915, formally dedicated the road which is now known as a part of the Sunset Highway, a connecting link in the automobile way stretching from Puget Sound to New York and annually traveled by thousands of pleasure seeking tourists.

CHAPTER XXI

REV. JOHN F. DEVORE'S COMING—THE FIRST PROTESTANT CHURCH—STEILACOOM THEN NOISY AND UNTAMED—HOW DEVORE GOT TIMBER FOR OLYMPIA CHURCH—LEGISLATURE VOTES TO PLACE STATE UNIVERSITY IN LEWIS COUNTY, THEN AT COWLITZ FARMS, THEN IN SEATTLE—THE UNIVERSITY'S BEGINNINGS—REV. MR. WHITWORTH'S HARD WORK—PROF. MEANY'S WORTH TO THE UNIVERSITY AND THE STATE.

Fortunately for the pioneer settlements the Protestant churches in selecting ministers to send to Western Washington, chose men of broad vision, liberal opinion and a willingness to work earnestly. They possessed great capacity for work—they were men who prepared their sermons while earning a living by the labor of their hands. They delivered lectures before the agricultural and literary societies, Fourth of July celebrations and temperance organizations. They assisted in organizing the schools, the city and county and territorial governments and in playing their part in the conquering of the wilderness, performed a work the benefits of which will live forever.

Rev. John F. DeVore was born December 7, 1817, near Lexington, Ky., was admitted to the Rock River, Ill., Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1840 and in August, 1853, arrived at Steilacoom as a missionary circuit rider. On the twenty-eighth of the same month he preached the first of the many sermons he was to deliver before Washington congregations and within six months dedicated the first Protestant church erected north of the Columbia River.

Steilacoom, at that time, was wild and untamed. Sunday, if observed at all, was looked upon as a day for the ingathering of all the disreputable clans who spent their time in drinking bad liquor, gambling, fighting and in other ways giving free rein to degenerate impulses. Rev. Mr. DeVore once said he preached the first sermon in his new church with a revolver in one hand and a Bible in the other. His courageous, conscientious and self reliant spirit won him a place in the little town. The church edifice which he built decayed and was replaced with a massive monument of concrete and stone—a memorial to the beginning of liberal religious thought in Washington.

After getting the Steilacoom church established, Rev. Mr. DeVore began soliciting funds for a church for Olympia, and one day appealed to a Tumwater sawmill man for aid. Looking the preacher over the mill man noticed his new suit of clothes and his kid gloves and in a sarcastic manner said:

"Yes. I will give you all the lumber you can carry from my mill down to the water between sun-up and sun-down."

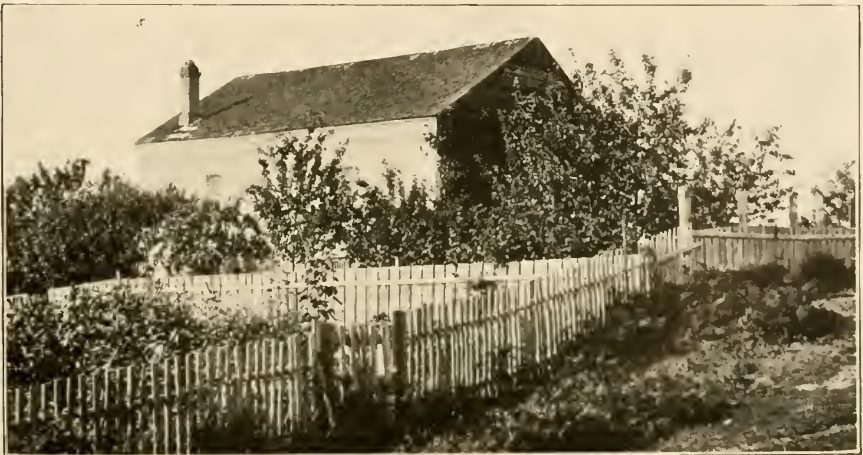
"Thank you," replied the minister, "I will gladly avail myself of your kind offer."



OLD CONVENT AT STEILACOOM
The "L" was built by Mother Joseph



DE VORE'S METHODIST CHURCH IN STEILACOOM
Built in 1853. First Protestant church north of the Columbia River



OLD STEILACOOM JAIL
Built in the '50s, and later lined with fir to keep mobs out

Before sunrise the next morning the minister appeared. He, carrying his lunch tied in a handkerchief, throwing off his coat, went to work as soon as the sun peeped above the horizon. All day the lumber moved in a steady stream and when the sun disappeared behind the western hills the preacher had moved a pile of lumber from which he built, not only a church, but a parsonage as well. It was Olympia's first Methodist Church. Rev. Mr. DeVore died in Tacoma Sunday, July 28, 1889. During the thirty-six years of his ministry in Washington he built many churches. Because of this and his ability as both pleader and worker he has been called the "John Wesley of the Northwest."

The Territorial Legislature, on January 29, 1855, voted to locate the Territorial University at Seattle with a branch at Boisfort, Lewis County. Three years later it voted to locate both branches at Cowlitz Farms, Lewis County, and January 11, 1861, again changed its plans by voting to place the institution in Seattle. As nothing had been done towards erecting buildings, this hawking about of the territory's higher educational institution had occasioned no loss, except perhaps to those who had invested money in real estate in the various prospective college towns. With the vote to place the college in Seattle, the Legislature also appointed Rev. Daniel Bagley, Edmund Carr and John Webster as university commissioners with power to sell the lands donated by the Federal Government for university purposes and to use the proceeds of such sale in the erection of buildings.

On George Washington's Birthday, 1861, the commissioners met in the office of the auditor of King County and organized with Bagley as president and active manager. A. A. Denny and C. C. Terry donated ten acres of land from their homesteads and the commissioners laid plans for its clearing. Land clearing cost from \$275 to \$325 an acre, the donated site was covered with some of the heaviest fir timber; the lands granted by the Federal Government were hard to sell—why should land hunters pay \$1.50 an acre for the university grant when they could choose from the finest and get a deed for \$1.25 an acre, or free if the claim holder wished to maintain a residence on the land for a few years? With the whole country open to settlement under homestead law conditions—and a very liberal idea of fulfilling the law's requirements prevailed—Commissioner Bagley faced a hard proposition. So earnestly did he work, however, that in a few months it was seen that enough money could be realized from the land sales to justify the beginning of land clearing.

Among those who did the actual work of clearing were Henry A. Atkins, Lewis V. Wyckoff, Lyman B. Andrews, Clarence B. Bagley, Hillory Butler, Ira Woodin, Edwin Richardson, Lemuel Holgate, John Pike and his son, Harvey; John Carr, James Crow, James Hunt, D. Parmlee and O. Dudley. Building materials were gathered together from many different sections, Port Orchard, Port Gamble, Port Ludlow, Bellingham Bay and Victoria, as well as Seattle, furnishing stone, brick, lumber and lime. Most of the building was done under small contracts, the contractors being: Hauling of materials, Thomas Mercer, Seattle's pioneer expressman who brought to the village its first wagon and team; L. V. Wyckoff, Hillory Butler and Josiah Settle. Surveying and running levels, Edwin Richardson; architect, John Pike; erecting and inclosing frame, Thomas Russell and John Pike; plastering, foundation and brick work, John Dodge, John T. Jordan and S. Thorndyke; window and door frames, Franklin

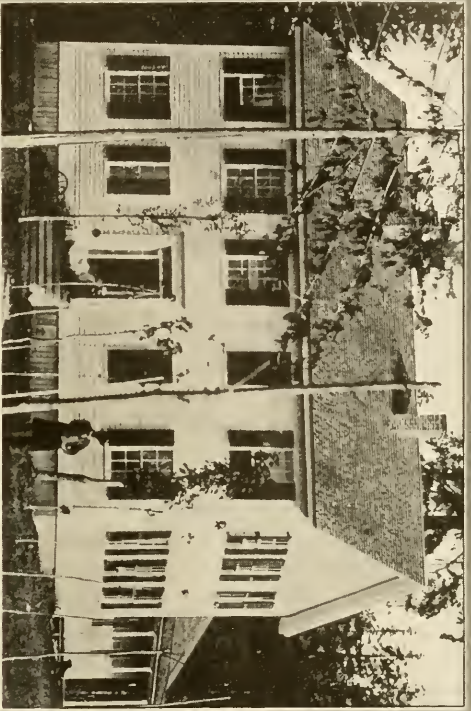
Matthias; making columns and putting them in place, A. P. DeLin and O. C. Shorey (these old columns are preserved on the present university campus); flooring and shingling, R. H. Beaty, O. J. Carr, Josiah Settle and C. B. Bagley; tin work, Hugh McAleer; painting, Harvey Pike, Jeff Hunt, Charles Gorton, C. B. Bagley, and J. E. Clark; desks, D. C. Beaty, A. P. DeLin, and O. C. Shorey; blacksmithing, William W. White; miscellaneous carpenter work, Harry M. and W. B. Hitchcock, Martin Givler, Nicholas DeLin. Others employed on the buildings were J. W. Johnson, David Graham, Richard King, George Austin, Albert Pinkham, J. C. Purcell, Charles Harvey, James Kelly and a few others who worked for short periods.

The buildings completed, the commissioners found their treasury empty. They had no money with which to open the school, but in January, 1862, the Legislature appropriated \$2,000 to buy "books and philosophical apparatus," and for the next fifteen years refused to make another appropriation. The university was to shift for itself. With about thirty pupils, Asa S. Mercer, November 4, 1861, opened the first term. One recitation room was used and the term was for five months. Mercer was a graduate of Franklin College, New Athens, Ohio, and had come to Washington just in time to do a part of the heavy manual labor in connection with clearing the university site. Mrs. V. Calhoun became his assistant when he opened the second year's work, October 10, 1862, and during temporary absences of the president Dillis B. Ward or Clarence B. Bagley served as substitute principal.

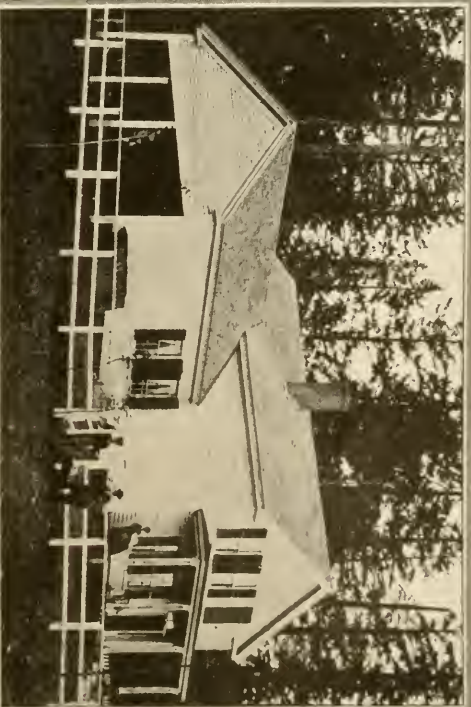
Unfortunately an official roll of the members of the first class is not obtainable. C. B. Bagley, in his *History of Seattle*, gives the following list of those attending the second term, which, he says, is believed to be complete: James B. Biles, Susan Biles, Edgar Bryan, Augustus Geary, Edwin Austin, Olympia; George W. Little, John McCrea, Ed Francis, Allen Francis, Victoria; Sarah Loretta Denny, Eugenie McConaha, the first white girl born in Seattle, and Orin O. Denny, the first white boy born in the same city; Margaret L. Denny, Rolland H. Denny, Rebecca Horton, Alice Mercer, George W. Harris, Sylvanus C. Harris, Robert G. Hays, Charles Hayes, Zebedee M. Keller, James Hunt, L. L. Andrews, Jane Wetmore, Birdsie Wetmore, Frank Wetmore, E. Inez Denny, Madge Denny, Charles Tobin, Findley Campbell, Sarah Bonney, Gertrude Boren, Mary Boren, Joseph Crow, Martha Crow, Emma Russell, John B. Libby, Levi Livingston, Christine DeLin, Andrus DeLin, Eva Andrews, William R. Andrews, Ed Harmon, Fred Young, Frances Webster, Lewis Post, John W. Neely, Louis McMillan, R. Welburn, Susie Graham, William Odell, Sophronia Humphrey, Arthur Brownell, Thomas Winship, Edward Sanford Bucklin and William M. Belshaw.

The third term was opened September 3, 1863, with William E. Barnard as president. Professor Bernard, a graduate of Dartmouth College, came to Seattle from Salem, Ore., and remained until the spring of 1866, when, becoming weary of the little frontier university, he, in disgust, gave up the struggle against its poverty and sought other fields. In one of his letters he gives this description of conditions as he found them in Washington. It is a picture drawn for the purpose of justifying its painter in applying to another college for a position on its faculty:

"Education throughout the Sound district is in an extremely backward con-



The Boarding House



The President's House



Asa Shinn Mercer



The Territorial University



Mrs. Lucie W. Carr

dition; as an illustration: Not one of the misses attending the university the first quarter after our arrival, could accurately repeat the multiplication table. Society is also greatly disorganized; drunkenness, licentiousness, profanity, and Sabbath desecration are striking characteristics of our people, and of no portion more than those of Seattle. Of course there are a few honorable exceptions. We have two distilleries, eleven drinking establishments, one bawdy house, and at all the drinking establishments, as at our three hotels, gambling is openly practiced; and Sunday is no exception.

"These are the influences we have had to encounter in our efforts to build up an institution of learning. I need not say it is discouraging and well nigh hopeless."

Professor Bernard did not possess the qualities needed to bring the territory and its university out of the wild and unrestrained condition he pictures—he was too rigid in his ideals.

About the time that Rev. Mr. DeVore was building his church in Olympia Rev. George F. Whitworth, a native of Lincolnshire, England, arrived from the Middle West. Whitworth, a graduate of Hanover College, was Washington's pioneer Presbyterian minister, a man who understood the narrow life of the pioneer settlements on the borderland between savagery and civilization and a man who has left the impress of his sterling character upon the State of Washington. For more than fifty years he lived within its borders, serving its people by turns as preacher, teacher, editor, surveyor and engineer, clerk in the Indian department, deputy collector of customs, and private citizen doing all he could for the development of its natural resources, the improvement of living conditions and the enlightenment and uplifting of its people. He was the founder of Whitworth College, first situated at Sumner, then moved to Tacoma and later to Spokane.

When he came to the university as president, September 17, 1866, higher education in Washington Territory was having hard sledding indeed. The tuition fees upon which the school depended for its financial support, did not produce sufficient revenue. At the end of the first semester the school was closed, with very little prospect of reopening. The regents advertised the buildings for lease, but no satisfactory offer was made. The institution remained closed until April 12, 1869, when it was opened with Prof. John H. Hall as president. Hall remained three years and was succeeded by Edgar K. Hill and wife, who came from Michigan. Miss May Thayer, Mount Holyoke, who came as Professor Hill's assistant in 1873, remained with the school when Hill resigned the presidency to F. H. Whitworth in 1874 and of her efforts one of the university publications of a later day says:

"More than once her untiring efforts kept alive the feeble little school. When money was lacking and classes in algebra and Latin had ceased to exist, Miss Thayer continued to occupy the building with her class of infants. During one of these periods it became very lonely and bitterly cold in the great empty, echoing hall. Friends advised her to give up the school. But the brave woman, with her tiny 'university,' moved to an upper room in the house of Mr. Thomas W. Prosch, where she continued to teach amid more congenial surroundings."

F. H. Whitworth resigned and was succeeded by his father who taught until Christmas, 1876, when the school again was closed for lack of funds. Rev. Mr.

Whitworth succeeded in keeping the institution open long enough to permit Miss Clara McCarthy (Wildt) to finish the course of study and become the first graduate of the University of Washington. He is also the father of the school's military training department.

In September, 1877, Prof. Alexander J. Anderson opened a private school in the university buildings. He was a native of Ireland, of Scottish parentage, and a graduate of Knox College, Galesburg, Ill. After sixteen years of neglect, the Legislature, in the winter of 1877-78, appropriated \$1,500 towards the support of the school, and provided for forty-five free scholarships. Anderson was elected president and continued in office until forced by ill health to resign in 1882. Notwithstanding annual legislative appropriations, the university had hard effort to make both ends meet—in fact it would have been forced to close in 1882 had it not been for a \$4,000 gift made by Henry Villard.

Prof. Thomas Condon, of the University of Oregon, in 1882 declined an offer of the presidency and Prof. Leonard Powell was elected. Professor Powell organized the school into departments and when it opened, September 20 it did so with the following faculty: Professor Powell, mathematics; Professor Lee, literary; Professor Hansee, Greek and Latin; Professor Johnson, science; Professor Swinn, preparatory and Mrs. W. A. McPherson, primary classes. Under President Powell's leadership the university began to obtain a standing. A third year of study was added, the military department was reorganized; athletics were encouraged, and the attendance increased. His was a labor of sacrifice. His health broke down and shortly after the graduating exercises of the class of 1887, he died. Former students carried his body to its last resting place in Lakeview Cemetery, Seattle.

The school year of 1888 opened with Thomas M. Gatch as president. Two years later the university had outgrown the old-time location in the edge of the little sawmill town. The town had grown into a city, closely pressing on all sides of the ten acre tract which had increased in value and was becoming more valuable each year. The regents recommended a change to some situation more remote from the center of the city. The Legislature favored this, but feared the removal would forfeit title to the valuable land then occupied. Denny and Terry, it appeared, had provided for the return of the land to the Town of Seattle should the territory ever remove the university. H. G. Struve, Thomas Burke, John Arthur and John Kean investigated the legal side of the question and found that not the Town of Seattle but the State of Washington would be the beneficiary. The ten acre tract is producing a large annual revenue for the institution.

The University enjoyed its greatest growth under the administration of Dr. Thomas Kane, a man of much administrative ability. He was president during a period of unlimited expansion and development and he had a great many difficulties to face, but he brought the institution through and established high standards of scholarship.

At the present time to mention either the University of Washington or Edmund Stephen Meany, its professor of history, is to think of the other—to friends of either, Meany and the university are almost "one and inseparable." Professor Meany was born in Michigan in 1862. The family came to Washington and when Edmund was eighteen his father, Stephen, a steamboat man, was



MONUMENT ERECTED IN STEILACOOM IN 1908 TO MARK THE SITE OF THE
FIRST PROTESTANT CHURCH BUILT NORTH OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER

The church was built by Rev. John F. DeVore, D. D., in 1853

drowned in the Skagit River. Edmund then became the main support of his mother and her younger children and to his work of delivering a morning newspaper route he added the janitor's work and bookkeeping of a retail grocery. He continued his studies in the Seattle schools and later in the university, graduating from the latter with the class of 1885.

Seattle, at that time, was the home of the Young Naturalists' Society and in this organization Meany found opportunity for the development of an inclination toward research work. Along in 1882 a lecturer on electrical phenomena spoke in Seattle. Meany, who had become a "cub" reporter, was assigned by Thomas Prosch, editor and publisher of the *Post-Intelligencer*, to report the lecture. Late in the night Meany turned in his story. It gave him a place on the editorial staff. L. S. J. Hunt bought the *Post-Intelligencer* and Meany became night editor. While serving in this capacity he introduced a market report and a classified advertising department. Regarding the latter Professor Meany, in a recently published story, says:

"One day there appeared a full column of such advertising modeled after the best Eastern papers. I was a little stampeded at some of the results of that experiment. We had inserted samples of all kinds of advertising. One brief call was for a bookkeeper. The next day a man answered. I knew him. His wife was ill. He needed work and when he went out I told Mr. Hunt about it. 'That's all right,' said he, 'I'll go out and get him a job,' and he did.

"Another one of our samples was from a woman in Snohomish County who was represented as owning a fine farm and who wanted a husband to help her care for it. Applicants were directed to write her in care of the *Post-Intelligencer* and to send their photographs. We dropped that sample pretty quick, for there came a string of answers and photographs and some of the men were rather well known. 'The safest way for that case is to file these here,' said Mr. Hunt, and he put them in the big office stove."

From newspaper work Meany went to politics. In 1891 he was appointed chairman of a committee into whose hands was given the work of relocating the university. The old site down in town had been outgrown and Meany, in looking around for a new one, made up his mind a certain piece of land out northeast of town, as laid out at that date, was the ideal place. The city had had the land under consideration as a possible park site, but Meany wanted it and laid plans to locate the university upon its brush-covered acres. The Legislature was still in session when Meany discovered his new university site. He went to Olympia, organized an excursion—not a difficult thing as most all legislators traveled upon railroad passes—and brought the lawmakers to Seattle. Shortly thereafter, March 7, 1891, "an act providing for the establishment, location, maintenance and support of the University of Washington" was adopted—Meany's location had been chosen. If he never had done anything else this one achievement should be enough to entitle him to lasting fame. He gave to the university a campus whose extent and beauty scarcely are to be paralleled.

Politics, as usual, was to play its game, and the purchase and clearing of the land was delayed in many ways. On March 14, 1893, another act bearing a title similar to that which followed Meany's excursion, was passed by the Legislature. Meany was its author and under its provisions Governor John H.

McGraw purchased the fractional section of land for \$28,313.75 and the board of regents went forward with their building program.

When Daniel Bagley heard of the adoption of Meany's bill he exclaimed: "They call me 'father of the university.' No, I am not the 'father' any longer, but the grandfather, and this young fellow is the 'father.'"

Fred G. Plummer, of Tacoma became engineer for the board of regents and in his work was soon joined by Henry H. Hindshaw, one of the landscape architects of the Columbian Exposition. Competitive plans for the main building were opened on February 17, 1894, and the \$1,000 prize offered by the board was awarded to Charles W. Saunders, of Seattle. Seventeen building contractors entered bids for the construction of the building, Cameron & Ashenfelter, of Spokane, being awarded the contract. July 4th the corner stone was laid, the chief speeches being made by A. A. Denny and Rev. Daniel Bagley, two of the men who attended the laying of the corner stone of the old building erected in 1861. The building is now known as Denny Hall.

Since the day Denny Hall was dedicated the University of Washington steadily has advanced to a leading position among western colleges. Building after building followed as the needs of the school demanded. President Gatch resigned about the time the transfer from the old to the new location was made. Other presidents and many professors have followed and today the people of Washington take justifiable pride in the state's leading educational institution. It is fulfilling the hope of its founders.

CHAPTER XXII

ASA SHINN MERCER'S SHIPMENT OF MARRIAGEABLE WOMEN—MOVEMENT IS BEGUN IN STEILACOOM WHERE MASS MEETINGS ARE HELD—SEATTLE RECEIVES WOMEN WITH OPEN ARMS—MERCER PLANS SECOND SHIPMENT—HIS ACCOUNT OF HIS VICISSITUDES—HOW HOLLADAY BEAT HIM AND GOVERNOR PICKERING DISAPPOINTED HIM, BUT HE FINALLY LANDS HIS PRECIOUS CARGO AT ITS DESTINATION.

Asa Shinn Mercer, first president of the Washington University, was destined to play the leading role in a unique immigration. Washington, at the time of Mercer's arrival within its borders, was suffering from a dearth of marriageable women. It was a country of bachelors, many of whom were good matrimonial prospects. They were too busy to journey down the coast, across the isthmus and up the Atlantic on courting expeditions. Every marriageable woman who came to the country found an opportunity for home making—good or otherwise according to her ability to select from the large quantity of matrimonial material offered. More women were needed—not only as brides for the rising young farmers, mechanics and business men, but also as teachers.

Mercer, although the first to attempt a solution of the bachelor problem, was not the first to note its existence. Charles Prosch, who with George W. Lee established the Puget Sound Herald in Steilacoom, on March 12, 1858, several years before Mercer's arrival, had called attention to the scarcity of women. Prosch, it appears, was moved to undertake a solution of the problem by an editorial appearing in the True Democrat, of Little Rock, Arkansas, which said that "the white folks of Oregon, having no white women to choose from, are marrying Indian squaws." In commenting on the statement, the Herald man said:

"How true it is of Oregon we cannot say; but we have frequently been assured that the reverse was the case there, and that marriageable white women were plentiful. Unfortunately is it too true of this beautiful territory, and one of the causes, and the principal cause, we might say, that operates to check its growth and development. * * * Here is the market to bring your charms to, girls. Don't be backward, but come right along—all who want good husbands and comfortable homes in the most beautiful country and the finest climate in the world."

Frankly the editor handled his subject, pointing out the dangers certain to follow from intermarriages between the white men and Indian women, and urging that steps be taken to induce Eastern women to come to the territory as milliners, dressmakers, cooks and school teachers. Experience told him that women coming to fill such positions would become wives soon after their arrival. Frequent reference served to keep the question before the people. Eastern

papers reprinted the editorials and on February 24, 1860, the Herald carried the following advertisement:

“Attention Bachelors: Believing that our chance for a realization of the benefits and early attainment of matrimonial alliances depends upon the arrival in our midst of a number of the fair sex from the Atlantic states and that, to bring about such arrival, a united effort and action are called for on our part, we respectfully request a full attendance of all eligible and sincerely desirous bachelors of this community to assemble on Tuesday evening next, February 28th, in Delin & Shorey’s Building, to devise ways and means to secure this much-needed and desirable emigration to our shores.

D. V. K. Waldron
Egbert H. Tucker
Christopher Downey
James E. D. Jester
G. Ford

O. H. White
J. K. McCall
E. O. Ferguson
O. C. Shorey

“And eighty-seven others.” The “others” did not sign their names, but doubtless they would have been on hand had the women appeared.

The meeting was held, James E. D. Jester chosen chairman, and E. H. Tucker, secretary. Several of the bachelors spoke, rules of procedure were adopted and resolutions passed. The Herald, following the custom of early day newspapers, failed to appear during the next few weeks. With its reappearance came a continuation of the discussion and early in June it devoted more than a column of space to the subject, giving it as the editor’s opinion that “from the number of journals which have bestowed notice on the object of the meeting alluded to, it is fair to presume that nearly every city, town and hamlet in the United States is acquainted with it.” The Cincinnati Commercial, one of the leading newspapers of the Middle West, had treated the subject in a humorous manner. Bachelor meetings continued, but definite action was not taken until after Mercer had arrived. At the close of the second year term of school, he turned his attention to the problem.

An appeal to Governor Pickering and the Legislature for funds brought sympathetic encouragement, but no money—territorial funds were too nearly depleted—and Mercer set out to obtain the money by voluntary subscription. With a very small amount, considering the importance of his self-imposed task, Mercer set out for Boston where he found many widows and orphaned daughters of soldiers who had fallen in the Civil war. These he tried to impress with his story.

To the young women, Mercer’s proposal was a most daring venture. More than seven thousand miles of water and land must be crossed on the journey from New York via the isthmus and San Francisco to Puget Sound. In March, 1864, eleven young women, ranging in age from fifteen to twenty-five years, sailed from New York for the Northwest. From San Francisco they came to the Sound on the brig Tanner and the bark Torrent—lumber carrying vessels, which landed their passengers safely at Port Gamble in May.

Early in April news of the girls’ coming reached Seattle and preparations were made for their welcome. The Gazette said the news dropped down in the settlement “like a brand of wild-fire in a field of stubble. It is to the effect that a choice selection of fifty young ladies, from the eastern states, actually left New York



MR. AND MRS. CHARLES PROSCH

Mr. Prosch was one of the pioneer newspaper men of Washington Territory

in March last, bound for Seattle and vicinity. Fifty unmarried and marriageable ladies; girls, female women—and this is leap year, too. Ye Gods! What has bachelordom done to incur this stupendous blessing! Coal is nowhere! Coal has declined. Coal on the brain has subsided, and woman on the heart rages. * * * When the rumor was confirmed the spirit of men went up, and the spirits of rye went down to the profit of dealers in spirits generally. * * * Cooking stoves and baby linens are much elevated and the demand for cradles was never greater in the biggest gold excitement in California.”

About midnight on May 16 the girls arrived at Seattle. A reception in the town hall had been arranged. Pioneer homes were opened and all devoted hearty attention to the aim of making them feel that they had fallen among friends. Seven of the girls were soon teaching school, one Miss Josie Pearson, dying in the course of her first term. Miss Georgia Pearson, after a few years in the school room and as her father's assistant in the lighthouse on Admiralty Head, became the wife of Charles C. Terry. Miss Sarah Cheney taught school and later married Capt. Charles Willoughby; Miss Sarah J. Gallagher became a music teacher in Seattle and later the wife of Thomas Russell. Miss Antoinette Baker taught school in Pierce County, married a Mr. Huntington and moved to Monticello. Miss Aurelia Coffin taught school at Port Ludlow and married Mr. Hinckley, of that place. Miss Kate Stevens became the wife of Customs Inspector Henry Smith. Miss Kate Stickney married Walter Graham of Seattle. Miss Annie Adams married Robert Head, an Olympia printer. Miss Lizzie Ordway taught school for a number of years and died unmarried. Miss Ann Murphy, after a short stay on the Sound, went to San Francisco.

Mercer, who with Daniel Pearson accompanied the girls from New York, became even more popular than he had been before starting east for brides for Puget Sound bachelors. Friends nominated him for office and a few years ago he wrote a Seattle friend:

“I was nominated, without my knowledge, to the state's senatorship; and, without spending a nickel, making a speech, or buying a drink of whisky or a cigar for anybody, elected by a large majority.”

In the Legislature Mercer laid plans for another and larger immigration. With letters from members of his first party, in which the writers told of the warmth of their welcome and of every promise fulfilled, Mercer set out for the East in March, 1865, and arrived in New York April 17. He was immigrant agent without pay and lost no time in getting to work. Circular letters were sent to newspapers and individuals throughout New York and the New England states. The agent guaranteed “every lady who joins the party at least \$4 per week, payable in gold, and board, as compensation for her labor.”

Of the difficulties encountered in raising recruits for this, his second party, Mercer several years ago wrote his old-time friend, Clarence Bagley, as follows:

“My thought was to call on President Lincoln, tell him of our situation and ask him to give me a ship, coaled and manned, for the voyage from New York to Seattle, I furnishing the food supplies. This, I was confident, he would do. Having sat upon Lincoln's lap as a five-year-old lad and listened to his funny stories, and knowing the goodness of his heart, not a shadow of doubt existed in my mind as to the outcome.

“The steamer arrived in New York about noon and I arranged matters to

leave for Washington on the morning train. Reaching the hotel office at 6 o'clock so as to breakfast and be off, crepe greeted me from all sides, and a bulletin announced the assassination of the President at Ford's Theater the night before. I was at sea without a compass."

Governor John A. Andrew, of Massachusetts, was appealed to and sent Mercer to Edward Everett Hale, who gave him much help. Going to Washington, Mercer appealed to General Grant, who took the matter before President Johnson and his cabinet with the result that half an hour later Grant returned with the welcome news that the President endorsed the plan and would meet the request for aid, provided General Grant would assume the risk, the cabinet pledging itself to stand by the general's action. Grant issued the order for the ship "coaled and manned" and Mercer, thinking that settled the matter, hastened away to gather his passengers. The remainder of the story is best told in Mercer's own words.

"Having interested and secured about all the passengers necessary to fill the ship, I returned to Washington to have the vessel made ready and turned over to me. Accompanied by Senator George H. Williams of Oregon, I called upon Quartermaster-General Meigs with Grant's order. Unfortunately, the man in line first ahead of Senator Williams was an individual who had furnished a horse to our soldiers and had taken a receipt for the same. The man had been paid twice for his animal already and General Meigs recognized him. The quartermaster flew into a rage, ordered the man arrested and filled the room with the smoke of vituperation and cuss words until breathing was an actual effort. Presenting an order at this time was fatal. Still black in the face from his recent experience, General Meigs looked at the paper a moment, then said: 'There is no law justifying this order and I will not honor it.'

"Crestfallen, I retired. Meigs was stubborn and the law was with him. Weeks passed and I was ready to give up the fight, when one day in New York I received a letter from General Meigs saying that he had ordered a special appraisal of the propeller Continental, a 1,600-ton ship, and that I could have her at the appraisal for carrying my people to Seattle, notwithstanding the law required the sale to be at public auction. Eighty thousand dollars was the price, cash in hand.

"That was not a price to 'stagger the world,' but it made me tremble. Sitting in my room at the Merchants' Hotel and canvassing every known avenue that gave the faintest hope of leading up to this sum of ready money, I was surprised to receive a card bearing the name 'Ben Holladay.' Inviting him up, he began the conversation by saying: 'I understand the Government offers you the Continental for \$80,000, and that you have not the money. If you will let me have her I will fit her for the trip and carry your people to Seattle at a nominal figure.

"Drowning men catch at straws. I was the asphyxiated individual and caught for a minimum price, in consideration of turning over the ship to him. Later—at the extended straw. The contest was unequal. Mr. Holladay had two good lawyers pitted against an inexperienced youth, over-anxious and ready to be sacrificed. Result—a contract to carry 500 passengers from New York to Seattle too late—I saw where the 'little joker' came in. Had there been a clause stating that 150 passengers were to be carried free, and \$100 for each additional passenger, all would have been well."

The contract was signed and hardly had Mercer left Holladay than the New

York Herald published a scurrilous story charging Mercer with intending to put the girls into western houses of ill-fame and declaring the men on the Sound were "rotten and profligate."

The story was copied by other papers and in a few hours Mercer began receiving cancellations from his prospective passengers. The Continental was practically a new boat, built of oak and hickory and worth at least \$250,000. It was a prize well worth any man's scheming and best efforts.

"Armed with a handful of these letters," writes Mercer, "I called on Mr. Holladay and told him I was unable to carry out the contract as to numbers, but would be ready with perhaps two hundred people. For reply I was told that the contract was off. But as the ship was to be sent to the Pacific, they would take such passengers as I presented at regular rates. Then I saw the 'little joker' of the contract."

When Mercer started East, Governor Pickering told him if financial difficulties were encountered he would assist. At San Francisco Mercer had but \$3 in his pocket, hotel bills to pay and transportation to Seattle to buy and he wired: "Arrived here broke. Send \$2,000 quick to get party to Seattle." Next morning he received notice to call at the telegraph office, pay \$7.50 and receive a message which the governor had sent, charges to be collected.

Before leaving New York Mercer had bought and shipped to the Sound \$2,000 worth of agricultural machinery. Hastening to the shipping office, he found the machinery still in storage there awaiting shipment to Seattle. It was sold; hotel bills were paid, and Mercer, red-headed, freckled-faced and not to be beaten by scheming lawyers, arranged for the transportation of his people to the Sound. Governor Pickering's telegram contained about one hundred words of congratulation, but not one word about money.

Of the 125 passengers brought to the Sound, 75 were women. Of these Mercer says they "were selected with great care, and never in the history of the world was an equal number of women thrown together with a higher average of intelligence, modesty, and virtue. They are now (1901) going into the sere and yellow leaf of life with, as a rule, sons and daughters risen up to call them blessed. I have drifted away from them, but I know that their influence upon the state has been, as a whole, for good. God bless them and theirs."

CHAPTER XXIII

"SECESSION" ON THE COAST—LINCOLN'S ELECTION PRODUCES UPHEAVAL—ONLY ONE SLAVE IN THE TERRITORY—"SALUTE THE FLAG, UNCONDITIONALLY, OR HANG!"—JOHN MILLER MURPHY'S COMING—FIRST CLASH WITH GOVERNOR STEVENS—MURPHY STANDS STAUNCHLY BY THE UNION—A DEMOCRATIC LIGHT BEARER FOR FIFTY YEARS—SOME CURIOUS POLITICS—FRANK CLARK ACCUSED—PUBLIC PRINTING SCANDAL—"POP" BAGLEY—BLINN'S POLITICAL DRIVE—WHY ELWOOD EVANS LOST.

Lincoln's election to the presidency, in the fall of 1860, produced a political upheaval in Washington Territory. All the territorial offices in the gift of the Federal Government were held by democrats. With one eye on the political weathervane at the national capital, these officers, as well as a number of men who desired to enroll their names on the Federal payroll, experienced a change of political faith. "Black Republican" as a political nickname lost some of its odium.

In the slave states of the South Lincoln was called a "sectional President." His election was looked upon as the final blow to the bonds of Union; the bonds were broken and secession ensued. New political alignments became necessary. The democratic party for the time being became the party of the South—the party of secession—and its members "secessionists" or "Copperheads."

Washington was "free" territory. Never but once had negro slavery been brought to the notice of its officials. That was in September, 1860, when Surveyor General James Tilton wrote the following letter to Acting Governor H. M. McGill:

"Sir:

"As a citizen of the United States and of Washington Territory, I beg to call your attention to an act, or acts, of the British authorities of Victoria, Vancouver Island, by which a slave boy belonging to my relative, R. R. Gibson, of Talbot County, Maryland, and for the last five years hired and employed by myself, by arrangement with the owner, was taken from the mail steamer, plying between this port and all ports of Puget Sound.

"On the 24th of September the slave secreted himself on board the mail steamer Eliza Anderson and on the 25th as the steamer touched at port of Victoria, was boarded by the civil authorities there and the slave forcibly taken therefrom.

"I therefore respectfully request that you bring the case before our Government at Washington City, to the end that the owner of the slave may have justice and the flag of our country be vindicated and relieved from the assumption of the right of search, thus made and enforced in this case.

"I am sir, very respectfully,

"JAMES TILTON."

Tilton's slave escaped to Canada and freedom. If McGill referred the matter of his "forcible" removal from the Eliza Anderson to the Federal Government, it was doubtless lost in the more important matters then demanding attention.

Some of the officers in command of Pacific Coast forts were southern men. They resigned, returned to their native states and took up arms against the flag they had upheld in the face of Indian, Mexican and British foes. Washington's pioneers came from all over the world; many were from southern and border states and it is not surprising that the secession movement found supporters in almost every settlement. Oregon and Washington contained many ex-Hudon's Bay employes. California's population was largely Mexican. Both these elements were thought to be antagonistic to United States authority.

Needing every man and every gun, the Federal Government was, in a measure, forced to leave the settlement of Pacific Coast problems to Pacific Coast people. The country proved fertile for disloyal sentiment. Ambitious spirits deemed the time ripe for the realization of a dream which long had haunted their minds and here and there over the country was heard talk of a new government—a Pacific Confederacy. Loyal citizens of Horsetown, Calif., becoming indignant at the open advocacy of the movement, raised a tall flag pole, unfurled the Stars and Stripes and just to one side of the flag staff built a gibbet upon which were inscribed the words:

"Salute the flag, unconditionally, or hang."

The first number of the Washington Standard was published November 17, 1860. It endorsed President Lincoln's administration, announced its allegiance to the Union and scored everything and everybody suspected of disloyalty. In the preceding campaign Delegate I. I. Stevens had been quite prominent in the councils of the democratic party. The editor of the Standard sharply criticized Stevens, declaring he "repudiates for the time being our territory and its people, to engage in movements sustaining slavery propagandism, at the hazard of our national union."

John Miller Murphy, the Standard's editor and founder, arrived in Olympia during the early '50s on a pack train. Murphy, then a strong self-reliant boy in his 'teens, was a relative of George A. Barnes, owner of the pack train and later one of Olympia's prominent business men. Young Murphy found employment as a clerk in the Barnes store. When the proprietor was absent Murphy was acting manager. One day in one of Barnes' absences, a short, dirty and roughly clad man entered with the request that Murphy deliver to him the household goods consigned to Governor Stevens and at that time stored in the Barnes warehouse.

Murphy looked at his caller's rough woolen shirt and his muddied boots and decided that Governor Stevens would not present himself in his capital clad in such garb. He refused to comply with the request. Governor Stevens after a sharp display of anger, went in search of Mrs. Barnes, to whom he explained matters. The household goods were delivered to the governor; but John Miller Murphy never forgot or forgave the language and when he began publishing the Standard, Stevens' activity in the ranks of the democratic party gave him the opportunity he had been waiting for and Murphy opened an attack that did not cease until the object of the editor's pen fell in defense of his country on the bloody field of Chantilly.

The Standard had been in existence but a short time when its editor heard of the attempt to organize a Pacific Confederacy. With characteristic vim Murphy flayed the movement and all those connected therewith, declaring that the country west of the Rocky Mountains was in no position to attempt the establishment of such a government; that its 625,000 population, scattered over 750,000 square miles of territory could not hope to defend themselves from Indian attack and were sure to fall the prey of some scheming foreign power.

"The idea of such a republic, or confederacy," wrote Murphy, "is preposterous. No sane man can for a moment believe such a project feasible. Let us then discourage such gasconade. It is useless, idle, treasonable nonsense. Were it even possible, we should use our efforts to discountenance it. We are citizens of the United States. It is our country. To it we owe allegiance and by the blessings of God, we ever trust to live and die within its dominion."

The Pacific Confederacy did not reach the dangerous dignity of an organized movement and after furnishing material for many columns of good, bad and indifferent editorial utterances, died.

Following the Civil war Murphy steered his paper into the democratic party organization and for more than fifty years, oftentimes with but a mere handful of a following, fought the battles of the party of Jefferson and Jackson and kept its flag flying in the face of an opposition strong and vigorous. At any time in the first twenty years of that half century he might have joined the opposition, where he would have been received with open arms, made a full fledged member of the "Federal Brigade" and given a place at the crib. Murphy, however, struggled through the lean years and he once said that the Standard had never missed an issue and for more than fifty years his writings had appeared each week in its columns. His death, December 20, 1916, brought to a close a newspaper career equalled by but few editors, and by none in this state.

Murphy's dislike of Stevens contributed toward the first republican victory in the territory. Stevens failed to obtain a renomination as delegate in 1861 and the democrats placed Selucius Garfield at the head of their ticket. The republicans, composed of former whigs, met in Olympia, in May, adopted a platform declaring "that we have unlimited confidence in the patriotism, perseverance and firmness of the national administration, and that we here pledge to it, in its efforts, to maintain the Union, to enforce the laws, protect the Government property, our unswerving fidelity," and nominated William H. Wallace as delegate. Edward Lander was the nominee of an independent movement.

The campaign brought before the people the territory's first republican newspaper, the North West, of Port Townsend, Rev. John F. Damon, editor. It was a campaign featured by intense bitterness and resulted in the election of Wallace. At Olympia, on July 29th, A. M. Poe began the publication of a paper called the Overland Press. It professed a non-partisanship which soon gave way to an open avowal of the republican party. It was succeeded by the Pacific Tribune.

Swinging back to the democratic party, because of the nomination by the republicans of an unpopular preacher, the voters, in 1863, elected George E. Cole delegate. Two years later Cole was succeeded by A. A. Denny, a republican convert from the whigs.

Lincoln's second election to the presidency indicated a career of much



ON THE SUMMIT OF THE OLYMPICS



HEAVY MOSS AND OTHER SEMI-TROPICAL GROWTH SEEN ALL OVER WESTERN WASHINGTON

This picture bears especial interest because it shows what is now the site of Hercules Granite Quarry No. 6, near Tenino.

promise for the new party and territorial aspirants for political honors, seeing the trend of the times, hitched their wagons to the rising star. Among these recruits was Garfielde, former democrat, somewhat of a trimmer, and a perennial seeker after the delegateship. To the older members of the party, Garfielde was an undesirable addition. They resented his activity, knew he would soon lay plans for capturing the nomination at the head of the ticket, and determined to make an effort to prevent such nomination—it became a case of “Anybody, Lord, but Garfielde.”

Among the delegates to the convention was Alvin Flanders, express agent at Wallula. Flanders was a man of but little education—and less natural ability—but he had Eastern Washington “in his pocket.” Anti-Garfielde delegates saw their opportunity. The “cow country” delegates went solidly for Flanders. With the assistance of the anti-Garfielde faction he was nominated and the people sent him to Washington. Garfielde already occupied a Federal office, being surveyor general.

As the time for holding the nominating conventions for the election of 1869 approached, republicans saw Garfielde laying plans to capture the nomination for delegate. J. R. Watson, one of the leading republican editors of the territory, moved to Olympia from Seattle and on August 10, 1868, began the publication of the Territorial Republican. The paper was the lineal descendant of the Pacific Tribune and as such inherited the leadership among republican newspapers. Watson was a political writer. With him a newspaper was a medium to disseminate the editor’s political views—news was of secondary importance. In season and out of season the Republican “talked politics.” Watson, like his co-temporary, John Miller Murphy was a “hard hitter,” and, like Murphy, not afraid to speak out and tell of the shortcomings of the opposition.

At the national capital Delegate Flanders developed—he learned political tricks and early in his career began laying plans to become his own successor. But one of the tricks he had not learned was that of letter writing. He wrote a letter to his friend S. D. Howe, in which he intimated his intention of again being a candidate. Such action would, of course, bring him in opposition to Garfielde, and Howe, with the bee in his own bonnet, preserved the letter.

The republican convention met in Vancouver and after considerable wrangling, nominated Garfielde. The dissatisfied members looked to Flanders as good timber for an independent candidate; but just about the time they thought they had the fuse fixed to explode their bomb in the Garfielde camp, President Grant appointed Flanders governor and left the bolters without a candidate. The appointment, however, was not made in time to prevent the publication of the letter Flanders had written to his friend Howe. Watson obtained possession of the letter and on March 8, 1869, gave it to his readers, as follows:

“Dear Howe:—

Yours of June 14th was received several days ago. I have heard from a number of different sources that it was your intention to be a candidate before our next convention for delegate; and I must say I could see no good reason why you should be. I, for one, do not believe that any one has any

more rights than another, and for **myself**, I do not presume to have any claims for a renomination more than any other member of **our** party, only so far as I have done **my** duty to the territory, and **our** party, may justify **my** hopes of a renomination and election. **My** ambition has been and still is to deserve the confidence of **my** political and personal friends by an honest and faithful discharge of **my** duties, and by this means, to win at least the respect of **my** political enemies. I have been anxious that **my** course should meet the approval of **my** friends, and that they should not regret the time and money spent to procure **my** election. I would be glad to be renominated by those who were **my** friends in the last canvass, for it is their approval that I am most anxious to secure. I feel that I have done **my** duty, but I am much dissatisfied with the result of **my** labor. I do not think I have had a fair opportunity in this session of Congress, now fast approaching its close. The difficulties that have surrounded **me**, and with which I have had to contend, I fear are not understood or appreciated by **my** friends at home, and unless I can accomplish something in the next session of this Congress, I fear I shall stand but a poor chance of being again elected. With the administration against **me** and with Congress with "retrenchment on the brain," I have been almost powerless; but no man ever worked harder or more faithfully than I have, and I am satisfied that those who know anything of **my** endeavors to serve faithfully those I represent, especially those from **our** own territory, or Oregon, who have been here during this session of Congress, will justify what I have said in regard to **myself**. I do not say I have accomplished as much as any one else might have done, but I do say that I have done **my** very best, and **my** honest conviction is that no one could have succeeded where I have failed. I will only add in regard to **myself** that I wish and hope **my** friends will feel that I deserve to be re-nominated and elected, and that **our** party can elect **me** if any republican can be elected. If this is or shall be the feeling, I shall expect to be nominated. If it is not the feeling when **our** convention meets, I shall expect to give place to some one else. You cannot misunderstand **my** position; I keep nothing back; I write you frankly and honestly what **my** feelings and purposes are.

"ALVIN FLANDERS."

Marshall F. Moore, President Johnson's appointee to the governor's chair, became Garfield's opponent for the delegateship and the campaign which followed was bitter. Frank Clark, of Steilacoom, one of Moore's spellbinders, a man whose actions did not at all times conform to the highest ideals of moral philosophy, was a good target for the shafts of Editor Watson, who on one occasion published the following editorial:

"That Five Thousand Dollars:—Frank Clark, the custodian of the funds sent from Portland by Ladd & Tilton for the election of Marshall F. Moore, has been spreading himself hugely with the money entrusted to him for disbursement. He took peculiar delight in displaying it to the gaze of people down the Sound, boasting, while so doing, of the amount in his hands and of his rich bankers. A friend assures us that he saw in Clark's hands \$4,800 in gold, after the latter had expended several hundred dollars.

"A very proper inquiry here is, where did this money come from? If Ladd and Tilton didn't furnish it, who did? It is well known that Clark had no money

of his own. The ex-governor was in the same financial condition and no sane man will believe that Moore could borrow five or six thousand dollars on the strength of his prospects of election. It is safe to presume that the Portland bankers furnished it, for a consideration contingent upon the election of Moore."—Territorial Republican, June 5, 1869.

Garfielde defeated Moore, the vote being 2,743 for the former and 2,594 for the latter.

When the Legislature of 1869-70 assembled the bolters for a time held the balance of power and kept both houses in turmoil. Lobby rows were carried to the floor of both Council and House; animosities led to fist fights and on one occasion almost to a shooting, and the sergeant-at-arms was at his wits' end in keeping a semblance of order. A preceding legislative assembly had provided for drafting a new code of laws. The code was reported and the Legislature was making rapid work when it was discovered the public printer, a member of the Federal ring, was reaping an unexpectedly rich harvest out of the printing.

James Rodgers, territorial printer, was but a figurehead through whose hands was supposed to flow the 20 or 25 per cent commission on territorial printing customarily paid to the territorial secretary. Samuel Coulter, the printer to whom the code had been "farmed out" is said to have expected the work to yield about thirty thousand dollars. The plan was working well when news of it was carried to Governor Flanders. The governor had gone over to the anti-Garfielde bolters and in two messages vetoed 104 of the bills of the new code. This explains the fragmentary appearance of the code of 1869, but it does not explain the exceedingly voluminous index. Coulter, when the governor cut short his profits by vetoing the 104 bills, started in to make up the loss by indexing and cross-indexing the work left in his hands. More than one hundred pages were used in covering the first three letters of the alphabet and was making progress—and profits—when Territorial Secretary James Scott called a halt by exclaiming: "My God! Over one hundred pages and not through the c's?"

Before the completion of the first volume of the Territorial Republican, Editor Watson died. Friends took up the work, the volume was completed, the paper suspended and in October, 1869, the printing plant passed into the hands of a company which established the Commercial Age. When Garfielde took charge of the office of surveyor general in 1866 Clarence B. Bagley became his clerk. When the Age made its appearance Bagley was editor, and automatically a member of the Federal ring.

Back in Illinois, in the late '40s, Bagley, Sr., and Owen Lovejoy preached many denunciatory sermons on the slavery question, oftentimes holding their meetings together. Bagley, Jr., when a boy wore the black and white check hat of the abolitionist. The removal of the family to the Pacific coast did not check the growth of abolition ideas and, quite naturally, father and son became republicans. Bagley became the "boy editor;" so young was he that Wells Drury, the office "devil," and afterward for many years prominent in Oakland, Calif., politics, dubbed him "Pap." With the lapse of time "Pap" became "Pop." Bagley moved to Seattle, became secretary of the Board of Public Works, collected the best privately owned library of Washington historical material in existence and is still "Pop" Bagley to his intimates.

The Age, under Bagley's editorial management, became a good newspaper

and for some months paid but little attention to politics. As the spring campaign of 1870 approached it found this position hard to maintain and political matter soon filled most of its columns. Dissatisfaction increased in republican ranks, the convention split on Garfielde, and open revolt followed.

In a lengthy address, the bolters, late in April, presented their side of the question to the voters. Garfielde was charged with having obtained the nomination by fraud and with having changed the republican party into "a mongrel faction, composed in part, and controlled entirely, by men who are not republicans, but unprincipled democrats in disguise, whose end and aim is self-aggrandizement." The address had been prepared in the preceding November. It endorsed President Grant's administration, called for a convention and was signed by a large number of prominent men.

The bolters' executive committee, consisting of S. D. Howe, A. A. Manning, G. A. Meigs, C. C. Hewitt, Ezra Meeker, A. A. Denny and John E. Burns met the next week and placed Marshall Blinn before the voters as the bolters' candidate for delegate. The committee adopted a platform endorsing the national republican platform and the territory entered upon the wildest campaign it had experienced.

Blinn's Seabeck sawmill and lumber-carrying sailing vessels had made him a rich man. He had served in the Legislature of 1868, during which service the Olympia Transcript had said he was "a republican, a capitalist, a sharp business man, and, we believe, honest; but about as verdant in political chicanery and legislative matters as the celebrated animal known as 'Thompson's Colt.'"

Won over to the bolters' cause by an appeal to his "personal animosity, ambition and schoolboy simplicity," Blinn became the Thompson's Colt of the campaign. He bought a controlling interest in the Transcript, chartered steamboats, hired brass bands and spellbinders, traveled up and down the Sound in state, held meetings at which much music and oratory abounded, spent money freely, and went down to defeat with a vote of but 155 out of a total of 6,357. Garfielde defeated J. D. Mix, the democratic candidate, by a majority of 736 and immediately after the election started on a tour of Eastern Washington—the Transcript said, with the object of escaping would-be office holders.

The bolters' campaign with its slogan "The Band Is Still Playing," and its charge of "carpet-baggers" and "piebalds" hurled at the Garfielde faction, placed Washington in history as the scene of the first organized bolt from the republican party. It also placed Garfielde in control of the political situation, a control he might have held for years had it not been for his attempts to turn political enemies into henchman. Because of this "trimmer" element in his make-up, friends turned against him and sent O. B. McFadden to the national capital as delegate in 1872. McFadden served one term and was succeeded by Judge Orange Jacobs, a strong temperance man, a resident of Seattle, and a man who had been free of "ring" activities. In a great measure Jacobs brought the bolters back to the republican party.

Aside from the purely local question of Federal patronage, the main cause of the bolt is to be found in the attempted impeachment of President Johnson. The impeachment trial's first result was the defeat of Garfielde by Marshall F. Moore, a Johnson man. The election of General Grant to the presidency brought a change of sentiment. Grant never forgave any man who had been a Johnson

partisan and because of this the promising careers of several Washington men were checked, if not brought to a close. Among the men who suffered thus were Phillip D. Moore and Elwood Evans. Garfield was, perhaps, the greatest orator Washington has ever sent to the national capital. His mastery of words, ability as a phrase builder and power in swaying audiences gave him a national reputation. He was called "Washington's Silver Tongued Orator." Had it been a reputation entirely free of spots, Garfield might have risen to great prominence.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE UPS AND DOWNS OF PORT ANGELES—VICTOR SMITH SENT TO PORT TOWNSEND AS COLLECTOR—SMITH PROPOSES FORTIFICATION OF PORT ANGELES BAY, AND REMOVAL OF CUSTOM HOUSE TO PORT ANGELES—PRESIDENT RESERVES MILITARY AND NAVAL SITE—CROOKEDNESS IN OFFICE—QUICK THAW TEARS OUT FOUNDATIONS OF NEW CUSTOM HOUSE—FIGHT CARRIED TO WASHINGTON CITY—SAFE ON WRECKED VESSEL FORCED AND \$3,000,000 STOLEN—SMITH IS DROWNED AND THIEVES ESCAPE.

Cruising through the straits now bearing his name, Juan de Fuca, so the story goes, encountered a furious gale, which so threatened the destruction of his fleet that the Greek sailor sought safety in a land locked harbor on the south shore. De Fuca considered his deliverance the beneficent act of angels and, in thankfulness for their guidance, named the bay El Puerto de Angeles. The years that have come and gone since 1592 have shortened El Puerto de Angeles to Port Angeles.

Port Angeles, like every other western town, has had its "ups and downs," and if the angels guided Juan de Fuca's ships in that long ago, subsequent history shows times when they seem to have relaxed their beneficent vigilance. Several times it has given promise of becoming a city of considerable importance. Several times the receding tide of population has disappeared up the straits leaving those forced to remain, almost hopeless.

The storm having spent its fury, De Fuca sailed out of the bay of the Angeles leaving it to its peaceful slumbers. Except for the occasional visit of adventurous explorer or trader, or the canoe of the Indian, its waters remained undisturbed for 270 years. This brings the history down to the year 1861, in the spring of which, Confederate soldiers burned the bridge at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, and threatened the national capital with capture. The burning of the bridge seriously interfered with the transportation of troops and Washington laid plans for its rebuilding.

In the capital at this time was Victor Smith, a man who lately had arrived from an editorial desk in Cincinnati, and a man to whom the administration felt itself indebted for campaign favors. Smith was placed in charge of transporting bridge materials, performed his duties successfully and when he returned to Washington, Secretary Chase obtained his appointment to the post of collector of customs for Puget Sound and special agent of the treasury, with great powers. July 30, 1861, the new collector arrived at Port Townsend. His arrival stirred up a hornets' nest. Every other man he met was seeking appointment in the Federal service. The new collector learned that much of the money appropriated by the government for the benefit of the Indians was finding its way into the

pockets of men who had no regard for the laws against selling liquor to the red skins. He demanded enforcement of the law and a lucrative business was threatened with destruction. Doctor O'Brien was enjoying a "good thing" in the marine hospital. Smith ordered the hospital removed some four miles away from the grog shops and O'Brien's patients recovered so rapidly in the new surroundings that the doctor soon was left with but little business. The move saved the government \$6,000 in hospital fees the first year.

At this time Rev. John F. Damon and his little weekly newspaper, *The North West*, were in financial difficulties. The paper was sadly in need of an "angel," and Damon, more lucrative employment. Smith furnished both. Damon was sent to one of the San Juan Islands as a customs inspector and Smith became the editor and financial backer of the paper. Within a month Damon, charged with inefficiency, was transferred to another part of the district. He resigned, resumed charge of his paper and Smith had made another enemy who proceeded to score the collector unmercifully. The principal cause of Damon's attack was Smith's proposed removal of the customs house from Port Townsend to Juan de Fuca's El Puerto de Angeles, also called Ediz Hook, E-Eenas, False Dungeness and Cherbourg.

Port Townsend citizens viewed the proposed change with disfavor. Finding the collector determined in the matter, a number of them filed squatters' claims on the land lying back from Port Angeles Bay and induced Smith to visit the place. He was highly pleased with the location, just across the straits from Esquimault, and in a short time, left Port Townsend for Washington. The claim holders were much elated at the apparent success of their scheme for controlling the land of the proposed new town.

By the time Smith reached the national capital all thought of an easy victory over the southern Confederacy had vanished. Administration officials realized they had a great problem to solve. England, accused of secretly aiding the South, was expected to prove unfriendly in the Northwest, where the San Juan controversy remained unsettled and with camps of both British and American troops established on the island. Smith proposed that the American government meet this British menace by fortifying Port Angeles Bay. To allay suspicion of the real motive of the government, he proposed the removal of the customs house from Port Townsend and the reservation of the land around the bay. He encountered but little difficulty in his efforts and on March 4, 1862, President Lincoln issued a proclamation reserving no less than five square miles of land lying on the south side of Port Angeles Bay for "naval, military and other purposes."

The squatters' plans were demolished. If any forts, arsenals, dry docks or other buildings were to be erected by the government they would be built on the reserve thus created. During the collector's absence Lieutenant Merriam was in charge of the customs house. When Smith returned Merriam refused to deliver the keys. Smith's answer was a ten-minute warning to the people of the town, the clearing of the deck of the revenue cutter *Shubrick*, upon which Smith had just arrived, and the training of its guns upon the customs house. It produced the desired result and Merriam turned over the keys. Later Merriam's accounts were found \$1,800 short, the amount having been charged to the account of Smith who was forced to make it good. Merriam was tried and found guilty of em-

bezzlement and some time after Smith's death paid the money to the collector's estate.

One square mile of the Port Angeles reserve was surveyed into 12,000 lots each 50 by 140 feet in size, and in accordance with the provisions of the congressional act by which the townsite was created, sold at public auction, the government realizing \$40,000 from the sale. Preparations were made for building a customs house. Rev. Thomas Starr King, an eminent San Francisco clergyman, journeyed to Port Angeles and with impressive ceremonies laid the corner stone of the new structure. A wooden building was erected. The forest growth gave way before the axes and saws of land clearers, graded streets appeared and the embryo city looked hopefully toward the future which appeared bright. In November, 1863, a heavy snow, followed by a rapid thaw, brought a torrent of water down upon the new customs house, pushed it off the foundation, upset the chimney which crashed down on the building, crushing Deputy Collector Goodell and Inspector Anderson.

When this calamity befell, Collector Smith was absent in Washington, where he had been called in connection with the Merriam embezzlement case. The customs house, or a part of it, at least, floated out on the tide, was captured by Port Townsend people and towed to that city. On the next southward bound vessel, following the one carrying Smith, went Dr. Ansel G. Henry, later surveyor general of the territory, who, as he stepped on board the boat, said he would "follow Victor Smith to hell," if such trip was necessary to defeat the collector's plans. The charges preferred against Merriam were proven; but Doctor Henry's influence was such as to force his removal as collector.

Smith now turned to his friend Secretary Chase and the two men called on President Lincoln with a request that they be informed of the charges upon which the collector had been removed.

"There are no charges," said Lincoln, "but I cannot stand the pressure."

Chase stood by his friend and told the President that if the country could afford to dispense with the services of such a man as Victor Smith, it also could dispense with the services of Secretary Chase. Lincoln gave Chase to understand that he did not wish to dispense with the services of either himself or Smith but that the latter's removal had been made in an effort to bring harmony out of the chaotic conditions existing in Washington Territory, and that the secretary should give Smith the first vacancy in his department. On the same day that Lincoln signed the dismissal, he also signed a commission appointing Victor Smith special agent of the treasury department with powers of supervision over all the customs houses on the Pacific Coast.

President Lincoln was assassinated and on May 20th Smith and Rufus Leighton, as messengers of the treasury department, sailed from New York on board the steamship Golden Rule, Captain Denny, having in their charge \$3,000,000 in currency and a large number of government bonds which they were to deliver to the United States sub-treasury in San Francisco. Hardly had the ship left shore then Smith discovered that Montgomery Gibbs, a treasury department spy, was a passenger on board the ship. The agent's suspicions were aroused. A few days later Captain Denney and Gibbs began a search of the vessel, openly charging Smith with having the money in his possession. Down in the hold, nicely packed in a wooden box and shipped as common freight, was



LAUREL STREET, PORT ANGELES, 1915



LOOKING EAST ON FRONT STREET, PORT ANGELES, 1898

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a safe in which the currency and bonds had been securely locked. Smith pretended that he had the money in his room and taking his station at the door, with drawn revolver, told the two men that the first one to cross the threshold would pay the penalty with his life. The conspirators withdrew and a few days later the Golden Rule went ashore on Roncador Reef, 200 miles from Aspinwall and twenty miles out of her course.

Eleven days she lay at the mercy of the waves with her nose wedged fast on the reef. Passengers and crew were landed on the few acres of land of which the islet was composed and a few days later were rescued by a passing vessel. Smith having decided to stand guard over the wreck until Leighton could reach shore and send a revenue cutter to his relief, remained alone on the island for six weeks. The cutter arrived and the sunken safe was hauled on her deck. The \$3,000,000 in currency had been removed and government bonds were found in the water of the Golden Rule's hold. The safe had been forced open with burglars' tools and this explained the great care Denny and Gibbs had given to a box, said to contain ships papers, which they had taken with them when rescued from the reef.

During his lonely vigil on Roncador Reef Smith fell sick with Panama fever and was still far from well when he arrived at San Francisco. On July 28, 1865, he sailed for Puget Sound on board the steamer Brother Jonathan, a staunchly built vessel of about 1,300 tons, which, since her arrival on the Pacific two years before, had been on the San Francisco-Portland-Victoria run. She was manned by capable officers and crew and carried 150 passengers. Outside the Golden Gate the Jonathan encountered a storm which became so severe that two days later Captain DeWolf decided to escape the fury of the wind by entering the harbor of Crescent City, California.

The course of the vessel was changed and a few minutes later, her bow split open upon the pinnacle of an uncharted rock, the Jonathan began to settle. One after another the boats were lost. Forty-five minutes from the time the vessel struck, she turned over and sank, carrying down her brave captain who had made a gallant fight for the lives of his passengers and crew, about one hundred and eighty men and women. Among those lost were General and Mrs. George E. Wright, Captain Chaddock and Lieutenant E. D. Waite of the United States army; James Nesbet, of the San Francisco Bulletin; Victor Smith and Dr. Henry, the man who had gone to Washington for the purpose of having Smith removed from office.

Through the death of Smith the evidence against Denny and Gibbs was lost. The latter fled to Canada and later to London, England, where he defrauded a ship owner of \$25,000. An investigation was held; Denny lost his commission and retired to a palatial home at Seven Hills, New York, where he died, a wealthy recluse. Port Angeles, in the death of Smith, lost her most powerful friend. The Civil war was at an end and the Federal Government no longer considered Esquimault and the British forts a serious menace demanding the building of American forts at Port Angeles. The port of entry was transferred back to Port Townsend and El Puerto de Angeles returned to the musings of an almost deserted village.

CHAPTER XXV

DOCTOR BARLOW, PIONEER IN TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD EXPLOITATION—ASA WHITNEY'S EXPLORATIONS AND HIS PLANS FOR LINE TO COAST—GEORGE WILKES BECOMES PROMINENT AS PUBLICIST—EDWIN F. JOHNSON APPROVES PLANS—JEFFERSON DAVIS OPPOSES BUILDING BY NORTHERN ROUTE, BECAUSE OF POSSIBLE EFFECT ON SLAVERY—MC CLELLAN AIDS IN ATTEMPT TO DISCREDIT WHOLE SCHEME—STEVENS' REPORT A BOMBHELL—PRESIDENT BUCHANAN'S IDEA—ORGANIZATION OF NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY—CANFIELD AND OTHER ACTIVE RAILROAD MEN BECOME INTERESTED—JAY COOKE & CO. UNDERTAKE TO FINANCE THE ENTERPRISE—TACOMA IS CHOSEN AS TERMINUS—WHAT OTHER CITIES OFFERED.

The question with whom did the idea of building a transcontinental railroad originate always will remain unanswered. Ever since that day upon which primitive man discovered the principle of the wheel and its axle, more and better means of transportation has been the marching song of civilization. It was a momentous discovery, one leading to the construction of the first rude two-wheeled cart. Early in the eighteenth century the steam driven locomotive was invented and was followed, almost immediately, by the steam railroad.

Dr. Samuel B. Barlow, of Granville, Mass., is given credit for having first publicly advocated a trans-continental railroad. In the early '30s he began a series of newspaper and magazine articles in which he urged immediate construction, by the General Government, of such a line from New York to the mouth of the Columbia River. The first American railroad had just been completed. That others besides Doctor Barlow had discussed the question is shown by one of Barlow's letters in which he states:

"An able writer in the *Emigrant*, a paper published in Washtenaw County, Michigan Territory, in a series of numbers, of which it has fallen to my lot to see only the first, is endeavoring to draw the attention of the public to the scheme of uniting the City of New York and the mouth of the Columbia (Oregon) River, on the Pacific Ocean in about 46 degrees N. Lat., by a railroad, and also endeavoring by facts and arguments to prove the utility and practicability of the project."

Some ten years later, Asa Whitney, after ten years' residence in China, returned to the United States and almost immediately began agitating the building of a railroad from the Atlantic coast to Puget Sound. Whitney had made world shipping a study; he was armed with facts and figures and in his advocacy of the project he pointed out the great advantage such a line would give the United States by reducing the length of the New York-to-China route of travel.

Gathering a company of young men, Whitney, in 1845, ascended the Mis-

souri River, which he explored for about fifteen hundred miles. In December he laid before Congress his plan for building a railroad from Lake Michigan to the Pacific Ocean. He proposed to built it at his own expense, provided the Government would give him a land grant extending thirty miles on each side of the line. The ridicule with which his plan was greeted sent Whitney before the people with an appeal for their support.

Traveling over eastern and middle western states Whitney held meetings; explained his plans, pictured the benefits to be derived from the road and appealed for Congressional action. Commercial and legislative bodies adopted resolutions endorsing Whitney and his scheme, but Congress continued to refuse to make the land grant. Whitney's fortune was consumed and the first promoter of a land-grant railroad scheme became the keeper of a small dairy. He died impoverished.

About the time Whitney began his agitation, George Wilkes, a New York editor, came prominently before the public with a plan for building the National Pacific Railroad. Whitney was a talker and depended upon the spoken word to arouse interest. Wilkes was a writer and carried on his campaign through newspaper and magazine articles and the publication of books and leaflets. Becoming interested in the published letters of Peter Burnett, Oregon pioneer of 1843, Wilkes wrote a descriptive history of Oregon, Burnett furnishing most of the data. It was published in 1847 and aided in arousing interest, not only in Wilkes' plan, but also in Whitney's. The National Pacific Railroad was planned to run "from some eligible point on the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean. The said road to be build and owned by the Government, and its construction and subsequent management to be placed under the superintendence and direction of a board of sworn commissioners to be selected from the different states by the United States Senate."

December 6, 1846, Wilkes presented a memorial before Congress in which was laid out a complete plan for the construction of the road; its grades, character of country traversed—it followed closely the Oregon immigrant road—its probable cost and possible income. That the author of the petition had a fairly correct vision of future events is shown by the arguments presented and in which he says:

"By the superior facilities conferred upon us by our position and control of the route, we should become the common carrier of the world for the India trade. 'Britannia rules the waves' would soon dwindle to an empty boast.

"Experience has proven that no direction which can be given to human enterprise is so active in developing the resources of a country as that devoted to facilitating rapid intercourse between its extreme points."

The railroad would turn the boundless prairies into smiling farms; Oregon would be settled; manufacturing stimulated and trade extended. Tourists from all over the world would travel over the line and would leave some of their money in the country. That the road should be owned by the Government Wilkes considered necessary for the following reasons: Because the Government owned all the right of way and as this laid within territories the question of states' rights and constitutional prohibitions could not arise. Because it would become the international highway between two oceans. Because the immense revenues derived from its operation would create a monopoly. Because the large number

of employes might become a political power over Congress and because the road would be of prime importance in time of war.

"The object of a democracy," wrote Wilkes, "while it secures to enterprise and talent, their rewards, is to equalize the benefits of heaven to all, and the act which would avowedly confer special facilities for the amassment of enormous wealth on any body of men, is in derogation of its own comprehensive scheme. A bounteous Providence has made the productions of the earth equal to the wants of all his creatures, and it is a demonstrable rule that every usurpation of an excess is followed in some quarter by a corresponding loss. This tendency, through the peculiar construction of society, cannot be helped at present, nor can it be corrected in a day, but it is incumbent upon us, whom a wise director has delegated to work out a system for the elevation of mankind, to interpose no obstacle to its consummation by specially encouraging an infraction of the plan.

"The first results of a private grant of the nature of the one proposed to the last Congress, would doubtless be as follows: As soon as the route had been surveyed, maps would be prepared, dividing the whole into sections for sale. Then a formal and ostentatious opening of the road would follow. A vast collection of people would gather together to see the show, and amid the thunder of cannon, the waiving of colors, and the swell of martial music, some public spirited gentleman would strike a spade into the ground while the wild huzzas of the admiring multitude would make the welkin ache again.

"This herculean effort over, the company * * * would felicitate themselves over the vast advantages they had cozened from the Government. From that time out their attention would be devoted entirely to land speculations."

Newspapers would be used to advertise the advantages of this new country. Speculators would rush into it. "The poor man would hasten with the tribute of his hard won gains to cast a golden anchor in the future. After this course of things had been pursued long enough to swell the pockets of the company with a plethora of millions, we should have no stronger guarantee than what exists in the fallibility of man that the work ever would be prosecuted. The whole result would be that the company who had simply assumed for a time the United States ownership of the public lands (for none but the sixty mile strip would sell during this delusion) would good naturedly pocket the people's money till they fell off from very surfeit; and then, declaring themselves incapable, for want of means, of carrying out the objects of the grant, they would either sell out their privileges to others, or Government, impelled by the complaints of distresses of those who had been their victims, would have to complete the object after all herself."

Assuming that the intentions of the directors of the company were honest and that they fully intended to live up to the terms of their contract, Wilkes found an objection to the grant in his belief that British money would be necessary in building the line. He feared that under the direction of the British "minister, funds might be placed in private hands for purchase of stock." This would afford the British Government "a pretext for interference on the score of protecting the property of her subjects" and would lead to the "introduction into our very bosom of a foreign influence that will pierce our continent from shore to shore."

"Alarmed at our astonishing progress, the monarchial governments of Europe

are preparing to bring their centralized force to bear upon the genius of republicanism, and when the collision takes place, we, as the grand promoter and defender of the latter, will have to sustain the whole brunt of the shock. Let us, therefore, arm ourselves against the crisis in time!" Government should, in his opinion, lose no time in starting the work. Every available man should be employed in the construction of the line; 20,000 or more men should be set at the task so that it might be completed within five years. These men, having arrived in the new country opened up by the road, would become settlers and Oregon would be saved to the Union by the men who had built the road. Withdrawing these railroad builders from the cities would, Wilkes thought, solve the labor problem, which even in that early day, seems to have been causing some trouble.

"The rights of labor would be vindicated by a more equal division of its returns between it and its mercantile deputies, and a great step would be taken towards elevating it to its true importance in the social scale."

Asa Whitney's land grant scheme was a "single farm of 92,160,000 acres," his commission of supervision was merely for the purpose of "presenting an imposing front to the nation." Carver's plan, one devised to fill the promoter's pocket with \$3,000,000 at the expense of the Government. Thus, it will be seen that Wilkes, more than twenty years before the building of the Union Pacific, foresaw the dangers of a great land grant. Few pages of Western history are so besmirched by records of political wrong-doing and private graft as are those telling the sordid story of the grants, bonds, subsidies, failures and receiverships of the transcontinental railroads.

In reply to Whitney's insistence that he was the originator of the transcontinental railroad idea, Wilkes said that honor belonged to Simon Bolivar, the liberator of South America, who, in 1827, planned a railroad across the Isthmus of Panama. "The claim, therefore, of being first to originate it seems to be of secondary importance, and only worthy of a mere struggle of personal conceit."

Schemes for railroads developed in all directions and in such number that a railroad convention was held in St. Louis in the fall of 1849. Here Whitney presented a plan for building a line from Chicago to Fort Nisqually by way of Council Bluffs, the South Pass, Fort Walla Walla and over the Cascade Mountains. This followed closely the Wilkes' route. Thomas H. Benton's plan was for a line from St. Louis southwestward by way of New Mexico to San Francisco with a branch line to Oregon. To these J. Loughborough, of St. Louis, added a compromise plan for a road from Independence, Mo., to the South Pass with branches extending to California, Yaquina Bay, Ore., and Fort Nisqually.

In 1852 Edwin F. Johnson, one of the foremost engineers of the time, while chief engineer on a line of railway that later became known as the Chicago & Northwestern, took up the study of Whitney's plan and Johnson became impressed with its great possibilities. He worked out a plan which he presented to Thomas H. Canfield and Robert J. Walker, capitalists interested in the Wisconsin road. Canfield was from Vermont; Walker an ex-senator from Mississippi. Canfield became so much interested in Johnson's plans that he encouraged him to publish them. Walker read the manuscript of Johnson's booklet and insisted on taking it to Washington and showing it to Secretary of War Jefferson Davis. Other Southern men were taken into the confidence of Walker

and Davis with the result that plans were made to fight the building of any railroad line lying north of thirty-five degrees north latitude.

Davis, deciding to become master of the situation, laid plans for the immediate survey of the different routes. Such surveys, he thought, would prove the Northern route impracticable and thus aid the building of the Southern line and the extension of slave territory to the Pacific coast. March 3, 1853, Congress appropriated \$150,000 for the survey of four routes, the money to be expended by the secretary of war under the direction of the President. Davis was in the saddle and the surveys were turned over to army engineers. Major Isaac I. Stevens was placed in charge of the Northern route, and with an appointment as governor of Washington Territory and superintendent of Indian affairs set to work assembling his force of engineers and supplies at St. Paul.

Upon the request and recommendation of Stevens, Capt. George B. McClellan was placed in command of operations on the western end of the line. In McClellan's party were Lieut. J. K. Duncan, astronomer, topographer and draughtsman; Lieut. H. C. Hodges, quartermaster and commissary; Lieut. S. Mowry, meteorologist; George Gibbs, geologist and ethnologist; J. F. Minter, assistant engineer; Dr. J. G. Cooper, surgeon and naturalist; A. L. Lewis, assistant engineer and interpreter; packers, soldiers and laborers, the whole party numbering sixty-six men. Horses and mules to the number of 173 provided transportation for men and supplies.

McClellan arrived at Vancouver June 27 and spent almost a month in preparing for the field. How he failed to perform the duty assigned to him in connection with the building of the Naches Pass wagon road and the expending of the \$20,000 which Congress had appropriated for that purpose, has been told elsewhere. Superficial examinations were made of the Cascade passes, from the western side, the party then moved up the Columbia and Yakima rivers and began the work of surveying the passes from the eastern side.

In his report to Stevens, prepared in Olympia and filed February 23, 1854, McClellan appears to have stretched himself to discredit the whole railroad project. He said he found but little good land in any part of the country examined, each of the passes through the Cascades presented almost insurmountable obstacles, the Columbia River gorge offering the only pass which he thought practicable. Indian testimony regarding the country always received first consideration with McClellan, who seems to have discredited the views of both the American settlers and Hudson's Bay men who had traveled over it again and again and knew something of its character. Some writers profess to see in McClellan's report the influence of Davis and his desire to discredit the Northern route, and even go so far as to accuse the captain of having made two reports—one to Stevens and one to Davis. Others find the cause for McClellan's lack of enthusiasm in his well-known dilatory way of doing things.

At St. Paul Stevens organized his party with Lieut. Cuvier Grover, Lieut. Beckman DuBarry, Lieut. A. W. Tinkham and Fred W. Lander, civil engineers; Dr. George Suckley, surgeon and naturalist; Isaac F. Osgood, disbursing officer; J. M. Stanley, artist; John Lambert, topographer; George W. Stevens, secretary and astronomer; James Doty and A. Remingi, astronomical and magnetic observers; Joseph F. Moffett, meteorologist; T. S. Everett, quartermaster and commissary clerk; Elwood Evans, Thomas Adams, F. H. Burr, Max Stro-

bel, A. Jekelfatuzy, B. F. Kendall and Charles E. Evelyn, aides. Wagon masters, pack masters, guides, teamsters, etc., brought the whole number of the party up to 111 men.

Leaving St. Paul May 24 the eastern division explored and surveyed a broad belt of country westward to Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone which was reached on August 1. At this point Stevens was joined by Lieutenants Donelson and Grover, who had been sent ahead of the main party. Lieutenant Mullan was sent with a party to explore the Yellowstone River Valley. Separated into small parties the expedition set out from Fort Union, explored the passes of the Rocky and Bitter Root mountains and early in November arrived at the Walla Walla rendezvous.

Stevens came on to Olympia, arriving early in December. There he received McClellan's preliminary report in which the explorer of the Cascades said the Yakima Pass was barely practicable and that "the question is, after all, reduced to a choice between the shorter line, high grades, a very long tunnel, and almost certain difficulty from the snow, in one case; and the longer line, low grades, little or no tunneling and no trouble from the snow, in the other. I prefer the latter."

McClellan's fear of Cascade Mountain snows did not harmonize with Stevens' ideas. An express was sent to Walla Walla with orders to L. A. Tinkham to ascend the Yakima Valley, explore the Snoqualmie Pass and the country westward to the Sound. In the mountains of Montana and Northern Idaho Tinkham had had much experience with snow. With a few Indians for companions the engineer set out up the valley, crossed the summit on January 21 and a few days later arrived in Seattle. In his report to Stevens he states:

"The whole breadth of snow over twelve inches deep was some less than sixty miles in extent. Of this forty-five miles were two feet and upwards; about twenty miles were four feet and upwards; and six miles were six feet and upwards."

Tinkham doubtless passed through the true Snoqualmie Pass as he mentions having gone to Seattle by way of the Snoqualmie Falls. Considerable doubt as to McClellan's ever having been in Snoqualmie Pass exists. In his report he says:

"I will first describe the latter—heretofore erroneously called the Snoqualmie, for the reason that the river of that name, the south fork of the Sinahomish, was incorrectly supposed to head in it. The approach to this pass must be by the valley of the Yakima. * * * The road must have a side location on the mountain spur bordering the valley of the Nooknoo, in about 70 per cent rock, generally conglomerate; follow this valley 29½ miles, then take the summit and northern slope of the low ridge separating Lake Mowee from the valley of the Snoqualmie, and from that taking a spur running from the Nooknoo Falls to those of the Snoqualmie, reach the latter falls at a distance of forty-five miles from the tunnel."

Lake Mowee and Nooknoo Falls are to be found in Cedar Lake and Falls. Thus it will be seen that McClellan, and possibly Tinkham, too, crossed through the Yakima or Cedar and not the true Snoqualmie Pass.

December 23d McClellan left Olympia under orders to explore the country between the Sound and the mountains. He went to Steilacoom, spent five days

listening to Indian stories of the dangers of attempting a winter exploration and, after deciding that a trip from Steilacoom overland towards the mountains was out of the question, hired Indian boatmen and set out down the Sound. Ascending the Snohomish and Snoqualmie rivers to a point a short distance above the Snoqualmie Falls, McClellan found the ground covered with about a foot of snow. Away towards the mountains it stretched, very white, very light and soft and innocent of trails. It was too much. The explorer turned about, descended the river, turned north and went into camp on the north end of Macdonough or Camano Island.

In the night a wind storm arose and the morning showed a world covered with several inches of snow. McClellan decided that the exploration of Bellingham Bay was impossible under such circumstances and returned to Olympia and more congenial surroundings.

Early in the spring of 1854 Stevens sent his report to Washington. Its publication created much sentiment favorable to the northern route and for years Stevens' report was the recognized authority on the country lying between the Great Lakes and the Sound. It proved a bomb shell beneath the hopes of Davis and other southern leaders. Sectional partisans in Congress prevented the passage of any of the various bills introduced for providing machinery for the building of a railroad to the Pacific Coast and it remained for the Territory of Washington to take the initiative. January 27, 1857, the Legislature passed an act incorporating the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, capital \$15,000,000, with authority to increase the amount to \$30,000,000.

This company was "authorized and empowered to survey, locate, construct, alter, maintain and operate a railroad, with one or more tracks or lines of rails, commencing at one of the passes in the Rocky Mountains between the territories of Washington and Nebraska, and connecting with such road passing through the territories of Minnesota and Nebraska as the company may elect; thence extending westwardly through the Territory of Washington by the Bitter Root Valley, crossing the Coeur d'Alene Mountains by the most practicable route; thence across the great plain of the Columbia, with two branches, one down the Columbia to Vancouver, the other over the Cascade Mountains to the Sound, with a connection from the river to the Sound. Among the incorporators were Isaac I. Stevens, Col. William Cock, Elwood Evans, A. A. Denny, Judge William Strong, W. S. Ladd, Ex-Senator Ramsey and Gen. James Shields, the two latter of Minnesota. This was quite an ambitious organization; but it failed to survive the "paper" stage.

President Buchanan, in his annual message of 1858, sounded the death-knell of the plan to build and operate the Pacific Railroad by the Government in these words:

"It is freely admitted that it would be inexpedient for this Government to exercise the power of constructing the Pacific Railroad by its own immediate agents. Such a policy would increase the patronage of the Executive to a dangerous extent, and introduce a system of jobbing and corruption which no vigilance on the part of Federal officers could either prevent or detect. This can only be done by the keen eye and active and careful supervision of individual and private interest. The construction of this road ought, therefore, to be committed to companies incorporated by the states, or other agencies, whose pecu-

niary interests would be directly involved. Congress might then assist them in the work by grants of land or of money, or both, under such conditions or restrictions as would secure the transportation of troops and munitions of war free from charge, and that of the United States mail at a fair and reasonable price."

This admission of Federal incompetency in the management of business affairs, and its invitation to promoters of railroad companies to apply for land grants, bonds, subsidiary bonuses and privileges, was promptly accepted. Congress, in a short time, was listening to all kinds of schemes.

Josiah Perham, native of Maine, originator of railroad excursions and a man who for some years enthusiastically had urged the building of the Peoples Pacific Railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans, applied to the Massachusetts Legislature, March 20, 1860, for a charter. The Legislature refused to grant the request. Perham transferred his efforts to his own state and succeeded. The route to be followed by the Peoples Road was from the Missouri River to San Francisco, but Congress refused to listen to Perham. His plan for inducing every man, woman and child who had \$100 in bank to buy stock failed. Congress, in 1862, issued a charter, accompanied by various and sundry other and more substantial monetary benefits, to the Union and Central Pacific Railroad companies.

Perham promptly switched his plan, and its friends, over to the Northern route and was soon back at the Congressional doors with his original scheme, except that he had changed the route and now desired to run his road from Lake Superior to Puget Sound. Also he had learned a lesson from President Buchanan, and the successes of the Central and Union companies, and now desired a land grant. Congress again refused to grant the petition and Perham, changing the name of his company to that of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, again applied for a hearing.

In the House at this time was Thaddeus Stevens, Pennsylvanian of great and powerful influence. Perham induced Stevens to "father" the Northern Pacific bill. It passed both houses and July 2, 1864, received the endorsement of President Lincoln. It granted the company twenty sections of land to the mile in the states of Oregon and Minnesota and forty sections to the mile in the territories. Perham included in the bill a clause prohibiting the bonding of company property. He expected the people of America to subscribe the money necessary for building the line. The stock was "a slow seller." Perham's health broke down under the strain of trying to finance the company and in December, 1865, a new board of directors with J. Gregory Smith as president, was placed in charge.

Smith, following several unsuccessful attempts to finance the road, called upon Thomas H. Canfield for assistance. Canfield suggested calling William B. Ogden, president of the Chicago & Northwestern, into consultation. A reorganization was the result, and Edwin F. Johnson, Canfield's associate in the building of the Chicago & Northwestern, became chief engineer. Two crews of investigating engineers were placed in the field—one on the eastern end, the other on the western. The latter was in charge of Gen. James Tilton, former surveyor general of Washington Territory.

The first result of these investigations was an application to the great bank-

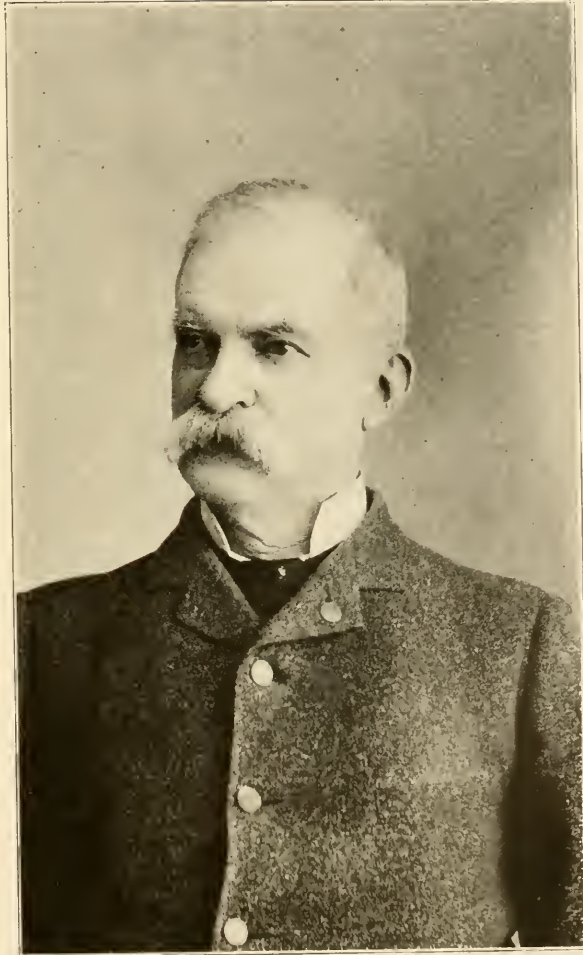
ing firm of Jay Cooke & Company to undertake to finance the railroad. The Cooke Company then sent two parties over the route—the one from the western end, in charge of W. Milnor Roberts, who, in a short time became chief engineer, consisted of Roberts, Samuel Wilkeson, Rev. Mr. Claxton, William G. Moorehead, Jr., and a son of Engineer Johnson. These men, after visiting all the little towns on Puget Sound, went up the Columbia River, crossed overland from Wallula to Lake Pend d'Oreille, through the Bitter Root and Rocky mountains and eastward down the Missouri River. The report convinced Cooke & Co. of the value of the Northern Pacific land grant as a basis of credit and it agreed to assume the task of financing the road.

An accommodating Congress and public permitted the company to change its charter. The road was bonded for \$100,000,000, the banking firm agreeing to sell the bonds at par and pay the railroad company 88 cents of each dollar received. In addition to this commission the bank was to receive \$200 in stock with each \$1,000 bond sold. A pool was formed and within thirty days Cooke & Co. sold \$5,000,000 in bonds. The advertising campaign which it instituted for the Northern Pacific was the greatest the world had known. Almost every newspaper in the country printed the advertising; and stories telling of the wonderful business opportunities and fine farming lands to be found in the Northern Pacific country. Branch bond houses were established in Europe and the Northern Pacific was carried to a high place on a wave of wild and unreasonable speculation.

Active construction began in July, 1870, at Thompson's Junction, Minn. On the western end twenty-five miles of roadbed was graded that year. It extended from Kalama up the Cowlitz Valley and the next year rails were laid and two years later fifty miles more were completed. In the fall Gen. George Cass, Ogden, Billings, Canfield, Wright, Windom and Chief Engineer Roberts came to the Sound to select a terminus. They journeyed back and forth on the steamer North Pacific, were entertained at each of the many little towns with terminal ambitions and returned east without announcing a decision.

Olympia they found objectionable because of her "extensive tide flats." However, it was about this time that Ira Bradley Thomas suddenly died in an Olympia hotel. Early in the spring Thomas appeared in Olympia and began buying land along the eastern shore of one of the inlets. He bought several thousand acres. His death threw the whole matter into the probate courts and probating an estate is a matter requiring considerable time.

Thomas was an agent of the Lake Superior & Puget Sound Company, chartered under the laws of Maine. January 29, 1869, the Maine Legislature passed an act incorporating the Western Transportation & Mining Company, with Abner Coburn, Philander Coburn, Richard D. Rice and others, incorporators. March 23, 1870, the same Legislature passed an act permitting the Western Transportation & Mining Company to change its name to Lake Superior & Puget Sound Company. The change of name was made April 26th. November 27, 1871, the Legislature of Washington Territory passed an act requiring all foreign corporations doing business in the territory to appoint a resident agent. The Lake Superior & Puget Sound Company appointed as such agent John W. Sprague, his commission being signed by Thomas H. Canfield, president; and Samuel Wilkeson, secretary. At this time Rice was vice president; Canfield,



GEN. J. W. SPRAGUE

Dominating figure in the first railroading in the territory

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general manager; Sprague, superintendent, and Wilkeson, secretary, of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. Ira Bradley Thomas was an agent of the Lake Superior & Puget Sound Company and his death tied up the lands bought at Olympia. Seattle was too much on the hillside; Steilacoom possessed an open roadstead instead of a harbor; Mukilteo was in much the same situation; Bellingham Bay was too far north; Tacoma was a little sawmill town, and the commissioners returned east.

The death of Thomas was the death of Olympia's "terminus" hopes—and they had been high hopes, too. Speculation had hoisted the price of land to a high level. The directors of the land company faced a serious dilemma. A new terminus—one at which they could obtain land for city building—became necessary. From New York came Vice President J. D. Rice with instructions to confer with J. C. Ainsworth and decide the matter. The two commissioners went to Steilacoom where they discussed the various sites, listened to the arguments of delegations from other towns, weighed the subsidies and decided that Tacoma was the proper place for the Puget Sound end of the line.

Before announcing their decision Rice and Ainsworth sent the following telegram to President Cass at New York:

"The situation is substantially this: At Tacoma the Puget Sound Company have about 1,100 acres by purchase; bonded donations to Puget Sound Company about 1,500 acres; bonded to purchase sixty acres mill property for \$100,000 gold. This whole territory in solid body amounts to about twenty-seven hundred acres with unbroken waterfront of over two miles and riparian rights to tide flats of, say, 600 acres, to which can be added company lands in vicinity including natural parks with beautiful lakes enough to swell amount to, say, 10,000 acres.

"Seattle offers about 2,500 acres and 450 lots in city limits, some 6,500 acres in vicinity, \$60,000 cash, 4,800 feet front on navigable water and release of riparian rights of tide flats near city, title to pass on completion of road to that point. City limits large. To carry out our plan of a city company on \$2,000,000 basis with any prospect of success, as now advised, shall unhesitatingly decide in favor of Tacoma. The mill property to be purchased cost them more than is asked for it, but it is vital to success of enterprise as it covers half mile of best waterfront. Please answer.

"J. D. RICE,

"J. C. AINSWORTH."

Cass replied that the executive committee "coincide in opinion with you," and on July 14, 1873, Rice and Ainsworth, at Kalama, announced the selection of Tacoma. While on his western trip Cass was elected to the presidency of the railroad company. He refused to endorse the Lake Superior & Puget Sound Company and its plans for townsite promoting, a compromise was brought about and arrangements made for organizing a new company under the name, "Tacoma Land Company."

CHAPTER XXVI

FIRST BUSINESS DIRECTORY OF WASHINGTON IS ISSUED IN 1872—MORTIMER MURPHY, AFTERWARD OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, AND FATHER P. F. HYLEBOS THE EDITORS—SCHOLARLY REVIEWS OF STATE'S RESOURCES—SEATTLE AND OLYMPIA ARE RIVALS, WITH SEATTLE CREEPING AHEAD—PREDICTIONS AS TO STEILACOOM'S FUTURE.

In 1872 Mortimer Murphy, scientist and writer, engaged Father P. F. Hylebos to assist in preparing the "Puget Sound Business Directory and Guide to Washington Territory." Tacoma then had only about one hundred inhabitants and was classified among the mill towns, without further detail or ceremony. Seattle was something of a town, having about 1,800 inhabitants and slowly creeping ahead of Olympia. Seattle and Steilacoom both had roller-skating rinks, but Steilacoom even then was betraying that sleepy-eyed vision of distant possibilities which caused the directory writers to predict that its future lay in the domain of pleasure-making and tourist-entertaining rather than in commercial or industrial channels. The writers foresaw it as "the Newport of the Northwest."

The directory's survey of the Northwest covered its flora and fauna, to some extent its geology, its geography and its general characteristics with such literary mastery that the book enjoyed a considerable demand.

Here are a few paragraphs from its able pages:

"Western Washington includes that portion lying between the Cascade Mountains on the east, the Pacific Ocean on the west, the Columbia River on the south and British Columbia on the north. It extends about four degrees of latitude and three of longitude. Its northern limits extend to the forty-ninth parallel, which bisects the Straits of Juan de Fuca midway, and its southern limits terminate in the mid-channel of the Columbia River in latitude 45 deg. 33 min. It has an area of about thirty thousand square miles, the principal portion of which is heavily timbered with magnificent forests of fir, pine and cedar.

"Like the eastern portion of the territory, the western has also a great maritime and commercial artery in Puget Sound, the finest body of water in the world, which lies midway between the Cascade Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. Strictly speaking, the Sound is a small body of water extending from Point Defiance to Olympia, a distance of forty miles, and composed of a number of inlets, but the name is now applied to the waters extending from the Straits of Juan de Fuca to the head of Budd's Inlet. The Sound covers an area of 2,000 square miles. It has a coast line of 1,600 miles, and is 120 miles in length. Every mile is navigable for ships of the largest model, there being neither rocks nor shoals from one end to the other. Vessels can find anchorage within a few hundred feet of the shore in from five to twenty fathoms of water.

It may be termed a series of land-locked harbors. Storms are unknown on it, and the tiniest canoe can traverse it with as much safety as the largest sea-going steamer.

“Western Washington is divided into three great basins—the Columbia, Chehalis and Puget Sound basins. The Columbia Basin, as it recedes from the river bottoms, is high and broken; its soil is a mixture of clay and loam, well adapted to the production of grasses. The river bottoms cannot be excelled in fertility, but they are exposed to the overflow of the Columbia during the June freshet, this freshet being caused by the melting of mountain snow, which often courses down in rapid torrents and raises the Columbia, which receives the principal portion, from 10 to 20 feet. Along the Cowlitz Valley there are large tracts of fertile land fit for grazing or agriculture.

“North of the Columbia is the Chehalis Basin, which embraces 2,000 square miles of the best agricultural land in the territory. This is called the garden spot of Washington; it extends from Gray’s Harbor to the Cascades. The Chehalis River, which is navigable for light draught steamers a distance of sixty miles, traverses this basin, and offers the people an opportunity of getting their produce to market. The basin, or valley, varies in width from fifteen to fifty miles; it is composed principally of rich bottom land, and back of this lie hills and table lands, useful for grazing or cultivation. This region is rapidly filling up, and in a few years but little land can be purchased there. A large quantity of rich land also exists along the Willopah River, an important stream emptying into Shoalwater Bay.

“To the west of the Cascades the country is but little known, as it is covered with heavy forests and thick undergrowth. The Puget Sound Basin proper, embracing about twelve thousand square miles, has a varied soil, portions being gravelly, but along its numerous water courses rich alluvial deposits exist. The basin is supposed to be one vast field of coal, as croppings have been found in almost every locality where it has been sought for. It is bountifully supplied with several excellent rivers and many beautiful streams which empty into the Sound. These rivers offer unusual facilities for internal navigation, as many of them are navigable for small steamers several miles from their mouths.

“The productions of Western Washington are the same as those of the eastern, except maize and peaches, these being raised in the former only in favored localities. Wheat yields 40 bushels to the acre and averages 30; oats yield 40 bushels and barley 45, rising to a maximum of 80 bushels. No country is better for cereals and fruit, especially berries, which grow in great profusion, many of the varieties being unknown in the eastern states. About 800 bushels of potatoes and 700 bushels of onions have been raised to the acre, but the average yield is 250 bushels of the former and 200 of the latter. The Mediterranean wheat is preferred in the northern parts, as it suffers no injury from smut, rust or weevil, and its cost of production is only about 75 cents a bushel. Hops are cultivated in a few places and yield abundantly.

“The small fruits, which grow in perfection, are very abundant, as they are never injured by the attacks of the curculio or other insects. Though the summer is comparatively dry, drouths are unknown, hence all grains and cereals flourish, for they are free from blights and destructive insects. The produce

of this section is generally consumed by its population, yet a considerable amount of vegetables and fruit is exported.

"The climate of Western Washington is of a very even temperature. There are really but two seasons, wet and dry. The former commences in November and lasts until March or April; the latter begins in April and ends in November. Frequent showers of rain occur during this period. The average temperature for winter is 39°; summer, 63°; making a mean difference of only 24° between both seasons. The maximum temperature for a few days in summer occasionally reaches 90° but the nights are always cool and a blanket desirable.

"Lumber is the principal article of export, fourteen mills located on the Sound being engaged in its production. This is generally shipped to San Francisco, South America, the Sandwich Islands, Australia and China. It is estimated that 250,000,000 feet of lumber are manufactured annually in the territory, which is valued at \$2,500,000. This is much less than the real quantity produced. Shipbuilding is carried on extensively, and no country in the world offers greater facilities for this branch of business than that adjoining Puget Sound. The lumber for building is convenient; labor and stores are comparatively cheap; the harbors are deep and commodious so that there is no trouble in launching a vessel, and finally, there is no ship timber on the globe superior to that which grows in the territory. Shipbuilding, ere many years have elapsed, will be one of the leading, if not the leading, industry of Washington, as it possesses unequalled facilities for that business. Several ships and steamers have been constructed within the past few years, and some of the former cannot be excelled in beauty of model or speed.

"The exportation of fish also is destined at no future day to be a prominent article of commerce, for fish of many varieties and of excellent quality abound in the waters in and adjoining the territory. The rich yielding fish grounds of the north are more convenient to the territory than to any other portion of the United States; the climate is better fitted for curing or drying the finny inhabitants of the deep than any portion of the Pacific Coast, and lastly, shipping can be built cheaper on the Sound than elsewhere on the continent.

"The population of the territory is estimated at 30,000, of which 10,000 are east of the Cascades, and the remainder west of them. Except in Colville Valley there are but few inhabitants in the northeastern portion of the territory. Settlements exist in almost all portions of Western Washington. The school and school laws are amended as rapidly as possible, and the territory now offers educational facilities that can scarcely be expected from its population. Those seeking homes in a new country would do well to consider this most important adjunct to happiness and material prosperity. None of the territories offers better educational facilities than Washington. A territorial university, amply endowed, is located at Seattle, and the principal towns have excellent public and private schools. The roads of the territory, though ample at present as they extend to all portions of it, yet could be improved, and this improvement must of course follow the progress of the country. The North Pacific Railroad will be completed from one end of the territory to the other in a year or two, and this will have the effect of opening communication with the different sections and offering a much needed means of transportation for the products of the interior to a good market. When the road is completed the country will fill up



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rapidly, and Washington will then make its first real stride to the proud position it must occupy in the future.

"At the point where the railroad shall be located a great city—perhaps the leading one on the coast—must spring up, for the extensive region of the Northwest needs a convenient port from which to carry on commercial intercourse with the healthy nations of the Orient. No part of the country can equal the facilities offered by the territory, for it is 800 miles nearer to China and Japan than San Francisco—and this alone is no small advantage—its harbors are numerous, land-locked, safe, free from storms, deep, and extensive enough to hold the shipping of the world, and finally, the great natural wealth of the country, the readiness with which shipping can be constructed, and the almost endless supply of timber, all point to Puget Sound as the seat of a city which shall become the commercial metropolis of the Pacific Coast."

Murphy afterward drifted to France where he was made a member of the Academy of Sciences and given other honors. The directory, reflecting as perfectly as such a record can, the little community life of the Northwest, recalls many names now widely known to the commercial and industrial history of the state and for that reason it is reproduced here.

PORT TOWNSEND**Attorneys**

Judson, J. P.
Bradshaw, C. M.
Swan, J. G.
Dennison and Wingard

Barbers

Delaeting, Baptiste
Koster, J.

Butchers

Morgan & Co.

Blacksmith

Phillips, Thomas

Boot and Shoe Makers

Fitzpatrick, John
Appleton, J. C.

Clothier and Tailor

Peterson, J. P.

Coffee House

William, Ross

Druggist and Apothecary

Hill, N. D.

Grocers

(See general merchandise)

Eisenbeis & Stork
Fowler, E. S.

General Merchandise

Rothschild & Co.
Hastings & Bro.
Bartlett, C. C.
James, F. W.
Waterman and Katz
Gerrish, O. R.

Hotels

Cosmopolitan. J. J. Hunt, proprietor
Union. George B. Hansell, proprietor
Washington. John Woodlay, proprietor

Jeweler, Watchmaker, etc.

Bulkeley, S. S.

Wines and Liquors

Sterming, J. G.
Novman, Wm.
Torguson, T. T.
Koster, W., agent Muckilteo Brewery
Gem Saloon. Geo. Rees, proprietor
Bank Exchange. Newton and Keymes, proprietors

Physicians

Minor, T. T.
Calhoun, Geo. V.

Photographer

Hastings, C. C.

Real Estate Agents

Burns, J. E.
Kuhn, J.

Hardware

Norris, John T.
Sheehan, J. F.

STEILACOOM**Attorneys**

Ballard, Irving
Wallace, W. H.
Clark, Frank
Hoover, Jacob

Billiards

(See Saloons)

Brewers

Locke, John
Schaffer, Wolf

Butchers

Bender & Co.

Blacksmith

Renquest & Campbell

Boot and Shoe Makers

Botel, H.
Wiederhold, Wm.

Beer Hall

Miller, J. A.

Druggist and Apothecaries

Latham, John

Dry Goods

(See Gen. Merchandise)

General Merchandise

Clendenin & Miller
Goodtime, Mrs. A.
Ross, James
Pincus & Packsher
Keach, Philip
McCaw & Rogers

Grocers

Light, H. W.
Spinning, Frank
Eisenbeis, F.

Hotels

Hughes, James

Stables

Williamson, J. E.
Thompson, Robert

Mills

Chambers, D. J.

Saloons

Thomson, Wm.
Jahn, A. W.
Westbrook, J. J.

Hardware

Gallagher, Mrs.

Tailor

Collins, D.

Tannery

Johnson, E. C.

Wharfinger

Light, E. A.

OLYMPIA**Agricultural Implements**

Williams, S., cor. Main and 4th
Hoffman & Frost, Main bet. 4th and 5th
Percival, S. W., Main bet. 2nd and 3rd

Attorneys

Allen Bros. & Wyche, Columbus bet. 3rd
and 4th
Dennison & Wingard, 4th bet. Main and
Columbus
Evans, E., Main bet. 4th and 5th
Lane, R., cor. 4th and Washington
Stevens, H., 4th bet. Main and Columbus
Hewitt, C. C., cor. Main and 4th
Henry, F., 4th bet. Washington and Frank-
lin
McFadden, O. B., Main bet. 1st and 2nd

Architects

Abbott, S. B., Main bet. 4th and 5th
Boone, W. E., Main bet. 3rd and 4th

Agents

Parker, J. G., Liverpool & London &
Globe Fire Ins. Co., 4th bet. Main and
Columbus
Smith, E. L., Phoenix Fire Ins. Co., Main
bet. 3rd and 4th
Gregory, H. M., Pacific Mutual Life Ins.
Co., Main bet. 3rd and 4th
Macleay, T., Home Mutual Fire Ins. Co.,
Main bet. 2nd and 3rd
Tarbell, Frank, Imperial Fire Ins. Co.,
Main bet. 3rd and 4th
Crosby & Lowe, W. F. & Co., cor. Main
and 5th

Hays, R. G., Starr Line Steamers, 4th bet.
Main and Columbus
Tarbell, F., N. P. R. R. Lands, Main bet.
3rd and 4th
Abbott, S. B., Union and Marine Ins. Co.,
Main bet. 4th and 5th

Auctioneer

Wright, William P.

Brickmasons and Plasterers

Ranke & Lohse, Main bet. 10th and 11th
Petherick, George

Bankers

George A. Barnes & Co., Main bet. 3rd
and 4th

Bakers

Barlow, L. L., cor. Main and 3rd
Parker, R., Main bet. 3rd and 4th

Band

Olympia Cornet. C. W. Lowe, leader

Baths and Boats

Budlong & Sons, cor. Columbus and 1st

Books and Stationery

T. G. Lowe & Co., cor. Main and 5th

Barbers

Toellner, Charles, cor. Main and 3rd
Dixon, Isaac, Main bet. 2nd and 3rd
Snyder, J., Main bet. 2nd and 3rd
Gyger, —, Main bet. 3rd and 4th

Billiards

(See Saloons)

Blacksmiths

Baldwin, A. J., cor. Columbus and 3rd
Clark, J. L., cor. Columbus and 3rd
Dobbins & Kuhn, 3rd bet. Main and Wash-
ington
Patton, Isaac, cor. 10th and Main

Boot and Shoemakers

Lauster & Krahner, Main bet. 3rd and 4th
Treen, L. A., Main bet. 4th and 5th
Wood, C., 4th bet. Main and Washington
Holman, J., 4th bet. Main and Washington

Brewery

Wood, J. C. & J. R., cor. Columbus and 5th

Brokers

George A. Barnes & Co., Main bet. 3rd
and 4th
Miller, W. W., Main bet. 1st and 2nd

Boot and Shoe Manufactory

Treen, L. A., Main bet. 4th and 5th

Butchers

Chambers, D., Main bet. 3rd and 4th
White, A. S., cor. Washington and 4th
Murphy & O'Neal, 4th bet. Washington
and Main

Brick Makers

Billings & Mason, East Olympia

Boot and Shoe Dealers

(See General Merchandise)

Beer Halls

Heltz, P., 3rd bet. Main and Washington

Carpenters and Builders

Blankenship, Geo., cor. Columbus and 3rd
Crawford, George
Boone, W. E., Main bet. 3rd and 4th
Banty, Fred
Harned, B., cor. Washington and 5th
Scott, Joseph
Durham, A.
Littlejohn, A. J.
Boynton, G. F.
Berry, W. J., cor. Main and 10th
Hale, Joseph, cor. Jefferson and 4th
Russell, —, Odd Fellows' Hall
Clark, W. H., East Olympia

Civil Engineers

Morgan, E. M., cor. Main and 4th (up
stairs)
Giddings, Edward, Long Bridge
Henry, Francis, Town Hall, 4th st.
White, A., Odd Fellows' Hall, Washington
street
Reed, T. M., Main bet. 7th and 8th
Treadway, A. J., Main bet. 7th and 8th
Henry, D. L. B., Town Hall, 4th st.

Confectioners

Sylvester, E., Main bet. 3rd and 4th
Parker, R., Main bet. 3rd and 4th
Barlow, L. L., cor. Main and 3rd
Breckenfield, F., Main bet. 2nd and 3rd
Hamilton, P., Main bet. 3rd and 4th

Coopers

Coulter, T., cor. Main and 7th
 Wood, J. R., cor. Columbus and 5th

China Goods

Wa Chung, 4th bet. Main and Columbus

Cigars and Tobacco

(See also Groceries and Gen. Merchandise)
 Breckenfield, F., Main bet. 2nd and 3rd
 Sylvester, E., Main bet. 3rd and 4th
 T. G. Lowe & Co., cor. Main and 5th
 Wa Chung, 4th bet. Main and Washington

Carriage and Wagon Makers

Fleecer, A., cor. Columbus and 3rd
 Cook, P., cor. Main and 1st

Cabinet Makers

(See also Furniture)

Griffin, H. E., cor. Main and 1st

Chemicals

(See Druggists and Apothecaries)

Clergymen

Thompson, J. R., First Presbyterian
 Fairchild, A. C., First M. E.
 Dickey, S., St. John's Episcopal
 Casto, Joseph, Baptist
 Elder, A. R., Christian

Clothing

(See Dry Goods)

Crockery, Cutlery, Etc.

(See General Merchandise)

Dentist

Woodard, A., Main bet. 5th and 6th

Drays and Trucks

Olympia Dray & Truck Co., cor. Wash-
 ington and 3rd
 Hicks, Henry, Columbus bet. 4th and 5th

Druggists and Apothecaries

Turner, G. G., Main bet. 3rd and 4th
 Paterson & Mann, cor. Main and 4th

Dressmakers

Sands, Mrs., Columbus street
 Spencer, Mrs., cor. 5th and Main
 Frazer, Mrs., Main over Blumauer & Fro-
 man's store
 Moses, Mrs. Sarah, Main bet. 5th and 6th

Dry Goods

Quimette, E. N., cor. Main and 5th
 Hirsch, L., cor. Main and 4th
 Bettman, L. & B., cor. Main and 2nd
 Lightner & Rosenthal, cor. Main and 2nd
 Percival, S. W., cor. Main and 2nd
 Harris, I., Main bet. 2nd and 3rd
 Blumauer & Froman, Main bet. 2nd and
 3rd
 Scott, M. H., cor. Main and 5th

Express

Wells, Fargo & Co.'s. Lowe & Co., agents

Engravers

(See Jewelers)

Engineer

Seymour, Charles, cor. Columbus and 3rd

Fruit Dealers

(See Confectioners)

Furniture

Abbott & Horr, Main bet. 4th and 5th
 Barnhart, D., warehouse, Main bet. 4th
 and 5th
 Ridgeway, C. W., Main bet. 1st and 2nd
 Beaty, D. C., East Olympia bridge

Flour and Feed

Chapman, H. L., Main street wharf

Furrier

Sternberg, W., cor. Main and 6th

Foundry

Wilson, J. F., 3rd bet. Main and Columbus

Grocers

(See also General Merchandise)

Louthan, F. K., cor. Main and 4th
 Macleay, T., Main bet. 2nd and 3rd
 Parker, R., Main bet. 3rd and 4th

Gunsmith

Sabin, H., Washington bet. 2nd and 3rd

General Merchandise

Scott, M. H., cor. Main and 5th
 Williams, S., cor. Main and 4th
 Hirsch, L., cor. Main and 4th
 Bettman, L. & B., cor. Main and 2nd
 Lightner & Rosenthal, cor. Main and 2nd
 Percival, S. W., Main bet. 2nd and 3rd
 Hamilton, P., Main bet. 3rd and 4th

Hoops and Staves

Diggins, W. M., Columbus bet. 4th and 5th

Hotels

Pacific, E. Sikes, prop., cor. Main and 3rd
Tacoma House, S. Galliher, prop., cor.
Main and 2nd

Hardware

Williams, S., Main bet. 3rd and 4th
Hoffman & Frost, Main bet. 4th and 5th
Percival, S. W., Main bet. 2nd and 3rd

Hay Scales

Clark, J. L., cor. Columbus and 3rd

Ice

Puget Sound Ice Co., depot Long Bridge

Jewelers, Watchmakers, Etc.

Guyot, J., Main bet. 3rd and 4th
Parker, G. W., Main bet. 3rd and 4th

Job Printing

Hewitt, R. H., cor. Columbus and 4th
Transcript, Main bet. 4th and 5th
Standard, cor. Washington and 2nd
Courier, cor. Main and 7th

Land Office

Clark, J. P., register, Columbus bet. 3rd
and 4th
Stuart, R. G., receiver, Columbus bet. 3rd
and 4th

Millinery

(See also Dressmakers)

Ouimette, E. N., cor. Main and 5th

Mill

Ethridge, C., sawmill

Mouldings

(See also Furniture)

Abbott & Horr, Main bet. 4th and 5th

News Agents

T. G. Lowe & Co., cor. Main and 5th

Newspapers

Courier (daily and weekly), P. S. P. Co.,
cor. Main and 7th
Echo (weekly), J. H. Munson, publisher,
cor. Columbus and 4th
Transcript (weekly), E. T. Gunn, pub-
lisher, Main bet. 4th and 5th
Tribune (daily and weekly), Chas. Prosch,
publisher, Main bet. 2nd and 3rd

Washington Standard (weekly), John M.
Murphy, publisher, cor. Washington
and 2nd

Painters

Cook, J. L., cor. Columbus and 3rd
Trout, Wm.
Paterson, Wm., cor. Main and 4th
Creins, G. W.

Photographers

Woodard, A., Main bet. 5th and 6th

Physicians

Willard, Rufus, office cor. Main and 4th
Steele, A. H., office Main bet. 3rd and 4th
Waugliop, J. W., office Main bet. 2nd and
3rd

Produce

(See General Merchandise)

Real Estate Agents

Tarbell, F., Main bet. 3rd and 4th
George A. Barnes & Co., Main bet. 3rd
and 4th
Howe, S. D., cor. Washington and 4th
Hale, C. H., cor. Franklin and 4th
Henry, F., Town Hall, 4th street

Restaurants

Central. W. P. Buckner prop., Main bet.
4th and 5th
St. Charles. F. Waldron, prop., cor. Main
and 3rd

Saddlery, Harness, Etc.

Scott, M. H., cor. Main and 4th

Seeds

Sylvester, E., Main bet. 3rd and 4th
Durgan, L. D., 4th bet. Washington and
Main

Saloons

Pray, J. B., Main bet. 3rd and 4th
Burmeister, C., cor. Main and 3rd
Capitol, Adams & Meagher, Main bet. 2nd
and 3rd
Powers, N. B., Main bet. 2nd and 3rd
Terminus, J. J. Perkins, north end Main
street
Kius, Hawk Bros., cor. Main and 3rd

Soap Works

Merchant & Griffin, cor. Main and 1st
Chapman, H. L., East Olympia

Stables

Washington, C. O. Valpey, Main bet. 5th and 6th
 Tilley, M. R., cor. Main and 3rd
 Olympia Dray & Truck Co., 3rd bet. Main and Washington

Tailors

Queitsch, L., cor. Main and 5th
 McLean, A., 4th bet. Main and Washington
 Dobrin, M., Main bet. 3rd and 4th

Telegraph Office

Western Union, H. H. Pitts, operator, cor. Main and 4th, up stairs

Water Company

Washington Water Pipe & Manufacturing Co., office cor. Washington and 4th

Wines and Liquors

(Wholesale)

Louthan, F. K., cor. Main and 4th
 Lightner & Rosenthal, cor. Main and 2nd
 Macleay, T., Main bet. 3rd and 4th

COWLITZ

Chappelier, M., general merchandise
 Dubeau, L. L., general merchandise
 Serrault, E., blacksmith
 Vallard, A., general merchandise

FREEPORT

Beck, J., general merchandise
 Carrigan, E., hotel keeper
 Johnson, J., general merchandise
 Miskel, M., livery stable
 Olson, O., general merchandise

MONTICELLO

Caples, C. G., physician
 Huntington, C. R., hotel keeper
 Huntington & Smith, lumber merchants
 Smith & Shorey, general merchandise
 Smith, J. B., general merchandise

LA CONNER

Andrews, L. L., general merchandise
 Andrews, M., boat builder
 Allen, Geo. L., hotel keeper
 Connor, J. S., general merchandise
 Connor, Jas. J., general merchandise
 Campbell, J., general merchandise
 Chilbing, B. A., boat builder
 Cornelius, J. A., deputy U. S. surveyor
 Gilliland, J. A., agent W. U. Telegraph Co.

Highbarger, J., blacksmith
 Johnson, S. N., boots and shoes
 Martin, B. L., general merchandise
 Marston & Co., hotel keepers
 McDonald, J. H., carpenter and builder
 O'Laughlin, John, hardware and stoves
 Winslow, E., physician

CLAQUATO

Browning, J. J., general merchandise
 Davis, A. L., flour and lumber
 Fay, J., dry goods, etc.
 Hogue, G. J., general merchandise
 Mills, E., hotel keeper

UTSALADY

Cranny, Thomas, postmaster
 Cranney & Co., lumber manufacturers and general merchandise dealers
 Chisholm, C., book keeper
 Murphy, James, hotel keeper
 Puggard, C., telegraph operator

WHATCOM

Briggs, J., general merchandise
 Whatcom Mill Co., lumber manufacturers

SNOHOMISH CITY

Ferguson, C. E., P. M. and general merchandise
 Packard, M. W., general merchandise
 Reynolds, J. H., saloon keeper
 Romines, W., hotel keeper
 Sheldon, R., hotel keeper
 Smith, H. S., physician

PORT GAMBLE

Collins & Condon, hotel keepers
 Pope & Talbot, lumber manufacturers and dealers in general merchandise

PORT DISCOVERY

Clark, A. D., hotel keeper
 Dinsmore, A., logger
 Downs, G. W., postmaster
 Foster, John, shipbuilder
 Mastick & Co., dealers in general merchandise
 Pugh, J. E., hotel keeper
 Port Discovery Mill Co., lumber manufacturers
 Rice, L. S., justice of the peace
 Wood, C. E. P., county commissioner
 Woodman, J. S., deputy sheriff

PORT LUDLOW

Aldridge, R. D., hotel keeper

Harris, George M., agent Wells & Fargo
and Northwestern Insurance Co.
Port Ludlow Mill Co., lumber manufactur-
ers, dealers in general merchandise

PORT BLAKELY

King, R., hotel keeper
Smith, T., postmaster
Smith, S. C. & T., lumber manufacturers
and general merchandise dealers

PORT MADISON

Lombard, B. E., postmaster
Meigs & Gawley, dealers in general mer-
chandise, lumber manufacturers and
shippers
West, J. G., hotel keeper

VANCOUVER

Beers, F., telegraph operator and photog-
rapher
Bill, J. H., physician
Boyle, E., bootmaker
Brant, J., hotel and livery stable
Brown, G. W., nursery
Burns, H., boarding
Cooke, A. G., attorney
Cosgrove, Mrs. M. C., general merchan-
dise
Crawford & Slocum, general merchandise
Dampfaffer, M., brewer
Dupuis, N., blacksmith
Dupuis, J. B., harness and saddlery
Ebert, G., blacksmith
Eddings, E., variety store
Farnsworth, Levi, surveyor
Haley, J. P., saloon keeper
Haley, J. Q., saloon keeper
Hidden, L. M., hotel keeper
Hidden, A. W., manf. wooden ware
Horner, J. Van C., dentist
Hulett & Co., fishery
Jaggy, J., general merchandise
Kaiser, S., general merchandise
Maney, Mrs. P., bakery
Marsh, S., blacksmith
Maxon, J. H., general merchandise
Maxon, S. D., harness and saddlery
McCarty, C., boarding house
McLean, D., physician
McMullen, Wm., blacksmith
Middleton, Mrs. R., millinery
Miller, G. W., tailor
O'Keane, P., saloon
Powell, J., groceries
Preston, B. F., architect
Schofield, N., general merchandise

Schaben & Brown, real estate agents
Smith, J. F., variety store
Smith, Miss L., millinery.
Smith, J., saloon
Smith, A. C., attorney
Sohns & Schuele, general merchandise
Stegert, R., butcher
Stevens, W., bakery
Stewart, Geo., attorney
Struve & Fletcher, attorneys
Suiste, J., attorney
Tobey, I. L., physician
Tripp, A. G., builder
Turner, J. W., physician
Wall, D., druggist
Washburn, B. M., publisher Register.
Weeden, G., livery stable
Whitney, C. H., hardware
Wintler, M., general merchandise
Wise, J., general merchandise
Wolf, R., bootmaker
Wyche, J. E., attorney
Young Bros., brewers

KALAMA

Brogden, J., blacksmith
Dickey & Timmons, saloon keepers
Egan, W., saloon keeper
Hosford & Orchard, general merchandise
Humbell, Mrs. T., hotel keeper
Ingalls & Co., general merchandise
Irmsher, H., bootmaker
Isaacs, J., general merchandise
Kern & Co., general merchandise
Leonard, W. H. H., hotel keeper
O'Brian, J., physician
O'Toole and McKay, general merchandise
Patterson, A. M., saloonkeeper
Powers, T. A., restaurant
Schuable, Philip, brewer
Seick, J., barber
Seller, H. & Co., general merchandise
Silverman, C. A., general merchandise
Smith, L. D., hotel keeper
Sovey, O., bootmaker
Van Wie, V. W., hotel proprietor
Whitehouse, L. H., physician
Young & Hilton, butchers

TACOMA

Bowers, J., saloon
Byrd, W. S., postmaster
Carr, A. P., photographer
Carr, J., painter
Clendenin & Miller, general merchandise
Fuller, J. N., general merchandise
Gale, J., blacksmith

Hanson, Ackerson & Co., lumber manufacturers, shippers, dealers in general merchandise

Lansdale, R. A., physician and surgeon

Steel, H. N., hotel keeper

Stewart, A. W., wagon maker

SEATTLE

Agents

Perkins, C. C., insurance

Crawford & Harrington, insurance

Coombs, S. F., insurance

Andrews, L. B., insurance

Coombs, S. F., Wells, Fargo & Co.

Yesler, H. L., Seattle Water Works

Attorneys

Larrabee & White, Dispatch building

McConaha & York, Dispatch building

McGilvra & Baxter, Commercial street

McNaught & Leary, Commercial street

Higgins, D., Intelligencer building

Auctioneer

Wyckoff, L. V., Mill street

Architects

Fraser, Joseph, cor. Commercial and Mill

Beer Halls

Sherman, Chris, Front

Pinnell, John, Main

Reilly, —, Main

Books and Stationery

Coombs & Pumphrey, Yesler's block, Mill

Lyon, J. M., Masonic building, Front

Bakers and Confectioners

Eureka Bakery, Wm. Meydenbauer, prop., Commercial

Reinig, L., Yesler's block, Mill

Stringham, T. H., Front

Brewers

Crichton, Stuart, Seattle Brewery, cor. Mill and 4th

Schmeig & Brown, North Pacific Brewery, Front

Bankers

Puget Sound Banking Co., Commercial

Phillips, Horton & Co., Commercial

Blacksmiths

McDonald, Charles, Yesler's wharf

Webster, John, 3rd

Hunt, John, Mill

Dane, E., Front

Hahn, William, Washington

Boiler Makers

McKinley, J., Front

Snow, T.

Boot and Shoemakers

Wenzler, John, Yesler's block, Mill street

Moore, R. J., Commercial

McAndrews, M., Commercial

Jones, H., Commercial

Freeman, T. P., Commercial

Billiards

Occidental. John Collins & Co., proprietors, Occidental square

Gem. Anderson & Osborne, proprietors, Commercial

Bank Exchange. B. Crosson, proprietor, cor. Commercial and Washington

Butchers

Booth, Foss & Borst, Commercial

Myers, C., Mill

Snyder & Co., Mill

Brickmason and Plasterer

Jordan, J. T., Second

Barbers

Pioneer Bathing and Shaving Saloon, A.

Fox, proprietor, Commercial

House, W. M., Mill

Rey, S., Commercial

Commission Merchant

Gilliam, W. H. Mill

Cooper

Sidney, G., Commercial

Civil Engineers

Hall, W. B., Mill

Whitworth, George F., 3rd

Carpenters and Builders

Russell & Shorey, Commercial

Lord & Hall, Commercial

Rogers, L. S., cor. Fourth and Marian

Anderson, John S., Mill

Graves, R. C., cor. 4th and Columbia

Denny, S., 4th

Jordan, L. F., Front

Clark, Henry, Washington

Palmer Bros. & Co., Mill

Cigars and Tobacco

King, R., Commercial
 Wa Chong, Mill
 Chen Cheong, Washington

Druggists and Apothecaries

Kelly, M. A., Yesler's block, Mill street
 Maddocks, M. R., Mill

Dentists

Grasse, J. C., Mill
 Phillips, W., Mill

Dry Goods

(See General Merchandise)

Engineer

Parker, I., Front

Furniture

Russell & Shorey, Commercial

Fruit Dealers

Sullivan, John
 Stringham, F. H., Front
 Reinig, L., Mill

Factories

Sash and blind. Lord & Hall, proprietors,
 Commercial
 Soda. J. Levy, proprietor, Main
 Sash and door. R. Goddman, proprietor,
 Yesler's mill

Grocers

(See General Merchandise)
 Crawford & Harrington, Commercial

Gunsmiths

Slotter & Co., Commercial
 Smith, D. S., Mill
 Morton, James, Washington

General Merchandise

Frauenthal Bros., Mill
 Woodward, S. A., cor. Mill and Commer-
 cial
 Farnham & Pinkham, Commercial
 Stone & Burnett, Commercial
 Davis, S., Commercial
 Schwabacher Bros., Commercial

Hotels

Occidental. John Collins, proprietor, Oc-
 cidental square
 United States. A. Johnson, proprietor,
 cor. Commercial and Main

Horticulture

Stringham, Mrs. M. A., Cherry

Hardware

Andrews, S. P., Commercial
 Waddell & Miles, Mill

Ice

Puget Sound Ice Company

Jewelers, Watchmakers, Etc.

Jamieson, W. G., Commercial
 Nacher, Charles, Commercial

Millinery

Guye, Mrs. E. W. P., Commercial
 Hall, Mrs. G. W., Commercial
 Murphy, Miss, Commercial
 Libby, Mrs., Commercial
 Graves, Mrs. R. C., cor. 3rd and Columbia
 Stone & Burnett, Commercial

Mills

Lange, F. E., grist mill, Front
 Yesler's saw mill, Perkins & Co., proprie-
 tors

Newspapers

Puget Sound Dispatch (weekly), Beriah
 Brown, proprietor, Commercial
 Seattle Intelligencer (weekly), S. L. Max-
 well, proprietor, Mill

Painters

Combs & Lamson, Mill
 Smith & Calvert, Mill
 Fife, Wm., Mill
 Pike, H. F., 3rd
 Knight Bros., Washington

Photographer

Moore, George, Mill

Physicians

Maynard & Church, office in the Hospital
 Weed, G. A., Commercial
 Calhoun, —, office in the Pioneer Drug
 Store

Restaurants

Cull & Chillman, Commercial
 Pinnell, J., Main

Real Estate Agents

Mackintosh, A., Mill
 Perkins, C. C., Commercial

Wheelock, J. E., over Bank Exchange
Larrabee & Hall, Commercial
McNaught & Leary, Commercial

Saddlery, Harness, Etc.

Mitchell, C. L., Mill

Stables

Abrams, R., Washington

Saloons

Gem. Anderson & Osborne, Commercial
Pony. McDonald & Murphy
Robbins, J. R., Commercial
Star. L. C. Harmon
Alhambra. B. Crossen, cor. Commercial
and Mill
North Pacific Gardens. F. Guttenberg

Ship Yards

Hammond, Wm., Front
Robinson Bros., Bay View

Stevedores and Wharf Builders

Atkins & Chency, end Commercial

Tailors

Stone & Burnett, Commercial
Norwold, H. E., Yesler's wharf
Rogers, J. T., Commercial
Kenworthy, J. T., Commercial
Levy, Jacob, Commercial
Kaufman, D., Commercial

Telegraph Office

W. U. T. Co. F. H. Lamb superintendent;
J. M. Lyon operator; M. O'Connor as-
sistant

Tinsmith

Tuite Daniel, Mill

Trucks and Drays

Russell, Robert, 4th
Shoudy, W. H., 2nd
Tebeau, —, Main
Morris, —, 6th
Monahan, —, Pike
Abrams, R., Washington

Tannery

Baxter, D. K., cor. Mill and 4th

Upholsterer

Frank, A., Commercial

Wagon Makers

Hunt, John, Mill
Schmid, Titus, Washington

Wines and Liquors

(Wholesale)

Robbins, J. R., Commercial
Crawford & Harrington, Commercial
Stone & Burnett, Commercial

Wood Turner

Crane, D. M., Yesler's mill

CHAPTER XXVII

BEGINNINGS OF TACOMA—BUILDING OF DELIN MILL AT HEAD OF BAY—JOB CARR'S COMING—CARR SELLS TO GENERAL MC CARVER, TOWN-BUILDER—THE "HOG'EMITE TERMINUS" SCHEME—PHILIP RITZ SUGGESTS NAME "TACOMA" FOR NEW CITY—TOWN PROMOTERS DISAPPOINTED AT RAILROAD COMMISSIONERS CHOICE OF LOCATION—STRIKE AND BARRICADE AT CLOVER CREEK—ARRIVAL OF FIRST TRAIN, AND DRIVING OF LAST STRIKE—FIRST NEWSPAPER—SEATTLE, DEEP IN GLOOM BECAUSE OF FAILURE TO BE MADE TERMINUS, BOLDLY RESOLVES TO BUILD RAILROAD AS HER OWN AND DOES SO—COMMUNITY WORKERS BUILD THE GRADE—SEATTLE DEVELOPS COAL PROPERTIES—OLYMPIA ORGANIZES TO BUILD RAILROAD—BUILDING OF STATE'S PRISON AT SEATCO—RAILROAD DOESN'T LIKE NAME AND "BUCODA" IS INVENTED.

At the close of the Indian War Nicholas DeLin and family returned to the home and sawmill at the head of Commencement Bay. Here they remained until 1861 when the mill was sold and the family moved to Seattle. DeLin found employment there on the new buildings of the University and later moved to Olympia. From Olympia they went to Portland and it was in the latter city that DeLin met Gen. Morton M. McCarver, Oregon pioneer and townsite locator. In his sixty-one years of life McCarver had assisted in founding two towns—Burlington, Iowa, and Linnton, Ore., and when he heard of the plans of the Northern Pacific Railroad, he decided to have a hand in the founding of the city, which he felt sure to be built at the point at which the line touched salt water.

DeLin's description of the country lying along the shores of Commencement Bay so impressed McCarver that in April, 1868, he set out on horseback from Monticello to the Sound. From the maps in the Olympia land office he obtained a good understanding of the "lay of the land" around the bay and a short time later he reached Job Carr's cabin at "Chebaulip."

Back in Iowa, in 1864-65, Job Carr was conducting a nursery when he heard that Congress had granted a charter for the building of the Northern Pacific from the lakes to the Sound. Carr sold his nursery and set out to seek the pot of gold he felt sure would be found at the western terminus. Crossing the plains to California he turned northward and settled on 168 acres of land on the shore of Commencement Bay at a place which the Indians called Chebaulip. This was early in 1865 and Carr was still at work on his cabin, the first built in Old Tacoma, when his son, Anthony, arrived. The younger man had just been discharged from the army at Fort Steilacoom and came in time to rive the shakes for the cabin. He took a claim near that of his father and the next summer they were joined by Howard, another son and brother. Howard took a claim, went back to Indiana and soon returned with his sister, Marietta.

The Carrs saw in McCarver a man who had caught a vision of the city which all thought would be built at the western terminus. The only question about the matter was that of location, and the settlers set out to convince their visitor that Chebaulip was the place of all places for the terminus. They took him for a canoe trip around the bay; showed him its depth and explained its advantages. McCarver bought 163 of Job Carr's 168 acres for \$600 cash and 100 acres of Oregon land and returned to Portland.

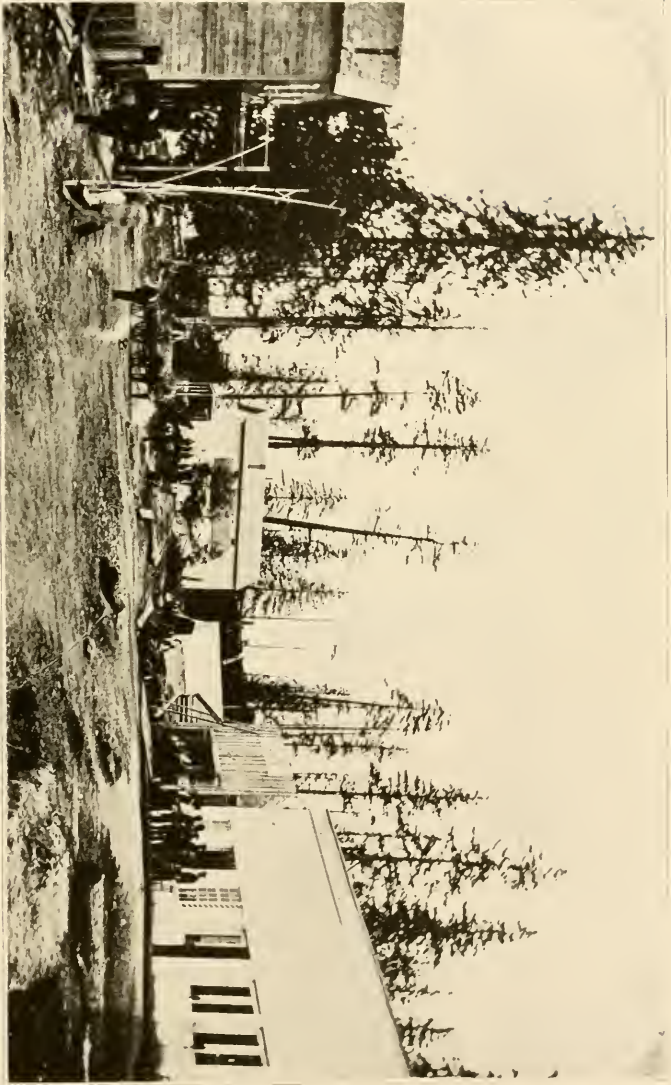
Associated with McCarver in the deal were Lewis M. Starr, president, and James Steele, cashier, of the First National Bank of Portland. The bankers listened to McCarver's glowing description of Commencement Bay and were inclined to think it somewhat highly colored. Back to the Sound came McCarver, this time accompanied by Starr, David Caufield and Thomas Hood. The latter took a claim and built the first cabin on the hill. Starr was satisfied and McCarver began arrangements to move his family from Portland. They arrived in time to take part in the first Fourth of July celebration held on Commencement Bay. Shortly thereafter a notable addition to Chebaulip's population was made by the arrival of Clinton P. Ferry, husband of a daughter of Mrs. McCarver by a former marriage and later prominent in Washington affairs as the "Duke of Tacoma."

About this time Samuel Hadlock, Charles Hanson, John W. Ackerson, John A. Russ and William P. Wallace came to the Sound from San Francisco seeking a site for a sawmill. Standing in a Steilacoom street one day he was approached by William Lane who said he was in search of men for his logging camp at Chebaulip and asked if Hadlock was looking for work. The mill man told Lane it was a sawmill site and not a job he was looking for. Lane took Hadlock into his wagon and drove to the logging camp. Hadlock was so well pleased that he soon had Ackerson on the ground. Hanson, Ackerson & Co. became the owner of eighty-five acres of Chebaulip land—and the settlers' purses were enriched by the addition of some \$700 in good money. It was a fortunate deal for all concerned. The mill, with a daily capacity of 40,000 feet, was built. Other settlers came; the steamer Eliza Anderson began making regular calls and the little town took its place among other Puget Sound sawmill towns of great hopes and possibilities.

It was a period pregnant with great ambitions. Two railroads, both with the same name and object, were organized. They started life under the name "Puget Sound and Columbia River Railroad Company." Both announced the building of lines between the points named in their titles and both failed to materialize. Ben Holliday, at that time king of Pacific Coast transportation, with a well known reputation for financial plunging and riotous entertaining on board his palatial yacht, was reported to be perfecting plans to build a line from Monticello to the Sound. Olympia had high hopes of capturing the Holliday road.

Federal office holders suddenly discovered that the half-forgotten reservation, which Governor Stevens had attempted to persuade the Nisqually Indians to accept, was unoccupied. They covered it with homestead claims and entered into an agreement whereby Holliday was to establish the Puget Sound end of his railroad on their claims. It was a hopeful plan and everything was moving nicely when the Olympia Transcript uncovered it. The men in the terminus

AT THE BIRTH OF OLD TACOMA



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ring happened to belong to the political faction which the Transcript at the time was fighting and the newspaper began paying off some of its old political debts. In its attack upon the townsite promotors the Transcript referred to the old reservation as "Leschi's Graveyard" and the "Hog 'emite terminus."

Officers of both the military and Indian departments, time after time, ran the homesteaders off their claims. The matter was carried to Washington and the claimholders won title to their land. Holliday's railroad went the way of many other promising prospects of the period and several years later part of the land of the "Hog 'emite terminus," with its huckleberry patches and scrubby timber, was sold for taxes.

McCarver undertook to interest Holliday in his Commencement Bay townsite, but failed.

When Hanson, Ackerson & Co. announced that they would build the mill McCarver decided the time had come for laying out a townsite. Starr came over from Portland, a meeting was held in October, 1868, and the matter of naming the new town was discussed. Gradually the name Commencement City had supplanted the little used Indian name. A few days before the arrival of Starr, Commencement City had had as its guest Phillip Ritz, traveler, student and one of the men interested in the building of the Northern Pacific. Ritz had been reading Theodore Winthrop's "Canoe and Saddle" and was much pleased with the name "Tacoma," which the author had said was the Indian name for Mount Rainier. Ritz suggested the town be called Tacoma and, incidentally, laid the foundation for a controversy which was to cause years of argument and bitterness. Starr, McCarver's main financial backer, did not like the name, so that the first map of the plot was prepared under the name Commencement City. A short time later, at a meeting in Portland, C. P. Ferry induced Starr to consent to a change of name and, drawing his pen through "Commencement City," Ferry wrote in the name Tacoma.

Who first suggested the name, or whether or not it "just growed," are matters of little consequence. Certain it is that following the location of the sawmill the little town "just growed." Mrs. N. H. Steele arrived, bought the first lot sold out of the townsite plat and began building the first hotel. It was opened in February, 1869, and in a remarkably short time established a widely known reputation as the best "eating place" in the country. McCarver was so sure of the coming of the railroad that he would not give deeds to the lots—he issued bonds for deeds, the purchasers paying down \$100 a lot and agreeing to pay an additional \$200 a lot provided the railroad came. March 25, 1869, Job Carr's house became the postoffice and Carr the first postmaster.

Life in Tacoma the next few years was much the same as in other Puget Sound sawmill towns. The heavy forest growth gave way before the woodsman's axe and was replaced with the dwellings and business houses of a civilized community. The first minister arrived—and soon was followed by the first saloonkeeper; children were born, young people were married and established new homes, and in the fall of 1872 came General Cass and his committee of terminus hunters.

McCarver had been buying land until he controlled some two thousand acres. Some writers assert that he had done this upon the orders of the railway officials, while others say he was backing his own judgment. Certain it is that he and

his associates controlled most of the land around the little town. At 2 o'clock on the afternoon of July 14, 1873, McCarver received a telegram from Rice and Ainsworth announcing the selection of Tacoma as the terminus. There was elation everywhere. But the first telegram was followed by an announcement stating the terminus had been "established at a point on the south side of Commencement Bay in township twenty-one (21), range three (3) east of the Willamette meridian."

This land was further up the bay, nearer the early day settlements of the DeLins and the Judsons and its selection caused gloom to settle over Tacoma and its promoters.

June 24th Rice and Ainsworth received a telegram from President Cass in which the commissioners were instructed to "hold construction in check so as to avoid work beyond terminus when fixed." Already the signal flags of the approaching financial storm were fluttering. Jay Cooke, in his efforts to keep the Northern Pacific's head above water, had been buying back \$90,000 of each \$100,000 worth of bonds sold. The road, heavily in debt to him for money advanced in construction work, had extended its lines from St. Paul to the Missouri River at Bismarck. The Columbia River-Puget Sound Line, far from complete, was without a terminus, and townsite promoters were making almost daily additions to the subsidies they were offering the company.

Contractor J. B. Montgomery, who had built the first thirty-five miles northward from Kalama, had the contract for 100 miles northward from Tenino. The contract contained a saving clause permitting the company to end the line at any point beyond forty miles. Thomas B. Morris was locating engineer and Gen. Hazard Stevens right-of-way agent. When the telegram of June 24th reached Rice and Ainsworth, Stevens had obtained right-of-way for two prospective lines northward from a point some twelve miles south of Tacoma. The shorter of these reached the bay by way of what is now South Tacoma, while the other ran off in the direction of Puyallup. Taken in connection with Montgomery's contract, it would seem to have been the intention of the company to continue the line on northward to some other point than Commencement Bay. On the other hand officials of the company have said the plan contemplated building the longer and less steep line to the valley and from there to the bay. The telegram fixing the terminus at Tacoma settled the matter of route—the shorter line was chosen.

When Jay Cooke & Company failed September 18th, Contractor Montgomery's crew of 750 Chinese and 250 white laborers was working about twenty miles south of Tacoma. The railroad company faced a serious situation. Its land grant depended upon the completion of the line to the Sound by a certain date; its funds were exhausted and it was already in debt to Montgomery, who in turn was behind on his payroll. Business everywhere was beginning to stagnate and the borrowing of money was almost impossible. Laborers left the construction camp until the crew was reduced to small size. Those remaining continued with the work until late in November, when, at Clover Creek, they threw a barricade of ties across the grade and announced they would hold their fort until paid back wages amounting to about ten thousand dollars.

Editor Prosch hired a horse and rode out to interview the "insurgents." He found a well organized camp on the south side of the creek with two armed sentries



WHEN TACOMA WAS A TENT TOWN

Picture taken in August, 1873, just after the townsite had been burned off

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patrolling the Clover Creek bridge which the men said they had built and would hold. Perfect order was maintained and orders had been issued that all company property should be protected. The camp was well supplied with provisions, visitors were welcomed, and everything moved with military discipline. The men called their camp Skookkumville, in honor of E. S. "Skookum" Smith, one of the contractors, and had dubbed it the terminus. The new railroad grade was known as Montgomery Street, in honor of Contractor Montgomery.

The trouble had started on Saturday afternoon, November 30th, when General Sprague and Sheriff Davisson walked up the grade and began moving some ties. This action brought a prompt challenge from the men who informed Sprague and Davisson if they touched another tie they would do so at the peril of their lives. Davisson flew into a rage which might have brought bloodshed had it not been for Sprague who talked to the men in a conciliatory tone and asked them to explain their grievances. An armistice was arranged and Sprague left for Olympia.

On Sunday afternoon Rev. W. T. Chapman went to the camp and preached to the strikers who were peaceable but determined. Monday brought three trains, one from Olympia with Governor Ferry, Judge Greene and Gen. Hazard Stevens, as mediators. Another with Captain Ainsworth and General Sprague. The parties arrived at 9 o'clock in the morning and remained until 5 in the afternoon. The men accepted the terms offered by Captain Ainsworth who paid them \$500 down, agreed to pay \$5,000 through Governor Ferry, to endorse all time checks, making them payable February 1st, and that he would furnish a free excursion over the line to all men who remained and assisted in completing the work between Skookumville and Tacoma.

Tuesday morning forty men were laying track. The work moved so rapidly that on December 15th Tacoma people could hear the whistle of the locomotive. Editor Prosch wrote:

"'The American Devil'—This is what our English cousins call the steam whistle, which owes its origin to Yankee ingenuity. We've got him right here in Tacoma. He first came within hearing on Saturday last, when his shrieks sounded somewhat remote. Yesterday he approached nearer and nearer, hourly making himself heard with more distinctness, until at nightfall he seemed almost in our midst. Tomorrow he will enter the house prepared for him on the wharf, and thenceforth daily go scouring and screaming over the plain and river to his other house at Kalama. Hurrah for 'the American Devil!'"

Before the paper went to press Prosch learned that the first construction train would enter the town that evening. This moved him to write:

"Before the curtain of night was drawn over this day, the long desired connection by rail of the waters of Puget Sound with the Columbia River was completed. The 15th day of December, 1873, will be memorable as marking an important event in the history of our territory and in that of the western terminus of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Today, for the first time, the iron horse stood in the presence of the Mediterranean of the Pacific and saluted its placid face with his shrill whistle. Make a note of it, reader, for from this day you may date the rise of the second (perhaps the first) city of the Pacific Coast—Tacoma."

It was a construction train made up of kitchen, dining and sleeping cars used by the track layers and just about where the present day Eleventh Street bridge

spans the Tacoma waterway, the three cars left the track and piled up in a heap. Conductor Nicholas Lawson pulled some of the men through the roof of one of the wrecked cars and aside from bruises and scratches no one was hurt.

The official spike driving—without which no railroad is considered to be properly finished and ready for business, took place on the afternoon of December 16th and its story was told by Editor Prosch as follows:

"The Final Ceremonies—The last spike, in the completion of the Pacific Division of the Northern Pacific Railroad, was driven at 3 o'clock this afternoon by Gen. M. M. McCarver, of this city, at the depot in the upper town. The locomotives General Case and Otter Tail drawing passenger and freight trains, were upon the ground, the steamers Alida and Black Diamond close by, and a concourse of citizens and workmen there as spectators. A deafening shout went up from the assembled hundreds as the last blows of the hammer resounded, which was taken up and continued by the whistles of the locomotives and steamer Black Diamond. The first passenger to come over the entire road was W. B. Blackwell, and his hotel goods as freight. The first passengers to go from Tacoma were General Sprague, Mr. Theodore Hosmer and wife, and Harry Cooke; and the first freight to go was a shipment of 250 pounds of Tacoma Bay fish, made by Shorts & Ludwig of the city market."

The next day Prosch discovered he had omitted some of the details and published the following correction:

"More Passengers and Freight—Besides those mentioned by us yesterday, as among the first to go from Tacoma to Kalama per overland railroad, were Mr. E. M. Meeker and wife. Mr. Meeker is going to Portland, and took with him a quantity of furs, beaver, otter, bear and other skins. The movement by this route is nearly began (begun), and by the 1st of January, when the road shall have been properly ballasted, the trade and travel through Tacoma will be immense."

General Cass had telegraphed Henry Failing and Edward Bingham on November 22d:

"The company owe Montgomery \$150,000. We cannot realize immediately from our resources to meet this amount, and advise his creditors their wisest course is to wait a reasonable time till payment can be made by the company."

Ainsworth's action in using his private funds in paying the striking laborers saved the day for the Northern Pacific's Pacific Division. The resources to which Cass referred, consisted largely of the Tacoma townsite. How the directors could have expected to realize any great amount of money out of town lots at that time is past understanding. When Jay Cooke & Company closed the doors of the Philadelphia bank on September 18th, they set in motion one of the worst panics this country has ever known. It is known as the "Panic of '73" and it became a horrible calamity.

The Kalama-Tacoma line was open for traffic. It had but few sidings, and, at many places, cars were left standing on the main line while being loaded or unloaded.

Even before the official last spike had been driven the new town began to take shape. Three settlements, new, raw and rough, existed. First of these was Tacoma—"Old Town" of the present—then came the settlement "on the hill," and last the "Wharf" at the waterfront end of the line. Thomas Prosch moved

the plant of the Pacific Tribune over from Olympia and on August 9, 1873, began the publication of the paper in Old Tacoma. It was a four-page, five-column daily with a weekly issue on Friday. On the "Wharf" was the Blackwell Hotel. Mrs. Blackwell, like Mrs. Steele at Old Town, appreciated the value of a good table and the fame of the hotel spread rapidly. It housed many notable guests.

On the hill was the "shack" office of the Tacoma Land Company, subsidiary of the Northern Pacific and successor of the Lake Superior & Puget Sound Company, with C. B. Wright, Charlemange Tower, Frederick Billings and J. C. Ainsworth as directing force, and Theodore Hosmer local manager. Notwithstanding panicky times New Tacoma grew rapidly. Surveyors scarcely had finished setting their platting stakes than wagons loaded with lumber appeared. Carpenters' hammers were heard in all directions. Residences and business houses seemed to sprout from the stumps. Harry and Pitt Cooke, nephews of the famous Jay, arrived and opened the first bank. They received \$8,000 in deposits the first day. Tacoma was on the railroad map of the world; but the country was in one of the worst financial depressions it had ever known—a depression during which business stagnated, industry atrophied and obtaining the necessities of life became a struggle with poverty.

On the same day that Rice and Ainsworth sent their telegram announcing the selection of Tacoma as the terminus to McCarver, the commissioners sent a similar message to A. A. Denny at Seattle. The same telegram produced exactly opposite effects in the two towns—Tacoma celebrated a victory; Seattle mourned a defeat—one in which her people felt they had been "jockeyed" in the race for terminal honors.

From the very day the Northern Pacific became a matter for congressional action, Seattle had expected to become its western terminus. Elliott Bay had the endorsement of both Stevens and McClellan; her people had shown a willingness to mortgage the future to the limit in raising a big subsidy; they had offered what amounted to complete control of the city's waterfront; large numbers of lots and tide flats that today are worth untold millions; all to no purpose. Tacoma, a little considered rival, had won.

The telegram was a stinging blow to Seattle—one received most unexpectedly—and hopeful desire gave way to profound gloom. And then Seattle aroused herself and awoke to a realization of the fact that daring, determined, working men and women and not the decisions of a board of railroad directors build cities. Already her people were accustomed to working as a unit. They called a meeting and decided that since the railroad would not build to them they must build to the railroad. Speeches were made; Selucius Garfield proposed the building of a road from Elliott Bay, through Snoqualmie Pass to the fertile fields of Eastern Washington and said such a road would haul the products of those fields to tide water at Seattle at a lower cost than would be possible with the Northern Pacific's Columbia River-Kalama-Tacoma line.

When the citizens returned to their homes from that meeting they had organized the Seattle & Walla Walla Railroad and Transportation Company. Its first board of directors were A. A. Denny, John Collins, Franklin Matthias,

Angus Mackintosh, H. L. Yesler, James McNaught, J. J. McGilvra, Dexter Horton and J. M. Colman.

During the next legislative session McGilvra procured the passage of favorable laws. Gen. James Tilton made an estimate of the cost of the road by two different routes. One, by way of the Yakima Valley, at about three and one-half million dollars, and one by way of Priest Rapids at about half a million more. Notwithstanding these fabulous figures, the stock of the company found buyers, but not in sufficient number to build a four-million dollar railroad. The people therefore decided to start their railroad with their own labor.

Southward from the little town clustered around Yesler's sawmill stretched a tide flat whose eastern and western boundaries were Beacon and West Seattle hills. With indefinite and changing shore lines this tide flat extended to the mouth of the Duwamish River. Filled in with sand dredged from its own shallow depths, and earth washed down from the adjacent hills, that tide flat is today Seattle's wholesale and manufacturing district, the working place of many thousands of men and women, but on May 1, 1874, it was a formidable obstacle in the way of railroad building. Piling grew on the hillsides and piling, driven into the tide flat homes of unnumbered millions of clams would provide a bridge over which the trains could run to solid ground at Steele's Landing on the Duwamish. At Steele's Landing work should begin with a monster picnic on May Day.

May Day morning dawned bright and fair—good omen foretelling success for the enterprise that day to be instituted. Early in the morning men and boys carrying axes, grubbing hoes, shovels and other clearing and grading tools were ferried across to the landing. Within a short time they were followed by women and girls carrying filled baskets. The workers were to be well fed. Seattle streets were deserted. The saws of Yesler's mill were silent. The sailing vessels moored at the dock awaited the return of the longshoremen and stevedores.

The noon meal completed, the laborers turned to speech making, for who ever heard of Americans setting in motion a great enterprise without speech making? It was decided that every man who could do so should give one day each week towards the building of the road. The results of the first day's work were satisfactory and caused everybody to become enthusiastic. But building railroads along Puget Sound hillsides with the tools used by the pioneers was a stupendous task.

More than a year passed before the road was pushed through the first five-mile stretch to the Renton coal mines. Transporting coal was profitable business and the promoters now felt their road entitled to congressional assistance. A. A. Denny went to Washington to assist Delegate McFadden to obtain a land grant, but Congress already was suffering from the bad taste of land grants and it refused to do anything for the Seattle road. Judge Orange Jacobs succeeded McFadden as delegate and the directors hoped that he, a Seattle man, would be able to succeed where his predecessor had failed. But the land grant again was refused.

Early in 1876 the directors placed J. M. Colman in charge of the road and instructed him to build through to the Newcastle coal mines. Colman was operating the Yesler mill under lease and was about as busy a man as the directors could have found. For this reason, perhaps, he was able to inject life into the project. His first offer was that he would put \$10,000 into the road provided

DENNY HILL REGRADE

MOVING 7,500,000 CUBIC FEET
OF EARTH
TO BUILD A CITY.



1906 old Hotel Washington



1907 Hydraulic and Steam Shovel at Work



12986

1907

Last of old Hotel Washington



SEATTLE
WASHINGTON



1908

New Hotel Washington

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Seattle people would meet it with \$50,000. The offer was not taken and Colman came back with another—to advance \$20,000 provided his neighbors and business associates would raise \$40,000. This was accepted and Colman made things move lively on the construction work, so lively that in a short time the fifteen-mile stretch to the mines was completed and in operation.

Editor Prosch was mistaken when he said the arrival of the first Northern Pacific construction train at the Tacoma end of the Kalama-Tacoma line marked the first appearance of a locomotive upon the shores of Puget Sound. Puget Sound's first locomotive was "The Bodie," a little engine brought up from San Francisco and used in hauling coal cars from the south end of Lake Union to the bunkers stretching out into Elliott Bay from the foot of Pike Street, Seattle.

Outcroppings of the King County coal fields were first discovered in 1853 by Dr. M. Bigelow while clearing land on his farm on Black River, a short distance below Renton. In 1862 L. B. Andrews discovered the Issaquah field and carried into Seattle in a flour sack samples of coal from that mine. One year later Edwin Richardson, while surveying a township line east of Lake Washington, discovered the Coal Creek outcroppings and set in motion a stampede for the hills around what is now known as Newcastle. George F. Whitworth, Daniel Bagley, P. H. Lewis, John Ross and Selucius Garfield, in 1866, organized the Lake Washington Coal Company and opened the first tunnel on the hillside above Coal Creek.

Years of struggle followed. Seattle people realized the importance of developing the coal mines; but they had little money for the work. Efforts to finance the industry failed until in 1870 the company was reorganized as the Seattle Coal & Transportation Company, owning the claims of Edwin Richardson, Josiah Settle and C. B. Bagley. At great labor and expense a quantity of the coal was brought to Seattle and offered to the captain of the United States revenue cutter Lincoln with the request that he test it. The Lincoln had been burning wood and the peaty coal from California, and when the fireman placed the Newcastle coal beneath the boilers he developed a heat of unexpected intensity. The mine owners felt greatly encouraged.

The great question was that of transportation from the mine to tide water. It was decided to barge the coal across Lake Washington to Union Bay, transport it across the portage there by tramway, load the cars upon barges which would carry them to the south end of Lake Union and there deliver them to another tramway leading to the bunkers at Pike Street. Some twenty-five thousand dollars were expended in providing this round-about-system of transportation. Coal was brought over the line and then the men who had labored so long for the development of their mines were forced, because of lack of capital, to sell out. San Francisco was the financial center of the Pacific Coast and it was two San Franciscans, Charles D. Shattuck and S. Dinsmore, who took charge of the Seattle Coal & Transportation affairs. The new owners, early in 1872, shipped "The Bodie" north and late in March gave the people of Seattle the first railroad excursion ever conducted in Washington. The Seattle Intelligencer of March 25th, thus tells the story:

"Friday last was decidedly a holiday in this city owing to the opportunity afforded everyone to indulge in the novelty of a free ride behind the first locomotive that ever whistled and snorted and dashed through the dense forests sur-

rounding the waters of Puget Sound. Business in town was not exactly suspended, but it might very near as well have been, as an excursion on Dinsmore's Railroad, connecting Union Lake with the Sound, with its constantly departing and returning train of cars during the day, seemed uppermost in the minds of all, and pretty much monopolized every other consideration."

Eight bright new coal cars were the passenger coaches used in this excursion. At 11 o'clock in the morning "The Bodie" pulled out from Pike Street with the first train load of excursionists. Half an hour was required for the round trip to Lake Union and the locomotive and its cars were kept almost constantly in motion until 5 o'clock in the afternoon.

By the end of the summer the little railroad was carrying from seventy-five to one hundred tons of coal daily to the bunkers, Newcastle had received an addition of twenty-five new houses and sixty men were employed in the mines. June 16, 1877, while the Western Shore and the Washington Libby were receiving cargoes of coal, the 800-foot bunkers that had cost the company \$30,000 to build, suddenly gave way and crashed into the bay. Teredoes had eaten off the piles upon which the bunkers were built. Seattle owes much to the coal industry. Just at the time when the Northern Pacific was trying its best to make Tacoma the leading city on the Sound—efforts in which the railroad company threw every possible obstacle in the way of the progress of the rival town—King County coal fields came to the rescue with millions of tons of coal. They enabled Seattle to increase her population and her commercial importance in a period of financial depression and powerful opposition.

Olympia, in common with other towns on the Sound, developed terminus ambitions as soon as the building of the Northern Pacific was announced. Being the nearest Sound point to Kalama her people felt the directors of the road would build to Budd's Inlet and that having accomplished this end would rest content with their work. This idea was further strengthened by the appearance of Ira Bradley Thomas and his short land buying career. John Goodwin and General Sprague, in letters to Marshall Blin and other Olympia citizens, stated the railroad would make the capital city the terminus, one letter of June 29, 1872, going so far as to state: "the line of railroad runs to the east side of Budd's Inlet to the Billings or Wylie donation claim, said claim being in sections 25, 26, 35 and 36 of township 19, range 2 west and a point will be selected on one of said claims for a freight and passenger depot, where said line will terminate."

This, however, was before General Cass had "laid down the law" regarding Canfield, Rice, and their Lake Superior and Puget Sound Company. Olympia speculated. Land prices were raised to a high level and then came the telegram which caused so much joy in Tacoma, and so much gloom in Seattle. Olympia was in the same boat as the latter city, except, perhaps, that in her enthusiasm she had built to greater heights and had a greater distance to fall. Fall she did. Rents tumbled along with land prices, and went down to almost nothing at all. The products of the Chehalis and Skookumchuck valleys sought a market at the new town and Olympia merchants pocketed a loss of business.

In January, 1874, a meeting was held in the office of Hazard Stevens and the Olympia Railroad Union was organized with Hazard Stevens, president; S. D. Howe, vice president; F. A. Hoffman, secretary; R. W. Ryerson, treasurer; T. F. McElroy, Ira Ward and S. W. Percival, board of appraisers. A survey



THIRTY YEARS OF PROGRESS
OCCIDENTAL AVENUE
LOOKING NORTH TO YESLER WAY

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was made to Tenino, the estimated cost of building a narrow gauge road was one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, with the standard about one hundred thousand dollars higher.

The narrow gauge was adopted. Enthusiasm chased away the gloom which had settled down on the town when the Northern Pacific located at Tacoma. Stock was subscribed and the people prepared to start their railroad in much the same way that Seattle had started hers the previous year. April 7th was chosen for beginning work and early on the morning of that day, almost every man in the town donned working clothes and, preceded by the Olympia Light Guard Band, went to Warren's Point, where work was to begin. Trees fell and their stumps were uprooted. Graders moved the earth and when, at noon, the ladies announced that dinner—the noon-day meal had not, at that time, been given the name of lunch—was ready, every man had developed a good appetite and had left the evidence which justified that appetite in the form of a considerable length of railroad grade.

Having satisfied their hunger, the workmen listened to speeches by some of the leaders in the movement, voted to make Thursday of each week Railroad Day, on which every Olympia citizen would be expected to turn out and assist in the building of the road, and then returned to their work. Three hundred men worked the first day, about one mile of grade being the result. Seventy-five women served the dinner. Captain Percival, a consistent member of the Good Templars Lodge, in the excitement of the celebration, yielded to the spirit of the day and tasted Eldridge's beer—a sin for which he was soon called upon to answer before the lodge.

Olympia's appeal to Congress met with better luck than did Seattle's. McFadden secured the enactment of a law authorizing Thurston County to vote bonds for the building of the road. The Olympia Railroad Union entered into a contract to build the railroad and place it in operation within one year from August 1, 1875. A special election was held, the bonds voted 529 for to 214 against. Portland capitalists to whom the Union expected to sell the bonds, refused to buy, and General Stevens went to San Francisco where he met a like refusal. The promoters realized the Northern Pacific was fighting them in every money market and that they had small chance of completing their fourteen-mile line.

The county commissioners extended the time limit and the Union about this time concluded that its efforts would more likely meet with success provided it had a practical railroad man at its head. Amos Bowman, of San Francisco, opened negotiations for taking over the line. Governor Ferry, representing the Union, drew the contract, but it did not meet with Bowman's approval and the matter again went by the board. The Thurston County Railroad Construction Company, J. P. Judson, president; R. H. Milroy, vice president; L. P. Venen, secretary; E. N. Ouimette, treasurer; now succeeded the Union, secured another extension of time, and early in 1878 took up the work of finishing the line. It was pushed along rapidly and on August 1st was opened with a free excursion to Tenino, 350 persons going on the first train of six cars and an equal number on a second train during the afternoon. The rates of fare from Olympia were 12½ cents to Tumwater, 50 cents to Bush Prairie, and \$1.00 to the end of the line at Tenino.

Before the coming of the railroads, Washington had gotten along very nicely

without a penitentiary. Persons convicted of crimes punishable by jail sentence were confined in one of the few county jails. The building of the railroads was followed by a new tide of immigration, and, quite naturally, an increase of crime. A penitentiary became an undesirable necessity. In 1874 William Billings, sheriff of Thurston County, and Jerry Smith, sheriff of Pierce, each proposed to the Legislature that it turn all territorial convicts over to them, they to care for the prisoners in exchange for their labor. Other politicians and business men were quick to see the advantage of this kind of arrangement and the Legislature soon received several similar offers. Billings and Smith, not liking the prospect of competition, decided to pool their interests and formed a combine under the terms of which Smith withdrew his offer, threw his support to Billings and received a one-half interest in the contract which Billings later made with the Legislature.

Having secured their convicts, Billings and Smith now turned their attention to making it profitable. At Seatco—seventeen miles south of Olympia, Oliver Shead owned a sawmill. Seatco—Indian word meaning devil or ghost—was first settled by Aaron Webster who came from Oregon in 1854, took up a donation claim on the Skookumchuck and by virtue of a land warrant purchased from James Tilton, secured an adjoining quarter section. The Northern Pacific Railway was located through the town in 1873, and Shead, who had purchased part of the Webster land, became one of the territorial capitalists, and just the man needed to make the Billings contract profitable.

Shead entered the Billings-Smith combination, the contract providing that he should supply the money for building a prison in exchange for a one-third interest in any enterprise which might be attempted. Near the old Webster mill a new mill was built. Here lumber was sawed for the new penitentiary building, which was 30 by 80 feet in size, two stories high, with walls made of 3 by 12 inch lumber spiked together on the flat sides. The inside walls, made of 3 by 6's, were of just half the thickness of the outer walls. Entrance to the building was through the second story which was reached by an outside stairway. In the second story were the kitchen, dining room, and rooms for the guards. The first floor, minus doors, contained the cells in which convicts were confined.

For fourteen years territorial prisoners were confined in this gloomy structure and through their labor in the sawmill nearby, contributed to the profits of the trio who owned, not only the mill but the prison also. In 1888 the permanent penitentiary at Walla Walla was ready for occupancy and the convicts were removed to that institution—the old prison burning to the ground several years later.

The Northern Pacific, when it located the station at Seatco, in 1873, objected to the Indian name of the place. The Webster coal lands had passed into the ownership of Samuel Coulter, then a resident of the valley, and J. B. David, of Portland. William Buckley, representing the railway, called these men into conference and it was decided that the old name of Seatco should die, at least so far as the railway was concerned. How could any town hope to accomplish anything with such a name? So Buckley, Coulter and David, taking the first two letters of each of their names, coined the new name Bu-co-da and rechristened the town. The "devil," or "ghost," name did not die, however, and when, in 1887,

Shead laid out a townsite he named the place Seatco. On all the railroad literature it was known as Bucoda, but locally and with the United States Postoffice Department it was still Seatco. The two names continued in use down to 1890 when the Legislature passed an act changing the name to Bucoda, the postoffice department shortly thereafter adopting the same name the old "ghost" was laid to rest—the "devil" died.

CHAPTER XXVIII

JAY COOKE BITTERLY DENOUNCED—AFTER CRASH HE LIVES FOR PERIOD IN RETIREMENT—REAPPEARS AND REBUILDS HIS RUINED FORTUNES—COAL DISCOVERED NEAR TACOMA—NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY IN RECEIVER'S HANDS—WRIGHT, WITH HIS OWN MONEY, HASTENS RAILROAD BUILDING—"FINANCING" NEW RAILROADS—RISE OF HENRY VILLARD—STEAMER IDAHO'S INTERESTING HISTORY AS HOSPITAL SHIP—VILLARD DRIVES "LAST SPIKE"—RAILROADERS GIVEN MILD RECEPTION BY RIVAL COAST CITIES—THE FERRYBOAT "TACOMA."

Jay Cooke, following the collapse of his bank September 18, 1873, was denounced as a hot-headed visionary who, in his attempt to build a railroad from "Nowhere through No-Man's Land to No Place," had brought the country to financial ruin. By others he was charged with being a cold-blooded schemer who had lined his own nest to the hurt of many innocents. Smalley, historian of the Northern Pacific, says:

"The firm of Jay Cooke & Co. made about three millions of dollars out of its agency for the first Northern Pacific loan. Before the financial crash of 1873, Mr. Cooke regarded himself as one of the richest men of the country. He built in the beautiful suburbs of Philadelphia a palace which, for size and costliness, had scarcely an equal on this side of the Atlantic. In this palace, called 'Ogontz,' he dispensed a lavish hospitality. He had also a summer residence, 'Gibraltar,' on a rocky cape at the entrance to Sandusky Bay on Lake Erie, which, for the larger part of the year, he placed at the disposal of numbers of clergymen who recuperated their health by boating and fishing, and breathing the pure air of the lake. Mr. Cooke was a generous patron of churches and charities, and had a strong religious bent. After the crash he lived for a time in retirement in a little cottage in the country, near Philadelphia, to all appearances a broken man. But after getting through the bankruptcy courts, he reappeared in business circles in Philadelphia, occupied his old office on South Third Street, and began to build up a second fortune. Stock transactions and the successful sale of a silver mine to English capitalists gave him a large sum of money which he so increased by other ventures that he is now currently reported to be worth \$2,000,000. His career offers the rare instance of a man losing one fortune and making another when past the meridian of life."

Earnings of the Northern Pacific were far below interest charges on its \$33,000,000 of debt. April 16, 1875, bankruptcy proceedings were begun and General Cass was appointed receiver. Frederick Billings then proposed a plan of reorganization whereby the bonds would be taken up in exchange for preferred stock. By the end of September this was carried through and the Northern Pacific placed where it again could become a borrower. Business was beginning to revive and plans for new construction were laid.

About thirty miles east of Tacoma in 1875 coal was discovered along the line of the proposed railroad over the Cascade Mountains. Benjamin Fallows, a Pittsburg coal expert, was sent out from the East, made an investigation and filed a report that caused the company to place a surveying party in the field. May 6, 1876, the line formally was adopted by filing with the Interior Department a map showing the route to be followed. The coal mine station was given the name of Wilkeson, in honor of the secretary of the company. Wilkeson's son, Samuel, Jr., came to Washington in 1873 as an employe of the company, married a daughter of Elwood Evans in 1877 and became a resident of Tacoma. He had assisted in the coal explorations.

When the railroad company decided to build the line to the coal mines, it was proposed to finance the enterprise with borrowed funds. Citizens of Seattle and of Eastern Washington were carrying on a campaign having for its object the forfeiting of the unearned portion of the company's land grant. Delegate Jacobs introduced in Congress a bill to take the Cascade Division grant away from the Northern Pacific and give it to the Seattle & Walla Walla line. Senator Mitchell, of Oregon, was attacking the company's interests along the Columbia River and its affairs were in a critical condition. Something must be done. President C. B. Wright met the situation by ordering the construction of the first extension eastward from Tacoma towards the mountains.

The money used in building this line came from surplus earnings of the eastern section between St. Paul and Bismarck. Wright, using money from his private purse, bought a cargo of iron rails and sent them to Tacoma via Cape Horn. This prompt action undermined the argument against the company and saved its charter. The coal road was completed early in 1878 and almost immediately became a revenue producer.

The steamer Alaska carried the first 140 tons of Wilkeson coal to San Francisco and the fact that some of the output of this district was coking coal, and would make gas—a thing impossible with any other coal at that time mined in the Sound—created a sharp and increasing demand for the product of the mines. In addition to coal the new road found profitable business in the Puyallup Valley which already had become famous for its hops.

Frederick Billings, in December, laid before the board of directors a plan for extending the eastern end of the line to the Yellowstone River. He proposed to bond the division for \$2,500,000, to sell preferred stock of an equal amount and with each \$100 subscription to the stock include a \$100 bond. The plan was adopted, the stock subscribed and early in the spring of 1879 construction began. For each \$100 of money used in construction \$200 of securities were issued. No wonder railroad companies, in appeals for increased traffic rates, tell public service commissions they are not paying dividends upon their stock.

The building of the Pen d'Oreille division of 225 miles was achieved by giving \$170 in stocks and bonds for each \$100 in cash and the mortgage filed was for \$4,500,000. Work on the Pen d'Oreille division began in the fall of 1879 and was followed soon after by the division from Wallula to a connection with the Pen d'Oreille. This latter brought a traffic arrangement with the Oregon Railway & Navigation Company and introduced into Northern Pacific

affairs Henry Villard, of the Oregon company, and the man under whose guidance the last link in the Northern Pacific line was to be built.

Henry Villard, Bavarian by birth, came to America in 1853, following the completion of a course of study in French and German universities. After a year spent in New York, Chicago and St. Louis, Villard, in November, 1854, went to Bellville, Ill., to visit a kinsman. That winter he began writing short articles for a German paper, meeting with such success that in a short time he was contributing to a number of eastern German papers. Mastery of the English language opened a broader field for his writings and sent him into the Lincoln-Douglas political campaign of 1858 as a reporter. His rise in the journalistic field was rapid.

In 1866 he married a daughter of William Lloyd Garrison and the next year went to Europe as the representative of a number of American newspapers. On a second trip to Europe in 1874 he laid the foundations for his railroad career by becoming acquainted with some of Germany's leading capitalists and was sent back to America as their representative. August, 1874, found him on the Pacific Coast investigating some of the Ben Holladay properties. The result was the reorganization of the Oregon and California Railroad Company with Villard as president.

In June, 1879, he brought about the organization of the Oregon Railway & Navigation Company, which absorbed the properties of the Oregon Steamship Company and gave him control of transportation on the Columbia. To this company came the Northern Pacific for an outlet for its Wallula-Pen d'Oreille line and Villard, in 1881, became its president.

Villard's triumph was achieved only after a bitter battle. At the head of Oregon's principal transportation line he naturally commanded the support of Portland, then exercising every influence toward bringing the Northern Pacific down the Columbia. Had this been accomplished Portland would have become the western terminus.

On the Sound Villard's Oregon Improvement Company obtained control of the Seattle & Walla Walla Railroad. His Oregon Railroad & Navigation Company in May, 1881, bought the Starr line of steamboats, including the North Pacific, George E. Starr, Annie Stewart, Isabel, Alida, and Otter, to which it added the Welcome from the Columbia River run. In 1882 the Railroad & Navigation Company completed its railroad up the south bank of the Columbia and sent to the Sound the steamers Idaho, City of Quincy, Emma Hayward and the Gazelle. Bitter competition was the result, passenger rates were cut until at one time the fare between Seattle and Bellingham was down to 50 cents. The Idaho became famous as the Wayside Mission Hospital, of which C. B. Bagley says:

"The Wayside Mission Hospital had a beginning so unique, and so paved the way for the present City Hospital, that it deserves mention in this history. In the late '90s Dr. Alexander de Soto became a resident and citizen of Seattle. He was of Spanish extraction, his father being, according to his account of himself, a general in the military forces of Spain. He had received a good literary, as well as a medical and surgical education, and was a physician and surgeon of skill and experience and possessed a naturally bright and resourceful mind. He here practiced his profession, doing a good deal of charity work.

PACIFIC AVENUE, TACOMA, LOOKING NORTH FROM ABOUT TWELFTH STREET, IN 1884



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He was admitted as a member into the Tabernacle Baptist Church, and became acquainted there with a co-member, Capt. Amos O. Benjamin, an old resident of Seattle. Captain Benjamin was a man of varied adventure and business. He has been a soldier, a rancher, a shipmaster, a diver, a junk dealer, a wrecker, a dealer in furniture. Some time after Doctor de Soto and he formed their acquaintanceship, Benjamin was dealing in junk and became the owner of the dismantled hull of the steamship Idaho, which he bought from Cahn & Cohn for \$250. Both of them inventive and benevolent, they conceived the idea of turning the hull into a hospital, in which to treat emergency cases along the water front of the city. They sought Judge Greene for such aid as he might be able to give them. He approved their plan and the Seattle Benevolent Society was organized April 1, 1899, to work the matter into operation. The society consisted of Roger S. Greene, Frank D. Black, Amos O. Benjamin, Alexander Beers, Alexander de Soto, James W. Cowan and George G. Bright. Judge Greene was president, Mr. Black vice president and Mr. Bright secretary. Captain Benjamin presented the Idaho to the society.

A suitable site was provided by the city in the water at the foot of Jackson Street, where a gridiron was built and the hull set upon it and put in serviceable repair. Doctor de Soto resigned from the board of trustees, in order to become lessee of the hospital and James Johnson, appointed in his place, became secretary. The hull was speedily built upon and fitted up as a hospital, under lease to the doctor, at the monthly rent of \$20, which was to be rebated monthly so long as the management of the leased property should be satisfactory to the society.

The society has never changed its officers, nor its organization. Its property became widely known all over the city and up and down the Pacific Coast as the "Wayside Mission Hospital." Under Doctor de Soto's care it served a very useful purpose, receiving and treating the city emergency patients, for about four years. Doctor de Soto kept aboard the hospital a loyal henchman of his, an athlete and ex-prizefighter, whom he imported from the Atlantic seaboard, and whose duty was that of a sergeant-at-arms and special policeman, to keep unruly patients within bounds, protect property and prevent unauthorized intrusion. In July, 1904, Doctor de Soto's management became unsatisfactory, his lease was revoked and the leasehold turned over to Mrs. Fanny W. Connor and Mrs. Marion Baxter. They operated the premises until the hull became leaky and the Oregon Improvement Company, whose dock lay just to the north of the hospital, required for its own business new railway trackage on the south, and persuaded the city to remove the hospital ship. The hospital moved to the old "Sarah B. Yesler" at the northwest corner of Second Avenue North and Republican Street, where it was operated for several years, by the same name, under the management of Mrs. Baxter, caring for the city emergency cases until the City Hospital at the northwest corner of Fifth Avenue and Yesler Way went into commission.

The injection of the Villard interests into transportation affairs on the Sound caused great uncertainty. Tacoma, backed by the men whom Villard had ousted from control of Northern Pacific affairs, trembled in her boots. In the late '70s Seattle had fought hard to retain her position as the largest city on the Sound. The Northern Pacific had used many means to cripple her and advance

the interests of the rival city. Seattle was not given a place on Northern Pacific maps and steamboat service, in railroad control, was so arranged that Seattle passengers over the Tacoma-Kalama line were forced to remain all night in Tacoma.

Intense bitterness, perhaps the most intense any two American cities have known, developed; and when Villard's election to the Northern Pacific presidency was announced, Seattle rejoiced. It was an elation not unmixed with foreboding—Seattle hoped Villard would do something to give her railroad connection with the outside world; but she, like Tacoma, feared the success-achieving Bavarian would be won over to his first love on the Pacific—Portland—and leave both rivals on a branch line.

Throwing all his ability into the work of completing the main line Villard induced his backers to advance large sums of money for construction work. Great preparations were made for driving the last spike. Special trains were sent from both ends of the line. Traveling on the one from Ainsworth (Pasco) were many persons prominent in Pacific Coast affairs, among them being J. W. Nesmith and John Bidwell. Nesmith had crossed the plains to Oregon in 1843, in the first wagon train over the old immigrant trail, while Bidwell had gone to California one year earlier in the first wagon train overland to that state. On the train from St. Paul came Villard, ex-President Billings and other railroad notables, General Grant, Hon. Henry M. Teller, Hon. William M. Evarts, British Minister Lionel Sackville-West, Sir James Hannen, German Minister von Eisendecker, Doctor Kneiss, of the Berlin University, and other notable Germans. The governors of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Dakota, Montana, Oregon and Washington were present.

Sixty miles west of Helena, in the Deer Lodge Valley, the ends of the line were brought within 1,000 feet of each other. Here the work ceased until after the speech-making and salute-firing of the celebration had come to a close, when 300 men quickly laid the rails and spiked them to the ties.

Assistant General Passenger Agent H. C. Davis, the man who, years before, had driven the first spike for the Northern Pacific, then advanced to the place in the line where the last spike was to be driven. He carried the same golden spike used on the former occasion. Davis, amid the cheering of the three or four thousand spectators, drove the spike which united St. Paul with the Columbia River by a band of steel. The bands played, cannon fired their salutes, and the first train from the East ran over the newly laid track on its way to Ainsworth, where connection was made with the Oregon Railroad & Navigation tracks for Portland.

Just before Villard boarded the west bound train for the purpose of accompanying the Northern Pacific's guests to the coast, he was handed the following telegram:

“Portland, September 8, 1883.

“Henry Villard, President, Northern Pacific Junction, Montana:—We have just driven the last spike on the 40-mile Portland and Kalama extension of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and you now have all rail from St. Paul to Tacoma on Puget Sound.

“J. B. MONTGOMERY.”

Montgomery was the contractor who had built the greater part of the Kalama-Tacoma line and alleged that he, as the agent of Jay Cooke & Company, went from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh in 1869, and in the latter city sold \$800,000 worth of the first \$5,600,000 of Northern Pacific bonds. For more than thirteen years he had worked for the road which at one time owed him several hundred thousands of dollars.

Many of those attending the spike-driving came on to the coast, where they were given a warm welcome by Portland, Tacoma, Seattle and Victoria. Seattle's celebration in honor of Villard's visit was much more demonstrative than Tacoma's. Villard, to the Tacoma Land Company, was somewhat of an uncertain and dangerous element. Seattle was decorated as it never had been decorated before. The exercises were conducted at the old University, the feature of the event being an address by Miss Nellie Powell, daughter of President Powell of the University, to which the famous Carl Schurz replied:

"On our march from the Atlantic to the Pacific, we have received many welcomes, waving bunting, the boom of cannon, grand illumination and many welcome addresses, but if I were Mr. Villard, I would feel proud of none of them as I would of the address of this young lady."

Shortly after President Villard returned East the Tacoma News obtained an advance copy of a report which he made to the directors on September 20th, and in which he said the coal shipments from the Carbonado and South Prairie fields had reached a yearly total of close to one hundred thousand tons. Grading was in progress from Pasco westward towards the Cascades. Track laying on the extension into Seattle was expected to be completed before winter; Tacoma and Seattle each showed increased populations and a new ferry boat had arrived for use in crossing the Columbia River at Kalama.

The ferry boat Tacoma was built in New York and brought, in sections, around the Horn on board the ship Tillie E. Starbuck. The Starbuck was the first full-rigged iron ship built in America and arrived in the Columbia about the time the Northern Pacific's main line was completed. The Tacoma was put together and on May 17, 1884, was launched into the waters of the Willamette. The Starbuck's manifest showed that the Tacoma was shipped in 57,159 separate pieces. Her dimensions were: length, 338 feet; depth, 11 feet 7 inches; beam, 42 feet. On her deck were three tracks, running full length of the boat and providing 1,017 feet of track capable of holding a passenger train of ten coaches and two engines or twenty-one freight cars. She was put into service in September, 1884, and twenty years later still had five of her original crew, they being Capt. George A. Gore; Pilot Capt. William Simpson; Pilot John Larson; Chief Engineer Charles E. Gore and Pontoon Man Joseph Lawrence. During the first twenty years the Tacoma traveled a distance estimated at 350,400 miles in making the trips from Kalama across the Columbia River, a distance of about two miles.

Captain Gore was born in Detroit, Mich., in 1848, and at the age of fourteen began his marine experience as cabin boy on the Great Lakes. Three years later he was mate on a large vessel plying between Chicago and Buffalo. Leaving the lakes in 1871 to come to San Francisco, for a short time he was employed on the Sacramento River and then came to the Willamette, his first service there being on the Vancouver. Captain Gore served on almost every

boat running on the Columbia River during the '70s and early '80s, one of the most famous of these being the Ohio, the steamer whose Pitman rods were of gas pipe and the wheel entirely of wood. It is said that this boat had the habit of frequently dropping out a segment of her wooden wheel, at which time the captain would order the mate to lower a boat and go after the escaping portion of the vessel. He entered the service of the Northern Pacific in 1884, becoming master of the Tacoma, and during the long period of service made an enviable reputation, probably without a parallel in point of time and efficiency of service in the Northwest.

Capt. William Simpson served the Oregon Steam Navigation Company for fourteen years, during which time he was pilot, mate and master of boats operated on the upper river. He came to the Columbia in the early '70s, and for several years was pilot of the steamer Spokane, Captain Gore, master, and when Gore went to the transfer boat in 1884 Simpson went along as pilot. For twenty years, 365 days to the year and twelve hours to the day. Simpson was on duty without a single vacation from his post in the steamer's pilot house.

Pilot John Larson, a native of Norway, after years of experience as a deep sea sailor, landed in Portland in 1880 and entered the service of Willamette River steamboats. Four years later he went to the transfer boat Tacoma as pontoon man, advancing to the berth of mate and then to that of pilot.

Joseph Lawrence was born in Austria, came to America when quite young and after following the sea for a number of years, settled down as pontoon man on the Oregon side of the river and for twenty years he had assisted the transfer boat in making its landings.

CHAPTER XXIX

VIRGIL BOGUE SENT TO FIND A PASS—DISCOVERY OF STAMPEDE DESCRIBED BY CLARENCE K. CLARK—NORTHERN PACIFIC LAND GRANT BECOMES POLITICAL ISSUE—THE "ORPHAN RAILROAD"—BENNETT DRIVES GREAT BORE BENEATH STAMPEDE PASS—SWITCH-BACK COMPLETED AND TACOMANS CELEBRATE—H. M. S. CAROLINE TAKES PART IN ELABORATE EXERCISES.

Early in 1881 plans were made for continuing the Northern Pacific eastward from Wilkeson over the Cascade Mountains—various passes were examined and in March President Villard sent Virgil Bogue into the mountains at the head of a corps of engineers. One of the members of this party was Clarence K. Clark, a native of Pierce County, who recently gave the following facts regarding the discovery of Stampede Pass:

"What is now called Stampede Pass was discovered by Mr. Virgil G. Bogue, assistant engineer for the Northern Pacific Railway, in March, 1881. He gave it the name of Pass No. 1. He also discovered and named Pass No. 2 and 3 while on the same exploration trip. He also examined the next pass to the north which was called Cedar River Pass, because the drainage led to Cedar River. Within one-third of a mile of the summit of Pass No. 1, where the pack-trail crossed, was a small lake, known as Stampede Lake.

"It was so named because, while the gang of trail cutters were camped at the lake they rebelled against their foreman and all but one man quit, and left the service. The one man who remained was Johnny Bradley—a Pierce County boy—who fastened to a tree a small piece of board on which he marked with a pencil 'Stampede Camp.' Bradley's name for the camp passed to the lake and later to the pass. It was my privilege to be rodman in the first engineering party to set a stake at the summit of Stampede Pass. A. O. Eckleson was assistant engineer in charge of the party, Thomas L. Nixon, transitman; Charles H. Ballard, levelman; and William H. Carleton, topographer.

"Two years later it was my privilege to be again assigned to work at Pass No. 1, which had been named Stampede Pass. In April, 1883, J. O. Barlow's locating party was ordered from the vicinity of Ellensburg to the summit to make the final tunnel location, which was accomplished early in May. Barlow's assistants were: S. P. Panton, transitman; 'Buge' Knowlton, topographer; and myself, levelman.

"The first to cross the Cascade Mountains and explore the Green River country was Tilton Sheets, a Northern Pacific Company's assistant engineer. This was late in the fall of 1880.

"In November, 1880, to Captain Kingsbury, an assistant engineer, was assigned the task of taking an engineering party to the Green River summit. He was

relieved by Mr. Bogue, who after many difficulties reached the Green River summit from which he made exhaustive preliminary surveys, completing the work early in June, 1881. He then moved the engineering parties to the Sunday Creek drainage in which are located the three passes which he numbered 1 (now Stampede), 2 and 3. From January until May, 1882, our locating party was assigned to the Columbia River above The Dalles, on what is now known as the North Bank Road. I have read some erroneous articles relative to the North Bank Route, its discovery and conquest by explorers who it seems incredible could have missed our marks and stakes.

"I have given you absolutely correct the origin of the name Stampede as applied to the pass."

While Clark properly gives to Mr. Bogue, the engineer in charge, the credit of discovering Stampede Pass, Thomas L. Nixon is believed to have been the man who actually found it. The party had been working in the timbered canyons for some time and had about given up when Nixon, who knew the country, asked permission to make a further examination. This the chief engineer thought would not be of value. One Saturday afternoon Clark and Nixon were ordered to go to the summit and there receive the notes of the party working on the east side.

Arriving at the point designated the men were told that there would be no work for them that afternoon and it was then that Nixon proposed to Clark that they make the investigation of the new country. They started off over the rocks. Returning to camp they informed the engineer that they had discovered a way by which the line could reach the summit without exceeding the maximum limit set on the grade. He was doubtful, and Clark and Nixon had difficulty in persuading him that they had really discovered a solution of the problem. It was finally decided to run a line through the country explored by the two men and when this work was completed it became the present line of the Northern Pacific over the pass. It was Bogue himself who discovered Sunday Creek, in a lonely reconnaissance through the wilderness on a Sunday. It was the discovery of this creek which led to the hope that a suitable pass could be found.

Notwithstanding this demonstration of its intention to build the transmountain division, the company drew down upon its head the enmity of the people living in many sections of the territory. The basis for this opposition was found in the land grant which covered any district through which the company might decide to build. It withheld from settlement vast tracts of public land—settlers were not willing to take chances of getting on railroad lands and was a clog on the development of territorial resources. It became a political issue and in 1884 Charles S. Voorhees, an anti-Northern Pacific democrat was elected delegate to Congress. The same voters elected a republican Legislature and two years later re-elected Voorhees on the same platform.

The Northern Pacific refused to operate trains over the Orphan road. White River Valley farmers wanted service. They called a meeting at Kent and Judge Hanford suggested they condemn the line and operate it themselves. This brought the Northern Pacific to time and resulted in a service little better than no service at all. And then came Nelson Bennett and the building of the line from Wilkeson via Palmer through the Stampede Pass.

In his annual report, made September 17, 1885, President Harris said that twenty-five miles of the Cascade division eastward from the Wilkeson coal



TACOMA CELEBRATING THE COMPLETION OF THE CASCADE DIVISION OF THE
NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY, JULY 6, 1887

The large structure was the Chamber of Commerce Building

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fields, were under construction. This marked the entrance of Nelson Bennett into the business of big contracts.

Bennett had arrived on the Sound some ten years earlier and for a time ran an express wagon in Tacoma. Early in 1886 he closed a contract for boring the Stampede Tunnel. To reach the site of the tunnel, supplies had to be carried overland for many miles from both sides of the mountains and at the site heavy machinery had to be hoisted with cranes up the declivitous mountain side. In order to carry the heavy machinery to the tunnel, plank roads had to be laid until snow was reached, and skids were employed. When the working force first went to the mountains the snow was from six to ten feet in depth. Before a wheel had been turned or the machinery put in motion \$125,000 had been spent. There was difficulty in getting white men, and Bennett, though opposed to the employment of Chinese was compelled to use them.

Hope and enthusiasm received an even greater impetus when on March 25, 1887, Vice President F. Oakes announced the intention of the company to build a switch-back over the summit of the Cascades and not wait for the completion of the tunnel to bring the transcontinental line directly to the Sound. Tacomans celebrated. They hauled out two 24-pound guns and fired them again and again. One of these guns was from the old Russian ship *Politkofsky*, which had come to the United States with the purchase of Alaska.

The *Politkofsky* was a small gumboat and had been taken to California where she was sold to G. A. Meigs, of the Port Madison Mill Company, and later on W. C. Wallace, superintendent of that company, had sent the gun to Geo. O. Kelly in Tacoma in 1878, to celebrate another great occasion—the opening of the coal road. On the trunion of this old gun appeared the legend “Acres, 1850.” It fired a ball weighing twenty-four pounds, using four pounds of powder. It weighed 2,200 pounds and was mounted on a wooden carriage with four cast iron wheels. Kelly some years later gave the historic gun to the Ferry Museum, Tacoma, and it now guards the doorway of the State Historical Society’s handsome building there. The *Politkofsky* was built in Alaska. It is asserted that her machinery was made there out of copper by the patient Russian workmen, who mined and smelted it, and worked it into boilers and engines, and that the vessel later made a trip to San Francisco where her copper machinery was sold for a sum sufficient to refit her and to pay for the entire cost of her construction besides.

More than 2,000 men were employed on the tunnel and switch-back, and the rapid progress made on both of them gave promise of direct connection with the East much sooner than the sanguine had predicted. The first track was laid on the switch-back March 28th, and the last spike was driven at 6:02 P. M. June 1, 1887, on the summit of the mountains. Assistant General Manager J. M. Buckley was master of ceremonies and Mrs. Huson, wife of the assistant engineer, broke a bottle of champagne over the last spike. She and several other women tapped the spike with the heavy hammer, though Mrs. Huson missed it the first time. Buckley delivered the finishing strokes, and each blow was registered in the St. Paul offices, as an operator stood near by with instrument and he struck his key each time the sledge fell. This was indeed the final spike. It was not the golden “last” spike which Villard had driven in Montana several years before amid banqueting and a vast publicity, but in reality the final spike

that tied to its bed the last rail connecting Puget Sound directly with St. Paul and the East.

Tacoma was beginning to realize upon her patient expectations. The next step on her program was to celebrate, on a lavish scale, the consummation of her dream, and the date was set for July 4. Isaac W. Anderson was made chairman of the committee on arrangements. They set about the formulating of a program which, even in her later and greater days, Tacoma scarcely has equaled. They filled the mails with handsome invitations to the leading business and professional men of America. Replies of acceptance, or regrets soon began coming. Some of these were from President Cleveland, Bill Nye, Jay Cooke, General Gibbon, Postmaster General Vilas, Roscoe Conkling, Admiral David Porter and Kate Field. It became evident very quickly that an enormous crowd would attend the celebration, and that the switch-back was attracting national attention. Many persons came from great distances to travel over it on the first train. Among those who came was Hon. T. L. Stiles, for many years prominent in northwestern affairs.

Mrs. T. L. Nixon was the first woman who came over the switch-back. The first train to arrive in Tacoma by the new route came June 6. It consisted of a baggage car, caboose and immigrant car. June 7, a train of parlor cars carrying C. B. Wright and party came across.

Nicholas Lawson had been sent up to superintend the switch-back. His first task was the practical rebuilding of it, as the contractor had constructed it while the snow was on the ground and the earth frozen. The spring thaws left it dangerous. When trains began running over it Lawson had general charge. The conductor who managed the strains was Arthur D. Sweet. Great responsibility rested upon these men. At Martin on the east side and Stampede on the west, the special mountain engines superseded the locomotives of the lower levels, and the crews gave way to crews especially picked for the hazardous journey of 7.04 miles over the summit.

The grade was 249 feet to the mile on the west side and 247 on the east—the maximum tangent grade was 295 feet to the mile. The switch-back was operated by two "decapod" engines, each with ten coupled drivers and a two-wheeled truck, and by several consolidated engines. The decapods were the largest in the United States at that time and had a total weight on the drivers and truck of 148,000 pounds. They were built by the Baldwin Locomotive Works.

The switch-back was regulated by the strictest of rules. By use of the telephone trains were blocked across the mountain. At each switch a switchman received receipt for the passing train. There was a brakeman for every two cars. Speed was kept at a minimum. Equipment was inspected minutely and frequently. The automatic air was used in ascending and the straight air in descending, but trainmen were instructed to keep the handbrakes in good order at all times and to use them.

All was working smoothly when the first regular overland train left Tacoma for the East at 1:45 P. M., July 3. Richard Walsh was the conductor and C. W. Mock was baggage and express agent. Their run was to Pasco. The train consisted of four coaches and they carried twenty passengers. A cannon thundered from the bluff and crowds cheered as the train moved out. At 7:15 that same day the first regular westbound train arrived, about seven hours late. It

consisted of thirteen coaches and carried 600 passengers. The transfer of this heavy train over the switch-back was a great task and caused much delay. Most of the passengers were from Eastern Washington and Idaho. They came West to see the switch-back, and to celebrate with Tacoma the completion of the line. They, too, were welcomed by the voice of the old cannon on the bluff and by the cheering multitude. By the morning of the Fourth the town was so full of visitors that the stores filled their aisles with cots for their night accommodation.

A great triumphal arch spanned Pacific Avenue at Eleventh Street, with American and British flags intermingled, a special honor to H. M. S. Caroline, which had come to take part in the festivities. Her commander was Sir William Wiseman, who had given to Gilbert and Sullivan the groundwork for their famous opera, "Pinafore." The stores were covered with flags, and some of them had gone to heavy expense to construct the spectacular effects. Gross Bros. had an engine above their door, and from the stack of it poured billows of smoke.

On the site of the Stadium High School a pavilion was built to hold 6,500 persons. Its stage seated more than 200. All this was none too large, for there were no fewer than 18,000 visitors.

On the Fourth there was a great parade, with Col. J. C. Haines as grand marshal. The military, lodges, firemen from several Northwest cities, bands and other organizations took part, and there were many wagons filled with from ten to twenty Indians each. A feature of this section of the parade were sixty little Indian babes at their mothers' breasts. Gen. Marcellus Spot led the Indians.

At the pavilion a chorus of one hundred voices and a great orchestra, all under the direction of Governor Laughton, opened the exercises with "Gloria," from Mozart's Twelfth Mass. The Caroline then fired twenty guns as a mark of respect to the Republic and to Tacoma, and immediately a serio-comic aspect was given to the proceedings, as the very next number on the program was the reciting of the Declaration of Independence by Miss Florence Molinelli, a western actress of much ability and great popularity. She had memorized the immortal document and she delivered it with great feeling, hurling at King George the best irony that was in her. The British commander and his officers stiffly sitting on the stage, immediately became the cynosure of some 6,000 pairs of eyes. If the Britishers had up and marched off the stage few in the vast audience would have been surprised. As Miss Mollinelli proceeded she grew more and more intense. The audience cheered again and again, and with each round of applause the solemn British officers pounded the stage with their scabbards, as if they too were happy over the scoring that a dead English king was receiving that day from the vivacious actress.

Governor Semple was the orator of the day. Major Hendershot, "the drummer boy of the Rappahanock," and his son, were introduced to the audience and the major gave an exhibition of his art. Mayor James Fell, of Victoria; Mayor McLean, of Vancouver, B. C.; Vice President Oakes, of the Northern Pacific; C. B. Wright and other notables were on the stage.

There was much conjecture over the question of winter travel over the switch-back, and as a precaution Lawson built two enormous wooden plows. With five locomotives coupled together and a plow at each end, he undertook to drive through and was making fair headway when Division Superintendent Cole came up and boarded the train. He was horrified at the speed the outfit had

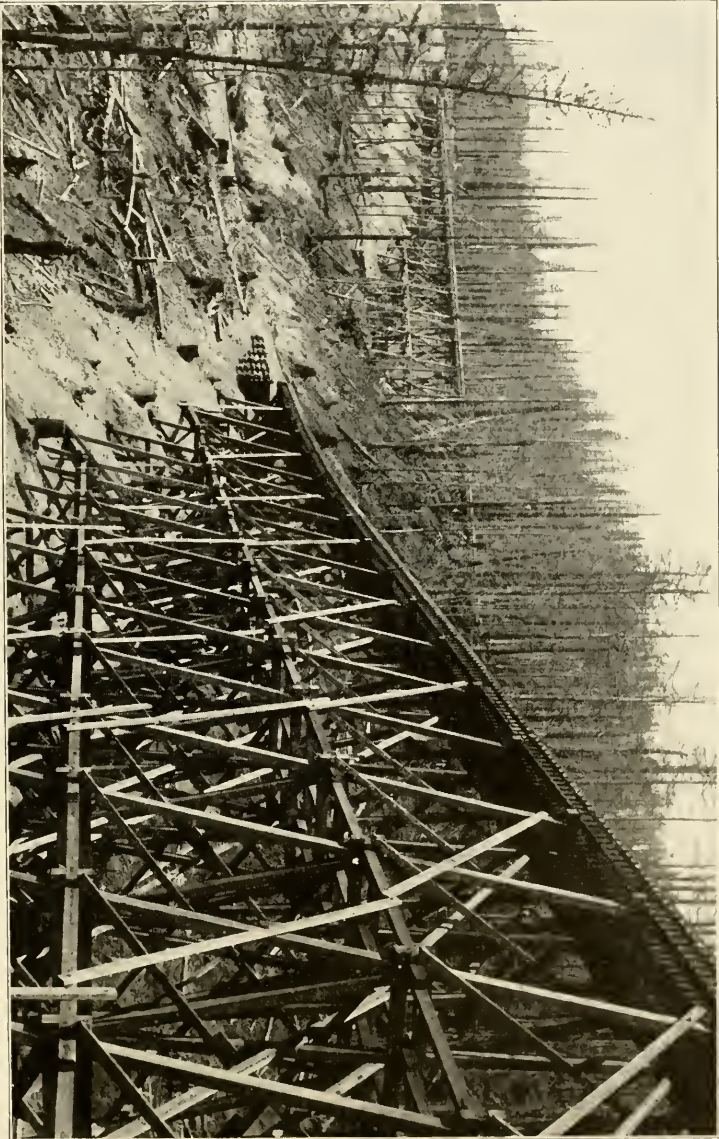
to develop to "buck" the drifts, and he unceremoniously ordered the road abandoned until two Leslie rotaries should arrive from St. Paul. The wait continued for ten days. These rotaries were the first ever built and they, too, attracted national attention. Stories of how they ripped through the immense drifts were read all over the United States. With all its dangers the switch-back never cost a life, though two wrecks occurred. A locomotive got away and dashed down one leg of the switch-back and into two carloads of powder. The powder was frozen and did not explode. But locomotive and cars were demolished. An attempt was made to put one of the Mogul engines of sixty tons over the summit, with a car of lumber. The engine began slipping, soon was beyond control and at a curve on a trestle leaped into a canyon some seventy-five feet below. One of Conductor Sweet's difficult tasks was that of putting over the summit Cole Brothers' Circus, which was done without mishap. The locomotive engineers who worked on the switch-back were John Benson, James Foster, Harry Eldridge and Bob Brothers.

The summit was 3,664 feet above the sea, and 1,150 feet higher than the west portal of the tunnel, and 1,123 feet higher than the east portal. The altitude of the tunnel is 2,800 feet.

At ten minutes past noon on May 3, 1888, the shot that let the warm breeze of Puget Sound through the Stampede bore to the eastern side of the Cascades was fired and the mountains had been pierced. The tunnel was 9,850 feet in length, 162½ feet in width, 22 feet above the rails, and heavily timbered. It was the second largest tunnel in the United States—the Hoosac being the largest—and it had been driven at sensational speed. The engineering had been done with such nicety that when the lines came together at the center the variation was not a quarter of an inch. For two years there had been great rivalry between the men working on the east side under William Shaw, and those under command of N. S. Turner on the west side. In three eight-hour shifts they had striven from each side against the volcanic trap rock, each endeavoring to outdo the other's day's progress, the entire force directed by Capt. S. J. Bennett, brother of the contractor. For about six weeks before the last shot the rival working bodies had been able to hear each other's blasts. Intense excitement prevailed in the bore when it became evident that perhaps the next shot fired would open the hole, and each side had a picked man whose aim was to get through that hole first. The foremen had difficulty in keeping men out of the danger zone.

Finally after one of the blasts the men rushed into the smoke and found that the wall at last was broken through. The west side champion made a dive for it, and was held back by the east side men. They struggled in the opening, each backed by some sixty adherents and at length the west side man was shoved through, bruised and skinned from top to toe by the enthusiasm of his comrades. The east side force drove 300 feet more than the west, which met unexpected obstacles.

Mrs. S. J. Bennett, wife of the superintendent, had declared that she would be the first person through the mountain, and she was the first woman. She was on hand soon after the last shot, and in attempting to crawl through the hole got fast and it really looked for a while as if she would have to be released with picks or powder, but after considerable effort she was pulled out backward.



THE NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILROAD SWITCHBACK BY WHICH THE SUMMIT OF THE CASCADES WAS REACHED BEFORE STAMPEDE TUNNEL WAS COMPLETED

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She made a second essay and was triumphantly pulled through by brawny arms on the other side, to the irreparable damage of her gown and at the loss of some skin.

The tunnel had cost \$1,100,000 and Bennett was \$250,000 in pocket by the completion of it. In the twenty-eight months of work thirteen men had lost their lives, though Bennett had been notably painstaking in providing protective measures. Several of those killed were Chinese.

The last shot had not ceased to echo before the news of it reached Tacoma and one of the papers issued an extra edition in the shape of a handbill about ten inches in length and five inches in width, printed only on one side, very briefly telling the story and congratulating the people of Tacoma "upon the completion of this great work which marks the beginning of an era of unexampled prosperity for the City of Destiny." Tacoma celebrated but not on the lavish scale of two years before. On June 25th the first vestibuled passenger train arrived and Washington had first class transcontinental railway service.

CHAPTER XXX

PEOPLE LITTLE INTERESTED IN STATEHOOD AND QUESTION TWICE FAILS AT THE POLLS
—CONVENTION MEETS IN WALLA WALLA—CONSTITUTION POSSESSES GREAT
MERIT AND IS ADOPTED, THOUGH IMPORTANT SEPARATE ARTICLES ARE DEFEATED
—TERRITORY IN CONFLICT WITH CONGRESSIONAL DIGNITY—“SUNSET” COX
MAKES BRILLIANT APPEAL FOR TERRITORIES KNOCKING FOR ADMITTANCE—
CONGRESS CAREFULLY LAYS DOWN RULES TO GUIDE YOUNG STATE IN ITS CONSTI-
TUTION-MAKING—LAND SET APART FOR SCHOOLS, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, ETC.

People of Washington Territory took little interest in the matter of statehood when, in 1867, the Legislature first began agitating the question. Two years later the Legislature, on November 19, 1869, passed an act providing for the submission of the question of calling a constitutional convention to the voters at the next general election. The public's apathy continued and the measure was defeated. The sessions of 1871 and 1873 passed the same act, with defeat at the polls following.

In 1875 a slightly new twist was given to the statehood bill and the Legislature passed an act providing that if the majority of voters at the election of 1876, should vote favorably, the Legislature of 1877 should arrange to call the convention. Less than half the voters showed any interest, but a majority of these were in favor of the convention being called and the Legislature provided for an election of delegates to a constitutional convention to be held in Walla Walla on the second Tuesday in June, 1878. These delegates, fifteen in number, were elected, three from the territory at large, one from each of the three judicial districts and one from each of the nine legislative council districts. The three counties of Northern Idaho, Nez Perce, Shoshone and Idaho, the pan-handle, as it was called, were allowed one delegate. The Legislature appropriated \$200 a day for its expenses.

June 11th the convention met in Science Hall, Walla Walla. Back of the selection of Walla Walla as the convention city was an effort to divide the territory and attach to Oregon all that part of it lying east of the Columbia and south of the Snake River. Senator Mitchell, of Oregon, had made himself unpopular in some parts of Washington by advocating this division and had been aided by the Walla Walla Union. Alexander S. Abernethy was chosen president of the convention with W. Byron Daniels secretary.

Forty-six days after organizing the convention adjourned and at the next election submitted to the people a constitution possessing great merit. It was signed by Alexander S. Abernethy, President; Lyman B. Andrews, Charles M. Bradshaw, Benjamin F. Dennison, Edward Eldridge, Francis Henry, S. M. Gilmore, Wyatt A. George, H. B. Emery, D. B. Hannah, C. H. Larrabee, Oliver P. Lacy.

Alonzo Leland, James V. O'Dell, George H. Steward, Sylvester M. Wait and W. Byron Daniels, secretary. A number of separate articles were submitted—the delegates not finding it possible to reach an agreement, passed the decision on to the voters. First of these articles was one providing for woman's suffrage; the second provided for the election of women to office and the fourth prohibited the liquor traffic. The proposed boundaries of the new state included the present state and the three northern counties of Idaho.

At the next general election the constitution, with the exception of the three separate articles, was adopted by vote of 6,462 to 3,231, with about two-thirds of the electors voting on the question. Judge Thomas H. Bentz, who had just been elected delegate to Congress, introduced a bill providing for the admission of the territory as a state. Bentz was born in Illinois in 1840, came to Oregon in 1853 and in 1860 went into the wilds of Klickitat County as a sheep herder. Following his flocks by day, the young man camped where night overtook him and by the light of his camp fire studied law. In 1870 he hung out his "shingle" in Walla Walla. He was elected delegate in 1878, re-elected in 1880 and again in 1882 and after serving the territory for six years returned to his law practice at Walla Walla. He died in Walla Walla, October 23, 1916.

Bentz's bill met with opposition from the start. Washington was a handy place in which to station "lame ducks," or those to whom the national administration was indebted for campaign favors. Congress objected to the constitution because it had been framed by the people on their own motion and without first asking the national legislative body for permission to do so. Another objectionable feature was found in the section providing for the election of members of the Legislature. It read:

"Each qualified elector may cast as many votes for one candidate as there are representatives to be elected in the district, or he may distribute the same, or equal parts thereof, among the candidates, as he shall see fit; and the candidates highest in votes shall be elected. But the Legislature may at any time after the year 1890 adopt the system known as the preferential system, in the election of representatives, and enact such laws as will be necessary to carry it into effect."

"Congress refused to grant statehood and the matter rested until the Forty-seventh Congress and the introduction by Delegate Bentz, June 12, 1882, of an act designed to give the people of the territory Congressional permission to hold a constitutional convention. Congress should not again refuse to listen because the people of the territory had not shown a proper regard for its authority and dignity. Bentz made a strong plea, showing by the census of 1880, that territory, exclusive of the three Idaho counties, had a population of 75,116 and that the growth in the two years since the census was taken would show a population of at least 127,000. His appeal was lost. A presidential election was coming on and political wise men in Congress feared Washington and the three new electoral college votes she would bring with her into the sisterhood of states. Washington was told to wait.

Four years later, in 1886, another effort was made. This time Washington had the support of Senators Dolph and Mitchell of Oregon, Morgan of Alabama and Platt of New York. The latter was chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories and Dolph introduced the bill providing for the admission of Washing-

ton. The proposed state was to include the panhandle of Idaho and after passing both houses of Congress was vetoed by President Cleveland.

The Idaho counties were eliminated and when the Fiftieth Congress assembled the bill again was presented. It passed and was sent to the House. Representative Springer of Illinois, chairman of the Committee on Territories, threw the fate of Washington, Montana, and the Dakotas in with that of New Mexico and Utah and made the admission of the former three dependant upon that of the latter two. Springer evidently thought this action would throw the blame of refusing admission upon the Senate. It accepted the challenge, refused to concur in the action of the House and apparently statehood again was lost.

At this time Samuel S. Cox, brilliant orator, best known to readers of political history as "Sunset" Cox, championed the cause of the territory and in a speech delivered in the House on January 15, 1889, turned the tide of opposition with these words:

"Why, then, has not one or the other or both of these territories been admitted? Is it because their admission has been made the sport of party or of politics? I am afraid there has been too much of it.

"The people of Washington Territory come, like the wise men of the east, not asking gifts, but bringing gifts. What do they bring? Why, sir, the trophies of their own labor, the evidences of their own worth. They present before us the cities and towns which they have founded. They present schools, churches and workshops. They bring all—all the products of their labor, and place them upon the altar of the union, a pledge for the common defense. Such a people can safely be entrusted with self-government.

"Refuse to admit this state and its territorial sisters? Why, sir, you may enact that frost shall cease in the north and blooms in the south, or try to fix the figure of Proteus by statute, but you cannot prevent the people of this territory from their demand, and you must accede to it; if this Congress does not we know that the next Congress will. The spirit of the people of the Northwest is that of unbounded push and energy. These are the men who have tunneled our mountains, who have delved our mines, who have bridged our rivers, who have brought every part of our empire within the reach of foreign and home markets, who have made possible our grand growth and splendid development. They are the men who have made our national life. There is no parallel in history to their achievements. You cannot hold them captive to the Federal system. You must give them self-reliant statehood.

"The historian of Rome draws a picture of the proud queen of Palmyra, arrayed in purple and loaded with golden chains to aggrandise the procession in honor of the conquerer of Asia. It needs no such imagination to picture the conditions of our inchoate states in the West. They will wear no golden chains. No, sir! They will march in no procession of dishonor. Such exhibitions do not belong to our country, our people are not to be led in fetters at the car of an imperial Congress. Why such exhibitions were unfit even for pagan Rome. So that in every possible equipment, this remarkable territory is ready to join that circle of felicity which makes up the Federal fraternity."

Cox, having espoused the cause of Washington, led the fight against Springer and his amendments with motions to instruct the committee to recede from its



COUNTRY HOMES IN CLARKE COUNTY

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stand on the Springer substitute. Utah and New Mexico were eliminated and the cases of Washington, the Dakotas and Montana were placed upon their own merits. What has since been known as the "Enabling Act," officially named "An act to provide for the division of Dakota into two states and to enable the people of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington to form constitutions and state governments, and to be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original states, and to make donations of public lands to such states," was passed by Congress and sent to President Cleveland for approval. February 22, 1889, the President signed the bill, Washington received national recognition long deserved and four new stars were added to the nation's flag.

The "Enabling Act" was quite explicit in its terms. Congress apparently did not wish a repetition of the constitutional convention of 1878 and sought to guard against legislative innovations. Men who could tunnel mountains, delve mines and do the other things the brilliant Cox had pictured might attempt new and untried paths of constitution-making, and Congress was careful to guide the new state along established lines. For this reason the bill stipulated that the constitution drafted by the convention should be "republican in form and make no distinction in civil or political rights on account of race or color, except as to Indians not taxed, and not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States and the principles of the Declaration of Independence." Freedom of religious opinion must be guaranteed.

In its treatment of the new state Congress was generous with the public land. Sections sixteen and thirty-six of each township were granted for the support of the public schools, it being one of the stipulations of this grant that none of these lands should be sold for less price than \$10 an acre and that all monies derived from such sales should be placed in a permanent fund, the interest only of which should be used in the support of schools. This was one of the best and most far-sighted provisions of the act. The minimum price of \$10 an acre removed the school lands from the reach of the land grabber and speculator, and guaranteed, in most instances, the settlement and improvement of the lands. They have been the last lands settled in the townships. Communities have grown up around them and the state school fund has reaped the benefit of this community-made value. This provision of the act was one far in advance of the thought of a period in which the public lands of the nation were regarded as of but little value.

Fifty sections and 100,000 acres of public land were granted for the erection of public buildings at the state capital and 490,000 acres were set apart for sale for the benefit of other state institutions, including agricultural, scientific and normal schools, charitable, penal, reformatory and other institutions. The school fund was further increased by the addition of 5 per cent of the proceeds of the sales of all public lands. Education was well provided for and the people of the state have shown their appreciation by building up one of the best educational systems in the world.

Under the provisions of the act the governor, chief justice and secretary of the territory were to apportion it into districts from which delegates to a constitutional convention should be elected, such election to be held on the first Tuesday after the second Monday in May. The convention was to meet in Olympia on July 4th, prepare and adopt a constitution to be submitted to the voters for ratification or rejection at a special election to be held on the first Tuesday in October.

CHAPTER XXXI

FIRST LEGAL HANGING IN TERRITORY—NO TIME WASTED IN BRINGING HIM TO THE GALLOWES—EXECUTION RECALLS VILIGANTES' DAYS IN OLD STEILACOOM—HANGING OF AN INDIAN MURDERER—KILLING OF ANDREW BYRD AND LYNCHING OF BATES—JAIL WALLS LINED WITH FIR—THE WREN-MC DANIEL TROUBLES—OLD TOMBSTONE TELLS THE STORY—LYNCHING IN OLD TACOMA—TWO CRIMINALS LYNCHED BY SEATTLE MOB—JUDGE GREENE'S BRAVE BUT FUTILE EFFORTS TO PREVENT—LAUNCHING OF THE EVANGEL—HAD CREW OF BAPTISTS—VESSEL BEGINS AS EVANGELISTIC ENTERPRISE FINALLY BLOWS UP AND SINKS.

John Thompson was hanged in Seattle September 28, 1877, for the murder of Solomon Baxter, at Renton, in the preceding February. It was the first legal hanging of a white man in the territory. Thompson on the scaffold admitted the killing but said he could have proved that he killed in self defense had he been given a fair trial. Baxter was killed on Sunday; Thompson was indicted the following Tuesday; tried Thursday, convicted Friday, sentenced Saturday, and would doubtless have been hanged in short order had an appeal for executive clemency not been made to Governor Ferry. The governor refused to grant the appeal and Sheriff L. V. Wickoff carried out the sentence of the court.

Washington's territorial government at this time was almost twenty-five years old. Crimes punishable by execution had been committed, but in most cases the guilty had escaped the extreme penalty. In other cases "necktie parties" composed of aroused citizens had taken the law into their own hands and meted out punishment which, whether just or not, met with public approval. Indians, half-breeds, Chinamen and white men were victims of the vigilantes.

In the early '60s the officers at Fort Steilacoom had a Chinese cook who sometimes visited Steilacoom Town and paid his genial respects to the Indian shacks along the waterfront. One night he was murdered, about where the Northern Pacific station now stands, and robbed of about fifty dollars. A fourteen-year-old Indian girl revealed the murderer to the vigilance committee, and he was taken promptly to a carpenter shop for trial, Doctor Webber presiding, before a jury chosen on the spot. Stephen Judson was the interpreter. He asked the Indian if he had killed the man and why. The Indian admitted the crime and said he wanted the Chinaman's money. The hearing lasted only a few minutes and a verdict of death was returned by the jury without the formality of leaving the shop.

It was decided to have another Chinaman, a friend of the dead man, as executioner, a commission which he accepted with smiling felicity. A long, heavy plank was run out over the bluff just back of the old Masonic hall. The

land end was well weighted down with a log, and a few of the vigilantes stood upon it for its additional security. The wretched Indian stood on the outer end of the plank, rope about his neck, and the other end tied to the plank at his feet. When all was ready Doctor Webber said:

"Now, boys, it's all understood that we have nothing to do with this—the Chinaman is doing it all."

The sign was given and the Chinaman pushed the murderer from the plank. Many Indians saw the execution from their shacks along the beach. The community regarded it as a much needed lesson for them.

Shortly after this Stephen Judson, then scarcely more than a youth, was elected sheriff and began an interesting political career. He was sheriff for seven years, was in the Territorial Legislature four terms, and in the State Legislature for two terms, was elected treasurer of Pierce County in 1896 and served two terms, was a trustee of the State Hospital for the Insane several years, and for nearly fifty years served as democratic wheelhorse in county and state politics. No convention large or small was complete without "Steve" Judson.

The brick jail at Steilacoom, then the best in the territory, was the catch-all for the worst of the Northwest's criminals and many a notorious thug passed through Judson's hands between '62 and '68. A few months after he took office the vigilantes again assumed authority. A young man named Bates, supposed to be partly insane, shot and fatally wounded Andrew Byrd, a citizen of prominence and wide popularity. Bates imagined that Byrd had stolen his cow, and he seems to have had the same foolish suspicion of Doctor Spinning, a man of the highest character, as he said that he would have been satisfied had he been able to shoot Spinning also. Byrd died in about twenty-four hours.

Immediately a mob gathered and marched to the jail. Sheriff Judson was seized and removed to McCaw & Rogers' store, where he was kept under guard. Judson, however, had blocked the front door of the jail which, for safety's sake he had lined with boiler iron a short time before. The heavy door, five inches thick, was of oak. The mob assaulted it again and again with a long battering ram, but it refused to give. The assailants finally abandoned the ram and tore the brick wall from about the door casing. The murderer was dragged from his cell and taken to an old barn that stood nearby. The thirty-foot ram was hoisted to the loft, with the end protruding, and from this the weak-minded Bates was hanged in his irons. No attempt was made to punish the members of the mob. In after years William D. Vaughn said he was the leader of the vigilantes on this occasion.

One of Byrd's enemies had told Bates that Byrd was the thief. The next morning Bates found the cow's head on his gate post. This inflamed him, and he started out on murder bent. It is now even better known than it then was that Byrd had nothing whatever to do with the theft. He and Bates were the victims of a deliberate lie, maliciously told.

The brick in the jail were made by Peter Judson, father of Stephen, and Stephen himself had hauled the last of them to the building. They were as good as could be made from the material at hand, but they were not good enough to withstand a mob. Accordingly Stephen lined the inner walls with fir planks 2 inches thick and 12 inches wide. These were flat, one upon the other, spiked

and cross spiked so that a saw could not penetrate. Thus the building was given an inner timber wall a foot in thickness. The spikes cost more than the lumber. He also planked the floor with 2 by 12 timbers set on edge, built a stockade of heavy 10-foot planks around the building and in other ways made defense against another mob.

One of the most dangerous men in the territory and the wealthiest resident of Pierce County was Charley Wren, the Muck half-breed. He furnished the money with which to build the Masonic hall in Steilacoom, a prominent structure in its day, and he had much money out at interest. He was himself a Mason, but the excellent precepts of that order faded away if there was a calf to be stolen or a neighbor's cow to be killed and skinned without the neighbor's knowledge or consent. He was an expert in the use of the lariat and a dead shot.

Charles McDaniel was as bad as Wren. He was a gambler and thief. He lived near Wren. Their criminal adventures were often directed against each other. On one occasion McDaniel was brought into court for striking a man over the head with a gun. As it had often happened before, the jury was afraid to convict him. But upon hearing the verdict of acquittal, Samuel McCaw, the justice, shouted: "By God, that verdict's all wrong! I'll set it aside and fine you and send you to jail."

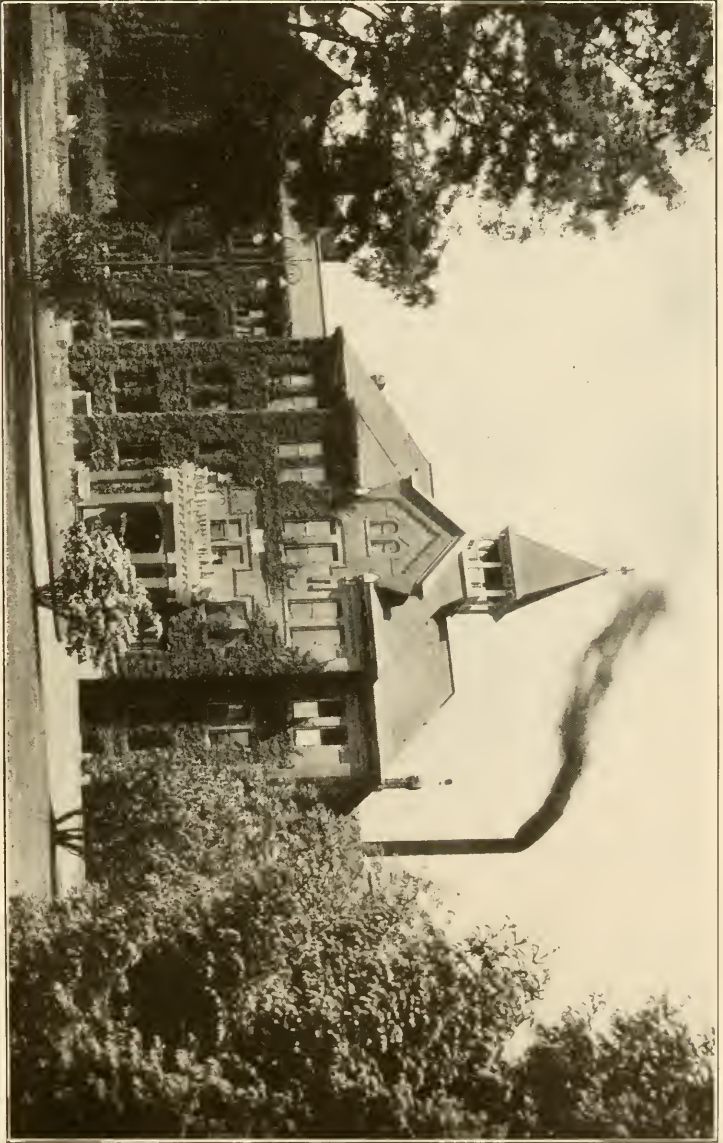
While as a matter of fact the justice was venturing far beyond the limits of his jurisdiction in uttering such a declaraiton, McDaniel didn't know it, Sheriff Stephen Judson was at his side ready to carry out the sentence, and McDaniel thereupon paid a fat fine.

Wren was arrested several times, but by bribery and threats he escaped punishment. On one occasion the branded hide of a calf he had stolen and killed was exhibited to the jury, but with no effect. A verdict of acquittal was rendered.

Living near Wren and McDaniel was Andrew J. Burge, decent citizen, but hot-headed. He and McDaniel decided to punish Wren for stealing their cattle. They waylaid the half-breed, tied him to a tree, gave him a terrible lashing, ordered him to leave the country, then left him suffering in his ropes.

Later on a negro appeared in Steilacoom and spent most of his time hunting on the plains nearby. While Burge was driving home one day he was shot and badly injured. The negro disappeared. It was established afterward that Wren had hired the negro to kill both McDaniel and Burge. Wren meantime had left the country, never to return. McDaniel, Gibson and others jumped his claim, and the settlers determined to punish them.

A mob of thirty or forty men ambushed them in a narrow passage between Gravelly and Steilacoom lakes, seriously wounding Gibson. McDaniel ran toward Steilacoom, and the settlers, with their wounded man lying in a wagon, followed. In the edge of the village Gibson raised himself and fired two shots at his tormentors, wounding two men. He was immediately shot through the head. McDaniel had taken refuge in a saloon, but presently he came out, armed only with a knife, having left his gun inside. The vigilantes had obtained from Gibson enough to verify their worst suspicions and they were desirous of putting an end to McDaniel. McDaniel wanted to be heard. A man, said to have been James Ross, shouted, "Shoot him!" Several men discharged their weapons as the wretch turned and ran toward the wharf. He soon fell, fatally wounded.



WESTERN STATE HOSPITAL

Occupies the site of Old Fort Stehliacoom, famous in territorial history. The hospital was established in 1871

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The sheriff at this time was Isaac Carson and he had been locked up by the vigilantes to prevent his interference with their plans. McDaniel was left writhing where he fell. He died unattended in about two hours.

Seventeen alleged members of the mob were indicted and only four of these were arrested. The case was pressed as vigorously as John Saltar, administrator of McDaniel's estate could press it, but public sentiment was not with him. Attorney McNaught prosecuted with much vigor but the jury brought in a verdict of acquittal. McNaught asked one of the jurors how they reached such a verdict in the face of the testimony and the juror replied with a laugh:

"You spun things pretty fine, but we spun them fine, too."

John Saltar, executor of McDaniel's estate, excited some rancor among the vigilantes and the settlers by placing on McDaniel's grave a stone carrying this legend:

Chas. M. McDaniel,
Born in Iowa, 1834,
and died at the
HANDS OF VIOLENCE
Jan. 22, 1870,
Aged 36 years.

This stone still may be seen in the little graveyard just back of the State Hospital.

Old Tacoma witnessed its first lynching on Sunday afternoon, April 23, 1873, when Jim Shell, a half-breed Indian, was executed for the murder of Louis Moroe, or Morris. The murder had been committed the evening before and was the climax of a quarrel over an Indian woman known as "Soldier Sal." At least two other men had fallen in the same cause. "Soldier Sal's" affections were rated high. The authorities tried to investigate this lynching, but as sentiment against capital punishment was at a low ebb, nothing was accomplished.

The crime for which Thompson paid the death penalty was the result of the development of Seattle's "Lava Bed," or slum district. In proportion to population Seattle's "tenderloin" during the '80s and '90s was perhaps larger and tougher than that to be found in any other city on the coast, with the exception of San Francisco, whose Barbary Coast will always live in history as the ultimate of organized evil.

The hanging of Thompson served to hold denizens of the "Lava Beds" in check for a few years; but gradually crimes increased. In October, 1881, David Sires, a policeman, was shot while trying to arrest a stranger. Benjamin Payne was arrested and lodged in jail charged with having fired the shot. Sires died a few days later and intense indignation developed against Payne, who had been bound over from the justice court.

While returning to his home on the evening of January 17, 1882, George Reynolds was shot by two men who had attempted robbery. Reynolds died two hours later and citizens became aroused to the necessity of doing something to rid the town of the criminally inclined.

A meeting was held, a vigilance committee organized and its member sent out to patrol the streets. In a short time two men were found hiding behind

some hay stored on the Harrington & Smith Wharf. They were taken before Justice of the Peace Samuel Coombs, who committed them to jail for hearing the next morning. The prisoners were removed to the jail and had scarcely been locked up than the vigilantes appeared with a demand that they be turned over for lynching. Sheriff Wyckoff and Chief of Police John H. McGraw refused to deliver their prisoners and backed up such refusal with drawn revolvers. The vigilantes obtained the shoes of the prisoners and found they exactly fitted the tracks in the soft mud near the scene of the murder.

Before Justice Coombs, the two men were given a preliminary hearing the following morning and bound over without bail. Neither man offered any defense and the justice had scarcely ceased speaking before the crowd, which filled the old Pavilion, surged forward with a shout. At the same time a crowd of men entered the room from behind the justice's desk, forcibly held the court officers and marched the two prisoners out into the alley, down which they were taken towards James Street.

On the north side of James Street, just east of what is now Pioneer Place, at that time grew two large maple trees. At the foot of these the prisoners were held while men made an improvised scaffold by placing scantlings from the forks of one tree into the forks of the other. Nooses were placed around the necks of the two men, the other ends of the ropes thrown over the scantlings and in a very short time the two bodies were swinging clear of the ground.

Inside the railing of Justice Coomb's court, during the trial, sat Roger Sherman Greene, chief justice of the Territorial Supreme Court, who had arisen from a sick bed to attend the trial. When the crowd entered the court room, a sheet was thrown over Judge Greene's head and for several minutes he was held prisoner. Upon being released he hastened through the alley behind the mob and arrived just as the two men were being hauled clear of the ground. Unmindful of the drawn pistols of the men in charge of the hanging and of the shouts of "String him up," and "Shoot him," Judge Greene opened his pocket knife and began hacking at the ropes. Quickly he was seized and carried away.

The crowd dispersed, leaving the bodies of its victims hanging from the scantlings. About 1 o'clock the fire bell was tapped three times—a signal for the assembling of the vigilance committee. It had been decided to make a clean sweep by hanging Benjamin Payne, alleged murderer of David Sires. About 500 men went to the jail, chopped down the doors, seized Payne, marched him down to the two maple trees and swung him up beside the morning's victims. In reply to a question Payne, just before his execution, said: "You hang me and you hang an innocent man."

The bodies of the three victims were cut down and buried; but for a long time the scantlings were allowed to remain in the trees, mute warning of what fate, as represented by vigilantes, had in store for those who stepped too far outside the law.

Judge Greene, in vigorous language, denounced the vigilantes and pressed the matter of their trial upon the grand jury. The coroner's jury, in the case of Payne, brought in a verdict saying that "Benjamin Payne came to his death by hanging, but from the evidence furnished we are unable to find by whose hands. We are satisfied that in his death substantial and speedy justice has been subserved." This verdict was signed by C. D. Emery, O. Jacobs, L. Diller,

W. H. Reeves, J. C. Floyd, and H. A. Atkins. Men prominent in city and state affairs had taken part in the hangings and the grand jury failed to bring an indictment. From as far away as Chicago came letters, telegrams and newspaper comment, approving the action of the vigilantes. Two days after the hanging Sheriff Wyckoff died of heart disease. He had been a popular and an efficient officer, and his death, due largely to excitement, was much regretted. As a result of the lynchings every town in the territory found the problem of handling its criminal element greatly simplified. Judge Greene recently said:

"Those hangmen were in revolt against Magna Charta. In that respect the lynchers were co-criminal with lynched. Many of the actors were professed Christians. Unwittingly they were illustrating the doctrine of original sin and total depravity, but without pity for their victims, who had been darkly illuminating the same dogma. No satisfactory proof that Payne slew Sires has ever been got together.

"Hanging those men that day was inexcusable. However courts elsewhere may have behaved, those of King County had a dependable record for promptitude and efficiency. The guilty men would shortly have been hanged by the due process of law. But even had the courts been unreliable, left to themselves, it is inconceivable that justice would not have been done and with good dispatch, if the citizens, who broke and defied the law that fatal day, had stood behind the court with all the ardor and unanimity that characterized them then to see to it that a fair trial and just sentence and execution should be had.

"That lynching set a bad example to other communities and to posterity, yet it, no doubt, has operated as a local and powerful deterrent of crime. Its force, however, as a scarecrow to criminals was soon spent; while the pernicious example of Seattle's citizens still remains, and will continue to remain, a widely approved but fallacious precedent, to invite, and sophistically to justify or excuse, here and elsewhere, future similar disorder."

When the steamship *Evangel* was launched from the Hammond shipyard, Seattle, on the afternoon of March 20, 1882, Puget Sound steamship men were almost unanimous in predicting for her a life of trouble and an end in calamity. Across her bows was lashed an open Bible and as she glided into the water, Clara Ludlow, daughter of Rev. J. P. Ludlow, took from another Bible a large number of leaves, scattered them over the bow of the vessel and christened her the "*Evangel*." The launching was an important event in the life of Rev. Mr. Ludlow. For years he had nursed the idea of building a steamboat for missionary service on the waters of Puget Sound and Alaska. Through the death of a rich kinsman Ludlow in 1881 inherited a sum of money. Plans of his own designing were followed in building the vessel and construction had not proceeded far before it became apparent that the minister's legacy would be consumed before the boat was ready for launching.

Ludlow issued an appeal for funds, stating the object of his boat building "is none other than to build and equip a steam launch which shall go up and down all these inland waters of the great Northwest, including Washington Territory, British Columbia and Alaska, bearing to all classes the precious gospel of Jesus, without money and without price. This mission field includes a shore line of over 2,500 miles, upward of fifty towns or villages with a population of

over 9,000 souls, an accessible Indian population of over 25,000, an ebb and flow of 3,000 seafaring men annually, and a varying Chinese population of 3,500."

From all over the United States and Canada the contributions came pouring in and work was resumed. About this time the Pacific Coast Steamship Company offered Ludlow \$25,000 for his unfinished boat. Before the offer could be considered John Leary presented another proposal. Leary had underbidden the Pacific Coast people on the Alaska mail contract and proposed that Ludlow cut his vessel in two, lengthen her out twenty feet and put her on the Alaska mail route. It was an attractive offer; the missionary plan was held in abeyance, the contributions were returned and arrangements made to complete the vessel for the Alaska trade.

A large crowd assembled for the launching. Rev. Mr. Ludlow, Rev. W. S. Harrington, Judge Roger S. Greene and other persons prominent in the Baptist Church were on board the vessel as she slipped down the ways. Gospel bells, mounted on deck, rang; the choir from one of the churches sang: "Dare to be a Daniel," and "Gospel Bells." Judge Greene offered a prayer, Clara Ludlow christened the boat "Evangel," the choir sang "Pull for the Shore," and "Hold the Fort."

Her first crew was composed largely of Baptists. Rev. William Craines was mate. He had come to Seattle in 1876, bought considerable outlying real estate and returned East, where he remained several years, during which his property grew in value, and upon his return to Seattle provided him comfortably. At the first landing Craines placed the lines wrong and the pilot's profanity was so rich and continuous that the Rev. Mr. Craines there and then gave up a seafaring life and returned to Seattle. Several years later he became much interested in the regeneration of Ursula Juanita Unfung, the former paramour of Thomas Henderson Boyd, and furnished a part of the money used in obtaining her acquittal for the killing of Boyd December 2, 1892.

On her first trip the Evangel burned out her crown sheets near Victoria and limped back to Seattle for repairs. Before these could be made, Leary and the Pacific Coast Steamship Company made a compromise and Ludlow was on the verge of bankruptcy. The Evangel was placed on the New Westminster run in command of Capt. E. F. Bucklin, who a short time later was succeeded by Capt. Herbert F. Beecher, who put her on the Samiahmoo-Victoria run. She proved unprofitable and in 1886 Capt. J. W. Tarte ran her on the Island route, Capt. W. R. Tarte being engineer. By 1888 Ludlow had all the steamboating experience he desired and sold the boat to Captain Morgan for \$9,500. Two years later the Evangel collided with the Skagit Chief off Five Mile Point, and on the night of October 15, 1894, while lying peacefully at the Sehome dock her boiler exploded, threw itself out of the bottom of the vessel, over the bows and sank in the bay. Three men, Julius Flint, fireman, William R. Biggs and Gus Carlson were so badly scalded that they died. Ludlow in the meantime had gone to Japan, where he became a missionary.

CHAPTER XXXII

DOCTOR MAYNARD'S EARLY FISHING VENTURE—HOW MUKILTEO SPRANG INTO PROMINENCE AS A FISHING CENTER—FIRST WHATCOM COUNTY CANNERY—"JIM" MURNE FORSAKES CANNING FOR SMUGGLING—EARLY DAY CANNERIES VERY SIMPLE INSTITUTIONS MECHANICALLY—HOW A BAND OF PLUMBERS AND PAINTERS ENTERED THE GAME—"TRUST" IS FORMED—HOW PIONEERS FARED.

Away back in the early '50s salt fish and fish oil were important items of export from the Sound country; they ranked with square timbers, spars and hand-made shingles. The first shipments were made from Olympia and it was at that place that Dr. D. S. Maynard met Chief Seattle in 1853 and was told that the mouth of the Duwamish offered the best fishing ground known to the old Indian. Doctor Maynard established a fish camp there and became one of the early settlers on Elliot Bay. The industry developed slowly through the next twenty-five years. Columbia River canned salmon had obtained a place in the markets of the world and several canneries were in operation there by the end of the 1870-80 decade. Jackson, Myers & Company operated one of these plants at Rainier, on the Oregon side, and when the 1877 season opened, had made preparations to fill very large orders. The fish run that year was light and the company faced a heavy loss when Myers learned that the waters of the Sound were alive with salmon.

The Puget Sound Packing Company, under the management of V. T. Tull, of Olympia, was operating a salting plant at Mukilteo. Myers bought the plant, loaded the machinery of the Rainier cannery on a boat and was soon putting up the first salmon ever canned on Puget Sound at old Mukilteo. For many years George T. Myers was a leading figure in the industry on the Sound. Because ships would not stop at Mukilteo the cannery was later moved to Seattle where it became an important institution.

The proximity of lower Sound points to the fishing grounds drew the canners in that direction and furnished a stimulating influence upon the development of that region. The introduction of trap fishing further energized that development, fishing towns being busy places during the salmon run. The heavy demand for seasonal labor brought with it a high wage and everybody, men and women, boys and girls, earned cannery money. The latest reported "big haul" of the fishermen, the evening boat races between the Indian and Chinese crews, the records made by different workers in the day's operations—all these lent excitement and interest to the work.

The July and August rush soon passed. The gear was put away for the winter. Great heaps of long piles were drawn up on the beach out of the reach of winter storms, the nets were stored in cannery lofts and the boats were moored in sheltered bays and creek mouths. The Chinese butchers cleaned their long

knives, stored their racing boats, hung up their hideous sounding gongs and went to Seattle, Portland and San Francisco Chinatowns where they gambled away their season's earnings. Quiet settled down over the cannery town—a quietude broken at intervals by the arrival of a steamer which carried away a cargo of canned fish; for the assessor would be around about March 1st and the season's pack must be "in transit" by that date.

James Tarte and John Martin, in 1882, built the first Whatcom County salmon cannery at Semiahmoo, just across Drayton Harbor from what later became the City of Blaine. It was a small affair moved from Clallam Bay where Martin and his associates had operated it for several years. There were no "Iron Chinks," automatic lacquering and weighing machines in those days, and the "outfit" consisted of home-made butchering tables, washing tubs and the large kettles in which the fish were cooked before being placed in the cans.

The fishing equipment consisted of hook and line, gillnet and purse seines, small schooners and sloops. The butchering was done by hand—the "hands" usually being Chinese dressed in high rubber boots and oil skins. They were expert butchers and with a few strokes of their long, keen-edged knives they removed head, fins, tail and entrails.

After a few years of operations, John Elwood and James Murne became the owners of the Semiahmoo cannery. Tarte, in the trade, obtained the steamer Brick and began steamboating on the Sound. Martin, through the Blaine boom of 1889-90, played an important part in the development of that section, and is still a resident of that city. The Tartes arrived at Semiahmoo early in the '70s when the beautiful bay was surrounded by an almost unbroken forest of fir and cedar. Even at that early day settlers had begun to make clearings, the Clarks, Cains, Kingsleys, Ruckers, Upsons, Whites, Ed Holtzheimer, Elijah Adams, W. H. Pinckney, Phillip Hosington, S. P. Hughes, John Wagner and others arriving about this time.

D. Drysdale, of British Columbia, bought the Murne & Elwood cannery in 1891 and organized the Alaska Packers' Association, the organization which now operates canneries at a number of places on the Sound and in Alaska. Murne & Elwood used the open kettle method of canning and also packed salt fish in barrels. "Jim" Murne was a famous character of the period. He arrived at Semiahmoo from "somewhere back East" and when that town obtained its post-office he was appointed postmaster. From the postoffice grew a small general merchandise business, salmon cannery and later a logging camp. Possessed of cool nerve, a conscience that never troubled him, physical ability to take care of himself in any kind of fight, and a love of excitement, he was feared by the few who did not like him and was popular with all others. Excitement he must have and events moved rapidly when once he got into action, be that a tug of war with the International boundary line as the dividing point between British and American teams or the fight which at times followed such contests. Plain business became tiresome. The border offered opportunities of profitable and exciting experiences. Murne entered the trade of passing Canadian goods to American purchasers without reporting at the United States customs house. His schooner flitted back and forth through the deep, tree shaded waterways of the San Juan Archipelago between Victoria and Vancouver and points on the American side. One-way business, while profitable, proved tame and Murne began carrying a return cargo.

Dodging two sets of officers was difficult work and one day the Canadian inspectors swooped down on the little schooner which was taken to Victoria and advertised for sale. Murne decided that the proceeds of that proposed sale should not go to enrich the money chest of the Canadian government and one dark night he slipped over the side of his vessel and when Victorians awoke next morning, the schooner was back on the American side of the line to stay. Some years later Murne was stabbed to death in New Westminster by a friend who imagined that "Jim" was trying to beat him out of \$2,50.

The Alaska Packers brought large capital into the salmon canning business. A new cannery was built at Semiahmoo, steam retorts took the place of the open kettles, purse seine and gillnetters' boats dotted the waters of the Gulf of Georgia, coming and going from and to the fishing grounds. The habits of the salmon were studied and the best fishing spots became known.

From the very earliest days of white settlement on the lower Sound it was known that the Point Roberts reef had long been a favorite fishing ground of the Indians, even those from far north in British Columbia coming there during the summer. The Indians lowered their cedar bark nets among the passages of the reef, hauled out the salmon which were taken to the southern end of the point and cured in the fragrant smoke of green alder. The fish totems still stood on this camp ground when the whites arrived. About midway between Blaine and Point Roberts the floor of the gulf rises and forms the reef which even at low tide is covered by sufficient water to allow all but large ocean going vessels to pass. The salmon, in their flight from the deep waters of the ocean to their spawning grounds far up the Fraser, pass this reef and here the white man, substituting nets of twine and wire for the Indians cedar bark, caught millions of sockeyes. The trunks of trees were substituted for the reef and the pile fish-trap was evolved and the nets, like the totems, disappeared. The Indians said the fish would stop coming when the totems were removed from the point—a prophecy which the selfishness of man in operating his fish traps promises to fulfill.

Early day canneries contained but little expensive machinery. It was a new line of industry—one without fixed sign posts which experience had erected for the guidance of those who desired to enter the business, and many are the stories told of the trials of those who established the plants. Many men entered the game with no knowledge of its rules; also with very limited capital.

E. A. Haskell and A. F. Allen, conducting plumbers' shops in Whatcom in 1895 and, not pestered with business, decided to experiment with fish canning. A big tin boiler was used, some fish were packed with great success and the plumbers saw millions in it provided others could be induced to join with them in their operations. Charles Brandes, plumber, C. H. Cliff and Frank Bennett, painters, and A. D. Bonney, photographer, joined and the Village Point Canning Company was organized. Neither Dun nor Bradstreet gave this company a rating. If it had any capital it did not bother the promoters. They took a cannery site on the beach below old Fort Bellingham and from beach-combed lumber and shingle-bolts constructed a building which the painters painted and white-washed while the plumbers built the machinery. It was wonderful machinery—worked nicely while under the watchful eye of its inventors and so rapidly that the painters to whom had been delegated the task of catching the raw product, were unable to

supply its demands. The photographer and the plumbers cleaned the fish, cut it up and packed it in the cans which started on their way through the machines. Everything went well until the cans reached the soldering machine which was under the personal supervision of Charles Brandes. Tops were crimped on in the crimping machine, but when the hot solder was applied, steam was generated and the tops blew off. Brandes caught a boat to Semiahmoo where he tarried just long enough to see a Chinaman place a small piece of tin under the can top and then punch a tiny hole through which the steam might escape. He returned to Whatcom and the soldering machine thereafter performed acceptably.

The painters worked hard but they could not keep the cannery working on the small catches they made. Plenty of fish were for sale at reasonable prices. The partners turned promoters and tried to borrow money. Bankers, unable to see large profits in the business, refused. At the close of the season the warehouse contained 250 cases of canned fish. It was sold for \$900, the machinery was removed from the building which returned to the sea via the beach-comber route.

The first pile and net trap was put in about 1891. Locations were then filed in many places in the waters of the lower Sound. Fishermen who had operated gillnets and purse seines, tug boat men and farmers entered the business and in the next few years every little inlet and bay was prospected. The Gulf of Georgia became a maze of piling and fish net through the summer months, and then in 1898 came Roland Onffroy. He had no capital to speak of but he did have an idea and put that idea to work. Options were taken on many of the best fish-trap locations and with these in his pocket, Onffroy went to Chicago. The Pacific American Fisheries Company was organized with a capital of \$5,000,000 and by the end of March, 1899, many fish trap locations had passed from the ownership of individuals to the new company. This money placed many men on their financial feet—it is a period in the history of the state containing much of romance.

Charles and Frank Wright came to Blaine in 1892 from British Columbia and went to work for Drysdale. They later obtained trap locations which were sold to Onffroy for \$110,000. The Kildalls, five brothers, sold two traps for \$50,000. Schultz & Gross were paid \$30,000 for their Mosquito Pass trap, reserved the right to fish it that year and made another \$10,000. Schultz, a book-keeper for the Roche Harbor Lime Company, some years before, had thought the location a good one and made his filing. About the same time Gross, a San Juan Island farmer, stuck up a filing notice on the shore. The two amateur trap-owners met, talked the matter over and decided that it would be better to combine forces than to fight. They formed a partnership that won \$40,000.

Capt. H. B. Kirby, one of the first to file a location, in 1892 sold one of the best traps on the Point Roberts reef to Drysdale, receiving a price which made the property almost a gift. Kirby let a small fortune slip through his fingers in the deal, but he was a pioneer. Other locations were filed on by Kirby and when the Onffroy stream of gold flowed into the country he was able to extract \$7,000 as his share. His opportunity was worth many times that much and the captain returned to his task of making fishing gear on the Bellingham waterfront.

In an opposite direction ran the fortunes of Leonard D. Pike, son of Harvey L. Pike, Washington pioneer for whom Pike Street, Seattle, was named. Pike, in

the summer of 1893, was a trap man in the employ of Arthur Wadhams at Point Roberts. His monthly pay was \$75 and for this amount he put in long hours in the little shack perched high up on the pile trap, walked the heavy timber capping which reached from one pile to another and furnished him his beat. High winds at times blow over the waters of the Gulf; tides run strong, fish trap pirates sneak up in the night and sometimes make things unpleasant; the summer sun beating on the water is reflected, first blistering the face, then turning it to leather. The trap watchman's job is not a sinecure.

Learning the business, Pike leased traps and then obtained title. Some big hauls were made and the Brewster farm was bought. The syndicate paid him \$40,000 for three traps and he bought Bellingham and Blaine property, in the latter being the Hotel Blaine building in which Mrs. Pike, before her marriage, had been employed. He is oftentimes referred to as the "prince of the fish-trap game," and perhaps made more money out of it than any of those who entered it without capital.

CHAPTER XXXIII

CHINESE LABOR MENACE ALARMS WHITES—SERIOUS TROUBLE BREAKS OUT AT ROCK SPRINGS—CHINESE AT WOLD'S HOP RANCH FIRED ON—MASS MEETING IN SEATTLE—TACOMA INVESTIGATES CHINESE LIVING CONDITIONS—SEVENTY-SIX SIGN ROLL OF ANTI-CHINESE LEAGUE—CITIES UNITE IN ANTI-CHINESE MOVEMENT—BITTER ATTACKS MADE IN TACOMA—PARSON MC FARLAND ATTENDS TO CHURCHILY DUTIES WEARING TWO BIG REVOLVERS—RUN ON BANKS THREATENED—HOW SECRET COMMITTEES WORKED—WHISTLE SOUNDS FINAL WARNING—MAYOR WEISBACH'S VIEW OF THE SITUATION—TRAIN CARRIES REFUGEES TO LAKEVIEW—MANY ARRESTS MADE—SEATTLE SHIPS CHINESE BY BOAT—SOLDIERS CALLED OUT, FIRING FOLLOWS.

The driving of the last spike on the Northern Pacific's line to Pasco threw a large number of laborers out of work, among them thousands of Chinamen. The orientals, because of a willingness to work for almost any wage, had no difficulty in obtaining employment and every coolie that found a job shoved a white man into the growing ranks of the unemployed.

Almost from the day in 1847 that Chum Wing, the first Chinaman to come to the Pacific Coast, arrived in California, the Chinese question had been a live issue. Chum Wing, intelligent and industrious, discovered gold in the hills of the southern state, and sent word of his good fortune to his home in the Celestial Empire and set in motion a herd of coolie immigrants. Aliens from other nations arriving in America become a part of the social body; but the Chinaman was different. For ages he had followed teachers who inculcated into the minds of their pupils a moral philosophy almost entirely different from that of Western peoples. Industry might be said to represent the one virtue the American could see in the Chinaman—and because of his willingness to work for a low wage, even this, it was considered, had become perverted.

So long as John Chinaman confined his activities to his wash houses and truck patches, the white man had no serious objection of his presence in the country. The Pacific Coast offered the Chinamen opportunities of obtaining undreamed of wealth and they crossed the ocean by the tens of thousands. They extended the limits of their occupations. Employers of large numbers of laborers were more interested in the subject of profits than they were in the welfare of the men whose labor furnished those profits, and, other things being equal, the Chinaman got the job.

White labor early began to feel this unequal competition. The Chinaman was not particular about working conditions—he would do anything, live in any kind of low habitation and eat the poorest and cheapest of food. If he received \$1 a day he lived on ten cents of it and either gambled the remainder or sent it back to China. As cooks and house servants, they invaded the hotels and homes.

Pacific Coast housewives of the present day are paying for the mistake made by housewives of an earlier period when they employed Chinese men as servants. White women and girls of the Pacific Coast will do almost any other kind of work in preference to that of the household. The Chinaman has gone, but behind him he left a stigma which remains to this day—he robbed household labor of its dignity.

As early as 1877 Dennis Kearney and his sand-lotters at San Francisco started an agitation against the Chinamen. They adopted a catchy slogan—"The Chinese Must Go"—and it rapidly spread until it was heard in every city and town between Mexico and Canada and as far east as Colorado and Wyoming. In fact the first forcible resistance to the orientals occurred at Rock Springs, in the latter state. Rock Springs was, and is, a coal mining town. Many Chinamen were employed there. White men were being forced out. On September 4, 1885, they armed themselves, attacked the Chinese settlement, killed eleven and drove about five hundred out of town. The eleven dead orientals were the first victims of a race war that was to sweep westward to the Pacific and was to finally put an end to Chinese immigration.

East of the Rocky Mountain states the anti-Chinese movement caused but little comment. Congress in the early '80s passed exclusion laws, but failed to provide machinery for their strict enforcement. Eastern labor, unorganized at that time, was not menaced by the yellow man; Eastern employers with Western contracts found that same yellow man's labor profitable, and however much we may deprecate mob rule and mob violence, it seems something of the kind is at times necessary to arouse public sentiment to a point where it will demand the righting of wrongs. Evolution oftentimes works out its problems through revolution.

At Wold Brothers' hop ranch near Issaquah, in the Squak Valley, on the night of September 7, white men and Indians made a raid on the tents of Chinese hop-pickers, killed three and drove the rest into the brush. For months the Chinese question had been before the people of the territory and both employers of Chinamen and the orientals themselves had been warned of the gathering storm. The Squak Valley outbreak spread, and on the night of the 11th the quarters of Chinese miners at Coal Creek were raided, one was choked and the shacks and clothing of about fifty others burned. At Black Diamond the Chinese were driven out and on the 20th a Seattle mass meeting adopted resolutions approving these acts.

Driven out of the smaller communities the orientals congregated in the Chinatowns of Portland, Tacoma and Seattle. Tacoma already had been wrestling with the problem. Seattle's filthy and ill-smelling Chinese quarter below the "dead line" was not a prominent feature of the landscape; Tacoma's was a bunch of rickety shacks along the watershed and the first object to attract the attention of visitors. Stories of the degenerate practices of the inhabitants of these districts were told and, from surface indications, half the truth never came to light. The Tacoma council tried legislating against the nuisance. A committee consisting of Mayor Weisbach, Rev. J. A. Ward and R. F. Radebaugh, owner of the Ledger, investigated and, June 3d, made a report that nauseated the community. Weisbach and Ward said they both had been made ill by visiting a few of the Chinese houses. Radebaugh had not accompanied them. The

report described a horrible disregard of sewer arrangements. Men, women and children were packed away in unlighted and wholly unventilated rooms, in which bunks were built from floor to ceiling. On the walls and from the ceilings hung dried fish and other meats which gave the rooms the odor of carrion. Beneath several of the Chinese buildings were stinking pools of water.

In the washhouses the committee found the dainty garments of white women being puddled around in suds that reeked with dirt. The smell of smoking opium was everywhere. The washhouses used no machinery. The Chinese laundryman's method was to pull a garment from the boiling vat, beat it over a block, rinse it indifferently and in water not often changed, and trust to the iron to give it the semblance of cleanliness. All this and more was described in the report, which was read to a mass meeting in the Alpha Opera House, with Beverly W. Coiner presiding. The only commendable phase in the Chinese situation, according to the report, was the Methodist Mission School, on C Street, above Ninth, which was clean and bright.

At a mass meeting held six days later seventy-six persons signed the roll of an Anti-Chinese League. Mayor Weisbach was elected president. Sixty names were signed to the roll of the Knights of Labor local when it was organized on September 7th. It was believed by some that the order was preparing a country-wide revolution. It was reported that weapons in large numbers had been gathered in the hall, and there were stories of nightly drills and murderous conspiracies. These reports became so alarming that some of the moneyed interests hired detectives, who became members of the organization, and thereafter all its doings were the subject of daily reports.

Mayor Yesler, of Seattle, called a mass meeting which was held on September 23d and adopted resolutions counseling the people to observe the law and promising aid in removing the Chinese. Five days later an Anti-Chinese congress assembled in Seattle. Mayor Weisbach of Tacoma presided. The congress adopted resolutions condemning the Western Washington Congregational Association for asking the repeal of the Chinese exclusion act; asked all employers to at once discharge all Chinese and fixed November 15th as the date by which all Chinamen should leave Western Washington. The assembling of this congress marked the beginning of the breaking down of the Seattle-Tacoma fight. Large crowds of people attended the meeting and the Tacoma delegation, headed by the mayor, was given an especially enthusiastic greeting. October 3d, set as the date for ratifying the action of the congress, was observed with mass meetings by all local organizations.

In Tacoma, the attitude of the Chamber of Commerce was awaited with interest. Its members had been quarreling over the question. John Arthur and General Sprague had locked horns several times. Sprague, I. W. Anderson and others among its leaders were opposed to the proposed drive. Three sets of resolutions were presented at a special meeting called at the Tacoma Hotel to discuss the question. George Fuller's opposed the Chinese, but they also opposed coercion; Ezra Meeker's also opposed coercion and carried some reflections on the activities of Mayor Weisbach; J. E. Burns' resolutions deplored the oriental menace, blamed the poor governmental guardianship of the border, by which the Chinese were enabled to cross in great numbers, called upon the President of the United States to place a sufficient force there to stop the



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continual violation of law, and then approved the resolutions which recently had been adopted by the Workingmen's Union in all except any contemplation of violent measures. There was a vigorous debate in which personalities entered, but the vote was 41 to 22 in favor of the Burns resolutions.

John Arthur made an acidulous speech at the Chamber of Commerce meeting, in the course of which he bitterly attacked General Sprague and Geo. E. Atkinson. He said the time had come when Sprague no longer could run the city. He declared that the Chinese already would have been gone but for encouragement given them by Sprague, who, he said, had assured them of the protection of federal troops. Sprague made no reply, but after the meeting he, Atkinson and Anderson met Arthur in the lobby and gave him an unmerciful tongue lashing, to which Arthur made reply in kind, denouncing them as cowards for not speaking in open meeting.

The vote of the chamber sounded the doom of the Chinese. It also acted as a brake upon the radicals. The chamber was a powerful institution, its membership including 150 of the strongest men in the city. October 10 there was another torchlight procession and meeting in the Alpha Opera House. J. E. Burns was chairman. John C. Comerford, who until a few days before had been editor of the Ledger, John Arthur and Alex. Parker were the orators. Arthur's bitter attacks on the land company, the railroad company and the ring of interests which naturally grew up around institutions of such strength arose perhaps from two causes. He had been brought West by the land company to be its attorney. He was related by marriage to one of the Eastern men connected with the land company. He and I. W. Anderson, then manager of the company, did not agree and Arthur's connection ceased. From a pecuniary standpoint this was unpleasant to Arthur, and perhaps it rankled. Whatever effect it may have had on his attitude toward the interests it must be said that Arthur belonged then, as he belongs now, to that class which resents control by money, and probably he was happier out of the company than in it, as the severance gave to him the freedom that he enjoys. His brilliant intellect—for years one of the state's prized ornaments—reflects the passion for freedom which one so frequently finds in sons of the Old Sod.

Radebaugh, editor of the Ledger, was in the East, and Comerford—known about the office as "Jim-Jams Jack"—was in charge. He had been writing more vigorously than Radebaugh had instructed, and Sprague, Blackwell, Anderson and Tyler called on him, cautioning him to be more temperate, or else he certainly would lose his head. Instead Comerford directed a blast at them the following day, denouncing "dog salmon aristocracy" and defying them. When Radebaugh returned a few days later he was informed by the anti-Chinese leaders that if he discharged Comerford the Ledger would be boycotted by the business community. He was resolved, however, to obtain Comerford's resignation, which he speedily did by informing the foreman of the office, D. A. Maulsby, to throw out anything that Comerford prepared for publication. Comerford was proud. He at once realized his position and handed in his resignation.

He was an orator of considerable power, an interesting writer, and in appearance he resembled John Wilkes Booth, and when on the evening of October 10th he arose before a great audience in the opera house, and proceeded

to flay Sprague, Blackwell, Anderson, Radebaugh, and the rest, he was given an ovation. He revealed what he declared were certain secrets concerning Radebaugh's management of the Ledger and thereby sacrificed the good opinion of many of the business men, as his "confessions" put him in the light of a traitor, whether they were true or not. A week later John Arthur presided at another enthusiastic meeting.

The Presbyterian minister, Rev. W. D. McFarland, born a Scot, but a naturalized American with very firm ideas about the rights and duties of an American citizen. Spies had been around his house several nights and one day in his absence three men called and demanded to know of those at home if any Chinese were employed, and if so, ordering them to be disposed of, and giving instructions that if any contracts had been entered into for Chinese help, such contracts must be abrogated. The minister was on fire when he reached home and heard what had transpired and he announced that on the following Sunday evening he would preach on the Chinese question. He had a habit, when opening his sermons, of twirling in his fingers a tiny roll of paper. He stepped to the side of his pulpit stand, nervously fingering a slip of paper, and began by describing the visit that had been made to his home, denounced it as an insolent attempt at abridgement of an American's rights, and then began somewhat heatedly to tell what he would have done had he been at home when the three men called, and concluded with the ejaculation: "I would have kicked them out into the street!"

His sermon so angered T. L. Nixon and others that they walked out of the church. Nixon was a prominent member. McFarland shouted after them—"Go! Go! I will preach till the benches are empty!"

Threats were carried to him after that. His gorge then rose indeed. Capt. Albert W. Whyte had been furnished by the authorities with two boxes of revolvers. Rev. Mr. McFarland went to Whyte's office and asked him if he—the minister—should arm himself. Whyte told him it might be wise to do so.

"Where can I get a revolver?" he asked Captain Whyte. The captain drew aside a curtain, showing the two boxes of revolvers.

"May I have one?" eagerly asked the minister.

"You may have two," was the reply.

McFarland took two and strapped them about his waist. Thus he was caparisoned for emergencies for several days, and it probably was the only time in Tacoma's history that a minister went about his pastoral duties, visiting business men in their homes and taking tea with his feminine parishioners, with a brace of big army revolvers strapped beneath his Prince Albert.

Every line of business was affected more or less by the feeling over the question. W. D. Tyler, of the Tacoma Hotel, was much opposed to coercion, and there was talk of boycotting the hotel. The Tacoma National Bank, the officers of which were Sprague, Blackwell, Anderson and others who opposed the Chinese drive, felt its position quite keenly as considerable sums of money were withdrawn. For a few days the bank kept three boxes of coins out where it was hoped a view of them would convince the public of the bank's solidity. "Skookum" Smith, who did not favor the drive, was with the Merchants National, which brought that bank under some criticism, though Walter J. Thompson, Henry Drum and W. H. Opie, its active officers, were opposed to the

Chinese. The Seattle papers reported a run of \$60,000 on General Sprague's Tacoma National Bank in one day, but that was an exaggeration. But for several days the situation was dangerous.

One day eight Chinese entered the bank of which Walter J. Thompson was president and deposited about \$800, taking a certificate of deposit. They then entered Thompson's private office, where the certificate was torn into eight pieces. It was explained that each Chinaman would take a fragment of the certificate, and that the money must not be paid out until the certificate should be returned to the bank intact. Some months later it came from San Francisco, carefully put together, and the money was forwarded.

Governor Squire was watching the dangerous brew from Olympia. Finally he communicated with Sheriff Byrd, instructing him that he must appoint 100 deputies or else the governor would ask for United States troops. This gave the Chinese a new lease. Some of those who were preparing to leave decided to remain. Mayor Weisbach called a conference to discuss this matter. The governor was informed that neither deputies nor troops were necessary but that deputies would be provided. A few days later Governor Squire went to Tacoma and made a speech at the Tacoma Hotel in which he urged restraint and pointed to his own duty in the matter. At the same time he tried to put a different meaning on the letters he had sent to the sheriff, and his conduct led to the charge that he had visited the fountain too often. A formidable statement designed to be a guarantee of peace was sent to him signed by Robert Wingate, T. B. Wallace, W. D. Tyler, General Sprague, W. B. Blackwell, I. W. Anderson, F. T. Olds, Stuart Rice, Ira Cogswell, Gen. Isaac W. Smith, James H. Ashton, E. S. (Skookum) Smith, W. P. Bonney, Henry Drum and other representative citizens. This statement assured the governor that troops were not necessary.

J. P. Chilberg was chairman of the anti-Chinese committee and he and others spent much time in planning the great mass meeting of October 31, when delegates from Seattle were to come to Tacoma for a conference. George O. Kelly's cannon on the bluff north of the Tacoma Hotel boomed a welcome for the Seattle boat. A dinner was served in the G. A. R. hall, and an immense cake, baked by Mrs. H. S. Bixler, and bearing the slogan of the time—"The Chinese must go"—was presented to the Seattle visitors. In the parade were 700 torchbearers. Rockets glared and fires lighted the streets. A. Macready was chairman of the evening. Enthusiasm was great, The town rang with cheers. Women occupied the gallery and their handkerchiefs waved encouragement to the men. On the evening of the 2d, fifty extra policemen were sworn in.

The "Committee of Fifteen" had pressed the warning upon the Chinese, but some of the leading knights concluded that the "Committee of Fifteen" was playing politics and not acting in good faith. In the midst of mass meetings and processions they formed the "Committee of Nine." The members of the "Committee of Fifteen" did not know until long afterward of the existence of the "Committee of Nine"; and perhaps some of them do not know it yet. The Chinese had paid too little attention to the "Committee of Fifteen," and word reached the ears of the "Committee of Nine" that certain members of the "Committee of Fifteen" had told the Chinese that the "Fifteen" warning was nothing more than a bluff.

The "Committee of Nine" was in dead earnest. It proceeded to organize a sort of secret endless chain, something after the manner of the Nihilist plan, which, it was said, Dan Cronin, the organizer of the Knights of Labor, had followed. The program was for each member of the "Committee of Nine" to organize a circle of nine men. Each of the nine was then to organize his circle of nine. No man knew who had been chosen by any of the leaders or sub-leaders. Certain oaths were administered. Red, yellow and white cards were issued to designate the standing of the members. The members of the circles never met; no member of a circle knew any other members of his circle. He knew only his leader. The nerves of this secret body permeated every part of the community, and its total membership never became known. Each man knew that at the proper time he was to follow his leader; each knew that the object of the organization was to drive out the orientals.

The members of the "Committee of Nine" were: William Christie, a carpenter; Frank McGill, a street commissioner; W. H. Hunter, house painter; John Budlong, carpenter; W. H. Rapier, Sr., and W. H. Rapier, his son, plasterers; Chancellor Graves, janitor of the Central School; A. U. Mills, contractor; M. P. Bulger, sewing machine agent. The only member of the "Committee of Nine" who was also a member of the "Committee of Fifteen" was A. U. Mills.

The "Committee of Fifteen" was in session all night November 2d, in the Tacoma Hotel; the "Committee of Nine" was meeting at the same time in Chas. Gillis' house, Fifteenth and Yakima avenues, South, Mills was sitting with the "Committee of Fifteen," but at the same time he was serving as a sort of go-between, and made trips through the night from one committee meeting to the other, though it is said he did not know the details of what the "Committee of Nine" was doing.

That night it was arranged that each member of the "Committee of Nine" should take a district and thoroughly canvass it before morning, notifying every man that when the whistles of the Lister foundry should sound the signal at 9:30 the next morning, a general assault should be made on the Chinese shacks. Meantime the "Committee of Fifteen" had resolved to send another warning to the Chinese to get out of town.

Through the remainder of the cold and rainy night the members of the "Committee of Nine" covered their districts.

At the sound of the whistles scores of men poured into the streets and each knew just what to do. It was a mob, but an orderly mob as mobs go. There was excitement, to be sure, but the raiders did not lose their heads. Perhaps that was because they already had been lost. The first Chinese shack visited was at about where the Massasoit Hotel stands, and the raiders then visited one shack after another all the way from Seventeenth Street to Old Tacoma. One after another the terrified Chinese ordered express wagons and began loading their plunder. Many of them, however, left behind everything except their money. Several of them were laundrymen, and they departed leaving their patrons' shirts and collars, some in the tubs and some ready for delivery. Much of the community linen was lost, as marauders robbed the laundries. In some instances white women entered the Chinese shacks and purloined souvenirs. There are a number of prized teapots in Tacoma cupboards to this day.

Mayor Weisbach, though he assisted in setting in motion the machinery by which the expulsion was brought about, appealed to Sheriff Byrd to enforce the law. The sheriff regarded it as beyond his province. It is probable that Weisbach, as well as many others among the leaders, were greatly alarmed lest a riot be precipitated. All the saloons were closed. Attorney B. W. Coiner had a conversation with the mayor that illuminates the mayor's position. Coiner and the mayor were standing about where the city hall now is while one of the driving parties was bringing the Chinese up from the wharf through the cold rain.

"Mr. Coiner," asked the mayor, "do you see any disturbance of the peace anywhere?"

"Why do you ask?" Coiner interrogated.

"I'm the mayor, and it's my duty to preserve the peace. I want to know if I am doing my duty."

"I'm inclined to think there is a disturbance of the peace, Mr. Mayor,"

"Well, I don't agree with you," replied the mayor, and he remained passively interested while the melancholy Celestials filed past under their determined guard, each white man carrying a cane or a club, though some of them assisted the Chinese with their burdens.

A number of prominent citizens, besides the deputies named by the sheriff, made it their business to accompany the visiting committees with the aim of preventing fights and of saving the Chinese property. A recent statement from Judge Wickersham was to the effect that though a member of the "Committee of Fifteen," he did not know of the plan to oust the Chinese on the 2d of November, and had no inkling of it until he saw the "mob" in the streets. This is further evidence that it was the "Committee of Nine" rather than the "Committee of Fifteen" that engineered the drive.

In only one case did a Chinese attempt bloodshed. Charles Joles and Renwick W. Taylor had entered one of the Chinese houses, and while Taylor's back was turned a Chinaman leveled a revolver at him and snapped the trigger. Joles, however, had struck the weapon down, and the hammer fell on his thumb instead of the cartridge. One can imagine that in the excitement of the time, the killing of a white man would have precipitated the bloodiest of reprisals, and the day would have been a black one in Northwest history. Joles later was arrested in Olympia for participating in the anti-Chinese expulsion there. He and others were fined \$500 and sent to McNeil's Island Prison, where they served several months.

There was but one arrest and that was of a man who had been drinking. Not a blow was struck and the Chinese were gently handled. They were marshalled under abundant guardianship and marched in the rain to Lake View. Into wagons lined up in front of the Halstead House several old men, women and children were loaded. Growers contributed an abundance of food for their comfort. At Lake View the old Chinese House afforded shelter until a train could pick up the refugees. Jack Hewitt was conductor of the train that was flagged.

"Put 'em aboard! I'll haul 'em!" he shouted. Into the box cars the unfortunates were bundled and the train carried them to Portland.

There were about seven hundred Chinese in Tacoma when the agitation began. The early warnings of the committees caused about three hundred to leave,

and on the final round-up about two hundred and fifty were gathered in. Some of the Chinese it was found had armed themselves with iron bars and dangerous knives. Some of the store owners remained behind to pack their goods, and they worked day and night to complete it. They were given plenty of time for this and their property and persons were guarded. An interesting phase of the proceeding was the absence of personal feeling. As a matter of fact the Chinese had many warm friends in the "mob." Whites and Chinese often had calmly discussed the dangers of yellow labor on this coast. Generally speaking a fairly pleasant relationship had existed between the races.

The federal grand jury, in session at Vancouver, heard of the uprising. United States Marshal George hastened to Tacoma with subpoenas. A little later Mayor Weisbach, Councilman D. B. Hanna, Probate Judge James Wickersham, Councilman E. G. Bacon, A. U. Mills, H. S. Bixler, T. L. Nixon, H. C. Patrick, John Forbes, Fire Chief Jacob Ralph, H. A. Stevens, William Christie, A. J. Anderson, John Budlong, Frank McGill, Charles Pertz, M. C. Gillis, A. W. Cone, E. von Schraeder, Lewis Stimpson, Ben E. Everett, G. R. Epperson, G. D. Lawson, A. Raduenzel, M. McAtee, C. E. King and J. Fernandez were arrested and placed under the control of Capt. Albert Whyte.

Charged with insurrection and riot, the men were taken to Portland and released under bonds of \$5,000 each. They returned to Tacoma, where they were greeted by a torchlight procession, led to the Alpha Opera House and given a great ovation. Two of the ring leaders had escaped arrest. Comerford, travelling on money cheerfully contributed by Radebaugh, Anderson and Sprague, set out for South America. At San Francisco he changed his mind, returned to Tacoma and proceeded to make things warm for those who had opposed him. M. P. Bulger went to Seattle, where he took a prominent part in the anti-Chinese movement, narrowly escaped death and landed in jail.

The Tacoma uprising was followed by the expulsion of the Chinese from nearly all the smaller towns of Western Washington. Seattle's Chinatown overflowed, and it became apparent that within a short time there would come an open break. November 5 a mass meeting was held. George Venable Smith, promotor of a socialistic colony at Port Angeles, nominated Mayor Yesler as chairman. Representatives of both sides made speeches, the most notable of which was that of Judge Thomas Burke, in which the speaker charged outsiders with stirring up the trouble and pleaded with Seattle people to observe the law and maintain order. It was a speech brim full of loyalty to the American constitution and American laws, but one which did not pour oil on the troubled waters. The speaker was frequently interrupted by hisses and derisive shouts.

Next morning Governor Squire asked that federal troops be sent to Seattle—two days later 350 soldiers under command of Gen. John Gibbon were sent from Vancouver. They remained nine days—days of quietness that presaged a storm. Fifteen of the "Antis" were arrested charged with conspiring together to deprive Chinamen of the protection of the law. The trial closed January 16, without a conviction. A few Chinamen were leaving, but they were not going fast enough to suit those opposed to them—Chinatown still was a populous and pestilential district.

February 6th another meeting was held; a committee of fifteen was appointed and the next morning began an investigation of sanitary conditions in

SEATTLE IN THE MAKING



THREE YEARS
CHANGES IN ONE OF
THE REGRADE CENTERS

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TILDEN FOUNDATION

Chinatown. Moored at one of the docks was the steamer *Queen* of the Pacific due to sail for San Francisco. Her captain, it was said, hated all things capitalistic and regarded Chinese laborers as a pawn employed by capitalists for winning its chess game with labor. It was decided to send as many Chinamen as possible to San Francisco on the *Queen*.

Passing quickly from one Chinese infested building to another, the Committee of Fifteen, on the morning of the 7th loaded the orientals and their belongings into wagons, hauled them to the dock, where they were herded together near the waiting vessel. Sheriff McGraw, at the head of a small posse, tried to break up the enforced exodus. When his efforts failed he rang the fire bell and called together the Home Guards, under Capt. George Kinnear, the Seattle Rifles, under Capt. Joseph Green, and Company D, under Capt. J. C. Haines. The Home Guards were citizens sworn in as deputy sheriffs.

By 1 o'clock 350 Chinamen were on the dock. The captain of the *Queen* refused to allow any of them on board his ship until their fares were paid. Subscription lists were at once put in circulation, and while the solicitors were busy collecting the money, Judge Greene issued a writ of habeas corpus, charging that the *Queen's* prospective passengers were being deported illegally. The streets, patrolled by local military organizations, were quiet. Governor Squire, then in Seattle, telegraphed General Gibbon for troops and in a short time received a reply in which the general said: "There is no one in America who can order the interference of troops except the President of the United States"—a thing the governor should have known.

On the morning of the 8th eighty-nine Chinamen were brought into Judge Greene's court. After being told that all who wished to remain would be protected, Judge Greene asked them to decide the question for themselves. Sixteen expressed a desire to remain and all were again taken to the dock. Money for their fare having been provided, those desiring to leave were rapidly sent on board the ship. Almost two hundred had passed over the gangplank when Captain Alexander announced his vessel loaded to its legal limit. About one hundred remained on the dock and it was decided to hold these for the steamer *George W. Elder*, due in a few days.

Here the trouble might have terminated had it not been for the decision of the authorities to permit the orientals to return to the houses from which they had been ejected. Under the protection of the Home Guards the orientals started for their former homes and had marched to First Avenue South and Main Street when they were met by a large crowd of antis, who demanded to know the cause for the removal of the Chinese from the steamship dock. The question was answered with a demand for the dispersal of the rioters. They were in an ugly mood and, led by a man named Stewart, attempted to disarm the Home Guard posse. Stewart, evidently thinking the guards would not fire, grabbed the rifle carried by Gen. E. M. Carr and was about to wrench the gun away when Capt. John A. Hatfield shot him through the groin. Stewart fell. Several other shots were fired and the guards formed a hollow square around the Chinamen and sent out a call for assistance. Other militia organizations responded to the call, order was established, Stewart and another wounded rioter were taken to a hospital, where the former died next morning.

With the exception of Hatfield no one knew who had fired the fatal shot.

Among the rioters Judge Burke was accused and a complaint was sworn out against Burke, Rev. L. A. Banks, E. M. Carr, David H. Webster and C. H. Hanford. Hatfield at once confessed to McGraw that he had killed Stewart and wanted to give himself up for trial. This McGraw refused to permit, telling Hatfield the shot had been fired by an acting officer of the law, but that the rioters would consider it the act of an individual and hold him responsible. Hatfield followed the advice of the sheriff, but later told Fred E. Sander and W. M. Sheffield that he had fired the shot and that when he was dead they should give the facts to the public. November 25, 1896, Captain Hatfield died. Sanders waited until Hatfield's son, Charles, had grown to manhood and had given his consent before he made public the facts on July 1, 1906. R. B. Partridge, another member of the posse, died a short time after the riot believing he had fired the fatal shot.

Constable Thornton, armed with a justice court warrant, set out in search of Burke, Banks, Carr, Hanford and Webster. He found his men at the court house; but when he informed them of the warrant Judge Greene interposed the authority of the United States court and told Thornton the men he sought were officers of the court and could not be arrested. Thornton withdrew and Greene, knowing he would soon be sent back with other warrants, turned to Governor Squire and said: "This officer will be back within half an hour. We must act quickly. It is my judgment that the situation can be controlled without serious difficulty if you proclaim martial law, and that it cannot be controlled otherwise." The governor gave his consent; Judge Greene wrote the proclamation; and just as Squire finished signing it Thornton returned. The seal of the territory was in Olympia: a notarial seal was attached to the proclamation, which, in a short time, was posted in various parts of the town. Later on the legality of Governor Squire's martial law proclamation was questioned; but as it had received the endorsement of President Cleveland the case was never tested out in the courts.

In the opinion of many Seattle people who took part in events transpiring during the Chinese riots, Governor Squire's proclamation saved the life of Judge Burke. On Burke's head the rioters heaped a full measure of hate, and could they have gotten him away from the protection of Judge Greene and the governor's military power, they might have taken his life. Following the shooting of Stewart a load of buckshot was discovered in the woodwork surrounding the door of one of the buildings in the vicinity. It had been shot there by one of the guards, and some one drew a circle around the spot and named it "Burke's Mark." In various ways members of the anti-Chinese element for a number of years continued to show their dislike of Burke, the man who, in the opinion of many, had fired the shot that killed Stewart.

Judge Greene, while recognized as the real power and directing force responsible for the governor's proclamation, escaped the fury of the rioters. They knew him to be free of any other motive than that of upholding the law of the land.

President Cleveland sent United States troops into Seattle; the George W. Elder on February 14th carried away 110 Chinamen, the fifty remaining soon drifted away into other parts of the country, and by the 22d, the day upon which martial law was abrogated, the Chinese troubles were at an end. Years passed

before a Chinaman again appeared in either of the Sound cities, and when they did return they came as merchants and not as laborers. For a number of years the Chinese question played an important part in the municipal elections in both cities—candidates were weighed according to the stand they had taken during the agitation.

“Out of humane consideration and without reference to the question of liability therefor, as full indemnity for all losses and injuries sustained by Chinese subjects within the United States at the hands of citizens thereof,” Congress, October 19, 1888, appropriated \$276,619.15, which was paid to the Chinese Government. This covered all claims growing out of the troubles on the Coast. In 1887 a similar appropriation of \$147,748.74 to cover the Rock Springs riots was made.

The Chinese troubles cost the Federal Government more than half a million dollars. State, territorial, municipal and court officials were given an enormous amount of additional work and worry. Several white men and a score or more of Chinamen—the exact number never will be known—were killed. Mob rule bred disrespect for constituted authority. The United States Government was the real offender against the law. Had it enforced the exclusion act the whole disagreeable and disgraceful business would have been unnecessary. In overriding the law the anti-Chinese agitators forced the government to provide an immigration inspection service that has, in a measure, held in check the tide from the Celestial Empire.

CHAPTER XXXIV

RAILROAD BUILDING ERA IN THE '80S—VILLARD REORGANIZES—THE "ORPHAN ROAD"—OLD FIGHT REOPENED—SEATTLE-SNOHOMISH LINE IS COMPLETED—ABANDONMENT OF SNOQUALMIE PASS PLAN—LINE OPENED FROM SEATTLE TO ANACORTES—VILLARD REGAINS CONTROL—RATES EQUALIZED—JAMES J. HILL'S GIGANTIC RAKE—"SOUTHERN RAILWAY MYSTERY"—WASHINGTON AND BRITISH COLUMBIA UNITED BY RAIL—A 'SPURIOUS TELEGRAM—GREAT NORTHERN OFFICIALS SELECT WESTERN TERMINUS—FIRST GREAT NORTHERN TRAIN FROM COAST TO ST. PAUL—A SUMMARY.

The five years beginning with 1887 may well be called Western Washington's greatest half decade of railroad building. Gradually the country recovered from the "Villard collapse" of 1883 and had entered upon an era of rapid and extensive development, not the least of which was the building of new lines of railway.

Late in the year 1880 Villard interests organized the Oregon Improvement Company in order to consolidate a number of widely scattered properties. About the same time the same interests formed the Oregon & Transcontinental Company, an organization holding much of the stock of the Northern Pacific, Oregon Railway & Navigation Company and Oregon Improvement Company. It was a case of interlocking directorates and produced a muddled record.

The Oregon Improvement Company owned the Newcastle coal mines and the Seattle & Walla Walla Railroad. In October, 1881, it organized the Columbia & Puget Sound Railroad Company for the purpose of buying the Seattle & Walla Walla and completing the line over the Cascades. Improvements were made, one of which was the installation of what is perhaps the first instance of telephonic control over the dispatching of railway trains. In 1884 the 22½-mile Cedar River Extension was built to the Franklin-Black Diamond coal fields. It provided transportation for the product of these rich mines and soon became a profitable enterprise.

Road building stopped at the mines and soon there was heard considerable talk of its extension to a "Common Point" connection with the Northern Pacific's Cascade division. The "Common Point" never has been reached by the Columbia & Puget Sound. Following the completion of the Northern Pacific's Cascade division there was built a link connecting Stuck Junction with the Common Point. The junction is now at Auburn and the Common Point was established at Palmer.

Villard's Oregon & Transcontinental Company in 1883 built the Puget Sound Shore line—a well constructed road twenty-four miles in length, from Seattle to Stuck Junction (Auburn). At the junction the shore line met a 7-mile spur from Puyallup. It was known as the "Orphan Road." The "Orphan" was

built by the Northern Pacific, which discovered too late that it had no legal right to build such branches. It, like the shore line, is now a part of the Northern Pacific's Tacoma-Seattle main line.

For about four years following the building of these two short lines, Seattle was on a railroad and yet without any real service. Villard was forced out of the Northern's presidency, Robert Harris succeeded him and the old fight between the road and Seattle was renewed. Seattle decided to build to a connection with the Canadian Pacific at Mission, B. C., with another line eastward to Spokane.

Among those discussing the problem were Daniel Hunt Gilman and Judge Thomas Burke. They interested others and on April 15, 1885, filed articles incorporating the Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern. Almost two years passed away before active work began. Seattle men raised \$50,000, Gilman's New York and Chicago friends put in \$450,000 and in January, 1887, surveyors were sent into the field and a cargo of steel rails was ordered from England.

From the lower end of Yesler Way, Seattle, the road followed the shore of Elliott Bay to Smith Cove, through the Interbay Valley to Salmon Bay and thence east and north along the shores of Lakes Union and Washington to the present site of Woodinville, where the road branched, one line running to Issaquah and the other northward towards the Canadian line. Construction crews soon were in the field and by the close of the year the line to Woodinville was completed.

The initial plans for the road contemplated building through Snoqualmie Pass and when construction began at both the Seattle and Spokane ends of the line it was expected the development of the Denny Iron Mines on the upper reaches of the Snoqualmie would furnish quantities of ore and a profitable business for the road. From Issaquah the line was extended to the hop fields above Snoqualmie Falls and finally to North Bend.

July 16, 1888, regular train service between Seattle and Snohomish was instituted. "The coaches were crowded with passengers and the baggage cars were loaded with trunks and bundles and also contained a number of men who could not find room in the coaches." About this time, or a little later in the year, Chief Engineer Paul F. Mohr's investigation caused the abandonment of the Snoqualmie Pass line idea and the directors adopted a new trans-mountain route up the Skykomish River, through the Cady Pass and down the Wenatchee River to the Columbia.

In November, 1888, men allied with the Oregon Improvement Company launched the Seattle & Northern, the announced object of which was the construction of a line from Seattle northward to the Canadian border by way of Whatcom. From a point on the main line near the Skagit River two branches were to be built—one leading east over the Cascades to Spokane, the other west to Ship Harbor, thence southwesterly across Deception Pass to Admiralty Head on Whidby Island. This was the beginning of what later became the Great Northern's shore line. The branch roads are now the Rockport and Anacortes branches and the point at which they left the main line is now the site of the prosperous and growing Town of Burlington.

Construction work was pushed from Ship Harbor (Anacortes) eastward and before the end of 1890 the road was completed to a junction with the Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern at Sedro, now Sedro-Woolley. The completed portions

of both roads were opened with an excursion November 25, 1890, a newspaper account of which follows:

"The first through train from Seattle to Anacortes reached this city (Anacortes) at 6 o'clock tonight, amid thunder of cannon and the rejoicing of many hundred people who had gathered at the Anacortes depot to welcome the 400 visitors from Seattle and Tacoma who accompanied the train. The train left Tacoma at 6:55 this morning and made the trip to Seattle without accident. There transfer was made from the track of the Northern Pacific to Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern, and the train was made up in two sections, leaving the Columbia Street depot at 9:40. The bay was beautiful, and a fine opportunity was given for a view of Puget Sound and Lake Washington. The towns of Fremont, Latona and Snohomish were passed, and Burlington was reached by noon.

"The crowd had been looking forward with a great deal of uneasiness to the prospect of a long and hungry ride to Anacortes, where it was understood a magnificent banquet was to be served, but the managers of the affair had thoughtfully provided lunch at Arlington, and no fast was necessary.

"The crowd amused itself in the usual way, singing, playing cards, telling stories, and occasionally taking a drink.

"Sedro was reached at 3 o'clock, after a rough trip over the new road. There it was learned that the excursionists would have to wait for trains over the Seattle & Northern from Anacortes. But the crowd did not lack amusement. Two thimble-riggers appeared from somewhere and began lively games with their cappers. When the crowd saw the theory they set up a wild howl and guyed the fakirs unmercifully. One of them finally withdrew and challenged any man in the crowd to meet him in single combat. The other tried to withstand the volley of jibes that was hurled at him, but some gave a push and knocked his stand over, and he withdrew, thankful to escape with his property.

"Two rival photographers about this time tried to secure pictures of the trains and crowds, and diversion was offered for awhile in trying to defeat the efforts of the picture-takers to secure a proper focus. Finally the train from Anacortes came in, and the journey was resumed over the Seattle & Northern to Anacortes.

"The excursionists found that the citizens of Anacortes had made sumptuous preparations for their entertainment. The streets were gaily decorated with arches, festoons, and Chinese lanterns, and a magnificent banquet had been spread in the large warehouse at the Oregon Improvement Company's wharf. The reception committee conducted the visitors immediately to the feast. Afterwards came speechmaking, and wit, wine and song were intermingled in highly satisfactory proportions for several hours."

During the year 1890 considerable excitement was caused by the Portland & Puget Sound Railroad Company, which, early in April, announced its intention to build from the Oregon city to Seattle. It frankly admitted itself to be subsidiary to the Union Pacific, obtained franchises and right of way, did considerable grading, but failed to survive the panic of 1893. Years were to pass before Union Pacific trains should reach the Sound, but the movement made at this time spurred the Northern Pacific to action and was one of the factors contributing to its buying of the Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern.

At the annual election of the Northern Pacific, in New York, September 20,



F. & S. R. R. TRAIN LEAVING FAIRHAVEN, FEBRUARY 14, 1891, TO MEET THE N. W. S. RY. AT THE INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY



THE MEETING AT THE BOUNDARY
Two nations united by rail on the far west coast.

1888, Henry Villard regained the control lost four years earlier and after refusing the presidency, nominated and succeeded in electing vice president Thomas L. Oakes to the position. Oakes, one of the prime movers in Villard's earlier organizations, in a measure was free from the intense bitterness of the factional fight then raging between Tacoma, backed by its land company influence with the road, and Seattle and its Villard-Oregon Improvement Company interests. The fight was bad for everybody and President Oakes set about putting an end to it. Tacoma business men had lower freight rates and much better service than that given Seattle. The Puget Sound Shore line passed to the control (and January 17, 1890, to the ownership) of the Northern Pacific and Seattle was given the same freight rate from the East as was Tacoma. It went into effect in October, 1889, covered all kinds of freight with the exception of wheat and flour. President Oakes announced these would be included whenever Seattle provided elevators for handling grain.

Seattle at last was on an equal freight rate footing with Tacoma and the action of President Oakes served to break down some of the hatred that town had so long felt for the Northern Pacific—and the breakdown did not begin a moment too soon. In addition to the Union Pacific's threatened invasion of its Puget Sound territory the Northern was menaced by a much more energetic and formidable competitor from the east. James J. Hill was pushing a line westward through territory held by the Northern and would soon be at the gates of some Puget Sound city knocking for admission.

At a conference of Northern Pacific officials in New York June 10, 1890, it was decided to obtain control of the Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern. Almost one year later, on May 28, 1891, President A. S. Dunham, of the Lake Shore, announced the appointment of J. M. Hannaford, traffic manager, and G. W. Dickinson, superintendent of the company's lines. Hannaford and Dickinson were respectively general traffic manager and assistant general superintendent of the Northern Pacific which, by these appointments, came into control of Lake Shore affairs. The road at that time was practically completed to Sumas and has ever since been under Northern Pacific control.

The last shot fired in the Stampede Tunnel set in motion over Western Washington a wave of railroad building and before trains were operating through the bore "paper roads" began to grow out of the office of Territorial Secretary Owings, at Olympia, at a rate which, had all been completed as planned, would have covered the state with a network of lines so complete that almost every village would have been given rail connection with the East. A number of these paper roads became realities and are today important lines. May 25th S. G. Simpson, James K. Murphy and George Simpson incorporated the Olympia, Black River & Chehalis, to build from Olympia to Elma. July 6th T. F. Oakes, C. W. Griggs, James M. Buckley, Henry Hewitt, Jr., and George Browne, directors, incorporated the Tacoma, Orting & Southern and on the same day James Carroll, David Wallace, H. L. Tibbals, Jr., M. M. Buckman and C. A. Dyer received authority to build the Port Townsend Bay & Columbia from the City of Port Townsend to some point on the Columbia in Clark County. Surveyors were already in the field when the Mason County Central Railroad, W. H. Kneeland, Martin Lewis and N. H. Owings, trustees, August 8th, received a charter to build from Shelton to "some point on the Chehalis River."

September 7th the Tacoma, Olympia & Chehalis Valley was authorized to build from some point on Grays Harbor in an easterly direction across the Cascades to some point on the Columbia River. A few days later W. E. Brown, G. W. Prescott, Thomas Ewing, all of San Francisco; Charles Cadwalader, of Sacramento; John P. Hoyt, Leigh S. J. Hunt, Henry G. Strube, Alexander B. Stewart, all of Seattle, and Cyrus Walker of Port Ludlow, were given a charter for the Seattle & Southern which was to build a line from Seattle to Portland. The Post-Intelligencer said: "Extension of the Southern Pacific system to a terminus at Seattle—the West Seattle puzzle solved and construction to be commenced as soon as the line can be located." The company has never located its line.

About this time residents of Southwestern British Columbia became very much interested in the "Southern Railway Mystery." On the American side of the boundary line a solution of the mystery was found in the filing, December 22, 1888, of articles incorporating the Fairhaven & Southern. Nelson Bennett, Edward M. Wilson, E. A. Cowgill, S. E. Larrabee and C. X. Larrabee were trustees and the line was to run from a connection with the British Columbia road to the Columbia River. In the preceding June Cowgill, Wilson and Bennett had made a trip through the country lying between the Skagit River and Drayton Harbor. They were so impressed with its natural resources that they decided to build a railroad and the Fairhaven & Southern was the result.

Grading on the line between Fairhaven and Sedro-Woolley began in April, 1889, and the first rails were laid three months later. The following February construction northward began. From both the Fairhaven and New Westminster ends, building operations were hastened and the last spikes connecting the two were driven at a celebration held at Blaine on February 14, 1891, a report of which said:

"The last stroke which unites Washington and British Columbia by rail was struck today. As was fitting, it was struck by a woman. Two little silver hammers wielded by the wives of Governor Nelson, of British Columbia, and Acting Governor Laughton, of Washington, struck the finishing blows on the four polished steel spikes which fastened down the last rail in the line which connects Seattle and New Westminster and gives the metropolis of the Sound a through line to the East by means of the Lake Shore, Fairhaven & Southern and New Westminster Southern.

"The gathering at the boundary was a veritable international love-feast. Americans and Canadians mingled in friendly greeting, and the imaginary line which divided them was for the time entirely wiped out. The visitors came from three directions, and with the residents of the town and the neighbors made a crowd of about three thousand at the boundary. About three hundred came from Fairhaven and Whatcom as the guests of the Fairhaven & Southern road, an equal number from New Westminster and Vancouver and about the same number on the steamer City of Seattle from Seattle, Tacoma, Port Townsend, Anacortes and the Bellingham Bay towns. The two trains, decorated with the American and British flags, arrived at the boundary almost simultaneously about 10:15 A. M., the Canadian being slightly the later.

"At last the bugle sounded, announcing that the ceremony was about to begin, and Chief Engineer Donovan announced the program. A gang of men

who had taken part in the construction of the road laid the last rail in its place, the American band playing 'Hail, Columbia.' Governor Nelson, of British Columbia; Acting Governor Laughton, of Washington; John Hendry, president of the New Westminster Southern, and C. X. Larrabee, president of the Fairhaven & Southern, drove the spikes, which were specially prepared of polished steel, two being made at Fairhaven and two at New Westminster. Then Mrs. Laughton and Mrs. Nelson, each armed with a hammer of solid silver, gave the spikes a finishing blow, and three rousing cheers from both sides of the line proclaimed that British Columbia and Washington were united by bands of steel. Acting Governor Laughton remarked, as the finishing touch was given, that he hoped all the blows ever struck between the two nations might be as friendly as these. The Canadian band played, 'God Save the Queen,' and followed it with 'The Star Spangled Banner.'"

At the close of the exercises the crowd went to Blaine's new opera house where Mayor S. A. Cornish gave an address of welcome. It was responded to by Governor Nelson, of British Columbia, and Acting Governor Laughton, of Washington. Mayor Cornish then read the following telegram:

"It is with the most kindly feeling that my thoughts turn toward you and your British Columbia brothers today while you assemble to perform the solemn ceremonies of connecting your wonderful countries in commercial union, and it is my most earnest wish and hope that the bonds formed by you today may not only be of commercial union, but of the grandeur and brotherly love that will unite in the end the two nations in one powerful union, and with your port of entry, which your congressmen inform me will soon be established, you will be placed in a position to form the gateway of two mighty nations. May success attend all your undertakings, and good will and peace be with you all."

The telegram, it was explained, had just been received from Secretary of State James G. Blaine. Its reading brought rounds of applause from the audience. Some of the speakers whose addresses followed referred to the message, a few endorsing its sentiments while some expressed their opposition to the idea of union between the two countries.

Later the telegram became a matter of considerable discussion in both Canadian and American newspapers. Secretary Blaine heard of it and promptly declared it a forgery. The telegraph company started an investigation and the telegraph operator at Blaine lost his position.

Early in March, 1890, the Fairhaven & Southern had asked the City of Seattle for a franchise, and Seattle, notwithstanding her record for inviting railroad projects, refused to grant the petition. If the directors of the road entertained doubts as to the cause for this apparent unfriendliness the mystery was cleared up by the Post-Intelligencer, which, on the morning of March 8th said:

"For several weeks Col. W. P. Clough, vice president, and E. H. Beckler, chief engineer, of the Great Northern Railway Company, have been in Seattle, Tacoma, Portland and elsewhere, with a view of fixing the Pacific terminus of the Great Northern. They have, after careful consideration, selected Seattle, and have made arrangements which will enable them to come here with better terminal facilities than are possessed by any other road on the Pacific Coast. Details of these arrangements, which have been quietly in progress for some time, were first made public yesterday, and are given in the following columns.

"The Great Northern will enter Seattle over the tracks of the Seattle & Montana Railway Company, a corporation formed yesterday by local capitalists and railway men, and which will form the Western division of the great trans-continental system when completed. The Seattle & Montana Railway Company filed its articles of incorporation with the county auditor and with the secretary of state yesterday morning, with D. H. Gilman, Thomas Burke, Edward O. Graves, W. E. Bailey and W. R. Thornell as incorporators and trustees and immediately thereafter held a meeting and elected the following officers: President, D. H. Gilman; vice president and treasurer, Edward O. Graves; secretary and auditor, W. R. Thornell; general solicitor, Thomas Burke."

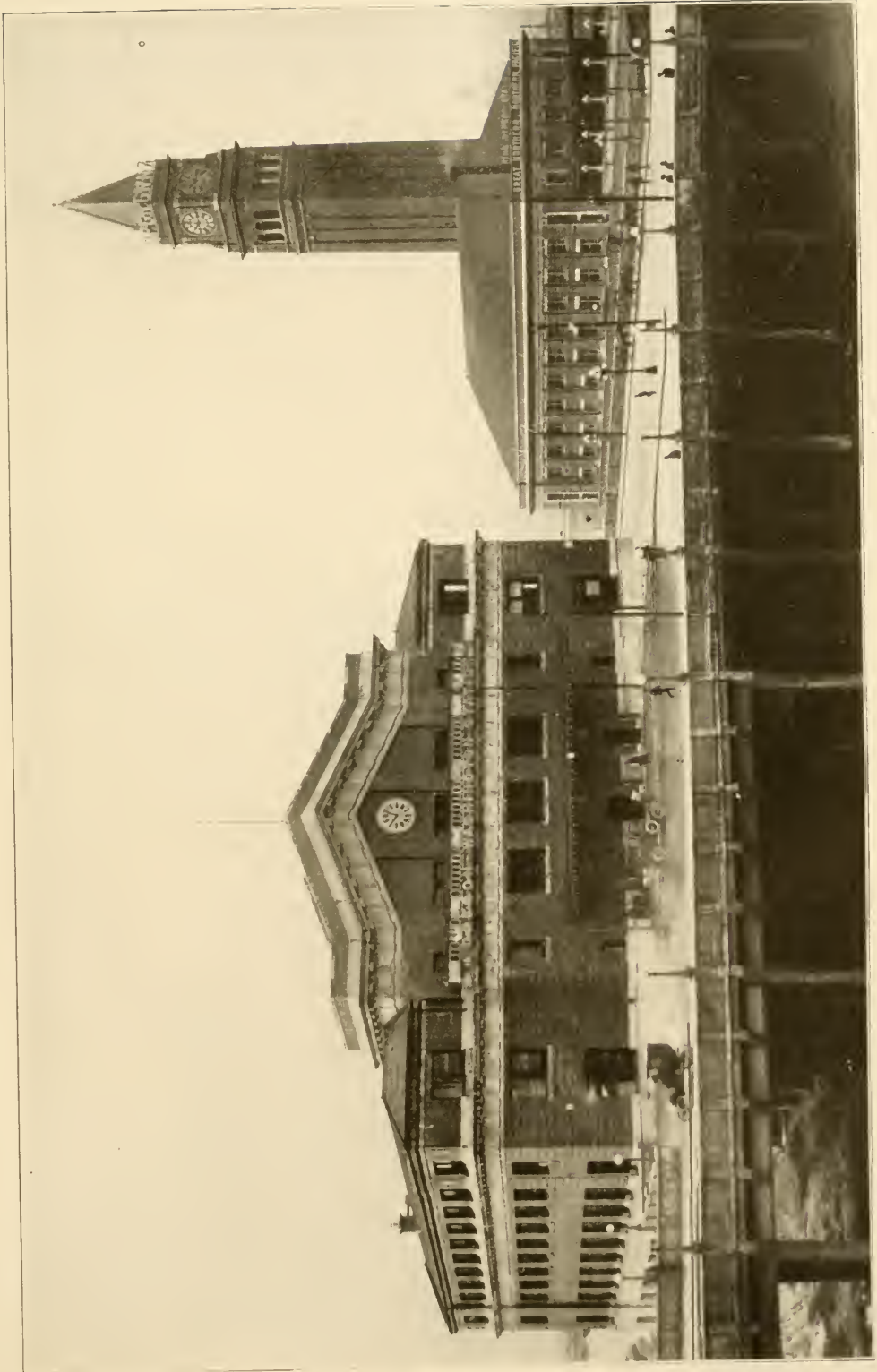
Seattle granted franchises to the Seattle & Montana, surveyors went into the field and were closely followed by grading crews. Construction of the line between Seattle and a junction with the Seattle & Northern at Burlington was pushed rapidly. The Seattle & Northern, Fairhaven & Southern and New Westminster & Southern passed into the ownership of the Great Northern and November 27, 1891, the line was thrown open to traffic.

The completion of the Seattle & Montana gave James J. Hill the back of the railroad rake he told Judge Burke he intended to build in the West. The handle of the rake was to be the Great Northern's main line eastward from the Sound to St. Paul. Years before the completion of the back of the rake "Jim" Hill was conducting a warehouse in St. Paul when he became interested in the transportation problem of the Red River of the North. He formulated a shrewd plan for capturing the business. He built a steamboat, made an arrangement whereby American goods could be transported down the river to British territory in none but licensed boats, obtained such license for his own vessel and was enjoying a monopoly before competitors awoke. Other boats obtained the required licenses and Hill then formed a consolidation.

About this time the St. Paul & Pacific Railroad got into financial difficulty. Hill interested Sir Donald A. Smith and Sir George Stevens in the project which was acquired and made the basis for the organization of the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba and a network of railroads covering Minnesota, North Dakota and the southern portion of Manitoba. Westward the lines of this company were extended to Western Montana and then Hill conceived the idea of his "railroad rake" with its back on Puget Sound. In order that all these roads might be brought under one management the Great Northern Railroad Company was organized and began pushing the Montana lines westward through Spokane across the wheat fields of the Big Bend, up the valley of the Wenatchee, through Stevens Pass and down the Skykomish-Snohomish Valley to a junction with the lines of the Seattle & Montana.

June 18, 1893, the first Great Northern overland train left the old Marion Street station, Seattle, in charge of Conductor J. M. Turner, with Engineer Duffy at the throttle of Brooks Consolidated Engine No. 665. J. S. Allen and P. F. Stuckam were the brakemen of the train, which consisted of baggage car, two coaches, dining car and two sleepers. Four days later the first westbound train arrived. It is said to have been the finest train brought to the coast up to that time and as the Great Northern promptly cut the passenger rate to St. Paul to \$35 the new road was soon enjoying a good patronage.

The mileage of railroads in actual course of construction in Western Wash-



SEATTLE'S UNION DEPOTS

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ington at the close of the year 1890 was given as follows: Grays Harbor Branch of the Northern Pacific, 106; Seattle, Lake Shore and Eastern, 82; Green River & Northern, 21; Seattle Belt Line, 23; Seattle & Montana, 81; Union Pacific (Portland to Seattle line), 175; Seattle Terminal, 4; Port Townsend Southern, 110; Olympia & Tenino, 16; Seattle & Northern, 36; Bellingham Bay & British Columbia, 23; Fairhaven & Southern, 24; Vancouver, Klickitat & Yakima, 6.

During the year there had been spent for railroad construction in the state the sum of \$12,150,940, distributed as follows: Roads completed, \$7,040,940; roads graded, \$4,285,000, roads surveyed, \$75,000 and Northern Pacific machine shops, \$750,000.

CHAPTER XXXV

VALUABLE IRON DEPOSITS—EFFORTS AT PROFITABLE DEVELOPMENT—INDIANS FIND “PLUMBAGO”—PLUMBAGO MINE IS DISCOVERED BY WHITES, THOUGH “THE WIDOW” LEADS EXPLORERS ASTRAY—PETER KIRK’S \$5,000,000 COMPANY—GREAT AMOUNT OF MACHINERY BOUGHT—THEN, MYSTERIOUSLY ENOUGH, WHOLE DREAM COLLAPSES—IRON ON THE UPPER SKAGIT—EFFORT TO DEVELOP CHIMACUM BEDS—THE IRONDALE PLANT—MOORE SPENDS GREAT SUMS, BUT ENTERPRISE FAILS.

The development, or attempted development, of no natural resource of Western Washington has been attended by so many discouraging circumstances as has that of iron mining. Promising ledges of ore have been discovered in several places. Expert iron and steel men have pronounced the quality and quantity to be such as would justify development; but it seems that whenever the promoters of iron and steel industries in Western Washington have applied to eastern capitalists for money with which to bring the mines into profitable production, some sort of evil *tamanamus* has stepped in to deal the project a death blow.

Early day settlers at Seattle were much interested in chunks of a black metallic substance brought to the settlement by the Snoqualmie Indians. The natives used the mineral in painting their faces. None of the settlers knew what it was, but they called it plumbago and decided it worthy of investigation. For many years the Indians refused to guide white people to the mine from which the “plumbago” came; even the friendship existing between A. A. Denny and Pat Kanim was not strong enough to induce the Snoqualmie chieftain to lead his white friend to the source of supply.

In the summer of 1869 Jerry Borst, living on the Snoqualmie Prairie, sent word to Denny that through the influence of his ((Borst’s) Indian wife, he had found an Indian woman who would guide them to the “plumbago mines.” Visiting Seattle at that time was Edmond T. Coleman, an English artist and mountain climber. An exploring party consisting of Coleman, Denny, Doctor Wheeler and Prof. John Hall, of the University, was organized and July 25th left Seattle for Borst’s farm.

At the prairie the party was joined by Borst and the guide—an Indian woman whose frequent marriages had given her the name of “The Widow.” She was accompanied by her latest husband, a young man many years her junior. Perhaps through excessive joy over her good fortune in marrying so young and strong a hunter, “The Widow” became confused, led the party into the wilderness of mountains, timber and creeks of the Upper Snoqualmie and became hopelessly lost.

Satisfied that their expedition was a failure the white men were on the point of giving up the search when one of them suggested crossing one of the numerous ridges and exploring the creek flowing down the opposite side. On top of the ridge the men paused for a moment's rest and were studying a mountain on the opposite side of the creek when one of them called attention to the peculiar color of the rocks. The party was soon at the base of a slide down which had tumbled many tons of rock, and the search for the plumbago mines was at an end.

Upon returning to Seattle the explorers said nothing about the discovery. Hall and Wheeler later made several trips to the mines, and although these trips were made to "prospect for silver," other Seattle men learned of the iron mines and filed claims. The Denny Iron Mining Company was organized and samples of the ore were sent East for assay. They showed as high as 71 per cent metallic iron. Great hopes were built on the iron and coal mines; people began speaking of Washington as the Pennsylvania of the West and pictured it as soon becoming a manufacturing state of great importance.

As a result of all this excitement came Peter Kirk, representing a great English iron manufacturing company. This was in 1886, and Kirk's examination of the mines resulted in a report confirming earlier opinion. After a two-year study Kirk leased the mines for forty-five years, organized the Moss Bay Iron & Steel Company, Peter Kirk, president; H. A. Noble, treasurer, and W. W. Williams, secretary. The company was capitalized at \$5,000,000. It selected a site for a town on the eastern shore of Lake Washington and announced it would there build its ore reduction works and mills.

When the Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern was being promoted ore shipments from the Denny mines, it was said, would become one of the road's sources of revenue. The Moss Bay Company failed and its place was taken by the Great Western Steel & Iron Company, L. S. J. Hunt, president; W. W. Williams, secretary; Jacob Furth, treasurer; H. A. Noble and Peter Kirk, mining directors. Orders for large quantities of machinery were placed with eastern manufacturing firms.

August 10, 1891, the Ship King Malcom arrived at Seattle from Maryport, England, carrying a cargo of 2,000 tons of fire brick for the Kirkland blast furnaces. Forty-five carloads of castings, including two blowing engines and plates for blast furnaces and machinery for machine and pattern shops had arrived and were stored along the track of the Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern which at that time had not been finished to the site selected for the plant. A sawmill and a number of large brick buildings were erected at Kirkland and then something went wrong. The fire brick and machinery were shipped away; the railroad stopped at North Bend, more than twenty miles from the mines, and the second attempt to build a railroad through Snoqualmie Pass had failed. Grass grew up around the two- and three-story brick building at Kirkland. The Snoqualmie lode remains undeveloped; its ore tests as high as ever and some day, perhaps, it will contribute toward making Washington the "Pennsylvania of the West."

J. J. Conner, of La Conner, while prospecting on the upper Skagit, in 1880, discovered iron ore near Hamilton. Tests were made of the ore, the result being so favorable that Conner experienced no trouble in inducing David Lister, R. F.

Radebaugh, General Sprague and other Tacoma men to join him in the development of the mines. The Tacoma Steel & Iron Company was organized. Two tons of ore were shipped to Philadelphia, the tests being so satisfactory that C. B. Wright agreed to finance the enterprise. Other prospectors located all the unpatented claims in the neighborhood and in doing so cast a cloud upon the title of the Conner holdings. The matter was carried into the courts and brought on a long legal battle. Development was suspended of course.

When the smoke cleared away Conner arranged to sell the mines to Nelson Bennett, but before the deal could be closed Eugene Canfield renewed the fight against the title. Canfield died. By agreement with his administrator Conner cleared his claims of the cloud hanging over them and was ready for another effort at development. D. H. Gilman tried, met financial difficulty and gave it up, and then came Homer H. Swaney, of McKeesport, Penn., and Irondale, Wash.

The beds of bog iron at Chimacum were discovered at a very early date in the development of Jefferson County. They were thought to be inexhaustible. A company was formed, built a small ore reduction plant with a daily capacity of five tons and set out to put Irondale on the industrial map of the world.

The first company was struggling along with the enterprise, accomplishing little, when, about 1880, it attracted the attention of George H. Prescott, one of the owners of the Union Iron Works, San Francisco. Prescott and other California capitalists organized the Puget Sound Iron Company, bought the plant and spent considerable money on improvements. The Chimacum beds failed and several thousand acres of bog iron land on Texada Island, British Columbia, were bought. Expert iron men were brought in from outside the state; about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars were spent and the Irondale plant attained a daily production of from thirty to thirty-five tons. Its operation did not produce the profit the California men had hoped for and in 1889 they closed it down.

After remaining idle for about twelve years the Irondale plant was sold for \$40,000 to the Pacific Steel Company, Homer H. Swaney, president and general manager. Swaney brought to Irondale a wide experience and proceeded to make improvements. A sawmill, docks, warehouses and twenty new residences were built. The old charcoal kilns were replaced with new ones and the ore reduction plant itself was given a complete overhauling. Arrangements were made for the development of the Skagit River mines, some of their ore was used with that from Texada and a very fine quality of castings were manufactured. The battleships Oregon and Nebraska, the cruiser Olympia and many other ships contained castings made at the Irondale plant.

Swaney was making a success of the enterprise when he lost his life in the Clallam wreck of January, 1903. At this time M. J. Carrigan, in charge of the selling end of the business, had orders for more than twenty-five hundred tons of iron on his books. The death of Swaney closed the plant and Carrigan became receiver. The next heard of it was in September, 1906, when, by orders of the court, it was sold to J. A. Moore for \$40,000. Moore poured into it large sums of money, but it did not pay, and what remains of the big plant is being covered by the vegetation of undisturbed places.

CHAPTER XXXVI

FIRES OF 1889—INCENDIARISM SUSPECTED IN TACOMA FIRE—BUSINESS DISTRICT OF SEATTLE BURNED JUNE 6TH—TACOMA, OLYMPIA, VICTORIA, PORTLAND AND OTHER TOWNS COME TO SEATTLE'S ASSISTANCE—SEATTLE SENDS MONEY TO JOHNSTOWN FLOOD SUFFERERS AND LAYS PLANS TO REBUILD CITY—FIRE A BENEFIT IN DISGUISE—OTHER TOWNS BURN—FIRE PROTECTION RECEIVES MUNICIPAL ATTENTION.

The year 1889, in addition to being the year in which Washington laid aside her territorial short dresses to don the more mature habiliment of full grown statehood, is entitled to a prominent place in history as the year of great fires. Seattle, Tacoma, Spokane, Roslyn, Ellensburg, Goldendale and Vancouver were the scenes of fires the destructive force of which ranged from the loss of a few buildings, in Tacoma, to the entire business sections in Seattle and Spokane.

In the early part of May several Tacoma residences and business houses were burned. Circumstances indicated incendiarism. Citizens talked of "fire bugs." On the night of the 29th the grocery store of Monty & Gunn was destroyed and brought a call for a meeting in the Chamber of Commerce rooms the next morning. This meeting scarcely was under way when it was proposed to make it a citizens' meeting so that all could take part in the discussion. Some of the old timers wanted a vigilance committee; some thought the fires the work of a crazy man; others attributed them to lax enforcement of the laws and to court leniency. One excited man arose and said that he would kill any "sluzer" found around his house after dark, urged that a vigilance committee be appointed, and closed by saying:

"You may call this vigilance, Christianity or hell! Self preservation is the first law of nature."

Resolutions were adopted, the closing sentence of which contained these words: "And if necessary we will organize a committee for the purpose of discovering the guilty parties and will maintain the same until every lawless person known to be in the city shall be driven out of it or punished to the full extent of the law." A "committee of safety," consisting of twenty-five members, was appointed. That there was foundation for the belief in the existence of fire bugs is shown by the fact that with the organization of the vigilance committee the fires ceased.

At 2:45 P. M. June 6th a workman in a basement carpenter shop in the Pontius Building, First Avenue and Madison Street, Seattle, overturned a glue pot and started the most destructive fire the Northwest ever has known—a fire in which the entire business district of the city, covering about one hundred and twenty acres, was swept out of existence.

All of Seattle's fire equipment soon was at work. From basement to basement the fire had eaten its way along the west side of First Avenue until it had undermined the entire block. Merchants began moving their goods and the whole block soon was a roaring mass.

The intense heat forced the firemen back and the flames crossed the street. Every hose in the city was in use. Gradually the water pressure diminished and then came the disheartening cry, "No more water." Seattle's water supply was exhausted and the city was at the mercy of a merciless enemy.

Smoke drifted from the windows of Frye's Opera House, a four-story brick building on the northeast corner of First Avenue and Marion Street. Blazes appeared on the roof of the Commercial Mill to the westward. Its sheds and piles of lumber furnished fine fuel. Buildings on the eastern side of First Avenue were roaring furnaces and the municipal authorities decided to call upon sister cities for aid. Telegrams were sent to Tacoma, Olympia, Portland and Victoria.

Tacoma was first to respond. A new four-wheeled hose cart and twenty-five men, with Chief Rainey in charge, were loaded on a flat car, a locomotive and caboose were attached and at 4:25 this short train left the "Half Moon yards" for Seattle. Ten minutes later Puyallup was passed and after a stop of a few seconds at Sumner, the engineer started on a run that carried the train to the Seattle station just sixty-three minutes after it had left Tacoma.

The arrival of the Tacoma men was greeted with cheers and they were soon into the thickest of the battle. By this time the fire had spread until it covered the district between Columbia and Spring streets from Second Avenue to the waterfront. The wind was blowing from the north. This, and several vacant lots, enabled the firemen to check the fire in that direction. South of Columbia Street the wind fanned the flames into a roaring furnace that rapidly consumed building after building. An effort to wreck buildings with explosives failed to check the advancing fire wave and at 7 o'clock Chief Rainey sent a call to Tacoma for more of his men. Hose Company No. 2 and a portion of Alert No. 3 responded.

Shortly after this message was sent the Seattle office of the Western Union Telegraph Company went to feed the flames and for several hours the outside world was left to await news from the stricken city. Telegraph operators, taking their instruments with them, went into the woods, cut in on the line and began again to send details of the calamity.

Night came, but it brought little relief to the exhausted people. In Tacoma thousands of people lined the bluff overlooking Commencement Bay and in a half stupefied way gazed at the illuminated sky. And then some one said Seattle would need assistance other than that furnished by the men who had already gone to fight the flames. Her stores and warehouses and bakeries were burned and her people would go hungry if other towns did not come to her relief.

Tacoma suddenly recovered from her horror. Subscription papers were started and so rapidly and willingly did the people subscribe that one paper carried by David Wilson soon contained pledges amounting to more than four thousand dollars. Ten thousand dollars were raised in one hour. Even before this Allen C. Mason had ordered every bakery in the city into his service. Thousands of loaves of bread were being baked. Seattle railway stations were burned,

but Mason chartered a boat and shortly after midnight sent it out loaded with bread and meat. As it cleared from the dock another was being prepared and left soon afterward in charge of H. O. Geiger, T. L. Nixon, L. F. Cook, M. G. Denter and W. H. Opie.

Mayor Wheelwright issued proclamations warning Tacoma people to be on guard against fires and calling on them to assist with "provisions, clothing and all necessities of life." Before the close of the next day almost \$20,000 had been subscribed. Blankets, quilts, tents and other things necessary for carrying on relief work were contributed; a committee took charge and in a short time opened a relief tent at Third Avenue and Union Street, Seattle.

Long before midnight every available vessel and boat in Seattle's harbor was loaded with goods and sent to places of safety. During the night firemen arrived by boat from Olympia and Victoria and by train from Portland. They were willing workers but there was little they could do. Southward from Yesler Way the flames ran riot through the wooden buildings and ceased their work of destruction only when they reached the last of the buildings on the edge of the tide flats.

Morning showed a scene of devastation. All the larger and more important business buildings, with the single exception of the four-story Boston Block at Second and Marion, were heaps of ashes and charred debris.

Shortly before 4 o'clock in the morning the Post-Intelligencer issued a single page edition. It was little more than a handbill printed on a job press which had been installed in one of the residences outside the burned district. In the following short, snappy sentences it told the story of the fire:

"The story which is told this morning needs no elaboration. Our whole business and commercial district, the very heart and center of the city, upwards of fifty blocks of business buildings, is this morning a glowing heap of ashes. But a single important building, the Boston Block, is left standing.

"Every bank, every wholesale house, every hotel, every newspaper office and nearly every store has been swept out of existence.

"Property which yesterday morning represented upwards of ten millions of dollars has been utterly destroyed. The facts speak for themselves.

"In the presence of such a calamity it would be useless to multiply phrases. No other American city has ever suffered a loss proportionately great. But great as is this calamity there is good fortune in the fact that it is attended with comparatively little personal distress.

"The residence district remains practically untouched, and even those whose money losses are terrible are comfortably housed in their accustomed homes. It is another fortunate fact that the heaviest losses will fall upon those best able to support them and to replace the property which has been destroyed.

"On the part of those who might be called poor there is scarcely any direct loss, and the indirect losses will not seriously affect them. While Seattle has received a terrible blow, there is not the slightest danger that it will be a fatal one.

"Obstacles, as is well known, have heretofore served only to stimulate our people to new and greater efforts, and the spirit which has heretofore sustained the city has not deserted her in this hour of calamity. Not one of the business establishments which is homeless this morning will be more than temporarily embarrassed by the misfortune that has fallen upon it.

"While the flames are yet active, and while the embers are still glowing, preparations are making for re-establishing every line and department of our business. Our city will be rebuilt at once, and we have assurance from many sources upon a plan much more liberal and extensive than formerly. The relationship of trade and commerce between Seattle and the country at large will not be broken, nor even seriously disturbed.

"We believe that it will be comparatively but a short time until the immediate loss which has befallen us will prove to be indirectly a great and permanent blessing. From the ruins of Seattle there will spring a new Seattle, just as from the ruins of Chicago there sprang a new and mightier Chicago."

In the face of such calamity the united wisdom of the whole community was required and a meeting was called. Some six hundred persons assembled in the Armory at 11 o'clock on the 7th. Mayor Robert Moran took the chair and one of the first motions made was one to prohibit the erection within the limits of the burned district of any wooden buildings. It was unanimously adopted and later enacted into law.

All through the preceding day and night telegrams offering assistance had been received. These were read and a committee consisting of Judge J. R. Lewis, Governor Ferry, John Leary, Griffith Davies, and George H. Heilbron was given charge of relief work. It was a work of importance. The Tacoma committee already was on the ground; San Francisco sent \$10,000; Virginia City, Nev., \$4,000; Olympia, and other towns in the state various amounts, and the relief committee found its hands full of generous contributions.

Shortly before this Seattle had collected a sum of money for the relief of flood-swept Johnstown, Penn. Some one in the meeting suggested this money be used in supplying local needs. With a cry that rang the people shouted: "Send the money to Johnstown!" Property owners said they were ready to begin rebuilding a "New Seattle" as soon as the powdered brick and twisted iron could be cleared away. Bankers pledged their aid and support and when the citizens left that morning conference it was with minds fully determined—Seattle, a new, a more substantial and a more metropolitan Seattle should arise from the ashes of the old pieced-together town of barn-like wooden fire traps and one- and two-story bricks!

Soldiers of the First Regiment, Washington National Guard, patrolled the streets and promptly put down all lawlessness.

Almost immediately the street car company put a crew of men at work removing debris from its tracks. Car service was resumed. Teams and men cleared away the charred remains of old buildings and hauled in material for new ones. Tents sprang up over the burned area and in a few days Seattle was transacting business—even the banks were housed in tents.

Six weeks passed before adequate transportation facilities in the way of docks, railway sidings and stations could be provided. This, while retarding, did not prevent rebuilding operations and the new city of brick and iron and stone arose at a truly surprising rate. It was a building record second to none with the single exception of that made by Chicago almost twenty years earlier. Within the year 130 business blocks, ranging from three- to eight-stories, were erected. Their total frontage amounted to 1½ miles and their cost to almost 4½ million dollars.



1880



THE CHANGES BROUGHT IN FIRST AVE,
LOOKING NORTH FROM PIONEER PLACE.
1914

FIRST AVENUE, SEATTLE, IN 1880 AND 1914

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In addition to these stone and brick structures there were built 335 frame and corrugated iron buildings at a cost of \$1,250,000 and two miles of wharves, warehouses and coal bunkers costing another \$1,250,000. A total of \$7,000,000 was spent inside the year for improvements made necessary by the fire. Another \$3,000,000 was spent in completing buildings under construction on the day the city burned.

Viewed at first as a crushing disaster, the fire proved a great benefit. Before building operations begun, unsatisfactory street levels were corrected and streets were widened. Provision was made for real city building and many mistakes of earlier days were righted. Had the fire come in the panic, a few years later, property owners would not have been financially able to erect permanent structures and many wooden buildings doubtless would have taken the place of those burned.

August 4th some forty blocks out of the business section of Spokane were burned in a fire, which in many ways, was a duplicate, on a smaller scale, of the Seattle fire. Ellensburg, Roslyn, Goldendale and Vancouver had disastrous fires and this led to the belief that a deep-laid conspiracy existed to burn the cities of the new state. Whether this was true or not remains unknown; certain it is that fire prevention became the first order of business before municipal bodies.

Tacoma increased her fire-fighting equipment, installed an alarm system, and talked about better water supply. Hardly had the new horses been trained to haul the new engines than there came an opportunity to test both. August 29th John H. Bell went to the paint and oil store of Johnson, Roberts & Company for a can of asphaltum. Roberts turned the faucet in the barrel, but instead of getting a flow of the desired liquid he received a jet of flame. The building burned as only a paint store can burn and when the flames were subdued the Denver Lodging House Block, in which the paint store was housed, was in ruins; property valued at \$60,000 had been destroyed and the entire business district saved from destruction only because the city had learned a lesson through the experience of less fortunate neighbors.

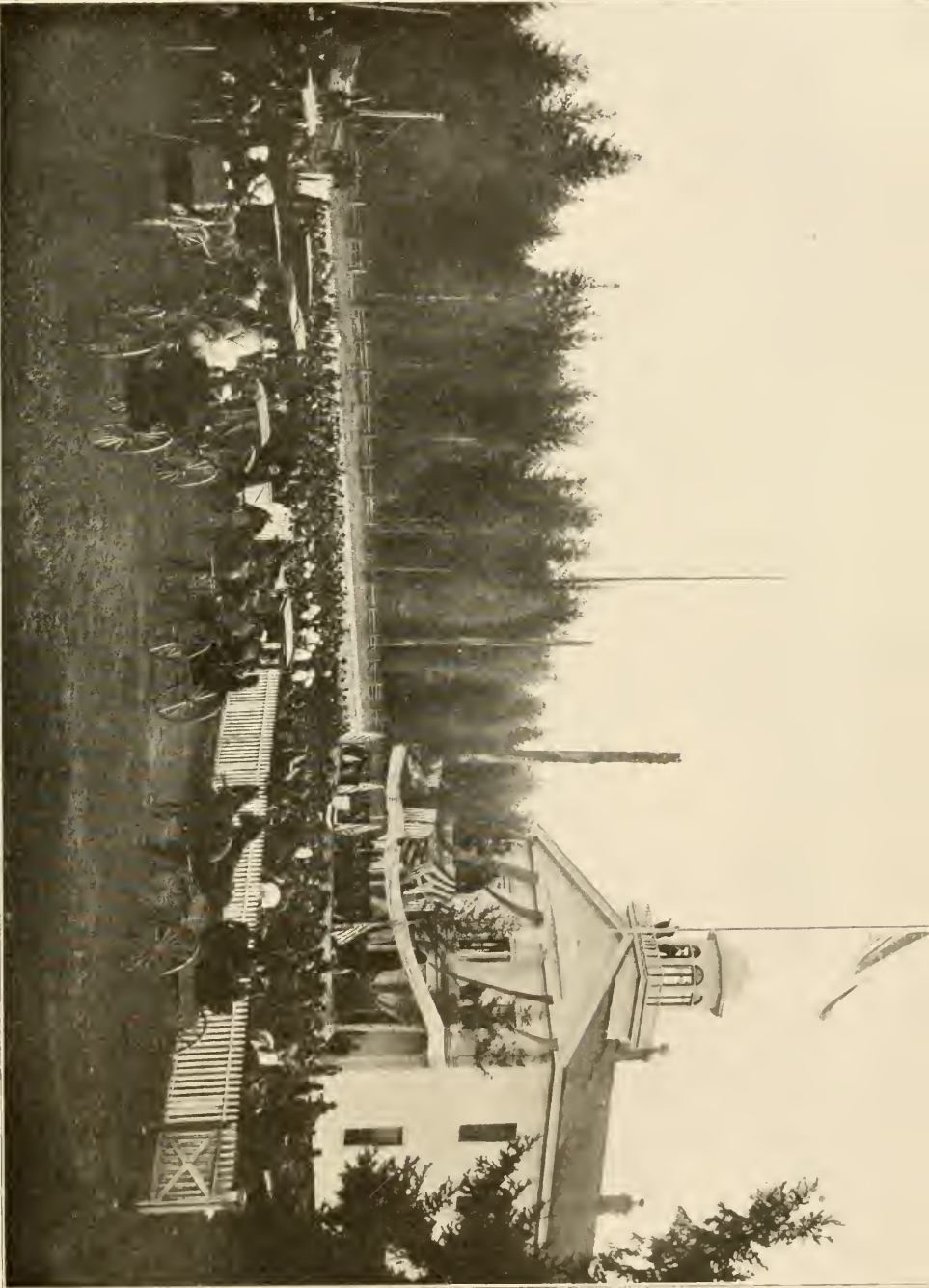
Agitation of the water question which began at this time, later led to one of the most interesting battles for municipal ownership of public utilities the Northwest has ever known. For years this battle raged. Charges of official corruption in handling municipal affairs were made. It got into the courts; was carried to the United States Supreme Court where Judge James Wickersham, by defeating Charles B. Wright, owner of the plant, won a signal victory—a verdict giving Tacoma a refund of almost one million dollars on the purchase price and Wickersham the satisfaction of winning a case thought to be hopeless and a fee of good proportions.

CHAPTER XXXVII

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION IN '89—WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND PROHIBITION DEFEATED—PRESIDENT HARRISON ISSUES PROCLAMATION—INTEREST IN POLITICS INCREASES—STORY OF A SENATORIAL CONTEST WON BY SQUIRE—UP-COMING OF FREE SILVER IDEA—CANAL AMENDMENT CARRIED—JOHN H. M'GRAW'S RISE—ANOTHER SENATORIAL STRUGGLE—STORY OF A "MONSTER SACK"—LEGISLATORS, HOWEVER, STAND PAT AND ALLOW SENATORSHIP TO GO UNFILLED—M'GRAW APPOINTS ALLEN.

Washington's constitutional convention assembled in Olympia July 4, 1889, elected John P. Hoyt president, and after fifty days of careful labor, submitted the result of its efforts to the voters. The seventy-one names signed to the original draft of the constitution of the State of Washington are: John P. Hoyt, president; J. J. Browne, N. G. Blalock, John F. Gowey, Frank M. Dallam, James T. Moore, E. H. Sullivan, George Turner, Austin Mires, M. M. Godman, Gwin Hicks, William F. Prosser, Louis Sohns, A. A. Lindsley, J. J. Weisenburger, P. C. Sullivan, R. S. More, Thomas T. Minor, J. J. Travis, Arnold J. West, Charles T. Fay, Charles P. Coey, Robt. F. Sturdevant, John A. Shoudy, Allen Weir, W. B. Gray, Trusten P. Dyer, Geo. H. Jones, B. L. Sharpstein, H. M. Lillis, J. F. Van Name, Albert Schooley, H. C. Wilson, T. M. Reed, S. H. Manly, Richard Jeffs, Francis Henry, George Comegys, Oliver H. Joy, David E. Durie, D. Buchanan, John R. Kinnear, George W. Tibbetts, H. W. Fairweather, Thomas C. Griffiths, C. H. Warner, J. P. T. McCroskey, S. G. Cosgrove, Thos. Hayton, Sam'l. H. Berry, D. J. Crowley, J. T. McDonald, John M. Reed, Edward Eldridge, George H. Stevenson, Silvius A. Dickey, Henry Winsor, Theodore L. Stiles, James A. Burk, John McReavy, R. O. Dunbar, Morgan Morgans, Jes. Power, B. B. Glascock, O. A. Bowen, Harrison Clothier, Matt. J. McElroy, J. T. Eshelman, Robert Jamison, Hiram E. Allen, H. F. Suksdorf and John I. Booge who signed as chief clerk. Four members, James Hungate, Lewis Neace, J. C. Kellogg and W. L. Newton, did not sign.

Two separate articles, one providing for woman suffrage, the other for prohibition of the liquor traffic, were submitted with the constitution in the election of October 1st. The vote on the constitution was 40,152 for and 11,879 against, but both separate articles were defeated. At the same election officers were chosen for the new state as follows: Elisha P. Ferry, governor; Charles E. Laughton, lieutenant-governor; Allen Weir, secretary of state; A. A. Lindsley, treasurer; Thomas M. Reed, auditor; William C. Jones, attorney-general; Robert B. Bryan, superintendent of public instruction; W. T. Forrest, commissioner of public lands; Ralph O. Dunbar, Theodore L. Stiles, John P. Hoyt, Thomas J. Anders and Elmon Scott, supreme judges; and John L. Wilson, repre-



INAUGURATION OF GOVERNOR ELISHA P. FERRY IN NOVEMBER, 1889, IN THE OLD STATE HOUSE, OLYMPIA
This photograph was made by A. D. Rogers, of Olympia, and only two copies were printed. The plate is now destroyed

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sentative in Congress. All of these officers, as well as a big majority of the legislators, were members of the republican party.

President Benjamin Harrison, on November 11th, issued his proclamation declaring the people of Washington had met all the conditions of the Congressional act providing for the entry of the new state into the Union and that it had been admitted. The Legislature assembled and November 18th Justice John P. Hoyt administered the oath of office to Elisha P. Ferry who, by that act, ceased to be the governor of Washington Territory to become the governor of Washington State.

The passing of the territorial form and the institution of the state form gave the people of Washington a larger field in which to play that interesting game, common to all self-governing peoples—the game of politics. In territorial days almost every voter took a lively interest in the subject and highly interesting contests featured almost every election. Statehood increased and intensified this interest and while the secret ballot did much to remove the undesirable—and often-times corrupt—features of elections, it did not prevent logrolling in party conventions. After the conventions came the campaigns, and county and state officials having been elected, politicians turned their attention to the more exciting matter of the selection of United States senator. Compared with some that came later, the first of these contests was of short duration. It was not without interest, however, as is shown by the following report written at the time:

“A LANDSLIDE

“Olympia, Nov. 19.—The great first fight for senatorial honors in the new State of Washington is over. John B. Allen and Watson C. Squire are the first senators. What remains to be done tomorrow is merely formal. Both houses will meet in joint convention and read the respective journals. They will show a majority vote cast in each House for the two above named, and thereupon they will be declared elected without further balloting.

“There is little to add to what is set forth in detail in the regular Legislative report. Allen’s election was not so much of a surprise, but Squire’s election upon the first ballot by a majority greater than Allen’s was a genuine surprise. It was a regular stampede and no other candidate seemed to have a particle of a chance.

“The nominating speeches for Allen were brief in the House and absent altogether in the Senate. Those for Squire in both Houses were long and fulsome. While Feighan is credited with making the best of the lot in nominating Turner, Pierce County was notably lame. Not a word was said or a name mentioned in the Senate, while in the House a brief speech by Plummer in nominating Sprague and a simple placing in nomination the name of Thompson by Judson, of Whatcom, was all there was to it, and even that much had to be accepted from the lips of members outside the Pierce County delegation. It was not a spectacle to inspire pride, and the almost universal comment in the corridors and outside was: ‘Well, maybe Pierce County will learn a little politics by-and-by.’

“King County men are naturally jubilant and are celebrating their victory in great style. ‘Old Seattle got there,’ and ‘What’s the matter with Watson C. Squire?’ were most frequent.

"Parkinson, of Whatcom, was the most noticeable among those celebrating the victory, and if it had been a brother of his from the classic shores of Bellingham Bay itself that had been elected he could not have been more hilarious.

"Following the adjournment the usual scenes of cheering and congratulations were indulged in. Squire was carried out of the Senate chamber, where he and Mrs. Squire had intently watched the proceedings and listened to the political eloquence, down into the lobby, where he held an impromptu reception.

"Allen was not present during the voting. He came up to the state house early in the day, at the request of some friends, but went back down town again before the voting began. He was found in his quarters softly whistling, 'Just Before the Battle, Mother,' and was told of the result and received the congratulations of his friends there. It was evidently agreed that the east side senator should be first voted for, and the agreement was well kept.

"Senator Owings voted for Squire on both ballots. So did one or two others. Plummer withdrew Sprague on the first ballot, in pursuance of the agreement, but put him up again on the second. The whole balloting passed off without friction or trouble, and the universal sentiment is: 'Glad it is over.'

"'What did it cost him?' was a question that not a few men asked of each other this evening.

"Referring to Squire's success in carrying off the senatorial plum, a great variety of opinions were given on this point. One gentleman, who declared he had the best of reasons for his belief, was positive that Squire had been compelled to go down in his well-filled pocket to the tune of nearly one hundred thousand dollars. The same person said he knew that Squire had spent fully \$30,000 to control conventions and caucuses before ever coming to Olympia. The cost of keeping up headquarters during the protracted muddle over the admission to statehood amounted probably to thousands more, not counting the incidentals and the etceteras. While the \$100,000 estimate is probably much too high, it is certain that the election cost Squire a good round sum, but a sum which he, being a millionaire, will not miss any more than a great many other men would \$1,000.

"The enthusiasm over Squire's victory was many times greater than that which accompanied the announcement of Allen's success. The ex-governor's supporters went nearly crazy with delight. Not a few men asked each other what this all meant.

"Squire is conceded, even by many of his supporters, to be ultra aristocratic, and there may be a bare possibility of some other reason for their fulsome rejoicing.

"General Sprague and a large portion of the Tacoma party left this afternoon for home.

"W. J. Thompson is setting his political house in order, and will follow in the morning. There is a general exodus of members of the third House. One characteristic remark was heard: 'Wish Gerry would run for something just once more,' and the answer came quickly: 'You'll never get another chance at him. He will be too old after he goes out of the Government.'

"The result is thus expressed: Squire and Wilson will join forces and Allen will be in the minority. Spokane and Eastern Washington will get what Seattle wants, while John B. Allen and Tacoma will get what Squire and Wilson want

them to have, and not a blessed thing else in the way of Government favors or appropriations. Governor Moore was blue over the results, with this very idea in his mind, and said he had ardently desired Allen's election, but as it had all turned out he would not take Allen's place with his surroundings.

"Tomorrow will be a broken day, and probably little will be done save declaring the result of the balloting today. The committee on the rules may report, but no standing committees will be appointed before Thursday at the earliest, nor will the governor's message be delivered before Friday, probably. But by the next week it is expected that the committees will all be in running order and ready to get on with the work.

"The joint committee on pay and attaches is having a hard time of it, and are not yet ready to report. They tried to cut down the salary of the secretary of the Senate to \$7 per day and put another dollar on to that of his assistant, but it wouldn't work, and the majority of the committee were against it after a considerable discussion, to which the secretary himself was called in for consultation.

"Great surprise was manifested this evening over the announcement that Mr. A. S. Hewitt, of Pierce County, had handed his resignation to the governor as member of the House of Representatives. Hewitt was sought for diligently to obtain his reasons for such a step at this time, but could not be found."

Pat's reply to Mike's question asking a definition of the letters G. A. R., was "Generally all republican." It might well apply to the officers elected by Washington the first six years of statehood. Naturally this republican supremacy led to some interesting convention contests, it was there the real campaigning was done, the real battles fought and the victories won. Any candidate who could obtain a nomination on the republican ticket was almost as good as elected and the voters and newspapers gave close attention to the proceedings of the conventions.

The republican convention of 1892 opened in Olympia in August with four candidates for governor in the field. Eugene T. Wilson, of Kittitas County, and John H. McGraw, of King, controlled a majority of the delegates while J. V. Calhoun, of Skagit, and S. G. Cosgrove, of Garfield, each had a following sufficiently large to prevent the nomination of either of the leaders. A coalition was formed between the King and Yakima delegations and Col. L. S. Howett, of the latter county, was elected chairman of the convention. The delegates early saw that a bitter fight over the governorship might develop and Eugene T. Wilson, being assured of appointment as national bank examiner, withdrew and McGraw was nominated.

The nomination of McGraw was hailed as a victory for King County and Senator John B. Allen, the only man winning nomination without the support of this organization being John S. McMillin, of San Juan County, who became a candidate for presidential elector. J. H. Long of Lewis County yielded almost certain nomination for Congress to W. H. Doolittle, of Pierce, the other Congressional nominee being John L. Wilson, then of Spokane County. The remainder of the ticket was made up as follows: F. H. Luce, Lincoln County, lieutenant governor; L. R. Grimes, Kittitas, auditor; James H. Price, Pierce, secretary of state; O. A. Bowen, Wahkiakum, treasurer; W. C. Jones, Spokane, attorney general; W. L. Forrest, Lewis, commissioner of public lands; C. W.

Bean, Whitman, superintendent of public schools; O. C. White, Thurston, state printer; Thomas J. Anders, Walla Walla, and Elmon Scott, Whatcom, judges of the Supreme Court.

Unmistakable signs of the growing silver tendency was shown in the platform adopted by the convention, which, after endorsing the platform of the national republican organization, stated: "We favor the remonitization of silver upon a recognized parity with gold, and its restoration to the dignified place it has occupied for centuries as money." Following the reading of the platform, Andrew F. Burleigh, of King County, offered an amendment calling special attention to the need of Federal assistance in the improvement of the harbors of the coast, especially at the mouth of the Columbia River and the canal connecting Lake Washington with Puget Sound. This amendment was greeted with cheers from the King County delegation, while hisses came from the delegates representing Pierce. Burleigh's speech in favor of the amendment was followed by equally enthusiastic speeches by delegates from other parts of the state, Patrick Henry Winston, of Spokane, asserting that the counties on the north and east sides were interested in the opening of the Colville Reservation, to which other sections of the state offered no objection; Tacoma had received 700 acres of public land for park purposes, the Seattle Chamber of Commerce having gone on record as favoring the gift from the Federal Government, and was now asking that the Puyallup Reservation be opened, a desire to which Seattle offered no opposition.

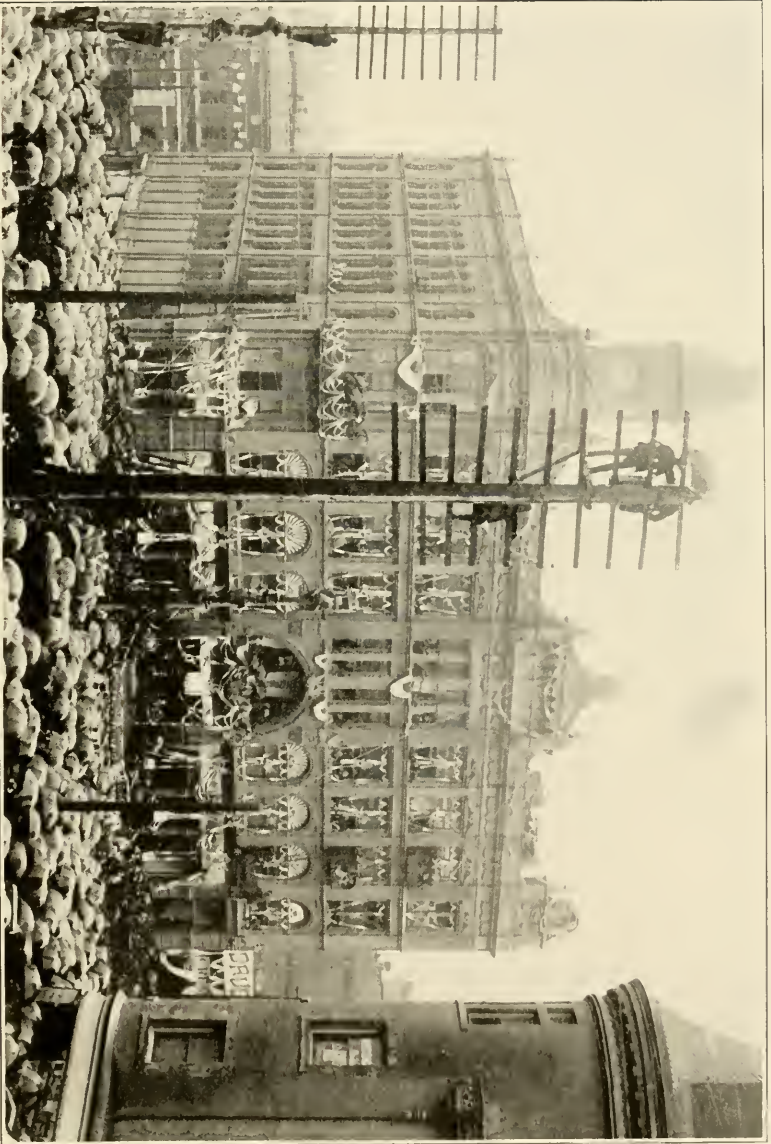
Winston did not think any section of the state should oppose the amendment, especially when it was known that Oregon was opposing that canal.

"Oregon," said Winston, "cannot forgive her beautiful daughter, Washington, for growing up and getting ahead of her."

Samuel H. Piles said the project had received the approval of the republican House of Representatives of Congress but had met the opposition of the democratic Senate and demanded to know which of these bodies the convention was going to support. The canal amendment carried by a vote of 207 for to 164 against.

McGraw, with all the industry and enthusiasm for which he was noted, at once entered the campaign, in the course of which he visited all parts of the state. The intense rivalry which for some years had existed between Seattle and Tacoma was at fever heat. The Northern Pacific had been forced to put the two towns on an equal basis with regard to freight and passenger rates; James J. Hill had knocked at Seattle's doors with his Great Northern and had been received with open arms. Seattle was growing faster than the city on Commencement Bay and notwithstanding the fact that a Pierce County man was a candidate for representative in Congress, that county gave Henry J. Snively, democratic nominee, a plurality of 3,000. McGraw's home county came to his rescue with a plurality of more than four thousand and he was elected.

John H. McGraw was a "down East Yankee," born October 4, 1850, at Baker Plantation, Penobscot County, Me., of Irish parents. When the boy was two years old his father died leaving the widow with three small children and, as McGraw once said, "plenty of poverty." Six years later the widow married a second time. McGraw did not get along well with his step-father and at the age of fourteen left home and became a clerk in a store. Notwith-



WHEN PRESIDENT BENJAMIN HARRISON WAS IN TACOMA

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standing his lack of schooling, the boy rose rapidly and after three years was made manager of the business. At the age of twenty-one he formed a partnership with his brother and entered business for himself. For a time McGraw Brothers were prosperous. Then came financial reverses and John H., with his wife, started West. After a short stay in San Francisco, they came to Washington, arriving at Seattle in December, 1876.

In the old Occidental Hotel, McGraw obtained a position as clerk. Later he was in the hotel business on his own account; but the building being destroyed by fire, he joined the police force and set out on a political career. The sudden death of Sheriff Wyckoff, following the lynchings of 1882 left a vacancy to which McGraw was appointed. He was re-elected sheriff in 1884 but active connection with the suppression of the anti-Chinese riots of 1886 cost him re-election that year. Two years later he again became a candidate and was elected. It was while serving this, his third term as sheriff, that McGraw was elected president of the First National Bank of Seattle, a position he was occupying at the time of his election as governor. John H. McGraw's education was acquired in the practical school of experience; he was office trained rather than college trained and a lawyer of considerable ability.

When the Legislature met early in January, 1893, Senator John B. Allen, candidate for re-election, was opposed by George Turner, republican, of Spokane, and Chauncey W. Griggs, democrat, of Tacoma. The first ballot showed the Legislature to be in a deadlock. Turner, supposed to have the backing of the Northern Pacific, opened headquarters in Olympia and laid siege to the Legislature. Almost from the first ballot it was apparent the Seattle-Tacoma factional fight, with the railroad as a side issue, would be a big factor in determining who should or should not be elected. King County stood by Allen. Day after day the two houses met and balloted. Congress was in session, Senator Squire representing the state in the Upper House while his colleague fought ambitious politicians at Olympia.

The end of the first month showed the republican party hopelessly split. Even the King County delegation showed signs of going to pieces. One man had deserted and gone over to the Pierce County crowd, which was supporting Turner. Balloting continued and February 24th a "dark horse" appeared in Olympia. He was Levi Ankeney, "rich Walla Walla banker, said to possess senatorial ambitions and a long sack." If the new man exerted any influence at all it was to turn votes toward Allen and in opposition to the railroad influence with which Ankeney was supposed to be somewhat well acquainted. Allen's gain was at the loss of Turner, who gave up the contest and went home. Griggs dropped from 20 to 7; Turner to 2, while McCroskey and Van Patten, not prominent at the beginning of the contest, arose to 19 and 9.

Plainly it was a case for an arbitrator, and one came up from Oregon. March 7th he arrived, fresh from the Oregon Legislative session and announced that Levi Ankeney would be acceptable to Oregon and the Union Pacific Railroad. Next day Olympia was much interested in the report that a monster "sack" had arrived and that a certain man was prepared to pay \$1,000 each for the fifty-seven votes necessary to elect his man to the Senate.

Unenacted bills greatly needed by the new state, filled the calendars of both houses when the session came to a close March 9th. It was a game common to

nearly all states in the rule of the old system of electing United States senators and contributed much toward the growth of sentiment in favor of direct legislation. The one redeeming feature of this contest is found in the last ballot taken. It was the 100th and the standing of the candidates was: Allen, 50; Turner, 23; Shaw, 17; Van Patten, 9; Griggs, 7; Jones, 2; Sharpstein, 1; Wallace, 1, and Dunbar, 1. The Legislature saved itself from a landslide to a man with a "sack," and charged its failure to elect to the Railroad-Tacoma and Lake Washington canal-Seattle factions. McGraw appointed Allen senator and he soon was on his way to the national capital.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

EQUAL SUFFRAGE A FOREMOST QUESTION IN FIRST LEGISLATURE—A. A. DENNY'S RADICAL AMENDMENT LOST—WOMEN OF '69 ATTEMPT TO FORCE QUESTION—CAMPAIGN OF '71 DIRECTED BY SUSAN B. ANTHONY AND ABIGAIL SCOTT DUNNIWAY—WOMAN SUFFRAGE ORGANIZATION FORMED—WOMEN PERMITTED TO VOTE AT SCHOOL ELECTIONS—JUDGE TURNER'S DECISION—FINAL VICTORY IN 1910 UNDER LEADERSHIP OF MRS. EMMA SMITH DEVOE.

Almost the first subject taken up for discussion by the first session of Washington's first Legislature was that of equal suffrage. In fact the members considered the question of such importance that they made it the subject of the first section of the first act adopted.

It provided for extending the franchise to "persons of mixed white and Indian blood who had adopted the customs and habits of civilization. An amendment offered by A. A. Denny, "to allow all white females over the age of eighteen years to vote," was lost. Various amendments were made in following sessions of the Legislature. January 31, 1867, the law was amended to give the ballot to "all white American citizens twenty-one years of age, and all half-breeds twenty-one or over, who can read and write and have adopted the habits of whites, and all other white male inhabitants who have declared their intentions of becoming citizens six months previous to election." A few persons were made the object of certain exceptions in this law which Edward Eldridge, on the floor of the House, declared extended the right of suffrage to women.

When the 14th amendment to the Federal Constitution was adopted, July 28, 1868, providing that "All persons, born or naturalized * * * shall be citizens of the United States," the question of who are citizens of the United States was raised. Mrs. Mary O. Brown, in 1869, offered her vote at the polls in Olympia. It was refused and when Mrs. Brown quoted the 14th amendment she was told that the laws of Congress did not extend over Washington Territory. The next year Mrs. Brown again offered her ballot and again was refused. At Grand Mound precinct, Mrs. Brown's sister, Mrs. Charlotte O. French, and several other women, were permitted to vote. Other precinct election officers in other parts of the territory interpreted the law in the same manner as the Grand Mound officials and permitted women to vote.

Equal suffrage sentiment now began to crystalize. In 1871 Miss Susan B. Anthony and Mrs. Abigail Scott Dunning, sister of Harvey Scott, opened a campaign for a territorial organization. They visited most of the settlements, held meetings, delivered addresses and October 28th, at a convention held in Olympia, formed the first woman suffrage organization of territorial scope. Miss Anthony, upon an invitation from the Legislature, addressed that body October 20th.

The best efforts of Miss Anthony and Mrs. Duniway failed to convince the Legislature of the justice of their cause. In fact the Legislature on November 29, 1871, passed a law providing "that hereafter no female shall have the right of ballot at any poll or election precinct in this territory until the Congress of the United States of America shall, by direct legislation upon the same, declare the same to be the supreme law of the land." The legislators at this session, however, did pass a school law which provided that every inhabitant should have the right of franchise, and in 1877 a new law was adopted providing that women should have the right to vote at school elections.

Mrs. Duniway continued the campaign and when the statehood question was before the people in 1878, submitted a petition to the Legislature praying that the word "male" be stricken from the election laws of the new constitution. By a very close vote the petition was denied. The House of 1881 passed a bill granting women the ballot, but it failed to pass the council. Two years later the question again came before the Legislature, the House October 8th passing a resolution "that the speaker send congratulations to the American Female Suffrage Association, now in session in Brooklyn, N. Y." The House November 23d passed an act changing the election law to read "All American citizens of twenty-one years, and all American half-breeds." Leaders in the woman's suffrage movement knew the Council was not as favorable to the bill as the House but it passed by a vote of seven to five and Washington had woman suffrage, and for four years women voted at all elections and served as jurors.

The case of Harland vs. the Territory of Washington, appeal to the Supreme Court in 1887, brought a decision from Judge Turner "that women had no right to sit on a jury because the law granting rights to women was not given a proper title." Judges Hoyt and Greene upheld the law, but as the former had served as trial judge in the case, he was disqualified.

Back to the Legislature went the fight. Several bills designed to correct the short-comings of the law of 1883 were introduced in the 1887-88 session and January 18th the adoption of Council Bill No. 44 restored the privilege. April 3, 1888, the ballot of Mrs. Nevada Bloomer was refused by a Spokane election board. Suit at once was brought to test the law and August 14th Judges Turner and Langford held that the law was invalid because in conflict with the laws of the United States.

The constitution adopted by the State of Washington provided that all male persons should have the right to vote and that the Legislature might extend the elective franchise to women at any school election. Various legislatures sought to amend the law and constitutional amendments providing for woman suffrage were submitted to the voters. All these efforts were without result until in 1910, when sections 1 and 2, Article VI, of the constitution were repealed and a new section 1, providing for woman suffrage, was adopted. The new amendment also wisely provided that all electors should be able to read and write the English language.

The campaign was led by Mrs. Emma Smith De Voe, a woman of wide experience in political and suffrage contests. She had been through many campaigns in other states. Her campaigns embraced none of the militant notions affected by a louder but much less successful group of suffrage women. She insisted on keeping in the foreground the home and the kitchen and the welfare



MRS. EMMA SMITH DE VOE

Leader of successful campaign for equal suffrage in 1912, organizer
of the National Council of Women Voters and its president

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of the child. Mrs. DeVoe always keeps her good humor, no matter what the attack upon her and her cause. This was much in her favor. Weeks before the campaign closed it was evident that equal suffrage had won. Thus far the woman voter has conducted herself according to the best predictions, really giving to political questions much more study than the average man gives to them, and there is no reason even for suggesting that any serious attempt will be made to abrogate the law.

CHAPTER XXXIX

"CITIZEN" GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN'S TRIP AROUND THE WORLD FOR THE TACOMA DAILY LEDGER.

From its earliest days Washington has taken a lively interest in what may be termed spectacular advertising "stunts." Pacific City, Chehalis City and Port Angeles were boomed at a time when printer's ink was little used for advertising purposes. The Snoqualmie Pass lottery and the Tacoma townsite advertising came later and used considerable newspaper space and then in 1890 came "Citizen" George Francis Train and his "Around the World in Sixty Days" for the Tacoma Ledger.

Mrs. R. F. Radebaugh, wife of the owner of the Ledger, was in Boston when Nellie Bly returned from her 72-day race around the world. Train had been writing some of his peculiar "Vander-Billion Psychos" for the paper and Mrs. Radebaugh wrote him a note of thanks for some manuscript he had sent her. Taking a menu card from the restaurant table before him Train, with the Nellie Bly story running through his mind wrote Mrs. Radebaugh a reply closing with the words:

"Why not sell theater for \$1,000 lecture, and I will go around the world in sixty days."

Mrs. Radebaugh at once wired to her husband and next day received a reply offering Train \$1,500 to make the trip. This offer was accepted and the starting date fixed for March 16th.

The Tacoma Theater had been opened on January 13th. It had been a notable event and the newspapers had devoted great space to describing the theater—then the largest in the state—and the performance of the latest comic opera "Paola" by the J. C. Duff Comic Opera Company especially engaged for the occasion. Choice seats had been sold at auction and it was from the newspaper story doubtless, that Train obtained the idea of giving a lecture for the benefit of the 'round the world trip.

The auction took place March 11th in the Tacoma Hotel. The picturesque Major Stam was the auctioneer. Stam was then a real estate salesman for Allen C. Mason, but not the least of his accomplishments lay in the line of a grotesque profanity which he did not seem to realize he possessed, as it flowed from him in the presence even of women, and a singular ability as a fisherman. His gifts extended to a verbosity that made him acceptable as an auctioneer, and when he mounted a chair at the hotel, with Manager Hanna and Treasurer Kellar of the theater as clerks, he was surrounded by a big crowd of enthusiastic Tacomans. The theater boxes already had sold for \$100, but these were to be resold under the hammer, whatever additional they brought to be added to the \$100 price.

"How much for first choice?" cried Stam. Some one bid \$100. "Fifty better," said General Sprague. "One seventy-five," said Allen C. Mason. "Two hundred," said Isaac W. Anderson. By nodding General Sprague indicated "Two twenty-five."

"Let me give you one word right here," said Stam. "When a man nods his head at me he's got to pay for it. Nods come high. I place them at \$50 a nod now. Ah, there goes one more nod! Make it \$350. Thank you. Gentlemen, don't wink an eye or nod your head at me or it is likely to cost you high. Nods go at \$50. Winks the same. I am bid \$350."

General Sprague smiled and the smile cost him \$25. Mason bid \$25 more and the General nodded. The auctioneer tried to make his nod cost the bidder \$75, but the general corrected him by saying, "Four twenty-five." Mason looked intently at the ceiling, and the major knocked down the first choice to General Sprague at a premium of \$425 or a total of \$525 for the box.

The story was repeated in the selling of the other seven boxes, the buyers being Isaac W. Anderson, \$425; Allen C. Mason, \$350; Morris Gross, \$300; Col. C. W. Griggs, \$225; R. F. Radebaugh, \$200; Allen C. Mason, \$175, and Gross Brothers, \$175.

The seats then were offered, first choice going to Gross Brothers at \$18, the next two to Ed Barlow at \$30. The auctioneer explained that the seats had an upset price of \$3 each and that all offers were premium on this price. Bidding was lively and then adjournment was taken until evening. The crowd was back, with additions, at 7 o'clock and the fun again started. At the close the clerks announced that 127 seats had been sold at a premium of \$639 or \$1,020 for the lot. This added to the \$2,375 realized from the boxes, gave a total of \$3,395.

Behind the effort to beat the Bly record was a greater aim. That was to show that Tacoma was on the quickest route around the world. Train said the trip by way of Tacoma could be accomplished in sixty days and Radebaugh offered a free ticket, good for one first-class passage by rail and steamship, over the Train route, to the person guessing the time required for Train's trip.

At 4 P. M., March 14th, Train arrived in Tacoma in a drizzling rain, but this did not keep the people from crowding Pacific Avenue to greet him. Train, Radebaugh, Isaac W. Anderson and Mayor Wheelright rode up Pacific Avenue, led by the united bands of the city, with one hundred instruments. At the Tacoma Hotel a great crowd awaited. It perhaps was fortunate for the distinguished visitor that he had adopted the rules of never shaking hands.

When the curtain of the Tacoma Theater went up on the evening of March 15th, and General Sprague introduced Citizen Train to the audience there was just \$4,158 in the treasury, but the house was not full. He asked that the foot lights be turned low, as he himself would furnish the gas. His lecture was a spicy potpourri of reminiscences of his life as a boy, railroad builder, writer, lecturer and traveler and was frequently interrupted by laughter and applause. The next two evenings he lectured in Germania Hall to large audiences.

Train is said to have been the author of the term "crank" as applied to persons of unorthodox thought. He took great pride in calling himself a crank and said he was the only man who had never been classified. Others were democrats, republicans, atheists, Presbyterians, Methodists, etc., but he was a

citizen—Citizen Train—a man who did not know how to lie and for that reason always told the truth, a habit which sometimes brought criticism from those who did not admire frankness.

Those were busy days. The merchants outfitted Train with shoes, shirts, hand bags, purses, pencils, etc. Captain Fife superintended the laying of the 4x15-inch brass plate from which the start was to be made in front of the Ledger office on C Street. Patton's four gray horses were groomed and cared for as perhaps no horses were ever groomed and cared for before and everything was placed in readiness for the start.

Shortly before 5:30 on the morning of March 18th Train was at the starting place. The carriage, in which Radebaugh and Sam W. Wall, who was to accompany Train, were seated, stood at the curb. Isaac W. Anderson, Col. Clinton A. Snowden and Captain Fife, the official time keepers, stood, watches in hand, awaiting the firing of the 6 o'clock gun by Captain Bixler, of the bluff. Citizens lined both sides of the route to the wharf where the Olympian, groaning with a full head of steam, lay with her nose pointed down the bay. And then the shot rang out.

Train leaped from the brass plate into the waiting carriage, the driver lashed his team and down C Street to Ninth, down Ninth to Pacific and down Pacific to the wharf went the traveller on the first lap of his journey, while the splinters of the planking flew from the feet of the racing team. Whistles screeched, bells clanged, the crowd shouted and danced, and ran pell-mell in pursuit of the carriage. The old cannon boomed its salute from the hill. Three seconds behind the carriage carrying Train came that of the time keepers.

In six minutes all were aboard the steamer, Wharfinger Keene and Captain Clancy had cast off the lines and in a moment Captain Roberts had the Olympian under way. Des Moines was passed at 6:44, Seattle at 7:36 and at 11:30 the Abyssinia was sighted making her way down from Vancouver. At 1:22 she hove to in the Royal Roads off Victoria. Train and Wall were transferred while Frank Ross made a speech and broke a bottle of wine over the liner's bow. At 1:45 the Abyssinia resumed her journey toward the Pacific.

The first message received from Train came in a bottle, thrown overboard March 20th. The bottle drifted into the straits. A Makah Indian found it and took it to the Neah Bay salmon cannery and it was brought to Tacoma by Nels Oberg. Upsetting precedents, smashing records and tilting at established customs were favorite pursuits of Train. When a second message reached Tacoma containing the single word "Connected," it was translated to mean that the traveller had made connection with the Hong Kong boat; but there was nothing to indicate how it had been done. Yokohama was reached on Good Friday—a holiday—every bank, government office and most of the business houses were closed. Rousing Herr Leopold, agent of the North German Lloyd line, out of bed, Train informed him that he must catch the steamship General Werder. The agent told Train that the ship had sailed two days before and was then at Kobe.

"Kobe!" said Train. "That is about 300 miles down the coast and can be reached by rail? When will she sail from there?"

"Tomorrow morning," replied Leopold.

"Tomorrow morning" meant a twenty-four hour railroad ride, in addition



THE TACOMA BUSINESS DISTRICT

Taken from the Northern Pacific tracks just east of the city waterway. As late as 1885 the camera



THE MANUFACT



N OF A BRIEF THIRTY YEARS

ould have shown little except the Tacoma Hotel, a few cottages and the old Northern Pacific shops



T OF TACOMA

to the time needed to obtain passports. Train told the agent that he must hold the boat. Leopold said it was impossible. Train however overrode his demurrers, and Leopold telegraphed orders to hold the ship.

No traveller was permitted to leave the empire without passports. Train was told that he must see the American minister, Mr. Swift, at Tokio, thirty miles away, and that at least three days would be required to get the papers. "Three days to sign a paper!" exclaimed Train. "It is time that I reduced the limit to three minutes!" Away to Tokio he hastened where he found the minister, who saw the emperor, and when the afternoon train for Kobe left Yokohama, Train and Wall with their passports were aboard. Japanese red tape never was unrolled so quickly as on that Good Friday when the Train typhoon struck the coast. Next day the travelers boarded the German steamship. Hong Kong, Singapore, Colombo, Aden, Port Said were passed and Brindisi, Italy, reached. From Brindisi through Paris to Calais, by rail, across the channel to Dover and by rail through London to Holyhead, across the Irish Sea to Dublin and down to Queenstown and the Atlantic, went Train and Wall pell mell, gathering interesting baggage as they went, including a rare collection of hats. Close connection was made with the steamship Etruria and six days later, the travelers reached American soil at New York.

The first thing Train said to the newspaper men who went out in a tugboat to capture the traveler and bring him ashore, was to ask about the special train he supposed would be awaiting him. Here he met disappointment. He had gone around the world on a hop, skip and jump; he had held up steamships already on their way, had chartered boats, had made flying leaps from "rickshaws" to sampans, from tugboats to the decks of ocean liners and here he was at New York with no special train awaiting to carry him to Tacoma.

Radebaugh had broken his leg and was confined to his home at Wapato Lake and Train was left to make the best of it.

It was expected, of course, that Train would return West on the Northern Pacific Railroad which came to its western terminus, Tacoma, direct, and when it was announced that he was to travel on the Union Pacific there was wonderment all over the country. The matter remained a mystery until some time later when Paul Schulze, the Northern Pacific land agent in Tacoma, was accused of being false to the city. February 20th Radebaugh had wired to President Oakes, in New York, explaining what he and Train were going to do and asking that the Northern Pacific furnish a special train from St. Paul to Tacoma for the home stretch. Oakes was ill. Schulze was at his bedside at the moment the message was delivered and, Radebaugh alleged, dictated and signed the reply which read: "I have furnished Train transportation. That is all we can do." Later Radebaugh received a telegram from Schulze saying he had no objection to Train's making the trip across the continent on the Canadian Pacific.

Tacoma and Portland officers of the railroad had urged the officers in the East that the special could be made a paying enterprise not only as an advertisement, but as a carrier, as many persons would be desirous of accompanying Train from St. Paul. But Schulze blocked the plan. The truth is that he aimed to hit Radebaugh and his newspaper as hard a blow as he could and it did not matter at the moment if Tacoma also suffered.

For thirty-six hours Train and Wall waited while New York publishers printed

a carload of newspapers containing a full account of the trip. The car was attached to a train carrying a party of newspaper reporters, railroad men and the two world girdlers, and the run across the United States was under way. At Hood River, Ore., a bridge had burned and the party left the train, crossed the charred frame work and boarded a freight caboose for Portland.

There was no special train there, as had been expected, and Citizen Train went into the ticket office, threw his overcoat down on a seat and went to sleep. That was indeed almost the last straw. Train had feared it and had sent a telegram to Tacoma saying: "Provide a special train in Portland. Don't let me lie five hours in a town that has been calling me names for twenty years."

Five hours later he started for Tacoma. At Centralia a crowd of Tacomans met him but he was disappointed and retired to his seat without heeding the cheers. In the hour required to reach Tacoma balm was applied to his hurt feelings, but Train continued to ask, "What does it mean?" At Huntington, Ore., he had lost his pocket book, ticket and money, a loss he did not discover until he tried to pay for a banquet given to the newspaper men of the party. This was the climax to many irritations. In Tacoma the train was greeted with the firing of cannon and parades, bands and cheering multitudes. Many invitations to dine were pressed upon him, but Train replied:

"I'll eat nothing until I see Radebaugh. Where would we be if he had had two legs broken?"

Secretary Snowden accompanied the traveler to Wapato Lake. With just what ointment Radebaugh salved the troubled soul of the Citizen is not known, but the next morning Train announced he would have breakfast.

After comparing all the guesses submitted as to the time required by Train to make his trip, the time keepers, Isaac W. Anderson, W. J. Fife and C. A. Snowden decided that F. S. Learned, of Boisfort, Lewis County, was entitled to the free ticket for a trip around the world. Learned's guess was 67 days, 16 hours and 42 minutes. The time made by Train was 67 days, 12 hours, 59 minutes and 55 seconds. Nicoli Brunn, of Chicago, guessed 67 days, 9 hours and 33½ seconds. The 'round-the-world ticket had a value of \$661.

When the celebrating had concluded, Train took a little cottage in the south end of the city, named it the "Train Villa on the Fir-Tree Hill," and spreading the mementoes of the trip on the inside and the banners from the railway trains on the outside, settled down to entertain the children of the neighborhood. Soon the school was dismissed for the summer holidays, the children found other attractions and the lonely inmate of the villa grew morose. He had expected to be lionized. Tacoma, while appreciating the fact that he had placed her name in the mouths of millions, by his 67-day trip around the world—which was made in actual traveling time of 59 days, 7 hours,—was so busy building a city that it could not continue to worship at his shrine.

One dark, rainy night in November he started for the East. Sam W. Wall accompanied him to the railway station. In writing of this last talk, Wall said:

"The engine whistled for the next station below. 'Can it be,' he said, meditatively, 'that after all, my life is in the past? To think of the plans I had, all round the world! I cannot understand what it means, unless it be that I have accomplished all there is for me to do. I should have listened to the call of the

children from Cherry Hill. There seems to be nothing left, for me, but to return to silence.'"

Sam W. Wall wrote an interesting book describing the 22,040-mile journey. His analysis showed that Train's average speed the hour, while traveling, was fourteen miles. The average by land was thirty-three miles and by water eleven miles. Wall formed a great admiration for his "chief," as he called him, and his book was written in a spirit of much kindness to the "Solitaire."

CHAPTER XL

THE SPECULATIVE ERA, '82 TO '92—THEN THE CRASH—RISE OF COXEY'S ARMY—TACOMA CONTINGENT DEPARTS UNDER LEADERSHIP OF "GENERAL JUMBO" CANTWELL, A FORMER MORGAN BOUNCER—SEATTLE ARMY OF 400 JOINS TACOMA IN PUYALLUP—GOVERNOR MC GRAW CALLED UPON—MEN TRY TO LEASE GREAT NORTHERN TRAIN—FEDERAL RECEIVERS IN CHARGE OF NORTHERN PACIFIC—ARMY SCATTERED ALL THE WAY FROM PUYALLUP TO PASCO—BLOODSHED IN YAKIMA—TROOPS ARE CALLED BY JUDGE HANFORD—TROUBLE IN COAL MINES—ARMED NEGROES SHIPPED TO WASHINGTON TO BREAK STRIKE—WOMAN, DRIVEN INSANE BY LABOR WAR, TRIES TO DEVOUR HER CHILDREN—MINING TOWNS BECOME SLEEPING VOLCANOES—PREACHER LEAVES PULPIT TO ENGAGE IN REVOLVER WARFARE—STRIKE FINALLY BROKEN, BUT AT IMMENSE COST—STRIKE RESULTS IN MUCH-IMPROVED NATIONAL GUARD.

During the years 1888 to 1892 Washington rode the crest of a high wave of spurious prosperity. Railroads were built, cities grew in population and commercial importance, farming developed and lumbering began to work back from the shore line of the Sound. A part of this new growth was substantial. A far larger part, however, was purely speculative. Prices, especially of real estate, were lifted to ridiculous levels. These speculative real estate values were capitalized and land owners were heavily in debt. They expected to "cash in" at a good profit through a fortunate sale to some buyer willing to take a greater chance. And then came the inevitable break and Washington slipped backward until, as Congressman Cushman said: "Stomachs rose and fell with the tide, and when the tide was out the table was set."

Every community had its "failures." Supposedly strong concerns ran up the white flag. Gold, following its habit in times of trouble, went into hiding and shingle-mill orders on the grocery store became a circulating medium in a country that never had felt friendly towards the greenbacks. A man was fortunate if his labor brought him the bare necessities of life. Idle men walked the streets and slept in the "jungles." They discussed the causes back of the effect. They became inflamed and dangerous to property interests.

From the East came news of a great army which Coxey, of Massillon, Ohio, proposed to march to the City of Washington and there demand of Congress and President Cleveland that they adopt legislation such as Coxey and his followers believed would cure the national ills. Coxey's appeals caused movements of some kind in almost every city in the Union. In Washington State the response was immediate.

With the battle cry of "On to Washington!" the "industrial army," with Frank, known as "General Jumbo," Cantwell, at its head, marched out of

Tacoma on the afternoon of April 29, 1894, bound for Puyallup, where it went into camp in a vacant building. For weeks the army had been organizing. Meetings were held in the old National Theater built by Pincus several years before on A Street. The departure was a source of great relief to Chief of Police D. O. Smith.

"Jumbo" had developed quickly into the leader of the Tacoma contingent. By his side at the head of the column marched two lieutenants and his big St. Bernard dog. Next in line came the bearers of a great, handsome flag which the Grand Army of the Republic had presented to the army. Some 600 persons were in the marching column, 300 of whom were soldiers pledged to go to Washington, while the remainder were those who sympathized with the movement and had agreed to remain and assist in caring for the wives and children left in Tacoma.

Cantwell and "San Jose Bill" had been "bouncers" in the notorious Morgan resort at Tacoma. He had had fights with policemen time and again, and was regarded as a dangerous man in a fight by almost everybody in town except "Eagle Eye" Flannigan, Northwestern champion weight thrower. Flannigan found his superbest pleasure in arresting "Jumbo" on every possible excuse, and if it meant a rough and tumble fight the greater his joy. Cantwell in after years became a member of the City Council of Chicago. He died a few months ago. He was once arrested and charged with having picked the pockets of a small man. "Jumbo" went into court, held up his hand and asked if it was possible for such a fist to enter a pocket so small. The case was dismissed. His hands were enormous.

"Jumbo," wearing a bright new uniform, doffed his widebrimmed hat, and, with an engaging smile, took up a collection from the spectators who had gathered to witness the departure. Several wagons loaded with commissary stores preceded the army to Puyallup and it was said some \$2,000 in cash was in the treasury of the organization.

At Puyallup the Tacoma brigade was joined by that from Seattle, consisting of almost 700 soldiers, with General Shepard in command. Here the Federal Government became interested in the army, which it was thought would make an attempt to seize the Northern Pacific Railway. Deputies under direction of United States Marshal James C. Drake went into camp as guards of railroad property. General "Jumbo" offered G. W. Dickinson, of the Northern Pacific Company \$1,000 for a train of twenty cars to St. Paul, members of the army to man it without cost. The offer was declined.

Camping at Puyallup and doing nothing soon began to tell on the soldiers and "Jumbo" and other speakers found their hands full in trying to keep them in line. None of the men was armed and their orders were not to drink nor steal. But the presence of so many idle men became irritating to the people of the valley and they petitioned Governor McGraw to come and try to work out a solution.

McGraw went to Puyallup May 2nd and a meeting was held, 3,000 attending. It was a wild meeting, almost without semblance of order, each speaker talking in a go-as-you-please manner, with frequent interruptions. The governor told the men he could not force the railroad to carry them, that conditions East were

as bad as they were in the West and that they, the soldiers, were not wanted back there.

"Jumbo" then took the floor, declared that his men had been induced by the railroad to come West, they had paid their money to the railroad for transportation and now they proposed to make that "foreign-owned corporation" carry them back. The net result was the appointment of J. G. Davis, A. E. Bennet and H. B. LeFevree to confer with the Great Northern Railroad officials. The men on the Great Northern had struck and that road was in bad condition, its tracks obstructed with rocks and dirt slides and train service demoralized. The army heard that President Hill had offered to furnish a train for its use provided it would operate the same to St. Paul, clearing the track as it went. The strikers told the army leaders that they would only be assisting the road to break the strike, and the plan was given up.

The Northern Pacific was in the hands of receivers appointed by, and responsible to, the Federal courts. Deputy marshals guarded every train. Freight trains moved out of Puyallup only in daylight. Then the army heard that the railroad company had mined the bank of a cut near Buckley and intended to fire the mine and block the track should the army capture and attempt to operate a train. A carload of the Coxeyites were billed out of Puyallup as hay and the railroad hauled the car many miles before its true contents became known.

About 7 P. M., May 3rd, 150 members of the army flagged a train between Alderton and Orting, climbed aboard and told the crew to go ahead. At Palmer Junction the train was sidetracked and the brigade was left to care for itself. Realizing the impossibility of moving the army as a unit, the leaders decided that in order to reach Spokane the soldiers must travel as they could, and small bands appeared all along the line. Deputy marshals moved up the line with the bands, both sides soon being scattered all the way from Puyallup to Pasco. "Jumbo," dodging back and forth along the line, but always riding as a first-class passenger, assisted the men to climb aboard trains or to get over the road in other ways.

The Roslyn coal miners had struck and sixty strikers went to Cle Elum May 9th, captured a coal car and started down grade to Ellensburg. Gravity was the motive power used in this twenty-eight mile trip, the journey being made in two hours, twenty-two minutes. All trains were side-tracked upon orders from Tacoma. At Ellensburg the coal car was abandoned. A larger crowd went to the stock yards, captured two cattle cars and started for North Yakima. Deputies sent west from Yakima to intercept the cattle cars built an obstruction on the track, and forced the army to bring its down-hill train to a stop. A larger number of the riders were arrested.

The army now decided to sail down the Yakima River. A large scow was loaded with soldiers and set adrift. About four miles down-stream a whirlpool upset the scow, drowning four men and leaving the remaining fourteen clinging to a log. One man swam ashore and brought assistance to his stranded comrades.

At all points the army found sympathizers who were ready to assist it. Several Yakima citizens were sympathetic in speech and deputies arrested them for inciting a riot. The constant friction between deputies and soldiers began to tell on nerves. When the movement began there had been a half-way friendli-



“DRESS PARADE” OF COXEY’S ARMY IN FRONT OF MAYOR HOLLENBECK’S HOUSE
IN PUTYALUTP, MAY 2, 1894

ness between the guard and the guarded, but this disappeared as the tension grew, and May 9th the first serious clash occurred. A fight started in Yakima and Marshal Chidester, in drawing his revolver, shot himself through the leg. Deputy Jolly was also wounded, some said by a shot from Chidester's revolver while others maintained that the shooting was done by "the Big Swede" of the army. Guns were forbidden the soldiers, but most of them carried heavy clubs.

The army had dwindled to one hundred soldiers by the time it reached Spokane. The rest had become discouraged or were in jail. "Jumbo" finally reached Chicago in comparative luxury. He traveled on the collection of a vaudeville and glee club composed of his soldiers, who performed in the various towns along the way. The arrests had been made at North Yakima and 151 soldiers were taken into custody. Loaded into stock cars they were taken to Spokane. It was then decided to send them to Seattle by way of Portland. This plan was given up when a report was received from Arlington, Ore., that a large number of men there were arming themselves with the intention of liberating the prisoners. The route of the train was changed and the prisoners arrived in Seattle over the Northern Pacific on the morning of Saturday, May 12th.

In charge of thirty-two deputy marshals the men were unloaded on the tideflats and marched to the courthouse on the hill. Ed Minsch, of Tacoma was in command. Large crowds of army sympathizers lined the line of march and hooted at the deputies. Three of the most abusive were arrested and handed over, with the army, to Sheriff Woolery. At the courthouse the prisoners were placed in two rooms of the jail and given the first meal they had eaten since their arrest 2½ days earlier. Ira M. Kruts, ex-register of the land office, and H. J. Kuechler, jeweler and member of the North Yakima City Council, were immediately released on their own recognizance.

The following morning a number of deputies went downtown from the courthouse for breakfast. They were recognized by a crowd of Coxeyites who followed them with hoots, shouts and calls of "scabs," "rats," "lynch them" and other abusive language. A big crowd gathered and the deputies, unable to find their way to the marshal's office in the Colman Block, passed through a bank and sought refuge in the Bailey Building on Second Avenue. There they remained all day.

Coxeyites watched both entrances of the building but as the afternoon wore away and the deputies did not appear, the crowd gradually broke up and dispersed. About noon "Brocky" Kelly, a former officer under "General" Shepard, appeared on the street and began chalking the mystic sign,

X

12

03

on the sidewalks. This was a call for a meeting at 3 o'clock, and at that hour some 500 men gathered on Second Avenue south in an open air meeting which was addressed by a number of speakers. The first speaker's name was withheld and during the course of his remarks one of the speakers advised the crowd to go to the jail and demand the release of the prisoners. O. C. Whitney was more moderate in his remarks and devoted his attention chiefly to advocating the single

tax as the remedy for the conditions which made Coxe armies possible. Jack Thompson followed Whitney and was in turn followed by Governor Teats who denounced Congress for throwing petitions in the waste basket, threatened the impeachment of Judge Hanford unless he released the prisoners and advised the men to trust to a revolution of ballots rather than one by bullets.

While this meeting was in progress a move was being made before Judge Hanford for the release of the prisoners. Bail, fixed at \$500 each, was furnished by A. Amunds, F. A. Twichell and M. M. Kock and William Meyer, contractor; C. F. Little, city marshal; William Steigler, contractor; O. H. Applegate, carpenter; G. A. Marshall, James White and E. R. Parker, farmers; and F. S. Davis, barber, were released. They were all from North Yakima and were represented by James Hamilton Lewis. R. H. Lindsay represented the "rank and file" of the army, which, through its inability to furnish bail, was forced to remain in jail.

During the afternoon the Coxeyites held meetings at which inflammatory speeches were made. Leaders of the movement were active and this led Judge Hanford to call for troops. Several days before Hanford had obtained from President Cleveland the necessary authority, the soldiers at Vancouver were in readiness and awaiting orders and were soon on the ground. Order was enforced, and the cases took their way through the courts; but the laboring men and Coxeyites have always felt that Hanford used unnecessary force in handling the situation.

A strike that threatened calamity to the United States began in June, 1894. Northern Pacific trainmen quit work on the 29th. The railroad was in the hands of a receiver appointed by the Federal court, and as soon as the strike began United States Judge Hanford placed it practically in Government hands. For three weeks the train service was utterly demoralized. The Edison (Tacoma) car shops were closed. For five days no transcontinental train left the Sound. The first one to get through was "Dickinson's Special," the engine of which was run by George W. Dickinson, general manager of the railroad, who in his earlier years had been an engineer. He ran this train almost all the way to St. Paul.

The state Populist convention was in session in North Yakima when the strike began. The delegates had no way of reaching home except by walking. A few miles out of Yakima a group of them found a railroad bridge burning. It had been fired by strikers. The Populists determined to let it burn, though they reported that they could have quenched the blaze with ease.

All of the employes of the railroad were required to take the same oath as the Federal officers. Many of them displayed the greatest bravery in their attempts to run trains. But the situation got entirely beyond them and the sixty deputy marshals. About 800 United States troops were sent to Tacoma from Vancouver barracks and encamped in the enclosure about the Northern Pacific station. W. C. Albee was chief train dispatcher and the troops were assigned to the trains by him. This made the situation much easier. But there was continual trouble from soap and bran in the water used by the engines, and in obstructions placed on the tracks, sand in boxings and many other difficulties.

The National Guard had been encamped at Woodland. Company G refused to ride on a train manned by a nonunion crew and denounced Engineer J. J.

Cameron and "Peg-leg" Alward as scabs. The railroad then refused to haul the soldiers at all unless they apologized to the engineer and conductor. There was a great demur, but Brigadier-General Curry lined the men up and after giving them a severe lecture on their mutinous conduct, exacted a promise that they would obey orders and shoot to kill, if necessary. The men were required to apologize to the trainmen. Failure to inflict more drastic punishment upon them was sharply resented by Colonel McCarty, who insisted that the soldiers should be tried for mutiny.

The Strike continued for about three weeks. Gradually the men fell away, and the railroad forces increased until trains could be handled with some regularity. It was, however, nearly a year before normal service was restored. A great amount of vandalism was committed, and the operation of trains was hazardous in the extreme.

In the winter before, the service had been paralyzed by the snow. Then came the Coxe Army disturbance. About the time that the strike ended there came a severe flood. It was a disastrous year for the railroads.

Determined to break the power of the coal miners union, T. B. Corey, superintendent of the Oregon Improvement Company mines at Franklin and Newcastle, in the early winter of 1890-91 closed the mines and started for the Middle West. Through employment agencies he hired more than 600 Kansas, Missouri, Illinois and Indiana negroes who were brought to King County under promise of good pay and an opportunity to locate on Government land where homes might be made in a new country of fine climate with plenty of hunting and fishing.

Reaching Helena, Mont., the train was boarded by armed Pinkerton and Sullivan detectives; the negroes were given arms and told that the Indians were on the war path and might cause trouble. As the mine had been represented as being in a new country most of the negroes believed this story. A few, however, becoming suspicious, deserted the train which arrived at Franklin on the morning of May 17, 1891, where the passengers were unloaded and, under Corey's direction, marched through the woods to the camp; Corey exclaiming:

"Boys, there's the happy land!"

Not a hostile Indian had been encountered. While the imported workmen were moving into the company houses on the hillside, the white miners, who during the close down had been camped on the river flat below, appeared and, notwithstanding the vigilance of the guards, told the negroes they had been brought in as "scabs."

Armed guards were stationed. A dead line was established along both sides of the county road leaving a passageway eight feet wide from which no one was permitted to step. Fences were erected on the school grounds, the pupils, herded through a six-foot alley running from the road to the schoolhouse door, were not permitted access to the play ground. These warlike preparations upon the part of the company resulted in a call for a citizens' meeting. About 200 persons were present, among them being some thirty negroes who said they had been brought into the camp under false pretenses and would leave the employ of the company.

The meeting appealed to Governor Ferry to enforce the constitutional provision against the assembling of bodies of armed men. Company officials admitted

that the white miners had agreed to accept a 15 per cent reduction in wages, but objected to trading at the company store; also to the company's "right to hire and fire" as it pleased. The miners charged the company with maintaining a blacklist of the names of miners who had been prominent in union circles, this blacklist being recognized by all other mining companies in the state.

Following the citizens' meeting at Franklin several negroes left the camp and went to Seattle. One of these, a man who had been a deep sea sailor and had traveled over much of the world in an interview said:

"Rich corporations can pay wages but they haven't much use for dead niggers. I'm not going to take the bread out of the mouths of women and children, white or black. These miners have their homes at Franklin. I live in a house that has no walls. I don't know much about who is right—perhaps they are both right, but they've all got guns and a dead nigger gets awfully cold. How did I get away? Well, the Pinkerton men set up a dead line. Sullivan said I must not go past it. I told him I guessed it was a free country. He said, 'Well you go out past that line and you don't get back.' I said, 'Ditto, Pinkerton. I'm going to be outside of any dead line, every time.' The armed guards on the train told us we were pursued by Indians.

"Well, I've lived among the Indians, and I was up in Leadville the time Pinkerton men were there and I'm no tenderfoot. I've seen a man who was on the right side of an argument get on the wrong side of a grave. I'm an Ohio man by birth and while I'm awfully sorry the company is out \$50 on me, it won't have to pay my funeral expenses."

May 18th the negroes went to work, the guards expressing great surprise that no trouble was experienced in getting them started in the white men's places. White inhabitants of the camp began moving away and the Tacoma guardsmen were ordered to prepare for service. The negroes, unaccustomed to handling rifles and revolvers, became careless and one of them was accidentally killed.

Imagining that she was being starved, Jane Legg, the wife of an Issaquah miner became insane and tried to eat her children. In her ravings she set the house on fire and tore off her clothing.

June 4th the miners filed suit against the Oregon Improvement Company, M. G. Sullivan and others alleging that the armed guards harassed the plaintiffs, frightening their women and children. They asked that a mandatory injunction be issued compelling the defendants to disarm. This is believed to be the first case of its kind filed in the United States. Stratton, Lewis & Gilman were attorneys for the miners.

Black Diamond miners returned to work June 24th after having been out for a short time. They accepted the terms offered by Morgan Morgans. At Issaquah (then known as Gilman) the Seattle Coal & Iron Company employed a force of armed guards, this step being met by the organization of Home Guards numbering fifty members. June 17th while J. L. Parker, a miner, was in Seattle, seven shots were fired through his residence. Miners charged the shooting had been done to start trouble that would force the company to continue employing the guards at good salaries. The company began importing strike breakers from Seattle, but when the trains arrived they were met by delegations of miners who persuaded the men to leave town. Alleging that this persuasion was of a forcible

kind the company appealed to the authorities for protection. To this appeal a committee composed of John Drylie, Luke Lukes and G. William Patton, representing the miners, replied that as two-thirds of the miners were property owners there would be no destruction of company property.

The miners offered to submit the case to arbitration, which offer the company refused saying there were twenty-five men in the camp who would not be employed under any circumstances. Because Postmaster George Parks, of Issaquah, had alligned himself on the side of the miners, the company threatened to starve him out. Charges were preferred against him. He called a meeting of citizens, read the charges and explained the situation.

Franklin and Newcastle were much like sleeping volcanos. Some of the white miners moved away, the remainder, many of whom owned their own homes, settled down to a state of seige. Under such conditions trouble was bound to develop. Sunday, June 28th, the company transferred part of the Franklin crew to Newcastle. At Newcastle the guards obtained liquor and when they boarded the train for the return trip to Franklin a number were drunk. Passengers on the train afterward said that the guards began shooting from the car windows as soon as the train was under way. Their targets were live stock belonging to farmers.

As the train approached Franklin the miners living on the river flat heard the firing, and prepared to defend. Women and children were started for the timber on the hillside and as they fled across the open space to shelter the train came into view and the detectives and guards turned their rifle fire toward the settlement. Deputy Sheriff Ben Stretch, on duty at Franklin, said the train carried nine white detectives and fifty-seven negroes, armed with .22 Winchesters and .21 carbines, as well as other arms. The negroes laughed and shouted as the women and children ran for the woods and then turned their attention to the men who were also seeking places of safety.

Parker Robinson, inside boss at Franklin, heard the firing and catching up a gun shot down Edward J. Williams and Thomas Morris as they ran for cover. Robinson was a crack shot and killed both of his men. Other miners who passed their dead bodies said neither man was armed. When the coroner began his investigation next day, loaded weapons were found beside both bodies.

Sheriff Woolery was at Walla Walla and Deputy Sheriff Ben Stretch at Franklin wired Col. J. C. Haines, commanding the first regiment of the Washington National Guard. Colonel Haines at once ordered Company's B and D into service. At 1 o'clock on the morning of June 29th the guardsmen left Seattle on a special train provided by the Oregon Improvement Company—and later charged against the state—and were soon at the scene of trouble. The white miners were burying their dead. The negroes on the hillside above boasted: "We don't need no protection, we're some fighting cocks ourselves."

Haines put the militia in charge of affairs at Franklin. Sheriff Woolery was criticised for calling the militia. The Post-Intelligencer said:

"This criticism is altogether unjust—no impartial observer will for a moment hesitate in deciding that the time had come for the state to interfere forcibly both at Franklin and Gilman. When opposing bodies of armed men paraded the streets of the mining towns, each professing to be in fear of attack from the other, and each breathing threats against the other: when barricades are

erected in the streets and sentries are stationed at every corner, it is time for the Government to command a halt. Indeed the militia came upon the scene too late rather than too soon. Armed bodies of so-called detectives and armed bodies of strikers are alike a menace to the peace of the state."

Rev. William Thomas, colored preacher at Franklin, had just opened his sermon when the firing began. A believer in preparedness he had taken his weapon into the pulpit with him. Hastily closing his Bible the preacher ran into the street and began shooting. Near him and behind the protection of a stump was a negro working the mechanism of a carbine from which he had fired all the cartridges.

Governor Ferry ordered Colonel Haines to disarm all armed men other than those serving as National Guardsmen. Companies C and G, of Tacoma, were ordered to Black Diamond and Newcastle and Company I, of Port Townsend was sent to Franklin.

On July 3rd Deputy Sheriff Brockway arrested Capt. James B. Foley, H. A. Fisher, detective guards, and F. P. Carmichael, outside foreman at Franklin. The charge was rioting. That same night citizens of Seattle held a mass meeting at which J. T. Ronald presided. Speeches were made by Charles F. Fishback, John Bailey, William Maxwell, Con Lynch, F. Knox and others. State and county officials were blamed for permitting the Oregon Improvement Company to arm its men and Colonel Haines was severely criticised for serving the state as commander of its military forces while at the same time acting as chief counsel of the company whose acts had made necessary the calling of the troops. Postmaster George Parks assailed the company sharply.

The next day Colonel Haines ordered Capt. J. M. Ashton and twelve men of Troop B to Newcastle where they established a mounted police patrol of the roads between that camp and Gilman. Their duty was the protecting of strike breakers. Colonel Haines at the same time called upon the coal company to disarm its guards and detectives. Two days later the white miners at Franklin agreed to turn over their arms to the militia as soon as the Sullivan guards were disarmed. Sullivan's reply was the open boast that he had spys in the organization of white miners and that he received full reports of each of their meetings and with his 125 guards would be able to break the strike. But few guns were turned in and on July 13th the grand jury composed of H. Bruneman, Chris Neff, John Dowling, Levi Wintermute, F. C. Jewell, E. U. Rhodes, J. Neely, L. N. Smith, E. P. Tremper, George Jenkins, E. O. Graves, D. H. Howard, F. E. Sander, Z. C. Miles, E. V. Ruger and C. F. Gates began an investigation. Judge Osborn charged the jury to make its investigation thorough. E. O. Graves was elected foreman.

The committee appointed by the Seattle mass meeting, consisting of Pat Hayes, Julius Horton, Griffith Davis, John R. Kinnear and Rev. John F. Damon was active. The Post-Intelligencer, commenting on this meeting said:

"Without the powers of the state which it sent to their (mine owners) defense, it would have been impossible for them to win. The public sentiment which has thus supported the mine owners and which has brought about their victory in the contest for legal rights, now appeals in behalf of the mine workers for recognition of the moral rights which the situation suggests."

The grand jury July 16th brought in its first true bill charging Richard Roman,

a negro miner from Moberly, Mo., with assaulting Albert Harley June 30th. The next day the home of August Sanders, Newcastle miner, was dynamited, the charge of the explosive being placed on a nearby stump. Sanders, one of the most dare-devilish of the miners, was at home asleep at the time and was thrown out of bed. A crowd gathered and when some of its members entered the badly shattered house they found Sanders trying to reach his slippers without stepping in broken glass.

Superintendent Corey went to Franklin and the strikebreakers proceeded to celebrate. A large crowd gathered in the company saloon, conducted by I. W. Evans, and showed their joy by shooting up the place. This was on July 17th and according to all reports the negroes had surrendered all their arms to militia officers, but the report of the first shot had not ceased to echo among the hills around the camp before armed negroes came from all quarters. They thought the white miners had made an attack upon the town.

The grand jury on July 21st indicted Park Robinson for the killing of Edward Williams and Thomas Morris. It found that the Oregon Improvement Company, for more than one year, had been planning to replace white miners with negroes; more than 400 of whom had been induced to come into the county under armed guards. This action had been taken without the company's having given the county authorities notice of its intentions. Franklin, because of peaceful conditions and ease of defense, had been selected as best suited to the carrying out of this plan. The company was censured for employing armed guards, such action being "not in harmony with free institutions" and unnecessary in the case. The Legislature was urged to pass an act prohibiting all armed forces except those under state control.

Slowly the various cases took their way through the courts. The troops were recalled, Colonel Haines resumed his legal practice as the chief counsel for the Oregon Improvement Company. The miners were evicted from company houses and by October the strike was broken, the men were beaten and the company had won its fight. About the only satisfaction the strikers derived from the fight was the action of the Seattle labor organizations in boycotting all King County coal with the single exception of that mined at Black Diamond: Between 2,500 and 3,000 white persons were dependent upon the earnings of the miners who had opposed the Oregon Improvement Company. The strike and lockout had cost several lives and hundreds of thousands of dollars. The company, not satisfied with its victory, presented a large bill to the state for transporting troops and furnishing supplies—and the bill was allowed.

Among the miners Corey was the most hated. July 23rd he made a business trip to Wilkeson where he was recognized by some of his former employes. He was dining in the little hotel when a crowd of miners waited upon the landlady and told her she must get rid of her guest or they would dynamite the house. The family living upstairs began to move. Corey sought refuge in the mine company's office and the miners prepared to wreck the building. Kelly, son of Superintendent Kelly at Wilkeson, told Corey of these preparations and asked him to leave the camp. He was guaranteed safe conduct and was soon on the way afoot down the railroad track toward Tacoma. Negroes were not employed at Wilkeson. There was no trouble between the company and its men.

Out of this mine strike came a very much improved National Guard organiza-

tion. Actual service in the field showed the men to be poorly armed and equipped. This, together with the fact that armory rent in some of the cities was allowed to remain unpaid, had discouraged the men and recruiting was out of the question. While these things were being discussed trouble developed between Colonel Haines and Adjutant-General O'Brien. They met in Olympia, sharp words passed and a fist fight was narrowly averted. Haines was president of an association of guard officers. The association held a meeting in Tacoma and adopted resolutions stating "it is the sense of this organization that Adjutant-General O'Brien is principally responsible for this condition of affairs, therefore be it resolved that it is for the best interests of the service that the position be filled by someone who has the interest of the National Guard at heart." A court martial trial was the result of this resolution. It did not add any luster to the reputations of the officers concerned.

John C. Haines was born in Hainesville, Ill., February 14, 1849, and died in Seattle January 1, 1892. His family was prominent in Illinois affairs and the boy was given a good education. Following his graduation from the Lake Forest Military Academy he entered the law department of Williams College from which he graduated in 1871. Early in the '80s he came to Seattle from Chicago and joined the law firm of Struve, Haines and Leary. Possessed of brilliant oratorical ability he was soon in demand as a public speaker and rapidly established a territorial-wide reputation and acquaintanceship. The military training which he received at the Lake Forest Academy gave him rapid advancement in National Guard affairs and when the First Regiment was organized, in April, 1887, he became its first colonel. In politics Haines was a republican, and following the organization of the state, became a candidate for United States Senator. The King County delegation went into the convention backing Watson G. Squire and Haines was refused the nomination. At the convention of 1890, held in Tacoma, he was more successful in "picking a winner" and in a brilliant speech started John L. Wilson on his way to the United States Senate, by nominating him for Representative in Congress.

As a lawyer Haines was ever a deep student. With him, to be retained as attorney in a case meant the thorough mastery of all its details. So completely did he do this that on one occasion, being retained in some cases involving a knowledge of admiralty law, he made a study of navigation and later passed the examination for masters and pilots receiving certificates entitling him to serve as either. His connection with the Oregon Improvement Company brought him prominently before other corporations and at the time of his death he was counsel for many of the state's leading business organizations. He was the author of the military law adopted by the state when it laid away its territorial rule.

CHAPTER XLI

NAVY YARD INCEPTION IN 1867—LIEUTENANT WYCKOFF'S PLAN OF BUILDING A SELF-SUPPORTING STATION—MAHAN-STOCKTON REPORT BRINGS BITTER FIGHT BEFORE CONGRESS—SECOND REPORT MADE BY NAVAL EXPERTS MEETS DETERMINED HOSTILITY BUT FINALLY IS ACCEPTED—LIEUTENANT WYCKOFF ORDERED WEST TO BUY LANDS—TACOMA FIRM GETS CONTRACT AT \$461,465—OPENING OF GREAT TRAP A NOTABLE SUCCESS.

PUGET SOUND NAVY YARD

The Puget Sound Navy Yard had its inception in the year 1867, when a board of army engineers recommended that a United States naval station and dry dock be established. An examination of the waters of Puget Sound was made at that time, also in 1870. Lieut. A. B. Wyckoff, in 1877, began surveying the waters of the Sound above Seattle and during the next three years wrote many letters to Eastern friends urging them to advocate the establishment of a great naval station in these waters. The Federal Government owned extensive tracts of timber lands along the shores of the Sound and Wyckoff's plan was for the government to create a naval reservation of 200,000 acres, urging that with constantly advancing prices these lands would form a perpetual endowment that would make the station self-supporting. So well did Wyckoff present his plan that prominent naval officers soon adopted it and a bill embodying the idea was introduced in Congress in the session of 1879-80. Before the measure could be acted upon, Wyckoff was ordered to the China station and the bill died in a congressional committee room.

Seven years passed before Congress again took up the matter and, in 1888, passed an act authorizing the secretary of the navy to appoint a commission of three naval officers to examine the coast of Oregon, Washington and Alaska for a suitable site for a naval station and dry dock. There was appropriated for the work \$5,000, and Secretary of the Navy W. C. Whitney appointed Capt. A. T. Mahan, Commander C. M. Chester and Lieut.-Commander C. H. Stockton as his commissioners. After carefully examining the waters north of the forty-second parallel to the Canadian border, they selected 1,800 acres of land lying on a point between Dye's and Sinclair's inlets, across the Sound from Seattle, and recommended it as a site for the station.

Captain Mahan, the historian of the commission, and one of the ablest men the navy has produced, prepared a very able report which was presented to Congress and brought forth a bitter fight from the Eastern representatives and senators. They fought, not only the purchase of the land, but the whole project of a North Pacific naval station. The Northwest had not become

strong enough to get its fingers into the "pork barrel." Senator Allen finally obtained an amendment to the naval appropriation bill of June 30, 1890, under which a new commission was appointed to select a site "for a dry dock at some point on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, or on the waters connected therewith, north of the parallel of latitude marking the northern boundary of California, including the waters of Puget Sound, and also Lakes Washington and Union in the State of Washington. The commission, it will be seen, was restricted to a site for a dry dock alone.

Ex-Secretary of the Navy Richard W. Thompson, Ex-Senator T. C. Platt, of New York; Col. George H. Mendell, U. S. A.; Capt. T. O. Selfridge, U. S. N.; and Lieut. A. B. Wyckoff, U. S. N., were appointed as this committee and went over practically the same ground as had been gone over by preceding committees. It even selected the same site, and made its report so promptly that it was sent to Congress December 23, 1890, by President Harrison. The House of Representatives refused to take any action towards making an appropriation, but Senator Allen offered an amendment to the naval appropriation bill authorizing the secretary of the navy to buy not to exceed 200 acres of land on Puget Sound at Port Orchard and appropriating \$25,000 for its purchase and the construction thereon "for naval and commercial purposes, a dry dock, to be not less than 600 feet in length, not less than 70 feet width at bottom of entrance, and capable of admitting vessels drawing thirty feet of water; the cost not to exceed \$700,000, of which the sum of \$200,000 is hereby appropriated for use during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1892." Senators Dolph and Mitchell, of Oregon, joined Eastern senators in opposing this bill, they wishing to have the selection of the site left to the secretary of the navy. Two days were spent in discussing the amendment, which was finally adopted, the purchase price being reduced to \$10,000.

The conference committee's report was sent to the house, where it met with determined opposition and would, perhaps, have been laid away indefinitely had it not been for the assistance given by the leading members of the naval committee, Lodge and Boutelle, who carried it through just before the close of the session. Lieutenant Wyckoff was, at this time, assistant chief of the bureau of docks and yards, navy department, at Washington. To him Secretary of the Navy B. F. Tracy sent the following order:

"Sir: You will proceed to Seattle, Washington, and then to Port Orchard, in the County of Kitsap, on Puget Sound, where you will select a tract of land, not exceeding 200 acres in extent, suitable for the purposes of a dry dock. You will furnish the department with a plan of the site you may select, and report the lowest price per acre for which it can be purchased."

Wyckoff, within two weeks, was on his way, purchased the lands upon which the first dry dock was built, and September 16, 1891, assumed command of the Puget Sound Naval Station upon orders issued by Secretary Tracy. Miss Selah Wyckoff hoisted the Stars and Stripes and the station, after more than twenty years of effort upon the part of its friends, both within and without the state, was a reality.

After making a great many borings, Lieutenant Wyckoff selected a site for the dry dock and awarded the contract for its construction to Byron Barlow & Co. of Tacoma, the original contract price being \$461,465. The Tacoma



STEAMER MINNESOTA LYING AT HER DOCK IN SMITH'S COVE

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firm, which consisted of Byron Barlow, James E. Blackwell and J. M. Dougan, began work on December 10, 1892, Miss Stella Wyckoff digging the first shovel-ful of earth. Lieutenant Wyckoff, who had been suffering from rheumatism brought on by his close attention to the work of getting the station under way, was granted sick leave and went to Hot Springs, Arkansas, for treatment. His disease taking a severe chronic form, he was placed on the retired list, and in January, 1893, Capt. J. C. Morong became commandant.

The old ship *Nipsic* was taken to Port Orchard and became Commandant Morong's home and office building until permanent houses could be erected. Hardly had the dry dock been started when it was decided to add fifty feet to its length and the finished work was 650 feet long, contained 2,200,000 feet of lumber, 12,000 piles and 19,000 barrels of cement. Moran Brothers of Seattle built the pumping plant, which consisted of three large centrifugal pumps, working independently and capable of lifting 110,000 gallons of water a minute, but little more than two hours being required to empty the 14,000,000 gallon dock.

Almost three and one-half years were required in the building and equipping of the dock, the work being finished in April, 1896. At last everything was in readiness for the official test provided for in the contract. The coast defense monitor *Monterey* swung loose from her anchorage, turned her prow towards the dock entrance and slowly worked her way inside. Across the entrance to the dock was stretched a plain blue ribbon and when the *Monterey's* nose broke this ribbon she passed from the control of her commander, Captain Ludlow, and under that of Naval Constructor Baxter, who had come from the Mare Island yard to assist in the official test. As soon as the *Monterey* had entered, the floating caisson gate was swung into place and the pumps began lifting the water out of the dock. There was not a hitch in the proceedings, but as the water receded it was found that the dock was a gigantic trap into which hundreds of fish had been caught. The fish drifted toward the openings of the pumps and as the water became more shallow, one of the men on the coping left his place among the spectators, hurriedly descended the sides of the basin and caught a big silver salmon on the end of an improvised spear. For the next few minutes things were lively, spectators, yard employes and blue jackets, suddenly developing sporting blood, took part in the exciting work of catching fish while the crowds that lined the basin enjoyed a hearty laugh at their expense.

CHAPTER XLII

OLYMPIA'S SUCCESSFUL FIGHT TO RETAIN THE CAPITAL AND SOMETHING ABOUT THE MAGNIFICENT NEW BUILDINGS ERECTED THERE BY THE CAPITOL COMMISSION.

In the Legislature of 1855, in the cause of the territorial capital fight, A. A. Denny, of King County, said:

"Indeed, Mr. Speaker, I know of no other place combining anything like the claims, all things considered, to the territorial capital as does this immediate vicinity; hence I shall most willingly give my support to the bill under consideration. In doing so, I am influenced by no motives of a pecuniary character—I own no town lots or landed estates in Thurston country and such is the poor estimate of my vote or influence that I have not had even the offer of an oyster supper from the good citizens of Olympia as an inducement for either."

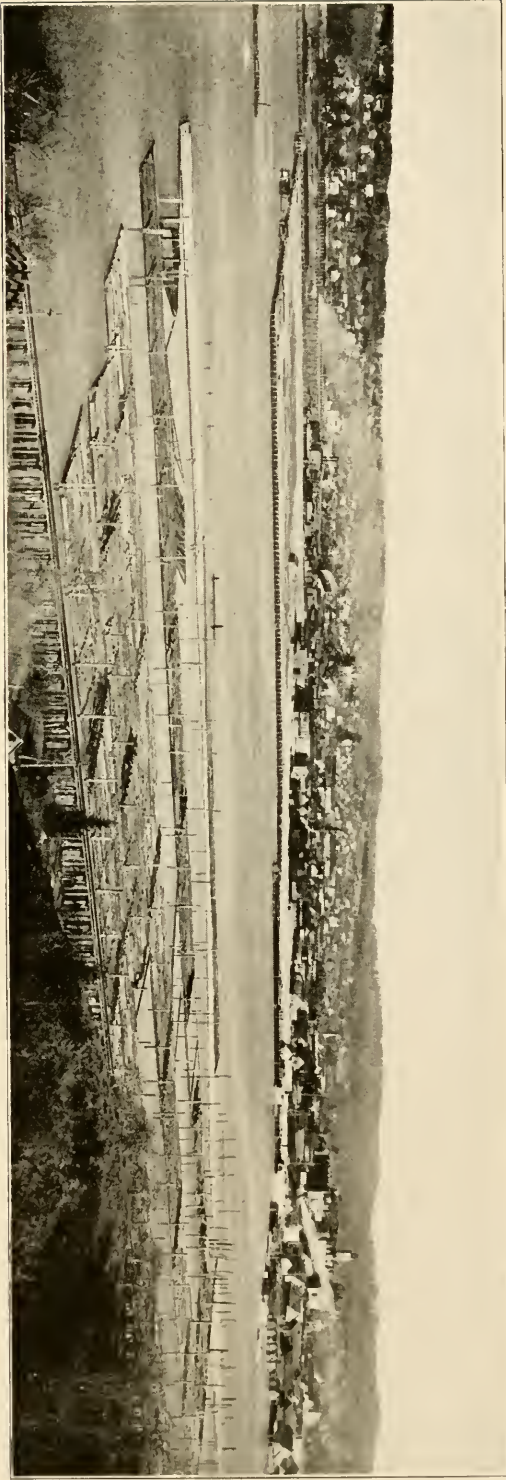
Vancouver and Olympia were the contestants for capital honors. Each was using every artifice to obtain the prize and votes were sought by both. Denny cast the deciding vote and the seat of government remained in Olympia.

The capital fight took a new turn when the Legislature met in December, 1859, and A. A. Denny, who had in 1855 voted for Olympia, swung over to the Vancouver side. When it came to vote on December 14th it passed the House by a vote of 19 to 9. Olympia now awoke to her danger and redoubled her efforts to defeat the bill in the council, which on the 30th voted 5 to 4 against the measure and the capital was saved. It was a close call.

The Legislature of 1860 provided for the creation of a capitol commission with power to award a contract for the construction of buildings. The governor removed George Gallagher from the commission, appointing R. M. Walker in his stead. Gallagher instituted an injunction to restrain Walker from serving, but Judge O. B. McFadden denied the injunction. No satisfactory bids being received for the construction of the building, the commission August 24th refused to consider those submitted, and the whole matter was passed up to the next Legislature.

The Legislature which had created the commission also had passed an act removing the capital from Olympia to Vancouver. This no doubt influenced the action of the board in not awarding the contract for buildings. Scarcely had the Legislature adjourned than it was discovered that it had neglected to attach an enacting clause to the removal bill. This brought the matter before the voters and at an election in July Olympia received 1,239, Vancouver 639, Steilacoom 253, the rest of the 2,315 ballots being given Port Townsend, Walla Walla and Seattle. Olympia people now felt that they had the best of the fight and that Portland, which had been accused of using her influence for Vancouver, was so badly whipped that the question would remain closed for a time.

VIEW OF OLYMPIA



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Thirty-six years Olympia had been the capital of the territory. Other cities had asked for and had received money for the building of territorial institutions, but Olympia, always afraid to ask for fear some other town would capture the capital, was still getting along with a capitol building which her people felt was far less pretentious than the new state should occupy. The delegates to the constitutional convention were to hold their sessions in the capitol. It was in a bad way. It needed additional room and many repairs. The citizens took the matter in hand, raised the money and built an addition, the city council appropriating \$2,500 from the city treasury. The sessions of the convention opened July 4th and closed August 22d and when the proposal for the locating the capital of the state was submitted to the people, Olympia received 25,490 votes, North Yakima, 14,711; Ellensburg, 12,883; and other towns from a very few to 607. Olympia had not received the required majority over all her competitors and the question again was submitted the following year when Olympia easily won.

So complicated has become the capitol building, and sometimes so torqued with politics, that the average citizen knows little of the status in detail. A recent writer for the Tacoma Tribune illuminated the entire subject and his article here is reproduced:

"As a result of the Washington state capitol commission calling for bids on bonds for the purpose of cleaning up the present indebtedness against the capitol building fund and to complete the temple of justice, which bids are to be submitted on January 18th, at Olympia, the varied history of the state capitol buildings again becomes a matter of public interest.

"The Legislature of 1893 appropriated \$500,000 to be used in the construction of a state capitol building. After some difficulties in connection with the commission in charge, resulting in the removal of one of the members from the commission by Governor John H. McGraw, the competitive plan of Ernest Flagg of New York was selected for the building and a contract was awarded for construction of the foundation. The contractors were Moffat Brothers of Spokane, and among those who were in touch with state affairs at that time it was understood that they lost quite a large amount of money on their work. When the Legislature of 1895 assembled, the foundation was not yet completed and a new appropriation of \$930,000, for the construction of capitol buildings was made. From the first appropriation \$20,405.84 was expended and \$61,013.98 used of the \$930,000 allowance. No further work was done on the building and the foundation still remains as originally completed under the Moffat contract, a melancholy reminder of the edifice still to be.

"The Legislature of 1897 passed a bill providing funds to complete the capitol. That bill was vetoed by Governor Rogers and as a result of this act life in Olympia was made as nearly unbearable as possible for Governor Rogers and his family by the residents of the city. Capitol removal agitation was a familiar issue and Olympia naturally regarded the speedy erection of a splendid statehouse as her best assurance of retaining the seat of state government.

"An act was passed by the Legislature in 1899 authorizing the purchase of the Thurston County courthouse by the state for capitol building purposes, provided that an addition should be built, and appropriating \$350,000 for the purchase and enlargement. All of that fund was expended and this is the building now used as the state capitol. Presented with this token of permanency the people of

Olympia experienced a decided change of sentiment toward Governor Rogers and his family. From that time and until his death he was given more nearly the consideration his position entitled him to.

"Following this, however, there was a great deal of agitation in favor of the removal of the capitol to some more central city and in 1905 a bill was introduced by State Senator Baker providing that the question of its removal to Tacoma be submitted to the vote of the people at the next general election. Wright Park, consisting of forty acres located in about the center of Tacoma, was offered to the state for capitol purposes. The bill passed both houses, but was vetoed by Governor Mead in 1905, and the two-thirds' vote necessary to overcome the veto could not be mustered.

"As the bill simply provided for submission of the question to the vote of the people, it has been the opinion of many that Governor Mead lacked constitutional authority to veto the act. Succeeding governors have taken the position that the constitution does not give the right to them to veto a measure passed by the Legislature for submission to the voters of the state for determination. Had this point been raised and a judicial determination of the question obtained at that time by those interested in the passage of the bill it is probable the question of the permanent location of the state capitol would have been decided by the voters of the state at the general election held in November, 1906.

"Again in 1907 the matter of the permanent location of the capitol appeared to be an unsettled one and State Senator Ruth of Thurston County introduced a bill providing for the construction of an executive mansion and appropriating \$35,000 for that purpose. It is known to many of those who were in touch with conditions during the session that Senator Ruth had but little hope for the passage of his bill when it was introduced, in fact, it was presented principally for the purpose of drawing opposition in the direction of that particular measure, and with a hope that it would result in no attempt being made to again pass a bill to submit the removal question to the voters of the state.

"How well it succeeded is shown by the records. Not only was a removal bill not passed, but in the fullness of its heart the Legislature did pass the bill for the executive mansion, a result which Senator Ruth had not dared to hope for when the bill was first introduced. There had been no sentiment in favor of the construction of an executive mansion up to that time and its completion, under expense restrictions imposed, placed another burden upon the state and also upon every man who has or may become the chief executive of the state since that time. It is a building of about twenty-two rooms, contains a large banquet room and ball room, is almost as large as some public institutions and is surrounded by about six acres of lawn. It is located nearly adjoining the old capitol foundation and near the uncompleted temple of justice, and its grounds contain the only portion of the 30-acre capitol site kept in lawn.

"The cost of the mansion and furnishings was approximately \$45,000, and at each session of the Legislature appropriations have to be made for fuel, light, water, help, repairs, etc. The last Legislature appropriated \$4,500 per year for all expenses incidental to its upkeep, repairs and improvements. It would have been much better for the state to have cared for the housing of its state officers in suitable buildings before undertaking to build an executive mansion, and this undoubtedly would have been the result had not the Thurston County Senator,



TEMPLE OF JUSTICE
Now being built in Olympia by the state



STATE CAPITOL BUILDING, OLYMPIA

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who introduced the bill for its construction, found a Legislature much more liberal than he had anticipated.

"At the 1909 session of the Legislature the capitol question again became prominent. A bill was passed creating a new capitol commission, its membership consisting of the governor, state auditor, commissioner of public lands, one member of the state tax commission, to be named by the governor, and three qualified electors to be appointed by the governor. This commission was charged with the duty of erecting a capitol building and all sums of money that might be received from the sale of capitol lands were appropriated for the construction of the building. An allowance of \$12,000 was made from the general fund to pay expenses of the commission and also to be used in cruising capitol lands. Apparently there was need for prompt action for the bill contained an emergency clause and took effect immediately upon its passage by the Legislature and approval by the governor.

"At the special session of the Legislature held in the summer of 1909, an additional appropriation of \$16,000 was made from the general fund for cruising the capitol lands it evidently having been found that the \$12,000 appropriated at the regular session would not be sufficient to complete the work.

"Following the provisions of the act passed at the regular 1909 session Governor Hay appointed as members of the capitol commission J. E. Frost, a member of the tax commission; Alex Polson of Hoquiam, A. S. Taylor, now one of the owners of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, and F. D. Huestis. On the death of Mr. Huestis in 1909, Mitchell Harris of Olympia was appointed to fill the vacancy and later, when J. E. Frost resigned from the tax commission, Mike J. Carrigan was appointed as the tax commission member of the capitol commission.

"The work of cruising the capitol lands was proceeded with, but no construction work undertaken until after the 1911 session of the Legislature. At this session a bill was passed authorizing the further construction of capitol buildings under a group plan instead of having but one capitol building, and the capitol commission was empowered to issue bonds or warrants which would be a lien against the capitol lands. The commission was also authorized to erect the temple of justice 'for the purpose of providing adequate quarters for the Supreme Court and its officers, and offices for the attorney general and the state law library.' The law further provided that 'the approximate cost of said building be \$300,000.' The law made an appropriation of \$350,000 to construct such building and acquire such lands as might be needed additional to the property already owned by the state.

"The language of the law, a part of which is here quoted, clearly shows that the intention of the Legislature was that 'the approximate cost of the temple of justice should be \$300,000.' The law also provided that plans should be submitted in competition. The call for competitive plans, in referring to the temple of justice, said: 'Exclusive of approaches, decorations, mural paintings, electric fixtures and movable furniture, it is expected that the cost will approximate \$300,000.' About thirty sets of plans for the temple of justice were submitted. That of Wilder & White, architects of New York City, was accepted and a contract entered into with this firm for plans, specifications and also superintendence of the construction of the temple of justice.

"That the cost of the building constructed under the accepted plans would

be far in excess of the amount fixed by the Legislature, and that the capitol commission was aware of this, is shown in the call for bids on the building. The proposal form submitted to contractors contains thirteen alternative bids, practically all providing for reduction in cost should any one of the alternative bids be accepted. The specifications upon which bids were submitted provided in many places for temporary work and did not call for exterior finish, which should be of granite, marble or stone. The estimate of cost made by the architects for cut stone exterior finish was \$300,000 or, in other words, the architects' estimated cost for the stone exterior finish was an amount equal to the total appropriation made by the Legislature for the building complete.

"The estimate of cost for completing the building, as submitted to the capitol commission, of which Governor Hay was chairman, and printed in the report of that commission submitted to the Legislature of 1913, fixes the amount required for the completion of the building at \$538,750. In this amount the only items included and not contemplated by the Legislature in the original appropriation are those for metal stack equipment, electric fixtures, and furniture, curtains and hangings, which in this estimate are listed at \$48,000. The architects' estimate, therefore, of what would be needed to complete a building upon which already practically \$300,000 had been spent or contracted for, and which was the sum appropriated for the complete building by the Legislature, was almost \$500,000. In addition to this estimate the architects also include under another heading: Sculptured groups and single figures in main entrance, \$25,000; mural decorations in court room and library, \$40,000."

CHAPTER XLIII

WASHINGTON A PROGRESSIVE STATE—FACTS THAT LED UP TO RECENT BROADENING OF PEOPLE'S AUTHORITY—NOTORIOUS SENATORIAL ELECTIONS—NOMINATION OF GOVERNOR MEAD IN RAILROAD MAN'S PRIVATE CAR—THE ABERDEEN CONVENTION—J. E. FROST TELLS HOW THE STATE'S ACTIVITIES HAVE BROADENED UNTIL ALMOST EVERY PHASE OF THE CITIZEN'S DAILY LIFE IS AFFECTED.

The State of Washington has been notably progressive in her law-making, though her legislators have indulged scarcely at all in the freakisms of some sister states. Four facts have had much to do with the working out of laws designed to give the people the very limit of the powers which free government implies. Those facts were: The existence in Olympia for many years of a venal lobby which sought not only to deprive the public of self-expression, but which sought to deflect the public will at the polls.

There was a series of senatorial elections which disgraced the Legislature and on one occasion deprived the people of representation in the halls of Congress. After "Ankeny money" began to flow freely the situation was grossly unpicturesque.

The election of Addison G. Foster to the United States Senate by the State Legislature, February 1, 1899, closed a long and bitter contest, in which twenty-four ballots were taken. Foster received eighty-one of the eighty-three republican votes of both houses. His opponents were United States Senator John L. Wilson and Levi Ankeny. In order to defeat Ankeny, Wilson sacrificed himself, threw his votes to Foster, and an agreement was signed by enough legislators to guarantee Foster's election. One of the candidates was reported to have said that he had \$200,000 to spend on his campaign.

Senator Wilshire, of King County, objected to the combination. He said it was being held over King County as a threat to force its delegation to vote for John L. Wilson—and King County at that time had little love for Wilson. Wilshire bolted the caucus, and was followed by twenty-three other legislators, representing eleven counties. Among the bolters was Speaker Guie, chairman of the caucus. It was a bad break for the combine. Wickersham, of Pierce, nominated Allen, of Spokane, and thus prevented disruption of the meeting. The bolters later came back into line and voted for Foster.

One of the most interesting episodes of a political nature in Washington's history was the nomination in Tacoma in 1904 of Albert E. Mead, of Whatcom County, for governor. It created much excitement, chiefly because it was alleged that John D. Farrell, factotum in this state of the Great Northern Railroad Company, came in the dead of night to Tacoma in his special car to dictate the nomination. Sensational stories of this lost nothing in their repetition, and the occurrence became almost a state scandal in many minds.

John C. McBride posed as the farmer's candidate. Much had been said in his behalf against the alleged domination of state affairs by railroad and other interests. The delegations of both King and Pierce counties were opposed to McBride. Several of the outside counties favored B. D. Crocker, of Tacoma, for the nomination. Crocker for many years was a large figure in Northwestern politics. Thurston County came up with C. J. Lord as a candidate. Lord dropped out when he learned that, if he received that nomination, the state treasuryship would go to some other county. The contest quickly developed into a fight of the field against McBride, and the delegations conferred and schemed for a day or so before Farrell came to Tacoma in his private car.

He asked B. S. Grosscup to have dinner with him in his car. Grosscup accepted and asked Harry Fairchild, an able lawyer of Bellingham, to join the party. At dinner they discussed the problem that was on all tongues. Farrell had no candidate.

In the course of the discussion Fairchild brought up the name of Albert E. Mead, the county lawyer, who was then a candidate for Congress. He was not objectionable to Farrell and Grosscup. The word was sent out and Mead's candidacy at once took shape, steering committees from anti-McBride counties quickly formed and the nomination of Mead became a certainty, though conferences lasted all night long at the Tacoma Hotel in the placing of the other nominations for geographical advantage.

Mead repaid Fairchild for this service by making him chairman of the state's first railroad commission, the predecessor of the present public service commission.

These episodes and a score of others were followed by the Aberdeen convention of the republican party in 1912—a convention which it was rather extravagantly alleged, aimed at the return of a political feudalism of ancient days. The question was whether the delegates should be chosen by the voters at a primary election or "handpicked." They were "handpicked" and rebellion bulged the party walls until they split asunder. As in all radically evolutionary episodes some very good reputations were damaged; but a great deal of worthless political directorship was dumped, not to be recovered.

Since then there has been a very distinct effort at political reform in the state. In discussing recent legislation in a newspaper article John E. Frost, former state auditor, said:

"To have seen vast expanses of sage and bunch grass give way to fields of waving grain, the desert under the magic touch of water become gardens of fruitfulness, tall and stately trees yield to many-storied buildings and the haunt of the wild beast become the home of man is to have been favored beyond the ordinary lot of man. More interesting still it is to have watched the formation and development of a great new commonwealth. It was my good fortune to have come to Washington when it was still a territory, its resources unknown and undeveloped and peopled only by a few pioneers. The members of the convention which framed the constitution of Washington came from many states and countries, each remembering some law or custom common to his own state, endeavored to embody it in our fundamental law, this produced a constitution that is a curious hodge-podge. Instead of a simple reservation of rights and a declaration of important principles it contains a code of legislation upon many



STATE ARMORY, TACOMA

Tower of the courthouse showing in the background

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subjects. The wonder is that under its provisions we have developed so wisely and so well.

“Our state government was designed to be purely representative. During its early history many important duties were imposed upon the elective state officials. The state auditor was auditor in fact as well as name. It was his duty to check up all bills and accounts, to see that the proper contracts were entered into for supplies for state institutions and that exorbitant prices were not charged. The state treasurer was the real custodian and solely responsible for the safe keeping of state funds. The commissioner of public lands was commissioner in fact. Our various state institutions were managed by boards and trustees, selected usually from among prominent citizens residing in their immediate vicinity. Aside from the appointment of these local boards, the governor’s duties were largely perfunctory. He could veto an act of the Legislature, pardon criminals, order out the militia to suppress riot or insurrection and generally look wise and dignified. It was a nice, easy, hand-shaking office.

“A little more than ten years ago, however, there came the demand for more popular government. The first step in this direction was the enactment of a direct primary law which was followed by the gradual extension of the functions of state government to embrace and comprehend a multiplicity of things formerly not the subject of state regulation. This tendency has grown until today our statute books are filled with laws regulating, restricting, prohibiting, commanding, directing and supervising almost every line of human activity. The enforcement of these many laws has necessitated the creation of an army of public officials and added enormously to the expense of government.

“We have now a state board of control, composed of three appointed officials in complete charge of the state penitentiary at Walla Walla, the State Reformatory at Monroe, the Boys’ Training School and the Girls’ Training School at Chehalis, the great insane asylum at Medical Lake, another one at Steilacoom and still a third at Sedro-Woolley, the school for deaf mutes and a school for the blind at Vancouver, a school for the mentally deficient at Medical Lake, the Soldiers’ Home at Orting, the Veterans’ Home at Port Orchard, the state capitol buildings and grounds, as well as many other duties. This board expends annually more than three million dollars.

“We have a state highway commission, charged with laying out, constructing and maintaining our great system of state highways, which expends about \$3,500,000 per year. We have a state fish commissioner, charged with the erection of new fish hatcheries, the supervision of some thirty-odd already established, who with tugs and launches patrol the waters of the Columbia River, Willapa Harbor, Grays Harbor, the Straits of Fuca and Puget Sound, to enforce the fish laws, and who is expending more than \$100,000 annually; a public service commission charged with regulating and fixing the rates and tolls that may be charged by public service corporations within the state, expending around \$150,000 annually; a commissioner of agriculture, expending approximately \$85,000 annually; a tax commission, costing approximately \$25,000, to supervise the activities of county assessors; an industrial insurance commission, costing the taxpayers of the state a trifle more than \$110,000 a year, which also collects annually more than \$2,000,000 from the employers of labor in this state and pays it out to injured workmen or their dependents. We have a state barber board, a dental board, a

nurses' board, an embalmers' board, an optometry board, a medical board, a veterinary board, a pharmacy board, costing the people approximately \$15,000 per year; a commissioner of labor, costing \$21,500; a bank examiner, costing as much more; a state grain inspector, a hotel inspector, a state board of health, a state geologist, an industrial welfare commission, state fire warden, a humane bureau, boards and regents of our various institutions of higher education and many others.

"The Legislature of 1915 appropriated \$20,503,386.33 to be expended by these numerous boards and commissions, or a little more than \$10,250,000 per year. When it is understood that this appropriation will be expended and this great multiplicity of duties performed by officials appointed by the governor, responsible to him only and removable at his will, it will be readily seen that our state government has become most autocratic.

"In fact there are few commonwealths in which the chief executive is charged with an equal measure of responsibility or exercises so potent a power in shaping the affairs of state. This has not been accomplished without limiting and largely curtailing the powers and duties formerly enjoyed by our elective state officials."

CHAPTER XLIV

BAD FOREST FIRES IN 1891—WESTERN WASHINGTON EXPOSITION IN TACOMA—SOLDIERS' HOME BUILT AT ORTING—THE PHRA NANG, FIRST ORIENTAL STEAMER TO ARRIVE AT TACOMA—TACOMA HAS AN EARTHQUAKE AND PART OF THE WATER-FRONT SLIDES INTO COMMENCEMENT BAY—METHODIST CONFERENCE REJOICES OVER THE FAILURE OF THE HOP CROP.

The fall of 1891 was notable for the number and size of its forest fires. In almost every county of Western Washington, as well as in many in Oregon, destructive fires raged for weeks, the districts most severely affected being in Southwestern Washington. By the 12th of the month the smoke had turned the sky into a dark, copper-colored mantle through which the sun shone only as the fitful breeze shifted the dense cloud. In both Tacoma and Seattle electric lights were necessary through the greater part of the day, shipping on the Sound was delayed and the Tacoma branch of the "Come Outers," a religious sect, announced that the end of the world had arrived.

In Clarke County farmers lost their barns, their dwellings and several persons living on farms within the timber belt were burned to death. Thirty square miles of Mason County territory was burned over, several mills and numerous logging camps being consumed. Rayville, Chehalis County, with its three mills, was reported on fire and its citizens fleeing towards Grays Harbor towns for safety. Early on the morning of the 12th word was received from Hoquiam that the Town of London had burned and its citizens were then trying to reach that place.

A little later Elma reported buildings in the outskirts of that place burning and then the fire crossed the telegraph line and communication with the Grays Harbor country was cut off. The Great Northern bridge at Wellington was burned and reports from Enumclaw and Buckley said the fires had eaten into the outskirts of those places, both of which were threatened with destruction.

These fires, however, did not prevent the Western Washington Exposition from becoming a great success. Some two years before Henry Bucey, of Tacoma, had conducted a small exhibit of Washington products as a feature of Tacoma publicity work. The success led Bucey to plan a larger exhibit—one that would embrace the entire Western Washington country. His early efforts failed. Several companies were formed but it was not until the fall of 1890 and the incorporation of the Western Washington Exposition Company that a realization of his dream seemed to be possible. Stock sold rapidly and soon reached a total of almost one hundred thousand dollars. Oppermann & Berens were given a contract for the construction of a building 280 by 300 feet in ground dimensions, and two stories high. Ninety days later the structure, the largest wooden

building in the state, was completed and Bucey and a corps of assistants began installing a collection of Washington products never before equaled.

Notwithstanding rainy, foggy weather a very large crowd of people from all over the state was present when the doors were opened on the evening of September 10th. President Charles E. Hale delivered an address of welcome which was responded to by Patrick Henry Winston, of Spokane, Governor Ferry and other men prominent in state affairs. The hard times following the panic of '93 prevented the exposition attaining that measure of success which it and its promoter so richly deserved, and although it was, for several years, a leading amusement and educational feature of the fall season, it was never a financial success. The property passed into the control of a receiver and September 20, 1898, the great building was destroyed in one of the most spectacular fires Tacoma has ever known. It was about this time that fire destroyed the unfinished Tourist Hotel and paved the way for the building of Tacoma's beautiful high school and its celebrated Stadium.

With the coming of statehood, veterans of the Civil war discussed the question of obtaining a soldiers' home. Stevens Post No. 1, Grand Army of the Republic, Seattle, adopted a resolution endorsing the movement and recommending that the annual encampment take similar action. The encampment met in Spokane April 25, 1889, adopted resolutions favoring the establishment of a soldiers' home and appointed S. G. Cosgrove, department commander, John R. Kinnear, George W. Tibbetts and John P. Hoyt, of Stevens Post, and William F. Prosser, North Yakima, as a committee in charge. This committee induced the constitutional convention to make constitutional provision for the home and several bills, providing for its establishment, were introduced in the first State Legislature. These, under the plea of economy, were all defeated.

The bills were redrawn and as Senate Bill 143, introduced by Senator Kinnear, passed the Legislature and were signed by the governor March 26, 1890. The first board of trustees consisted of G. H. Boardman, M. M. Holmes, J. F. McLean, W. R. Dunbar and A. S. Cole, the board organizing July 3, 1890. Puyallup, Orting, Ellensburg, Goldendale, Vashon Island, Whidby Island, Eliza Island, Kitsap and San Juan counties offered sites for the home, Orting being selected by the trustees. July 4, 1891, the home was dedicated, S. F. Street being the first commandant with Maud S. Street the first matron. During the first six months it had an average membership of thirty, which by 1900 had grown to 192.

Charles E. Hale was chairman of the celebration held June 17, 1892, in honor of the arrival of the Phra Nang, the first steamship to arrive at Tacoma from the Orient. The Phra Nang, pronounced Pre Nahng, was launched at Glasgow, Scotland, and was two years old the day she arrived in Tacoma. She had a registered tonnage of 1,021 and an average speed of eleven knots an hour. Her crew was Chinese, her officers English and she carried a cargo of tea, silk, sugar, rice, curios, firecrackers and Japanese liquor. On board were 183 Japanese bound for San Francisco and Portland. They were dressed in white man's clothing which fitted them little better than gunny sacks, and appeared to wear their starched collars just as uncomfortably detached from their shirts as fastened, some preferring them one way and some the other. Resplendent in white cot-



THE WAKEFIELD HOTEL, ELMA



THE ELMA BAND

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ton gloves, several sizes too large, they made a brave and uncomplaining attempt to carry the white man's sartorial burden with dignity.

Phra Nang is a Siamese word meaning "the second wife of the king"—the first wife being called Somedetch Phra Nang. The king was said to have had thirty-two wives. The arrival of the vessel was celebrated with the booming of cannon and speech-making and in a few days her cargo was on its way East. Tea trains and silk trains for some years had been a feature of transcontinental traffic over the Northern Pacific. The merchandise carried by these trains was brought across the Pacific in sailing vessels. The first of these was the *A. G. Ropes* and the second the ship *W. J. Rotch*, Captain Gibbs, arrived on July 19, 1888. The *Rotch* carried 3,109 tons of tea which was unloaded and on its way East inside of thirty-eight hours after arrival. November 15th the steamship *Zambesi* sailed for Hong Kong having as a part of her cargo twenty-six boxes of selected baldwin, rubicon, red cheeked and new town pippin apples from the Tacoma fruit farm of Frank Alling. This was the first shipment of Washington apples to the Orient and they were sold at the rate of \$100 a ton, f. o. b. Tacoma.

At 11.10 o'clock on the night of November 28, 1894, a strip of land between 250 and 300 yards long and from 20 to 60 feet wide slid into Commencement Bay at Tacoma, carrying the home and boathouse of H. H. Alger, forty-five feet of the south end of the Northern Pacific Railroad's Puget Sound warehouse, its freight office and the adjoining stock yards. Night Watchman John Hanson and Emma Stubbs, age fifteen, daughter of Alger, were carried down in the wreckage and lost their lives. The girl's body was not recovered. May 18, 1895, Diver Baldwin found Hanson's body pinned beneath timbers in forty feet of water.

Further north a second slide a few minutes later carried away a portion of the ocean dock. Policeman Harry Keene and Night Watchman Eastman were standing near the Crescent creamery plant (now the Pacific Cold Storage Company) when the slide started. They felt a heavy jar, followed immediately by the crash of the Puget Sound warehouse as it broke up and settled into the water.

The pump house, containing the engine and boilers supplying the steam for the pumps then hydraulicking earth from the bluff, floated back near the other docks, caught fire and threatened to destroy the remaining portions of the warehouses. The Alger house floated out into the bay and the steamer *Blue Bird* rescued all members of the family except Emma. It was supposed she had been struck by falling timbers, rendered unconscious and drowned.

The scarcity of lights rendered rescue work difficult and it was not until the following morning that the full extent of the damage could be ascertained.

The following night another section of the made land, about two acres in extent, went down at low tide, carrying with it 120 feet more of the Puget Sound warehouse, and much of the adjoining land settled.

Several days before the first slide occurred it was reported that smoke clouds were hanging about the top of Mount Rainier and that its long extinct fires were threatening to break out. Old Town watchmen reported that they had seen a tidal wave fifteen feet in height sweep the shore.

Northern Pacific officials estimated the damage to warehouses and tracks at about thirteen thousand dollars. The pump house was gone; also the freight office in which was a safe containing \$2,400 in cash and checks and other papers worth more than ten thousand dollars.

Engineers soon were at work making a survey of the slide, and it was found that the bottom of the bay had settled over an area of some twenty acres. Where the warehouses had stood sixty feet of water was found; 100 foot piles were washed out, and the fact that they were not broken led Division Superintendent McCabe to believe that the cause of the catastrophe was the washing out of a stratum of quicksand low down beneath the filled-in earth. Extending their soundings into the bay the engineers found that for more than a thousand feet outward from shore the bottom of the bay had settled down from twenty to sixty feet, and at a few places an even greater subsidence was shown. This discovery led Chief Engineer McHenry to say that it was not a sliding but a dropping motion that had caused the trouble. The center of the disturbance, he said, was to be found about a thousand feet from shore.

Rev. A. J. Hanson, of Puyallup, in presenting his report to the Methodist Conference in Seattle in September, 1895, said he had some good news to report—the hop crop was a failure; it had been cursed by God and was far below normal yield. Bishop Bowman asked if the hops had failed to grow and Hanson replied they had grown but had been destroyed by the hop louse, to which Bishop Bowman replied, "Good!" From all over the house came fervent "Thank Gods!"

When the report of the conference was published in the newspapers, a number of Puyallup people took up the question and in reply to the ministers said that such extremist expressions showed inconsistency and that the ministers should rejoice also when the crops of potatoes and cereals failed—they also were used in the manufacture of whisky, a liquor containing 20 per cent more alcohol than the beer made from hops. Hanson was transferred from the Puyallup conference—one of the large hop growers, in a signed letter to the press, asking that his church there return \$400 which the hop grower had contributed towards the erection of the church building.

CHAPTER XLV

WASHINGTON'S RECOVERY FROM THE PANIC OF 1893 ACCELERATED BY THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN ALASKA—HOW THE UNITED STATES PURCHASED THE NORTHERN TERRITORY—SECRETARY SEWARD'S CONNECTION WITH IT—EARLY DEVELOPMENT—THE "KLONDYKE RUSH"—THE BUILDING OF THE UNITED STATES ASSAY OFFICE IN SEATTLE AND ITS FLOOD OF GOLD—NEWSPAPER MEN TALK OF AN ALASKA EXHIBIT WHICH RESULTS IN THE ALASKA-YUKON-PACIFIC EXPOSITION OF 1909—THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR AND THE PART PLAYED BY WASHINGTON BOYS—INCREASED FORTIFICATIONS ON THE SOUND AND THE BUILDING OF THE AMERICAN LAKE CANTONMENT.

Slowly, laboriously, but successfully Western Washington was pulling itself out of the business stagnation following 1893 and was beginning to show signs of returning prosperity when news of the discovery of Alaska's wonderfully rich gold mines arrived and again awakened to life that spirit of daring and love of adventure which at all times has characterized the people of the state. Washingtonians knew Alaska possessed gold—the report for 1895 showed an added \$1,000,000 in gold production over the \$2,000,000 of the year before; but even the best informed were not prepared for the "big strike" in the Klondyke. The news of it turned men's heads and started a movement of passenger and freight traffic which, in a few months, far exceeded safe facilities. Pre-Klondyke transportation facilities had been inadequate. New vessels hastily were built and sailed northward with every inch of their space filled with gold seekers and their supplies. The gold seekers returned, some in worse financial condition than when they had set out, and some with well filled "pokes." Some of these pokes went toward the upbuilding of a greater Washington. Any benefit which the state derived from Alaska's development was, in a measure, the return of "bread cast upon the waters." Washington people had played an important part in its acquisition and development and were entitled to benefit from her good fortune.

In the "Fifty-Four-Forty-or-Fight" campaign of James K. Polk, Russia, evidently inspired by a desire to check the expansion of British power on the Pacific, offered to give Alaska to the United States provided the latter succeeded in establishing the northern boundary of Oregon in accordance with the famous campaign slogan. The Oregon question was a compromise and nothing further was heard of the Alaska purchase until 1859, when it became a subject of semi-official discussion in the national capital. Secretary of State William H. Seward became much interested and in a speech delivered in Minneapolis in 1860 said:

"Standing here and looking far off into the Northwest I see the Russian as he busily occupies himself in establishing seaports and towns and fortifications on the verge of this continent, as the outpost of St. Petersburg; and can say,

'Go on, and build your outposts all along the coast, up even to the Arctic Ocean; they will yet become the outposts of my own country—monuments to the civilization of the United States in the Northwest.'

Sentiment favorable to the purchase grew slowly. Whalers and fishermen from Puget Sound were to make the next move. They objected to the restrictions imposed upon their business by the Russian laws and officials of Alaska and presented their case to the Territorial Legislature of 1865-66. Washington Territorial Legislatures were famous for their memorials and another was soon on its way to Washington. Congress was requested to obtain certain concessions for Puget Sound fishermen. The memorial was filed away and Congress doubtless soon would have forgotten both the memorial and the fishermen had it not been for Secretary Seward. The Puget Sound fishermen's appeal gave him the opportunity he was awaiting and an excuse for opening negotiations with Russian Minister Stoeckle. Russia's price was \$10,000,000 and Seward offered to "split the difference" between that price and the amount offered by the United States and buy the territory for \$7,000,000, with \$200,000 more for the purchase of certain rights and privileges held by the Russian Fur Company. Evidently Secretary Seward did not propose to have a repetition of the long drawn-out and expensive Hudson's Bay claims negotiations.

Upon being admitted the Russian minister said:

"I have a dispatch, Mr. Seward, from my government by cable. The emperor gives his consent to the cession. Tomorrow, if you like, I will come to the department, and we can enter the treaty."

"Why wait until tomorrow, Mr. Stoeckel?" asked the secretary with a smile. "Let us make the treaty tonight."

"But your department is closed. You have no clerks and my secretaries are scattered about the town."

"Never mind that," replied Seward, "if you can muster your legation together before midnight, you will find me waiting you at the department, which will be open and ready for business."

At 4 o'clock the next morning the treaty was engrossed and ready for delivery to the President and Senate. April 9th the Senate ratified the treaty. May 28th it received the official endorsement of the President and on October 18th Gen. Lovell H. Rousseau received the actual transference from Captain Pestchouroff at Sitka.

Had the Senate foreseen the storm of criticism that was to follow it probably would have debated the treaty at greater length. Almost immediately the guns of the opposition were turned on the administration and the purchase. Seward had not, at that time, given the territory the name Alaska and the new possession was called "Seward's Folly," "Johnson's Polar Bear Garden," "Walrussia," and the purchase "an egregious blunder" palmed off on a silly administration by the shrew Russian." Seward was accused of having entered into a secret alliance with Russia and much was said about the purchase having been made with the object of paying Russia for her silent assistance in the Civil war. During the dark days of 1863 the Russian fleet had visited the United States and it may be that Seward, by the purchase, sought to show appreciation for this hint to the British lion that any interference upon his part in the family quarrel between the states would be looked upon as an unfriendly act toward the Russian bear. It



AS THE TACOMA HOTEL LOOKED SHORTLY AFTER COMPLETION

seems improbable that the secretary could have known much about the great wealth locked up in Alaska's vast territory.

During the early days San Francisco held the larger part of Alaska's trade, but with the completion of the Northern Pacific there came a change and Puget Sound gradually acquired first place in northern affairs. The first Alaska newspaper, established in Sitka in 1885, said:

"When Seattle shall become, as it must, the true terminus of the Northern Pacific Railroad and the city that its natural water advantages will make it, unquestionably its proximity and accessibility to Alaska will make it the lap into which our gathered treasures will be emptied. God speed Seattle's growth and Alaska's development."

Ten years later the Alaska Steamship Company, March 3, 1895, sent the first of its steamers—the Willapa—into the Northland with a passenger list of seventy-nine and a cargo composed of mining supplies. From that day down to the present Seattle has been the recognized leader in Alaskan business.

Gold, copper, fish, furs and lumber came down from the North and then on July 17, 1897, came the steamer Portland and news of the "big strike" in the Klondyke. Sadly unprepared was Puget Sound and the country generally for this news. From the eastern, southern and middle western states came tens of thousands of gold seekers. Transportation was needed and every old "tub" in every old "bone yard" on the Sound was hauled out, repaired and sent north loaded to capacity with passengers and freight. In the first seven months of 1898 Seattle built seventy-nine vessels for the Alaska trade. Twelve of them were light draft river steamers built by Moran Brothers near where the King Street station now stands. Robert Moran was in personal command of this fleet and its delivery with the loss of but one boat, was due to the experience gained in the late '70s and early '80s as engineer and pilot on Puget Sound steamers.

In November, 1897, the steamer City of Seattle arrived with \$800,000 in drafts, thirty-five pounds of gold dust and great tales of lucky strikes. She brought a still larger treasure on January 17, 1898, three men having a total of \$470,000. All through the spring and summer other vessels brought treasure and then in the fall came the steamer Roanoke with \$2,500,000. When the first returns from the wonderful tide of gold funds reached Seattle the miners were forced to deposit it in the banks. The banks sent the gold to San Francisco or other Government mints. This was unsatisfactory and the Seattle clearing house opened an assay office and started a movement for an appropriation for a Government office.

May 21, 1898, the bill giving Seattle an assay office became a law. Early in July the office was opened and before January 1, 1899, had received \$5,550,031.53 in Alaska gold. News of the strike at Nome reached Seattle September 30, 1899, at which time the office had received a total of \$15,225,000 during its fourteen months' existence, the three preceding months showing receipts amounting to \$8,473,465.15, a larger amount of gold than was received by all other United States assay offices combined. The steamship Roanoke brought 13,500 ounces of gold into the office in the forenoon of one day.

The business handled from its opening to January 1, 1915, was 13,289,654.92 troy ounces, or 455.3 avoirdupois tons of gold with a coining value of \$227,539,-

656.42; the number of deposits being 54,882. This was received from the following districts: Nome, \$53,890,437.73; Tanana, \$46,494,368.90; Iditarod, \$5,851,202.03; other Alaska districts, \$12,376,043.83. British Columbia, \$18,398,512.92; Yukon, \$87,803,382.81; other districts, \$2,725,708.20.

Alaska business out of Seattle in 1899 totaled 34,932 passengers, 89,116 tons of freight with a value of \$9,506,950; 285 vessels arrived during the year and 295 departed. Inbound tonnage, 180,000; outbound tonnage, 187,000.

Leading all other organizations in agitation for the development of Alaska was the Seattle Chamber of Commerce. It opened an Alaska exhibit which attracted, and still attracts, great attention. This led to the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, about the inception of which Clarence B. Bagley's History of Seattle says:

"A casual remark in the course of a conversation between three men in a Seattle newspaper office was the germ which developed into the city's great world's fair, the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition. The three men were William M. Sheffield, James A. Wood and Godfrey Chealander. The conversation, in the light of events which followed, proved to be one instance of where a good newspaper "story" has set gigantic things in motion.

"It happened late in the year 1905, when Chealander returned to Seattle at the close of the Lewis and Clark Exposition in Portland, where he had made a success of a small Alaska exhibit. At the time of the opening of the Portland Fair, Chealander had lived a number of years in Alaska, where he was the grand secretary of the Arctic Brotherhood and was picked as the most capable man to represent the North.

"The universal attention which this small exhibit attracted so impressed Chealander that, when the exposition closed its doors, he determined that it ought to be retained permanently. With this idea in mind he came to Seattle and fell in with William Sheffield, who was the secretary of the Alaska Club, later called the Arctic Club. His offices were on the top floor of the Alaska Building.

"Together these men determined to interest the people of Seattle in a plan to put up a building for a permanent Alaska exhibit in the city. The Portland exhibit was to be the nucleus of an extensive institution which should be a constant reminder of the wealth and promise of the northern territory. With this plan Sheffield went to Wood, then city editor of the Seattle Times, and now publisher of the Town Crier.

"'Jim,' said Sheffield, 'do you want to get hold of a good story? I don't know what you may think of it, but I believe I have a first class one here. It may amount to a whole lot and it may not.'

"'Let's hear it,' Wood replied. Sheffield then introduced Chealander, who told of the success of the Portland exhibit, outlined their plan for a permanent Alaska building and exhibit in Seattle. Before long Wood interrupted. 'If Portland can have a successful Lewis & Clark Exposition, what's the matter with us? Why can't we have an Alaska exposition in Seattle which will be even more successful?'

"Sheffield and Chealander looked at each other and wondered 'why not?' The more the three men discussed their idea the larger it grew in proportions, until by the time the interview closed an Alaska exposition in Seattle was a fact as far as they were concerned.



1876

THE BIG SNOW OF 1880



THE HOGE BLDG

THE LOWMAN BLDG



THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CANYON - LOOKING UP CHERRY ST FROM FIRST AVE.

1914

EARLY AND PRESENT DAY SCENES IN SEATTLE

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“Wood immediately undertook to get the opinion and sentiment of the public on the proposition through the columns of his newspaper. Every day a new story appeared explaining the idea. Interviews were obtained from the most influential business and professional men of the city approving the plans. From the start, the Alaska exposition was spoken of as an absolute certainty.

“While Wood was feeling out public opinion and rounding the plans into shape, Sheffield and Chealander were busy on the outside interesting the city’s active leaders. Through their efforts a dozen of the leading business men met in conference at a luncheon held one day early in 1906. Over their cigars they went through every detail of the plan, and within a month an association of business men had been formed for the purpose of financing an Alaska exposition in Seattle.

“It was practically out of the membership of the chamber that the men were chosen to conduct Seattle’s first bid for world-wide exploitation. Many of the men were trustees of the chamber. At the head of the exposition as president was J. E. Chilberg, a man who grew up in Seattle and who early absorbed the prevailing desire to do things for his city. The vice presidents were John H. McGraw, A. S. Kerry and H. C. Henry. I. A. Nadeau, a man who had done big things for the city as executive vice president of the chamber of commerce, was chosen director general; C. R. Collins was treasurer; William M. Sheffield, secretary, and John W. Roberts, counsel.

“From the first the movement, as chronicled daily in the columns of the Times, met with the enthusiastic support of the people, not only of Seattle, but of all Alaska, where the feeling toward Seattle was especially friendly. The public thought and talked about the exposition as if it was assured from the start, confident that if Portland could produce a successful fair Seattle could produce a better one. Every day the movement gained headway. There was a keen rivalry between the Times and the Post-Intelligencer at the time, and at first the latter made no mention of the plan which was fathered by its rival; but as soon as the articles of incorporation were filed the morning paper joined with the citizens in their endeavor to make the exposition a record breaker.

“As soon as the necessary committees had been appointed and the project had begun to take definite shape in Seattle, at Olympia and at Washington, D. C., the problem of a suitable location became the absorbing topic. Half a dozen different sites were proposed until finally Prof. Edmond S. Meany, the University of Washington alumnus, whose work has been one of the potent forces in the building of Seattle, developed the idea of locating the fair on the university grounds. He proposed to go before the State Legislature to obtain an appropriation of the grounds and the use of the permanent buildings for the exposition. The idea was no sooner suggested than it was carried to fulfillment. With the forceful personality of Professor Meany behind it, there was little room for argument or opposition. The state not only complied with the request, but the Legislature went a step farther and made provision that most of the money spent on the fair by the state should go into four permanent buildings that could subsequently become part of the university plant.

“Meany’s idea meant the rebirth of the university as one of the nation’s foremost institutions of learning. When the state appropriation was made the university boasted of three permanent buildings, hidden in a wilderness of forests

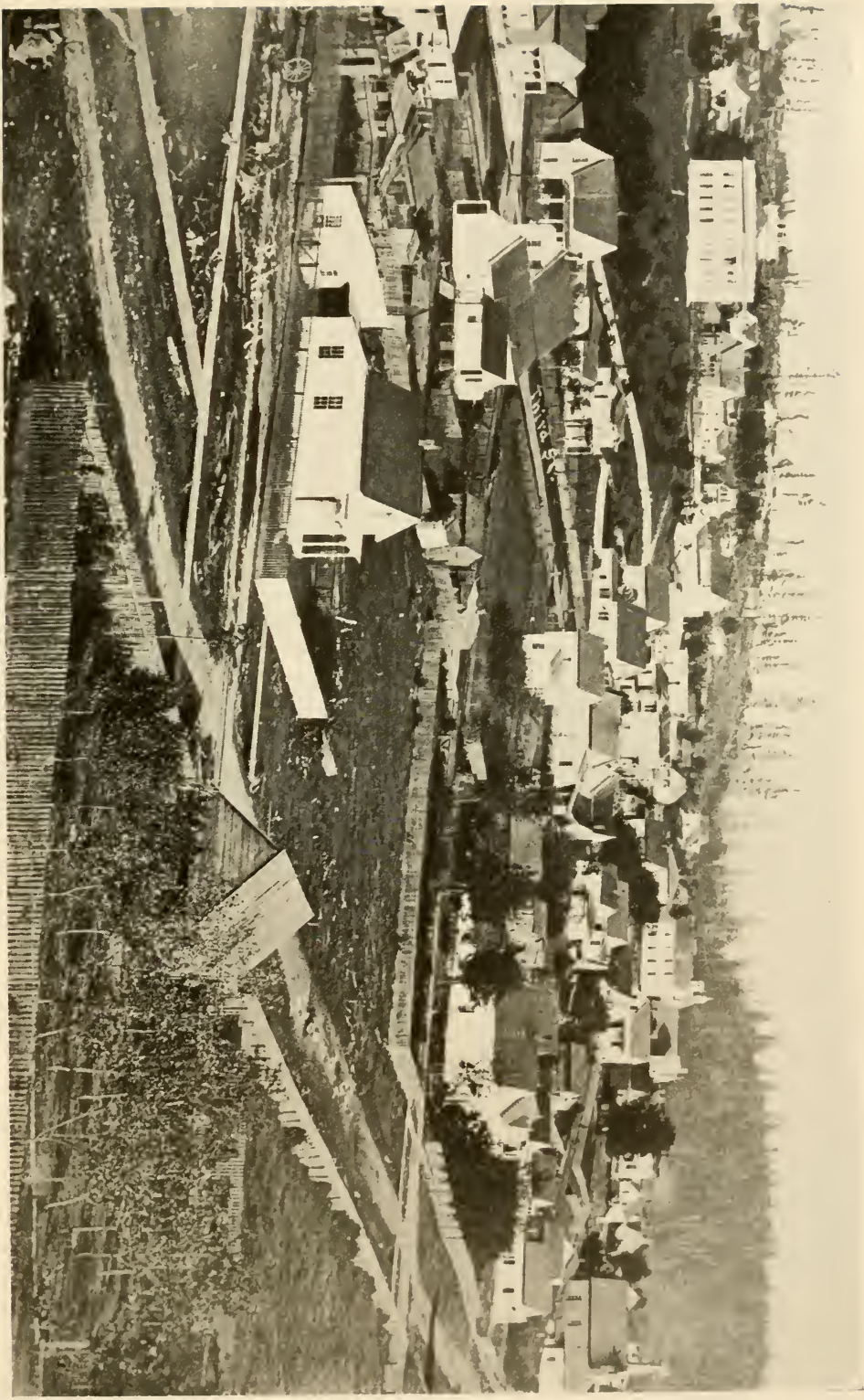
on the shores of Lake Washington. When the fair was over the university found itself in possession of a wonderfully improved campus, laid out in a beautiful park, and about twenty new buildings. One of the finest of the four permanent structures appropriated by the state was Meany Hall, the magnificent building erected for the exposition to become the university's auditorium when the fair was over. It was given its name in 1914 by the board of regents as a mark of appreciation of Meany's constructive work."

Bringing new men into the enterprise increased its scope and Wood and Sheffield saw their Alaska Exposition expand until it embraced the entire Pacific Coast and many foreign countries. E. F. Blaine, Judge Burke and Harry Whitney Treat undertook the work of awakening the interest of Oriental countries and J. E. Chilberg secured the co-operation of Canada. Other foreign countries and many of the states erected buildings and installed exhibits. The financial depression of 1907 was at its height when Will A. Parry started his stock-selling campaign, but so well was it planned that the entire issue was sold in one day. Congress appropriated \$600,000 conditional upon King County raising \$1,000,000. This money was obtained and the county spent almost \$400,000 for a forestry building and county exhibit. James A. Wood became director of exploitation and in a short time made the fair known to people all over the county. One of the catch lines of this publicity campaign was "The Fair Will Be Ready"—and it was. Opening day, June 1st, was declared a legal holiday by Mayor John F. Miller and 80,000 persons were present at the opening exercises conducted by President J. E. Chilberg, Director General I. A. Nadeau and James J. Hill. During its life of 138 days 3,740,551 persons passed through the Exposition's gates and the aggregate admissions amounted to \$1,096,475.64. It was a great success and did much to attract the attention of the world to the resources of Alaska. People everywhere learned that "Seward's Folly" was something more than a "remote, inhospitable and inaccessible" region of "icebergs and polar bears."

During the winter and spring of 1898 Washington people found two main centers of interest for discussion. The Alaska gold rush easily occupied first place in January, but February 15th the United States Battleship Maine was blown up in Havana Harbor, the Cuban insurrection and the probable war with Spain came prominently to the front. Almost immediately the cry of "on to Havana" spread over the land. War was declared April 22nd and three days later President McKinley issued a call for 125,000 volunteers to serve two years or until mustered out of the service. Washington was expected to furnish one regiment of infantry and the promptness with which Washington boys answered the call not only filled this contingent but left a surplus around which soon was organized a second regiment.

Gov. John R. Rogers appointed as colonel Lieut. John H. Wolley, Twenty-fourth United States Infantry and at the time serving as professor of military instruction in the University of Washington. Rendezvous was established at Camp John R. Rogers, south of Tacoma, and by the first of May twelve companies had assembled there and were being mustered in by Capt. Frank Taylor of the Fourteenth United States Infantry. Many of the volunteers came from the ranks of the Washington National Guard. Ten days later the first battalion composed of Seattle, Spokane and North Yakima companies, departed for San Francisco on board the steamer Senator. It was under the command of Lieut.-

VIEW LOOKING SOUTH FROM THIRD AND PIKE, SEATTLE, ABOUT 1870. UNIVERSITY ON LEFT.



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Col. W. J. Fife, of Tacoma. It was a thrilling day. Tacoma was decorated with fluttering bunting and waving flags and the line of march through the streets was thronged with thousands of cheering people.

From the dock the soldiers boarded the steamer and then came a great cry for Fife. He was popular with the people and as he stepped forward on the bridge of the vessel a great shout arose. He thanked the people for their demonstration of friendship and said he hoped he and his men would return in safety; "But should I never return, I leave you, citizens of my city, a sacred legacy—one dear to my heart. I leave in your care, friends, three motherless children and only ask that you be to them fathers and mothers both." Four days later came another outburst of patriotic sentiment when the second battalion sailed on the steamer City of Pekin. It was in command of Major John Carr, of Dayton.

May 24th regimental headquarters and the third battalion were transferred to Vancouver.

The long summer days passed and the Washington regiment was still doing garrison duty in Vancouver and San Francisco. There seemed little likelihood of its seeing any actual fighting and then in October came orders to move to the Philippines. On board the transport Valencia the second battalion sailed October 19th, the remainder of the regiment sailing on board the Ohio on the 28th, arriving at Manila November 22nd and 26th. Their first conflict with Aguinaldo's insurgents came February 5, 1899, and all through March they were in hot fighting.

The regiment took part in thirty-six engagements, lost one officer and twenty-four enlisted men, killed, and had five officers and ninety-eight men wounded. Chaplain Thompson died of dysentery and was succeeded by Chaplain A. L. Knudson. So well did the men of the regiment perform the duties assigned them that they won the name of "The Fighting First," and Gen. Charles King said it was this fighting ability that placed another star on his shoulder.

The First Regiment was in foreign service a little more than one year and returned to San Francisco in the fall of 1899. The "boys" were mustered out October 31st and shortly thereafter started for home. Around this home coming grew a highly interesting story. The soldiers had had all the sea travel they wanted and wished to return home from the California city by the quickest train it was possible to obtain. Levi Ankeney was in San Francisco and invited the soldiers to become his guests for a steamer trip home. Chaplain Knudson, who had been popular with the Ankeney family, set out to learn the sentiment of the regiment and soon found it to be overwhelmingly in favor of the railroad. After Knudson made his report the Ankeney senatorial bee did not buzz so pleasantly for the chaplain. Early in November the various companies returned, some by boat and some by train, and were received in the state with great demonstrations.

A second regiment was organized but was not called into active Federal service. The officers of the first regiment were: Col. John H. Wholley; Lieut.-Col. William J. Fife, Tacoma; Major, and Surgeon, Lewis R. Dawson, Seattle; Major John J. Weisenburger, New Whatcom; Major John Carr, Dayton; Chaplain John R. Thompson, Aberdeen, and following his death Chaplain A. L. Knudson, Seattle; Assistant Surgeon Elmer M. Brown, Tacoma; Assistant Surgeon William McVan Patten, Walla Walla; Adj. William L. Luhn, Spokane; Quartermaster Albert W. Bryan, Seattle.

Following the close of the war the Federal Government turned its attention toward better fortifications for Western Washington. Larger and more powerful guns of far greater range were installed in the forts. The Puget Sound Navy Yard was given attention and developed into a modern institution. The development of a national guard training camp on the Nisqually Plains was begun, and was succeeding when the soldiers of Uncle Sam were called upon to defend the southern border from Mexican bandit raids. The Federal Government, drawn into the world war, became interested in the American Lake site and Tacoma took the lead. Pierce County bonded itself for \$2,000,000 and bought the necessary amount of land and turned it over to the Government.

Within a few days after the war department took charge, nearly 7,000 carpenters and other workmen were engaged and a spectacle of intensive activity such as seldom is seen filled the placid lake region with the unwonted roar of building on a scale so gigantic that one scarcely could believe his eyes. Here in a twinkling rose nearly 1,000 buildings—well constructed and excellently adapted to the uses for which they are being built. The Hurley-Mason Company, of Tacoma, took the entire building contract on a percentage basis. In charge of the work for the war department was Major David Stone, an officer singularly fitted to meet the delicate and exacting requirements of such a task. He was the director-in-chief until the work was well under way, and until Major-Gen. H. A. Greene was named to take supreme command of the great post, which already has released in the state millions of money and with millions yet to be spent. Stephen Appleby was the prime mover in carrying the post idea to a successful termination. In spite of troublesome legal difficulties productive of much negative conjecture and evil prophesy, Appleby stood by the program, ably aided by a group of loyal friends, and witnessed the triumph of his dreams.

CHAPTER XLVI

TACOMA'S STREET CAR WRECK OF JULY 4, 1900—DEVELOPMENT OF HYDRO-ELECTRIC PLANTS AND THE COMING OF STONE & WEBSTER—STEAMSHIP WRECKS—THE GEORGE S. WRIGHT, IVANHOE, PACIFIC, CLALLAM AND VALENCIA.

One of the Northwest's most disastrous street car accidents occurred in Tacoma on the morning of July 4, 1900, at the south end of the bridge which at that time spanned the gulch at Twenty-sixth and South C streets. Car No. 116, heavily loaded with people bound for the celebration in Tacoma ran away down the DeLin Street Hill, jumped the track at the curve, plunged over the bridge and was crushed upon the logs one hundred feet below. Forty-three persons were killed and many injured.

The car, in charge of Motorman F. L. Bohem and Conductor J. D. Calhoun, left South Tacoma shortly after 8 o'clock. Soon every inch of space was occupied and passengers were clinging to the outside railings. Shortly after leaving the top of the hill above the bridge the motorman realized that the car was beyond control. Brakes were tightly set, sand was used and the current was reversed, but without decreasing the speed of the car. Passengers jumped to the ground and the track for 300 feet was bordered with the injured. At the bridge the car cleared the 12-inch guard rail and plunged into the gulch. The crash was heard for blocks. Dead, dying and injured men, women and children, splintered wood and twisted iron were piled together in the bottom of the gulch whose steep sides made the work of rescue very difficult. Veterans of the Philippine war, then in Tacoma for their first reunion, rendered valuable assistance.

Mayor Campbell refused to take part in the holiday exercises and turned his attention to relief measures. Subscription lists were started and about \$3,000 was given. Sheriff Mills, under instructions from Coroner Hoska, took charge of the wreck and placed deputies on guard.

For months citizens had protested against the dilapidated cars. The council had passed an ordinance regulating the speed, but the ordinance had not been enforced. After the accident the council met and heard resolutions condemning the company for discharging old employes and putting new men in their places; for overloading the cars and for exceeding the speed limit. Action on the resolution was deferred pending the findings of the coroner's jury a few days later. The jury, composed of Peter Irving, Charles Plass, Charles Atkins, J. H. Babbitt and F. A. Turner, spent three days in investigating and brought in one of the most severe arraignments of a street car company ever returned.

Motorman Bohem, then recovering from his injuries, testified that he had had three years' experience in Cincinnati, but that he had never had charge of a car over the DeLin Street grade until the morning of the accident. Among

the many witnesses were street railway experts from other cities who examined the tracks, which they found to be badly worn, and the flanges of some of the car wheels were thin and weak. The track had been in use for ten years and was in bad condition.

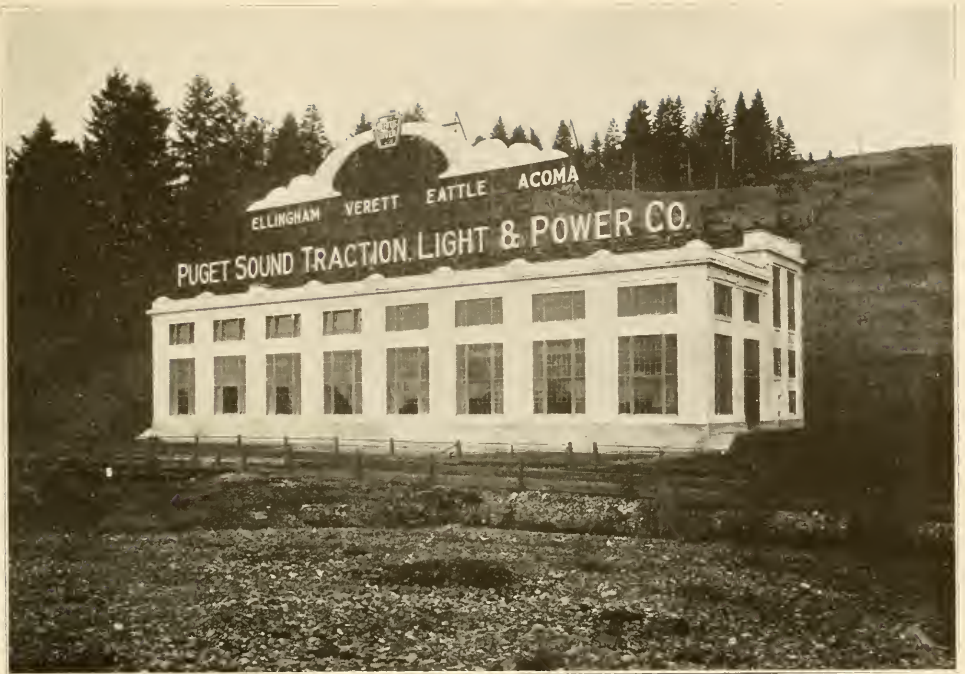
The jury found the accident due to the carelessness of Motorman Bohem and asserted that the "Tacoma Railway & Power Company was grossly and criminally careless and negligent in permitting said Motorman F. L. Bohem to go out on said car 116 over said dangerous grade without any previous effort to ascertain his efficiency." The company was "grossly and criminally careless in maintaining said dangerous grade without installing any safety appliances and was also careless and lax in the maintenance of its track and equipment."

The thirty-seven killed outright were: Lois Drake, Annie Glasso, Lottie Sutor, Dorothy Dinger, Louis Dinger, Charles Moser, Albert Moser, Richard Lee, Mrs. Grossman, G. Bertoli, Ole Larson, Ole Ranseen, James Benston, Charles Davis, William J. Williams, John Paulis, William Nicson, Robert Steele, G. H. Gaul, Rev. Herbert Gregory, Griffith Vanderhelden, A. L. Healy, G. M'Mullin, Mr. and Mrs. John J. Shanger—who had they lived a few days longer would have celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary; they were buried in the same grave: W. H. Davis, Joseph McCann, Leroy Lingerman, Gordo Newton, Richard Sonberg, G. H. Brown, William Hastings, Mrs. George Elliot, Conductor J. D. Calhoun, Mrs. Campbell, C. W. Woodruff and A. T. Silfberg. Edward Bray, Mrs. Emma Flemming, Floyd M. Dinger, Earl Hoskins, J. Gimel and Hilda Glasso died after being removed from the wreckage.

The DeLin Street grade and the dangerous curve had been the cause of other accidents. The first of these occurred about ten years before when two motor cars loaded with men collided, killing one man and injuring a dozen others. Other accidents had resulted in the death of two women.

Damage suits arising from the wreck cost the company more than \$100,000. The piled-up suits almost led to the appointment of a receiver for the company. It finally set aside a sum exceeding \$100,000 and informed the lawyers for the injured that they could take that sum and distribute it, and that a greater demand would bring about a receivership. The lawyers accepted the offer.

Interesting history will be written some day about the development of hydro-electric power, the building of electric interurban railways and the consolidation under one management of the street railways of Puget Sound cities. Hydro-electrical development in Western Washington may be said to have had its beginning in 1898 when Charles H. Baker built the first Snoqualmie Falls plant. Baker was a sort of free lance, an independent, who although he fought a good fight was forced to surrender to a more powerful organization. The Stone & Webster interests, at present in control of practically all the large hydro-electric plants in Western Washington, entered the street railway field of the state about the beginning of the present century. In March, 1902, this company acquired control of the Tacoma railways. Even before this it had obtained a foothold in Seattle and was the dominating interest in the building of the Seattle-Tacoma interurban. The last spike on this line was driven on May 31, 1902. In 1903 the Puget Sound Power Company, a Stone & Webster organization, built the plant at Electron, on the Puyallup River. Under the firm name of the Pacific Coast Power Company, Stone & Webster, in 1910, built the Lake Tapps plant at



WHITE RIVER POWER PLANT, LOCATED BETWEEN SEATTLE AND TACOMA



ELECTRON PLANT ON THE PUYALLUP RIVER

Great power development by the Stone & Webster Engineering Corporation

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Dieringer. Reorganizations and consolidations have been affected; interurbans have been built northward from Seattle to Everett and southward from Bellingham to Mount Vernon. All of these, as well as the street railway lines of Bellingham, Everett, Tacoma and most of those of Seattle are under the control of the Boston firm.

Notwithstanding the thousand and one safe harbors for which Western Washington is justly famous in every port of the world, people of this state, on several occasions have been called upon to witness disastrous steamship wrecks at the very door to these safe harbors. The first of these in which any considerable number of Washington people lost their lives, was the wreck of the steamer Pacific. On the night of November 4, 1875, the Pacific, left Victoria about 10 A. M., passed Tatoosh at 4 in the afternoon and about 10 o'clock that night collided with the steamer Orpheus and sank twenty minutes later with a loss of about 150 persons. Jefferson D. Howell, brother-in-law of Jefferson Davis, of the Southern Confederacy was in command of the Pacific and went down with his vessel. Among the passengers were Mr. Victor, husband of Mrs. Francis Fuller Victor, Oregon historian; G. T. Vining, of Puyallup; Mrs. Mahon, daughter of Job Carr, Tacoma pioneer; Mr. and Mrs. Hellmuth, of Walla Walla; Colin Christolm, of the Utsalady Mill Company; and John Tarbell of Olympia. The Orpheus, next day piled up on the rocky western shore of Vancouver Island.

In September, 1894, the steamer Ivanhoe sailed from the Sound for San Francisco. Days passed; the vessel became listed as overdue and finally as lost. She furnished the second mystery of the deep to the history of Sound shipping. The first had been furnished by the George S. Wright in 1873. The Wright sailed from Sitka for the Sound, put in at the Klukok fishing station and continued on her journey. Nothing further was ever heard of her or her passengers.

Within sight of land in all directions the steamer Clallam was wrecked in the waters of the Fucan Straits on the night of Friday, January 8, 1904, with a loss of fifty lives. The Clallam, a Tacoma built vessel less than one year old, was in command of Capt. George Roberts and left Port Townsend for Victoria shortly after noon. Rounding Point Wilson the boat encountered a northeast gale of sleet and snow and was holding her course when Chief Engineer Scott A. DeLauney reported to the captain that one of the dead lights was broken and the ship filling with water. All efforts to mend the broken headlight were futile; pumps were started only to become choked with coal and ashes from the engine room where the inflowing water soon put out the fires beneath the boilers. Left in this helpless condition, the captain ordered the life boats sent over the side. Three boats were lowered and were swamped in the waters and the vessel drifted to within four miles of the Victoria Harbor before the tug Holyoke arrived and fastened a line to her. Captain Hall, of the tug, decided to tow the Clallam with the wind and set out for Port Townsend.

At 10 o'clock the following morning the tug Sea Lion arrived and was preparing to fasten a line to the sinking vessel when Captain Roberts signaled to cut loose, as his ship was sinking rapidly. A few minutes later the Clallam turned on her side and disappeared. Captain Roberts and those on board were picked up by the two tugs and taken to shore. An investigation was held, the testimony showing that the broken dead light had been reported some months before the disaster but no repairs had been made. Roberts was suspended for one year

and the license of DeLauney was revoked. Among those lost were Capt. L. Thompson, of Victoria; Bruno Leman, Tacoma customs inspector; C. W. Thompson, a Tacoma mining man; Mrs. Rouin, of Seattle, H. H. Swaney, of the Irondale Steel Company; W. B. Gibbons, Tacoma; Mrs. Deprose, Tacoma; M. C. Lockwood, freight clerk; James Smith, assistant engineer, Charles Manson, quartermaster; R. Lindhope, quartermaster; and Alex Havey, messman, all of Seattle.

But a short distance from the point upon which the Orpheus piled up on the rocks of Barclay Sound in 1875, the Valencia was wrecked on the night of January 22, 1906, with a loss of 133 lives. The Valencia, belonging to the Puget Sound-San Francisco fleet of the Pacific Coast Steamship Company, was in command of Capt. O. M. Johnson, a man of experience and ability. Perhaps it was this very experience that caused the wreck and loss of life. Johnson, feeling certain that he was on the right course, steered his ship on the rocks of Cape Beal and paid for his error with his life.

When the vessel struck, the captain ordered the boats prepared, but before they could be properly manned, excited passengers took possession and lowered them into the sea. Women, refusing to enter the boats, removed their skirts, soaked them with kerosene and set them on fire. They became flaming signal torches.

An almost perpendicular wall of rock bordered the shore. Two men in an heroic attempt to get a line on these rocks, made a landing only to be swept back by the waves and drowned. Joseph Cigalos, a Greek member of the crew, with a line about his body and an open knife in his teeth made a similar attempt. He became entangled in the line, was forced to cut his way out of its meshes and return to the vessel. A life raft was put over the side and Cigalos was one of the few survivors picked up from it later by the Topeka. The Seattle Chamber of Commerce gave him a medal for his heroic efforts.

Great waves dashed over the wreck carrying passengers to their graves. Among those thus lost was Mrs. Frank Bunker and children. Bunker, assistant superintendent of the Seattle schools, then decided to make a last desperate effort to reach land. He and other men reached the shore and set out for the telegraph station at Cape Beale. From there news of the disaster was sent to the outside world. The steamers City of Topeka and Queen arrived but under the orders of Pharo, an agent of the steamship company, the Topeka proceeded to Victoria so as to avoid delay in her schedule. The Queen was joined by several powerful tugs, but neither they nor the larger vessel accomplished anything toward rescuing the people on the doomed Valencia. From midnight on the 22nd until noon on the 24th the staunchly built craft received the repeated blows of hundreds of tons of water. It was a pounding no vessel could withstand and the Valencia broke up and sank.

In Seattle, Bunker began asking questions. He demanded answers. He wanted to know why the Pacific Coast Steamship Company had permitted the wrecked vessel to put to sea with life belts filled with non-bouyant tule-rushes; why the Queen and the tugs left an hour before the Valencia broke up; why the plugs for the holes in the bottoms of the life boats did not fit; why the oar-lock pins were too large, and other questions that made things very uncomfortable for the owners. Their reply was that the boat had passed the inspection of the Government inspectors, and they, in turn, laid the blame on the dead captain.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE THOMPSON TRIAL

TRIAL OF CHESTER THOMPSON FOR THE EMORY MURDER—FATHER'S TRIBUTE TO DEAD MAN—ENDLESS ARRAY OF WITNESSES—VANCE'S CAUSTIC ARGUMENT—THOMPSON'S SCATHING REPLY—HIS WONDERFUL WORD PICTURES—HIS DEMAND FOR A VERDICT—"FOR GOD'S SAKE MAKE A VERDICT AND MAKE IT NOW!" HE CRIES—JURY ACQUITS—CHESTER NOW IN MEDICAL LAKE ASYLUM.

The fifty-nine days beginning with December 6, 1906, and ending with February 2, 1907, will always be memorable in Tacoma as having been the period of the most remarkable legal battle and criminal trial that the Pacific Northwest has ever known, or is ever likely to know. This was the trial of Chester Thompson, then a boy twenty-one years of age, for the murder of former Judge George Meade Emory of Seattle, transferred to the Pierce County courts on a change of venue from King County. Out of it, bringing to a supreme climax its many unusual, startling features, and fairly overwhelming the throngs that jammed the court room day after day, was evolved an address to the jury that has become a classic in legal history—the wonderful plea of Will H. Thompson in behalf of his son.

Tacoma was only casually interested when the news came on July 7, 1906, that Judge Emory had been shot down in his own home by young Thompson. There was no mystery in the case. The facts seem to be plain, as told in the newspapers. The boy was wildly infatuated with Miss Charlotte Whittlesey, niece of Judge Emory, and when the latter refused to call the girl to the telephone to talk to Chester, the latter armed himself with a revolver and went to the Emory home. Asking "Where's Charlotte?" he ran into the house and Judge Emory followed. Shots rang out and Emory fell from wounds that proved fatal two days later. It seemed the most wanton of killings, and as Seattle had been stirred by a singular number of similar homicides, the youth was rushed through a mob to jail only with difficulty, and there was a powerful sentiment against him.

Rumors of strange conduct on his part coming up immediately, a great newspaper took up the cry that this "murderer must not escape on the grounds of insanity." It was at a time when insanity was being made the defense for Harry Thaw in New York, and in this state for young Sidney Sloane, who killed his father in Spokane; for George Mitchell, who killed Joshua Creffield in Seattle, and for Esther Mitchell, who, in turn, killed her brother. There was sympathy for Will H. Thompson, the father, who was widely known as an attorney, author and orator; for the mother, who lay dying in the home, ignorant of her son's

predicament, and for two brothers, Maurice and Oscar Thompson, but little or none for the accused youth in the King County jail.

Then the public began to get the measure of Will H. Thompson. At a meeting of lawyers to honor Judge Emory's memory, he had the courage to go and pay sorrowful tribute. His words stirred his hearers to tears as he closed, saying:

"If there were one and but one lingering ray of light in my darkened and silenced home I would give it to illumine the hearts of the widowed wife and the orphaned children of this man who has passed from us, though I and mine should sit in darkness while ever life should last."

It began to be realized that this father's fight for his son's life would not be an ordinary one.

Setting forth prejudice in his own community, Attorney Thompson had the case transferred to the Pierce County courts. On December 6th the trial began before Judge W. H. Snell, with more than one hundred witnesses subpoenaed. One week was consumed in selecting a jury, which, when sworn on December 13th, consisted of the following Pierce County residents: George Grieb, F. T. Spottwood, J. H. Benston, John M. Cronan, W. S. Peacock, John L. Reese, Harry Graham, Walter Scott, William Watson, F. B. Hoyt, W. A. Porter and Charles Vogel. Hoyt was chosen foreman.

The array of legal talent was an imposing one. King County was represented by Kenneth Mackintosh, prosecuting attorney, later judge, and his deputy, John F. Miller, afterward mayor of Seattle. Assisting the prosecution were Walter M. Harvey, then deputy prosecutor of Pierce County, and Thomas Vance of Olympia, who entered the case without compensation because of his long friendship for the Emory family. Will H. Thompson, long considered one of the ablest lawyers of Washington and for several years western attorney for the Great Northern Railway, headed the defense, assisted by W. H. Morris and S. M. Shipley, lawyers, and the latter a legal expert on questions of insanity. The defense admitted from the start that insanity would be the defense. Attorney Thompson even offered to furnish the prosecution with the names of his witnesses many weeks before the trial began.

In the court room were a dozen or more distinguished alienists called by both sides to study the case and the defendant, who, throughout the eight weeks of the trial, sat with his eyes on the carpet, seeming oblivious to all that went on.

The prosecution's opening statement reciting the cold facts of the homicide disposed of, the defense brought forth the first of the surprises of the keen legal battle. Attorney Thompson made his statement of his case at once, without waiting for the prosecution's direct evidence. It was a simple, intensely personal outline of all that had taken place in his family for years before the murder; how Chester, who had been unusually bright as a child, withdrew from others and would not play with them; how, after ranking high in his high school classes, he found himself utterly unable to do work at the university; how he began to say that his life was ruined because of some work that had been done on his teeth; how he refused to eat with other members of the family or scarcely to speak to them; how he began to walk abroad at night until dawn; and to talk out of his window seemingly to no one; how his infatuation for the Whittlesey girl changed to a sort of

idolatry and he began to say that unknown persecutors were keeping him from her; an endless array of earmarks of abnormality, dovetailed into sorrowful glimpses of a home where the mother was dying and where defeat seemed to have come at every turn for the father. It was a recital that deeply impressed and quickened sympathies. Consequently, when the prosecution put on its witnesses to tell the details of the actual homicide, the jurors and the court room crowds saw the tragedy in a softened and melancholy light of all that the father had pictured. The shock of the state's case was gone.

Then came a seemingly endless string of defense witnesses, day after day, week after week, who made an open book of the boy's life and who, piece by piece, detail by detail, substantiated all that the father had said, showing beyond doubt that the youth was mentally abnormal, and of a gentle, unoffending nature, but leaving in doubt whether he was possessed of delusions so powerful that he did not know right from wrong. The father himself was three days on the witness stand, sometimes leaving it to argue as attorney over the admissibility of points in his own testimony objected to by the state. Neighbors, family servants, street car men, schoolmates, occasional acquaintances, merchants with whom Chester had traded, teachers, everyone, it seemed, with whom he had come in contact, testified to peculiarities—some trivial, some tending to show the ideas of persecution common in paranoid forms of insanity.

Many medical experts were called, mostly to answer staggeringly long hypothetical questions, by which they said Chester Thompson was insane or wasn't insane, according to what was included or omitted in the questions. The jurors evidently grew very tired of this and admitted afterward that what the physicians said played no part in their verdict.

Testimony was completed on January 27th, and Attorney Vance made a caustic argument for the state, flaying the defense theory and assailing the truth of its witnesses. Attorney Thompson's failure to place his son in an asylum, if he believed what he had testified to, was particularly attacked.

Then "Old Man Thompson," as they called him at the courthouse, got into action. Everything else in the trial shriveled into insignificance beside the wonderful argument he began on the morning of January 31st. Words of singular emotional power leaped from his lips, and stirring figures of speech piled one on another in amazing pictures of the gloom and sorrow of his home and the mental martyrdom of his son. There were no dry eyes. Some who heard grew hysterical and cries of "don't" or "stop" punctuated dramatic pauses in his fiery appeal. Men who thought they did not know how to weep wept. Jurors and judge wept. Newspapermen scratched away on their copy paper with tears blotting out what they wrote.

Thompson had been a Confederate soldier. He had fought with Gordon all around Richmond in the terrible days closing the great Civil war. In the jury box sat one or two ex-Union soldiers, and these his assisting counsel had asked him to challenge. He had refused. Near the opening of his argument he told the jury these facts. But he said he had no fear of injustice from any man who had been brave enough to face the hell of the Richmond trenches, and in a few words he then pictured an impetuous federal charge that had run down Gordon's men, himself among them—a charge so fierce that it left the Confederate line in the dust, demolished. His climax thrilled every one in the packed court room. Tears trickled from the eyes of the Union veterans.

There were moments as terrible as other moments were sad. Whirling on Attorney Vance the father cried out:

"When you are in a wood and a terrible storm overtakes you; when the huge trees are up-flung from the earth and crash on all sides of you; when the lightning plays and the thunder peals, you do not notice the buzzing of gnats and mosquitoes. After what I have borne, after what I have had to go through, after the sorrow which has been mine, after what I have suffered, the attacks of the attorney for the state, saying I lied, pass me without harm. Crack your little whip! Crack your little whip across my mangled shoulders if you will—I can bear it! If the whiplash of Vance's tongue was all I had to fear; if that was the only shadow across the path of the future, I should be the happiest man alive!"

He likened his son's brain to a violin string. "It was tightly drawn. So long as no harsh hand was drawn across it, so long as it was carefully touched, it gave forth a sound of melody. But when came fever, when came a great overmastering, impassioned love, the string snapped. The reason vanished; that was all."

"Death," he cried. "Do you think I fear death! Do you think the darkened mind of my son broods on the sting of death? Were I to go to him now and tell him we two had to die, we both would face it unflinchingly. It is not death, it is dishonor, we combat!"

In his appeal to the jury not to disagree he begged:

"If the sun has to set, let it go down now! If you are going to strike, strike now! I can bear the blow. Do not falter. For God Almighty's sake make a verdict and make it now! I can not go through this again."

With all of this emotionalism, sweeping, as it did, everything before it, there was a continually recurrent marshaling of the facts as adduced by the testimony; the lawyer was always at the father's elbow, and an eternal "Why?" cracked out as he dealt with the state's surmises to show that even by its own attempts to explain the boy's conduct they admitted his abnormality.

When he concluded, on the evening of February 1st, it seemed certain that he had won his case, the fee of which was his son's life. The next morning Attorney Mackintosh made an able closing argument for the state and at 4:40 in the afternoon of February 2d the case went to the jury. Two ballots were taken and at 9:40 that night a verdict of "not guilty by reason of insanity" was given. Everywhere the verdict was received with approval and applause, not so much through sympathy for the unfortunate youth as for the heroic father who had won his fight.

Chester Thompson subsequently was committed to the insane ward at Walla Walla and though released on June 13, 1908, after a jury trial and on the recommendation of the prison physician, he was subsequently recommitted to the Medical Lake Hospital near Spokane to which he went without a guard, giving himself up to the superintendent and telling him that he had come there for treatment. He is there now. According to hospital physicians his case later developed into a typical one of paranoid insanity and it appears that had the Emory tragedy come later, instead of when the youth's delusions were comparatively hidden, the famous trial never would have been necessary at all.

CHAPTER XLVIII

GREAT INCREASE IN SHIP BUILDING—HALL BROTHERS AND THE HALL TYPE OF SAILING VESSELS—MORAN BROTHERS AND THE BUILDING OF THE BATTLESHIP NEBRASKA—THE LAKE WASHINGTON CANAL—VANCOUVER AND THE INTERSTATE BRIDGE.

The story of the rapid increase made in Western Washington's ship building industry in 1916-17 is a story of men ready, willing and able to meet a large and sudden demand by the utilization of potentially great natural resources. It is a story of modern magic—a sort of Alladin's Lamp performance by which shipyards sprang from the ground almost over night. Nowadays the constructing and equipping of a modern ocean-going freight warehouse of great capacity and speed is a matter of but a comparatively short time—and the end is not yet. Ships of wood and ships of iron and steel, of "wind-jammers" and swift steamers, slide down the ways into the water in such numbers that the people of Seattle and Tacoma, the home cities of most of the large plants, have lost interest in launchings—they are events of weekly occurrence, a part of the daily routine.

Such, however, was not the case back in 1873 when Capt. Isaac Hall and his brother, Capt. Winslow Hall, laid the foundation upon which they built the successful Hall Brothers' shipyard of Port Ludlow, and later, Port Blakeley. The Halls were New Englanders who saw great possibilities in the long, straight, strong, resisting Douglas fir timbers of Western Washington. They developed the Hall type of "wind-jammer," a vessel of beautiful lines, good speed, capacity and easy handling. Two generations of Halls have built sailing vessels at Port Blakely and while they were not, by any means, the pioneer builders in Western Washington, they were, before the great ship building era of the last two years set in, the largest builders of wooden vessels on the Sound.

When Robert Moran took his fleet of twelve river steamers north to the Yukon he was at the head of the largest ship building plant north of San Francisco. Moran Brothers & Company, in April of that year (1898) launched the United States torpedo boat Rowan. It gave them a place in the nation's ship builders of the better class and led to the building of the battleship Nebraska. Robert Moran and Will A. Parry, then secretary of the company, went to Washington for the opening of the Nebraska bids. The two men were greatly surprised when it was found that their bid was lower than that of any other competitor, but the secretary of the navy took all the joy out of this victory when he announced all were too high and that he would call for new bids.

The Seattle men undertook to argue the matter and the secretary told them they could have the contract, provided they would lower their price \$100,000.

They had figured very closely and knew that any such decrease would mean a loss. The secretary was asked to hold the matter in abeyance until Moran and Parry could return to Seattle and consult their friends. The secretary agreed and the two men were soon back in Seattle. The newspapers started a campaign to raise the \$100,000 and thus bring the building of the Nebraska to the city. The money was pledged, the contract closed and July 4, 1902, the keel of the first Washington-built battleship was laid with impressive ceremonies in which Governor McBride, of Washington, and Governor Savage, of Nebraska, made speeches and drove the first red hot rivet into the keel.

October 7, 1904, the Nebraska was launched, Miss Mary Mickey, daughter of Gov. John H. Mickey, of Nebraska, was sponsor. Another big celebration featured the event and when the ship was given her official trial trip down the waters of the Fucan Straits she fully met the expectations of both the Government and her builders and gave added importance to Western Washington's standing as a manufacturing and ship building district.

Another important Federal activity that was attracting attention about this time was the ship canal from Salmon Bay to Lake Washington. This great undertaking, now an accomplished fact, had its inception at a Fourth of July celebration held on the shores of Lake Union in 1854. Thomas Mercer, whose homestead claim bordered the lake, addressed the small crowd of people present and suggested that the "Hyas Chuck," or big water of the Indians, be named Lake Washington while the "Tenas Chuck," or little water, be called Lake Union, because, as Mercer pointed out, of the possibility "of this little body of water some time providing a connecting link uniting the larger lake and Puget Sound." The suggestion met with popular approval, but it was not until 1860 that any steps were taken toward digging the canal. In that year Harvey Pike began to dig a ditch across the portage between the lakes. Pike depended upon his own labor and a spade, his idea being to let the water from Lake Washington cut the ditch out, once the flow was started.

In 1867 a report of the board of engineers for the Pacific Coast included Lake Washington and Lake Union in a recommendation for a naval station. This was the first notice the lakes had received from the Government. For years the project was kept alive by the organization of private companies. All kinds of plans were made for all kinds of canals in a number of different places including the dredging of Beacon Hill in the southern end of Seattle, the dredging of a canal from Elliott Bay direct to Lake Union, one from Smith Cove through the Interbay district and the one finally dredged from Salmon Bay. Companies failed and the question got into politics where it caused many a row. John H. McGraw was elected on a ticket whose slogan was, "Dig the Canal!" It was injected into the old Seattle-Tacoma fight and then June 11, 1906, Congress granted the necessary authority and the whole matter was turned over to the Federal Government. Major, later Brig.-Gen. H. M. Chittenden was placed in charge of the work, surveys were made, immense dredgers began digging out the earth, the lower part of the Ballard townsite was filled in, great stone and concrete locks were built and July 4, 1917, just sixty-three years after Mercer had suggested the canal, its official opening was the leading feature of another Fourth of July celebration on the shores of Lake Union. But few persons were present at the first celebration; at the last great crowds of people lined the shores of both lakes, the



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banks of the canal and the shores of Salmon Bay. The difference between the two celebrations shows the possibilities of sixty-three years of development and doubtless another similar period of time will show still greater advancement.

In 1906 Ezra Meeker retraced the Oregon immigrant road to Indianapolis. He drove an ox team back over the trail he had first traveled, westward bound, in 1852. Since 1906 the aged pioneer has passed over the trail in a high-powered automobile. He has made himself and the old road famous and has urged Government improvement of the pioneer route to the Pacific Northwest. On all of his trips Meeker was set across the Columbia River on a ferryboat, but were he to again set out over the trail from Olympia to the Missouri River he would find the Vancouver ferry gone. Its place has been taken by a great steel bridge.

As boy and man Capt. Frank Stevens for fifty-nine years crossed the Columbia River on that ferry. As deck hand he served on the combined sailing scow and row boat of pioneer days. His father was captain and later the boy became the commander. A steamboat succeeded the scow and was in turn succeeded by other steamers. Captain Stevens served on all of them and was in command of the City of Vancouver when that ferryboat sang its swan song and retired before the interstate bridge.

Early in life the Town of Vancouver, musing beside her river, dreamed a dream. She saw railroads and docks along the river bank. Ships were at her docks and bridges spanned the mighty Columbia. The railroads passed her by, built a boom town at Kalama and Vancouver was left with little save her prune orchards, her vineyards on the hillsides, her army post and her pride of ancestry. But dreams do sometimes come true and Vancouver waited patiently. Then in 1907 came James J. Hill, the empire builder, and the railway down the north bank. Next year came a monster railway bridge. Northern Pacific and Great Northern and North Bank and Oregon & Washington trains arrived and crossed the bridge.

Vancouver awoke and in her awakening set things in motion. If railroads could build bridges for their use why could not the people build bridges for theirs? Committees were appointed, meetings were held, and the city pleaded before the legislatures of Washington and Oregon for money with which to build an interstate bridge. The legislatures listened and granted the plea. The appropriations were attacked in the courts. Vancouver ceased to plead and began to fight—nada when the battle was won, the mayor and chief of police went into hiding while the people blew the "lid skyhigh" and celebrated. A piano and a "bunch of live ones" were placed on a dray and serenaded every prominent street corner. There was dancing in the streets; fireworks and singing everywhere and then the celebrants crossed the river with Captain Stevens and took Portland by storm.

The celebration over the serious work of building the bridge began. It was a mighty undertaking—the building of this last link in the Pacific Highway stretching from that younger Vancouver in British Columbia to the ancient Spanish Town of San Diego in California. At last it was finished. It was Vancouver's 1917 Valentine from the states of Washington and Oregon, a token of love and a sign of respect for the city's ninety-three years. Again the famous old town forgot her age and celebrated in a manner thoroughly up-to-date. Among the

speakers was Sam Hill, good roads enthusiast, who said the bridge should remain "open as long as the world shall last."

Civilization began its work in Western Washington at Vancouver—she is the Mother City of all Washington cities—and it is fitting that this history close with the story of the realization of her dreams.

APPENDIX

COUNTIES

SNOHOMISH COUNTY

In the fall of 1855 Col. I. M. Ebey, at Port Townsend, organized a military company for service against the Indians. The little iron steamer *Traveler*, having in tow the schooner *A. Y. Trask*, transported Company I to the Snohomish River, the Indian Chief Patkanim, of the Snoqualmies, acting as pilot and guide. Eight miles up the river on the shore of Ebey Slough, the troops landed and built a fort which they named Fort Ebey. The *Traveler*, Captain Horton, was the first steamer to ascend the river. All through the winter the troops remained in service at Fort Ebey, but as spring approached, bringing with it expiration of service, they joined Captain Smalley's company of the Northern battalion; abandoned Fort Ebey and, going up the Snoqualmie, built Fort Tilton opposite the present site of Falls City and Forts Alder and Smalley on the Snoqualmie Prairie.

Following the close of the Indian war the valley of the Snohomish was abandoned by white men until 1859, when the crew engaged in building the military road from Fort Steilacoom to Fort Bellingham passed through. The collapse of the Fraser River gold excitement of the year before left a large number of men on the sound; these turned to road building, and when the road work was brought to a close at the Stillaguamish River in the fall of 1859, a number of these men, struck with the natural advantages of the Snohomish Valley, decided to take up their residence at the point where the road crossed the river. Among these were Alexander Davis, Charles Short, Charles Taylor, John Ross, John Richards, Jacob Foss and George Kelsey.

Rodgers & McCaw, Ferguson & Rabbeson and Colonel Wallace, of Steilacoom, became interested in the projected city of Snohomish and sent E. T. Cady, Hill Barnes and E. H. Tucker as their representatives. Cady took the claim that later became the Sinclair portion of the town; Barnes the western part, and Tucker the land on the south side of the river. Cady owned a little steam scow which served as a means of communicating with the outside world and the town soon became known as Cadyville. In March, 1860, E. C. Ferguson arrived, the townsite was laid out and given the name of Snohomish City. Ferguson, born in Westchester County, New York, March 3, 1833, came to the Coast in 1854, and after four years spent in San Francisco, came north in 1858 as one of the Fraser River gold seekers. The first election was held in July, 1860, the names of the voters being: Z. F. Wheat, John Cochrane, A. J. Bailey, Andrew Johnson, Jacob Summers (Summers, I should think), John C. Riley, T. P. Carter, Patrick Doyle, Salem Woods, Hill Barnes, H. McClurg, Benjamin Young, George Allen, William Hawkins, Francis Dolan, Charles

Scott and E. C. Ferguson. Snohomish was a part of Island County, but the next Legislature, desiring to provide a larger number of members, and also for political purposes, in January, 1861, established the County of Snohomish with the boundaries which it now has. Mukilteo was made the county seat, Jacob Summers was appointed sheriff, with E. C. Ferguson, Henry McClurg and John Harvey, county commissioners; J. D. Fowler, auditor; Charles Short, judge of probate, and John Harvey, treasurer.

Reports of gold discoveries on the Wenatchee and other east-of-the-mountains streams caused considerable excitement in the little settlement in the winter of 1859-60. Pooling their interests the settlers raised more than \$1,000 and E. T. Cady and a man named Pearson set out for the new diggings. The men after discovering Cady's Pass were compelled to return and the following fall Cady and Ferguson made another attempt to reach the mines. They crossed the mountains, descended the Wenatchee and spent some time on the Okanogan.

Salem Woods, in 1862, took a census of the county, which at that time had forty-five white men. Mrs. W. B. Sinclair and Mrs. Isaac Ellis, the first white women to take up residence in the county, arrived from Fort Madison on board the steamer Mary Woodruff in 1864. Sinclair was Snohomish City's second storekeeper, Ferguson having opened the pioneer store shortly after he took up his residence there.

Snohomish City was now growing more rapidly than the rival town of Mukilteo on historic Point Elliott, and in 1861 succeeded in obtaining the county seat. The first school was opened in 1869, the teacher being Miss Robie Willard.

Two years later the town site was platted and the next important happening was the arrival of Eldridge Morse. Morse was born in Wallingford, Conn., April 14, 1847, and in his boyhood he worked on a fruit and vegetable farm. A few days before his eighteenth birthday he joined Company D, Battalion of Engineers Corps, of the regular army. Serving out his enlistment, Morse went to Iowa, where he became a schoolteacher. In April, 1869, he was admitted to practice law and one year later received the Bachelor of Laws degree from the University of Michigan. While practicing law at Albia, Ia., Morse on April 26, 1871, married Miss Martha A. Turner and the next year started on the long trip to the Sound, reaching Snohomish in October.

Morse found conditions which applied to every little logging community of that day. All his life he had been a searcher after truth, a deep student of nature. Snohomish, he thought, offered an opportunity for the organization of a society for the study of historical and scientific subjects, and it was not long before others became interested in the project. It resulted in the formation of the Snohomish Athenæum, its object to foster and develop a taste for literature and science. The life membership fee was placed at \$25. Between \$500 and \$600 was subscribed and invested in 300 volumes of standard books, the officers being E. C. Ferguson, president; John Davis, Hugh Ross, Thomas Marks, vice presidents; Eldridge Morse, librarian; Dr. A. C. Folsom, corresponding secretary, and M. W. Packard, treasurer.

Within three years the library had grown to more than 600 volumes, containing the largest and best selection of scientific works to be found in the



SNOHOMISH IN THE '60s

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territory. Under the direction of Doctor Folsom, a band was developed. By 1876 it was twice the size of any other in the territory. Such remarkable growth brought with it a desire for a building devoted exclusively to the interests of the society, and on June 5, 1876, the corner stone of a building was laid with appropriate ceremonies.

The Northern Star, Snohomish County's first newspaper, made its appearance in January, 1876, with Morse as editor and publisher. It was away ahead of its time and for three years its publisher tramped through the dense forests, swam the streams and camped out in the rain wherever night overtook him in an effort to make it a self-supporting enterprise. Editorially it compared favorably with its contemporaries. Morse has left descriptions of the settlements of that period which for all time will be guides to those who have occasion to write of those early days. Morse, at the time he became a publisher, knew nothing of the printing art. He learned to set type and work the primitive press on which his paper was printed. In his valedictory, May 3, 1879, he reviews the history of his paper and expresses regret that the development of the agricultural resources of the country had not been rapid enough to meet his expectations and that therefore he found it necessary to suspend publication. His wife had died. Some of his editorial utterances, decidedly at variance with current dogmatic religious belief, had made enemies of preachers and liberal thought had not developed to the point where it could support a newspaper.

The Snohomish County Agricultural Society and its first fair, in 1875, owed their existence largely to the Northern Star, whose editor realized that agricultural development gave stability to a community, and in 1877 suggested the advisability of importing a large number of dairy cows from east of the mountains. He urged the settlers to do this and then establish a milk condensery and fruit cannery—no doubt the first time any Washington newspaper ever mentioned what is today one of its chief industries—the dairy cow and the milk condensery.

The failure of his newspaper enterprise did not cure Morse of the writing habit, nor did it end the long walks he took over the western part of the territory. In 1881 he furnished some 3,500 pages of manuscript for Bancroft's history of the Pacific Coast, and in 1883 began the publication of Morse's Monthly, a magazine that did not live beyond the first issue. From this time until about 1890 he and Hon. Sam H. Piles divided the legal business of Snohomish County, appearing, as was natural, usually on opposing sides.

Piles arrived in Snohomish about 1883, opened an office with a smooth board nailed against the wall for a desk, a three-legged stove, one chair and a box given to him by the druggist. One day a man came into the office and told Piles that he had been accused of attacking a neighbor with whom he was not on friendly terms. This neighbor, he said, was driving along the road when some one suddenly leaped out the the brush into the wagon and administered a severe beating. Suspicion pointed to but one man, himself, and he wanted to know what Piles would charge to go to the place of trial, some six miles away, and there defend him. Piles suggested a fee of \$10, which the client deemed too high and came back with the suggestion that as nearly all the people in the county would be present at the trial, the attorney should

take the job at a very low rate. He thought \$3.50 would be about right. Piles accepted. The day set for the trial arrived and Piles learned that Morse had spent the evening before in the company of the Norwegian justice of the peace who would hear the case.

Shortly after the trial began, Piles entered an objection to certain testimony and was promptly overruled by the justice, who upon a second objection being entered, told the attorney to seat himself and not attempt to bluff the court. Slipping to one side of the justice, Piles read those sections of the territorial law which provided that, should a justice fail to listen attentively to all the argument of an attorney he, by so refusing, laid himself liable to the penalty of having all his property confiscated.

"What's that?" asked the justice in alarm.

The section was repeated, and the justice listened while Piles grew eloquent. Finally the justice asked Piles for advice and was told that the only course open to him was to throw the case out of court. Gathering up the papers, the justice heaved them through the window and exclaimed:

"This case is out of court—I will have nothing to do with it! Mr. Constable, adjourn this court to no particular day."

Piles then learned that Morse had told the justice that the new attorney was a great bluffer, and knew only such parts of the law as he (Morse) had told him. Needless to say Morse and the audience were so stupefied by the justice's action in throwing the papers out the window that they did nothing toward holding the accused man, who, upon the suggestion of his attorney, lost no time in getting beyond the jurisdiction of the justice court.

January 11, 1882, the *Snohomish Eye* made its appearance with H. F. Jackson and C. H. Packard as publishers. Morse became one of its contributors and in 1889 wrote a series of historical articles for it in which he reviewed the history of the improvements at the mouth of the River Clyde and drew a parallel between these and the possibilities of similar development at the mouth of the Snohomish.

These articles attracted the attention of Henry Hewitt, Jr., and resulted in his founding the city of Everett. They were rewritten by Morse and formed the principal argument presented to Congress when the Everett Land Company applied for and obtained the first \$20,000 appropriation for harbor improvement. Late in the '80s Morse retired from legal practice and established himself on a farm. The panic caught him with a debt on this farm and forced him to surrender it to a mortgage holder. In 1900 his third wife died. Notwithstanding all he had done for the advancement of civilization in Western Washington fortune had not favored him and with his five small children he undertook the task of raising vegetables for a living. He was a great reader, had read several encyclopedias through, the *Britannica* twice.

Emory Canda Ferguson was born in New York March 5, 1833, came to California in 1854 and to the Sound in 1858. Was postmaster, mayor, legislator, merchant and leading citizen. His wife was Lucetta G. Morgan and they had four children. He died in Snohomish October 8, 1911.

Blackman Brothers in 1882 began building the first sawmill in Snohomish, which was completed the next year and brought with it a greatly increased growth. By 1885 the town had 500 inhabitants, two church buildings, the

Methodist Episcopal and the Presbyterian, a school building, two public halls, theater, express and telegraph office, several stores with good stocks of merchandise, a number of good residences, a Chinese laundry and five saloons. Two years later the first water works plant was built and the first railroad was a topic of discussion. Canfield, of the B. B. & B. C., told Ferguson that while his line was planned to run through Marysville and Lowell, it would come to Snohomish for a subsidy of 25 per cent of the lots in the townsite. A little later the Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern offered to build by way of Snohomish for a right of way through the town. This road was built in 1888, the first train reaching the town on September 15.

The Seattle, Lake Shore and Eastern, a Seattle enterprise, was organized to provide that city with an eastern connection more favorable to it than the Northern Pacific, which at that time had not ceased its efforts to erase the Elliott Bay city from the map. Canfield, it was supposed, was being assisted by the Northern Pacific and succeeded in getting from Congress a permit to bridge any of the streams between Bellingham Bay and Seattle. The Lake Shore was financed by Eastern bankers, who as each ten-mile stretch of track was completed, advanced the money it had cost. The bridge across the Snohomish River was at the end of one of these ten-mile stretches, and the contractors were pushing to complete it when they heard that Canfield was preparing to put a stop to their work with an injunction. The injunction was issued out of a Tacoma court when Judge Thomas Burke, one of the Seattle promoters of the line, heard of Canfield's plan. Trains were running to the south side of the Snohomish River, one of the trains being about ready to leave Seattle when Burke received news of the issuance of the writ.

John Leary, another Lake Shore officer, was hastily consulted, the two men deciding that prompt action was necessary to prevent the serving of the injunction. Burke and Leary boarded the engine, which already had been attached to the waiting train, told the fireman to uncouple from the passenger coaches and then instructed the engineer to run to Ballard at top speed.

The engineer protested, but Burke told him to go ahead, that he would take the responsibility. As soon as the engine was under way, Burke told the engineer not to stop at Ballard but to make a fast run to Snohomish.

William Whitfield was sheriff of Snohomish County. Burke, upon his arrival in Snohomish, hunted up the sheriff and asked him how many deputies he had.

"Two," replied Whitfield.

"Well," said Burke, "don't you think there are some desperadoes somewhere on the outskirts of the county that would require the attention of yourself and your force for the next day or two?"

When told about the writ of injunction and the man on the train back in Seattle, Whitfield called his two deputies and went away on the mystic trail of Burke's imaginary desperadoes.

Every obtainable man was put at bridge building; the engine returned to Seattle and its trainload of passengers. The writ bearer arrived and began a diligent search for an officer, but by the time he could get the matter into court again the bridge was beyond stopping and soon was completed.

Upon the arrival of the railroad Snohomish entered upon an era of rapid

growth. The city was incorporated, a national bank and an electric light system were organized; a large shingle mill began operations; G. W. Hurd arrived, organized the Sun Publishing Company, and on July 5, 1889, began the publication of the Sun, as a weekly. Later it became a daily, which in March, 1891, passed to the ownership of Mussetter Brothers, who increased the size to eight pages. It was alleged, with much pride, that no other town in the United States of 3,000 inhabitants had so large a daily paper as Snohomish.

With the rise of Everett, in 1890, Snohomish declined. Its daily paper was forced to give way to a tri-weekly, and August 2, 1892, it became the property of Edward E. Warner, who changed the name to Tribune.

Blackman Brothers increased the capacity of their sawmill to 100,000 feet of lumber a day; brick yards were established, and with the rise of Everett, land between the two towns rapidly increased in price. Snohomish was incorporated in 1888, but a defect in the papers compelled reincorporation in 1890, the officers chosen being H. Blackman, mayor; James Burton, W. M. Snyder, Lot Wilbur, D. W. Craddock and H. D. Morgan, councilmen. September, 1890, the Blackman mill burned, was rebuilt, and June 9, 1891, again burned. Two months later fire, which originated in the Kistler & Company grocery, burned out an entire block.

The burning of the Blackman mill drew the attention of the municipal authorities to the inadequate water service and June 20, 1891, the council voted to build a municipal plant. This was completed late in 1892, and consisted of two pumps with 200,000 gallons a day capacity, and a 500,000 gallon reservoir.

Through the early days of the panic Snohomish banks and business houses remained unshaken. The town had grown from 800 in 1888 to 1,900 in 1890, the growth being of a solid nature with sound resources behind it. Not so fortunate was the city with regard to fire. September 16, 1893, the Bakeman Block burned, wiping out the Rice & Gardner meat market, the large furniture stock of C. H. Bakeman & Company, a fish-market and a fruit and confectionery stand. The next year brought several small fires, also the failure of two firms.

Under the leadership of Mrs. T. F. Thompson, the women of Snohomish, in November, 1890, began raising money for a library site. They soon had \$1,500. March 5, 1906, the new Presbyterian Church was dedicated, the Snohomish Tribune, reviewing the history of this pioneer organization says:

"In 1875 this settlement had a population of about 100 souls, and brave, honest, hopeful, big hearted men they were. John R. Thompson, a home missionary in Olympia, heard of them and with true missionary spirit determined to go to see them; so one day in 1875 a trading vessel put him off at the mouth of "Sleeping Waters" (Indian designation for the Snohomish River), where the City of Everett now stands. He came with his pack up the river trail—the rivers are always the first highways of civilization.

"The preacher was ferried across the river and lodged that night in a saloon to which was attached a hotel. He found the people without a church but ready to listen to his message. He secured the use of the "Blue Eagle," a dance hall on the river, and there preached the gospel. It is said of Mr. Thompson that he sat in the Hotel saloon and watched a game of cards during the early part of the evening and after a while interrupted the game and said: 'Now,



HEWITT AVENUE, EVERETT, LOOKING EAST FROM COLBY, 1892



HEWITT AVENUE, EVERETT, LOOKING EAST FROM COLBY, 1916

boys, when you finish that hand, I want you to come down to the hall and hear me preach.' They went. He organized the Union Presbyterian Church with seven members."

Next year he assisted in the erection of the first church building.

John Gould and Peter Goutre, in 1853, built a sawmill on Tulalip Bay. This was the first settlement in what is now Snohomish County. With the creation of the Tulalip Indian Reservation, the mill was condemned and bought by the government, and continued to saw lumber for many years.

Dr. Charles M. Buchanan, in the *Post-Intelligencer* of May 9, 1897, gives the following information regarding these Indians:

"The original spelling of the word Snohomish was Sdohobisch. Priest Point was so named because it was there that Father Chirouse, in 1857, founded the mission which was later taken to Tulalip. The Indian name for the point was Sstloks. The point forming the right shore, as one enters the bay, was called Skyue, or Deadman's Point, and here it was that for hundreds of years the Indians had their cemetery. The word skyue means dead body. With the coming of the white man, and his objection to the old methods of Indian burial, a new cemetery was established, the last burial at the old one being about 1887, when the body of a son of old Tatalee, a tamanaous man, was buried there.

"In common with other canoe Indians, the Sdohobisch, or Snohomish tribe, used the canoe method of burial, depositing the dead in their canoes which were suspended in the trees or placed on small frames raised a short distance from the ground. They also used packing cases and in many cases coffins made of rough boards or cedar shakes. The bodies were wrapped in blankets, placed in the rough coffins, carried into the woods and set on a low framework over which was built a tent-like covering of cedar shakes. Seldom did they provide the spirit of the departed Indian with eatables.

"Pronounced spiritualists in belief, these Indians, as death approached, would whisper messages to spirit friends, into the ear of the one about to start on the journey to the spirit land. As death drew near the dying Indian, gathering all the strength at his command, gave a blood curdling yell. This was to notify the ferryman who was supposed to carry the spirit of the departed over the dark river to the spirit shores, that a passenger awaited him.

"Sometimes the ferryman did not come as quickly as he should, the spirit returned to the body and the dying person recovered. If the ferryman was alert and performed his duty at the proper time, the spirit passed into the land beyond the river, and his relatives and friends at once proceeded to divide his property among themselves, oftentimes leaving the widow and children destitute. The body was prepared for burial, the name of the dead was not spoken, it being believed that to do so would cause the body to turn over in the grave. Dissolution of the corpse was believed to mark the carrying away of the body by the spirit.

"Hired mourners were employed, their pay being based upon the intensity of the frenzy demonstrated. The beach furnished a stage for this performance, the favorite times for such demonstrations being just before sunrise and just after sunset."

Mukilteo—butt of many jokes—once gave promise of developing into one of the leading cities of the Sound. The first historical mention of the place

is found in the Point Elliott treaty made by Governor Stevens, January 22, 1855, with the eighty-two Indians representing most of the tribes on the eastern shore of the Sound, north of Seattle. Mukilteo means "good camping ground." For several years following the treaty-making it was uninhabited by white men. Morris H. Frost, customs inspector at Port Townsend, in his frequent trips about the Sound, was struck with the advantages offered there for the opening of a settlement. Forming a partnership with J. D. Fowler, then conducting a hotel at Ebey's Landing on Whidby Island, in 1861, they took claims on the point. They platted a townsite, opened a hotel, store and saloon. Logging and fishing became the main industries of the settlement and a few years later Frost and Fowler established the Eagle Brewery. Into almost every settlement and logging camp on the Sound the product of this brewery found its way on board the sailing vessels Tibbals, Pigeon and Gazelle. The telegraph office was established in 1864. Two years before this Fowler had been appointed postmaster, a position he continued to fill until 1891.

For ages before the coming of the white man, the waters off Mukilteo had been a favorite fishing ground. Countless thousands of salmon each year passed through these waters and taking a supply of fish was a comparatively easy task. Early in the '70s V. E. Tull, of Olympia, opened a salting establishment at the new town, operating under the name of the Puget Sound Packing Company. Jackson, Meyers & Company of Rainier, Oregon, in 1877, found themselves with large orders and but few fish in the Columbia. Some of the machinery of the Rainier cannery was brought around to the Sound, installed at Mukilteo, and, under the direction of H. C. Vining, began packing the first salmon ever canned on Puget Sound.

This fish was sent to market under a Columbia River label and Vining, in a letter to the Northern Star, suggested that eggs of the Columbia River salmon be brought to the Sound for hatching. He urged that the Legislature make an appropriation for the purpose and said an experiment made with Columbia River salmon eggs, planted in the Connecticut River in 1875, had shown that the fish would return to the waters in which they had been hatched. Vining evidently thought the river fish much superior to those of the Sound, but it must be remembered that fishermen, at that time, had not become acquainted with that aristocrat of the salmon tribe, the Sockeye.

Jackson, Meyers & Company was reorganized as George Meyers & Company, and after the Mukilteo cannery was wrecked by the big snow of 1880, moved to Seattle. M. V. B. Stacey, as trustee for the Frost and Fowler interests, tried to inject new life into the Mukilteo townsite, which, in the boom of 1890, developed terminal ambitions. Everett's growth punctured this ambition and Mukilteo continued to rely upon its logs and sawmills as a source of income. The organization of the Mukilteo Lumber Company and the building of its large sawmill, in 1903, gave the place stability.

Early in the '60s John Stafford, Louis Thomas and Truman Ireland squatted on the land on which the City of Marysville later was built. James P. Comeford, connected with the Tulalip Indian Reservation, became interested in the location as a possible townsite and in 1872 bought the three claims, together with one owned by Capt. William Renton, for \$450. Comeford resigned from the Indian service and in 1877 began the active development of his 1,280 acres



EVERETT'S FIRST SCHOOL BUILDING, 1892



EVERETT HIGH SCHOOL BUILDING

It accommodates nine hundred and is now being used to capacity

of land. He erected a store building on the townsite, built a dock on Ebeys Slough and applied for a postoffice. Having no white neighbors, Comeford headed his petition with his own name and then, giving "Boston" names to a number of reservation Indians, induced them to sign. It obtained the postoffice, Comeford, of course, being appointed postmaster.

At the time Comeford was bestowing Yankee names on his "Siwash" neighbors, James Johnson and Thomas Lloyd, of Marysville, Cal., were visiting the locality and suggested that the new town be named in honor of that from which they came. Marysville received a name, also two new settlers, as both visitors decided to cast their fortunes with the new settlement. The first mail arrived by the steamer Chehalis, Postmaster Comeford carrying it from his dock $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles away.

Logging camps soon were established and Comeford prepared to build a hotel. The foundation and floor were completed July 3, 1882, and the next day all the loggers in the neighborhood, as well as many of the Indians from the reservation, celebrated the nation's natal day on the unfinished structure. The hotel was completed the next year. The building of the Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern to the eastward of Marysville in 1889 caused much disappointment, but Comeford, turning to the Fairhaven & Southern, gave that road thirty-five acres of land for right of way and station purposes. As the Seattle & Montana it was completed in 1891. The first sawmill was built in 1887 by E. G. Anderson and the next year Carl Ford built the first of Marysville's shingle mills. It was followed in a short time by the mills of Cox Brothers and that of Stevens & Robe. Incorporated as a city of the fourth class in 1891, Marysville's first municipal officers were Mark Swinnerton, mayor; Henry Plate, H. B. Myers, C. H. Schaefer, Alexander Spithill and Edmund Smith, councilmen; M. F. Shea, clerk; David Quinn, treasurer. A \$2,700 city hall was erected in 1901.

The Stimson Logging Company, early in the '90s, became an important factor in the upbuilding of the town. The Marysville & Northern Railway, a Stimson enterprise, was completed to Arlington in 1906.

Some four or five miles above the mouth of the Stillaguamish River Henry Marshall settled in October, 1864, and a few weeks later was joined by Willard Sly, G. D. Neville, Daniel Marion and wife and Robert Fulton. Ten years passed and W. B. Moore arrived. For twelve years Mrs. Marion was the only white woman in the settlement, and there were times when for more than one year she did not see another white woman.

Robert Fulton in 1866 ascended the river to Florence Island and opened a store and trading post—most of his business being the selling of whisky. John Gould succeeded Fulton and was in turn succeeded by George Kyle, who named the settlement Centerville and was appointed its first postmaster. Robert Freeman took a claim a little below the present site of Stanwood, H. Oliver, in 1872, taking up the land upon which most of the town later was built. The Centerville postoffice in 1873 was moved to Freeman's place and two years later James Caldon bought Freeman's interests, established a hotel and saloon on the river bank, calling the place Pioneer.

D. O. Pearson arrived in 1876, bringing with him the lumber for a store building. Leasing land, he erected a building, also a wharf, and opened his

store with a \$4,000 stock of merchandise. Pearson became postmaster and changed the name of the town to Stanwood, his wife's maiden name. G. H. Irvine opened the second store in 1879. Peter McLaughlin, the village blacksmith at this time, died a few years later and his wife, Rose, opened a hotel. Andrew Tackstrom opened a shoe shop and A. E. Klæboe a drug store.

William R. Stockbridge came from the Puyallup Valley in 1888, bought the Oliver holdings and on September 28, 1889, filed the plat of a twenty-acre townsite. The Fairhaven & Southern survey ran one mile east of the town and the people at once pledged themselves to pay \$4,000 provided the company would change its plans and give the town a railroad. The offer was refused and John W. Hall built a steam tram line between the station on the railroad and the town.

May 2, 1892, Armstrong's hotel burned. The town was without fire protection and before the flames could be controlled they had swept thirteen buildings away. Stanwood at this time had a fair sized Good Templars lodge. The lodge was in session at the time the fire started; its members, in the regalia of the order, assisted in carrying Armstrong's stock of liquors away from the flames. Among the structures burned was the Norwegian Lutheran Church. The church organization was formed in 1876 and in 1879 Rev. Christian Jergenson began erecting the first church building. It also was the first church of this denomination built on the Pacific Coast north of San Francisco. The building was 24x36 feet in size with 14-foot studding and a 16x16-foot altar attached as a rear addition. Reverend Jergenson's pastorate included the territory of Washington and the State of Oregon. The building of this church was, no doubt, the thing which induced the large immigration of Norwegians into the Stillaguamish Valley. They and their sons and daughters cleared the land and did much to bring the country into its present state of high productivity.

Rev. C. Derrick held the first Methodist services in the town in 1877; the church building being erected in 1889 under the pastorate of Rev. M. C. VanTyne. This same year George Morrill established the Stanwood Times, which two years later was moved to Arlington.

The Press appeared in 1897, and a little later went the way of many another country paper of the period. June 1, 1903, Lane & Clements began the publication of the Tidings.

Logging and sawmilling, the pioneer industries of the Stillagaumish, gradually gave way before the farmer's plow; the valley farms were taken up, the town grew, and in 1903 was incorporated with D. O. Pearson, mayor; O. R. Allen, Ira Galloupe, Iver Johnson, H. Hafsted and Charles Chadbourne as councilmen.

Above the Stillaguamish log jam the first settlement was made in 1877 by Samuel Brickhus. Before 1884 the North Fork of the Stillaguamish was known locally as "Starve Out Valley." Bachelors would go into the forest with all the food supplies they could carry on their backs, stay as long as the supplies lasted and then leave for the settlements. In 1884 Mr. and Mrs. Collingwood, Edward Fisher and a Mr. Parks settled on claims about three miles above the forks, Mrs. Collingwood being the first white woman on the North Fork.

Edmonds was named in honor of Senator Edmunds, of Vermont, the difference in spelling being due to an error in transcribing in the postoffice department

at the time the place was made a postoffice in the early '80s. The land upon which the town is built was pre-empted by Pleasant H. Elwell in October, 1866. Three years later Elwell sold to M. H. Frost, J. D. and Nat B. Fowler. George Bracket visited the place in 1872, was pleased with the location, and returning in 1876 bought the Elwell place and prepared to build a town. Some of the land was brought under cultivation, the postoffice was obtained, a store opened and on August 23, 1884, Bracket filed the plat of the first townsite. It was two blocks wide and five deep. Five years later he built the first sawmill and the next year sold his land holdings to the Minneapolis Realty & Investment Company: James H. Bishop, president; Galin H. Coon, vice president and manager; D. B. Ward, secretary. After buying 455 acres of land this company was reorganized as the Edmonds Land & Improvement Company. It platted the townsite, built the Bishop Hotel, a new wharf and an office building, failed in the panic and Bracket was forced to foreclose on his mortgages.

A. C. Allen in 1890 platted North Edmonds. To every one who established an industry or a business, Allen gave both a residence and a business lot. At this time Edmonds was building rapidly and in the opinion of many persons had prospects of becoming the leading town of Snohomish County. The town was incorporated in 1890, the first officers being: George Bracket, mayor; Frank Ashcraft, clerk; T. C. Roscoe, treasurer; William Plumber, Wellington Smith, Peter Schreiber, Fred L. Brown and Capt. W. H. Hamlin, councilmen.

Frederick Dunbar and Burlington Brown, squawmen, in 1861 made the first settlement in the Lowell neighborhood. The pioneer logging camp of Snohomish County was opened on the Dunbar and Brown claims in September, 1863, by Eugene D. Smith and Ottis Wilson. Dunbar's house was near the river bank while that of Brown was on the land now occupied by the Everett paper mill. Reuben Lowe arrived and in 1866 erected a squaw dance house on the river bank. He and Martin Getchell, in 1870, filed pre-emption on the Dunbar claim, the latter, like many another early day settler, having failed to protect his title. Smith the year before had opened the first store and built the first wharf. The Lowell postoffice was established in 1871 with Smith as postmaster—a position he filled for some twenty-one years. Reuben Lowe, a native of Lowell, Mass., named the town. In 1874 Smith built the first hotel, the first sawmill in 1889, also the Great Northern Hotel, at a cost of \$14,000; the first water works in 1890 and six years earlier filed the first plat of the townsite. July 16, 1891, work was started on the Snohomish, Skykomish & Spokane Railway, known locally as the "Three S" line, and Lowell at once laid plans for becoming its western terminus. The paper mill was built, the "Three S" line became the foundation upon which was built the Everett & Monte Cristo Railway, and the rapid rise of Everett drew attention away from Lowell, which became a suburb of the larger city. Smith's sawmill burned in 1895 and Foley, Adams & Crosby built a new mill which was burned in 1898.

Mrs. Hercanus Blackman taught the first school, in 1872. The building was one the use of which was donated by Smith and the school consisted of six pupils. The Union Church was built in 1890, the necessary funds being raised by popular subscription.

Near the confluence of the North and South forks of the Stillaguamish River, Tvete & Johnson in 1888 opened a store. Attracted by the fertile land,

a considerable number of settlers had taken claims in the neighborhood, Lou Smith having filed on the land which was to become the site of a part of the present town of Arlington. A. L. Blair, of Stanwood, growing tired of paying the exorbitant rates of Indian canoe freighters, in 1889 built a road up the river. The right-of-way clearing crew of the Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern reached the south bank of the river that fall. The building of the road attracted the attention of townsite men. Morris Haller, son of Gen. G. O. Haller, bought the Smith claim, and platted Haller City on the south side of the river. The printing plant of the Stanwood Times was moved to the new town, housed in a tent and the publication of the Arlington Times begun. Edward Walker built the Walker Hotel, two saloons began dispensing their merriment and misery, a drug store was opened and L. B. Roe erected a four-story hotel. Haller was accidentally drowned on a fishing trip, his interests passing into the ownership of other persons who did not take the active interest in the place that he had taken.

About one-fourth of a mile south of Haller City, Earl & McLeod, contractors on the railroad, bought forty acres of the Al. Gifford claim, platted the land as Arlington and started a boom for the new town, which soon eclipsed the rival on the river bank. August 9th the Stillaguamish Star, with George W. Frame, one of the moving spirits in the townsite enterprise, as editor, became the first business established in the place. Thomas Moran's tent restaurant opened a few hours later and was followed in a short time by Moran's Hotel Arlington. Although the town had a newspaper in August it was November 29th before the postoffice was established. The two towns, separated by a forty-acre tract of land, which the promoters of neither town could buy, developed an intense jealousy. Arlington had the backing of the railway company, its station and whatever advantages could be given it, and as a result made a rapid growth. The branch to Darrington was built in 1900, by which time the rival towns had recovered from the depressing days of the panic, had settled their family trouble by consolidation and had gained a population of well along toward one thousand.

About a dozen miles above Snohomish, Salem Woods, in 1878, took up a claim on the bank of the Skykomish River. In the early days Woods' settlement was known as Park Place. J. A. Vanasdlen arrived in 1889 and started a neighborhood store, the settlement then becoming known as Monroe, the post-office being established in the spring of 1890. Ladd & Elliott opened a hotel and saloon and George Beaton a blacksmith shop. By the end of 1890 J. W. Halvert was conducting a grocery, Shannahan & Chitwood a butcher shop, John Johnson a hotel, and one mile below C. Dubuque & Son were operating a sawmill. The main line of the Great Northern was surveyed across the farm of John Stretch, one mile to the northward, and Stretch and Vanasdlen platted a new town, which they named Tye City; Vanasdlen moving his store to the railroad. The name Tye City was not popular, and as the business houses at the old town had moved to the new, the name was supplanted by that of Monroe. The coming of the railroad furnished transportation for the products of the fertile valley of which Monroe is the center; brought new settlers and the surrounding country developed rapidly. Monroe was incorporated in 1902.

On the neck of land lying between the Stillaguamish and Pilchuck rivers



THE RAILROAD YARD OF A LUMBER CAMP



A GIANT OF SOUTHWESTERN WASHINGTON

Circumference thirty-six and one-half feet

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ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATION

William M. Turner, F. P. Kistner, W. H. Davis and Robert Wright, in the early '80s, settled and took up homesteads. The settlement reached the post-office stage of growth in 1889, the first postmaster being John L. Snithan. Two years later Mark Swinnerton, of Marysville, opened a store on the point where the claims of the four original homesteaders joined. Around the store there grew a settlement, which, in August, 1891, was platted into the townsite of Granite Falls. The building of the Everett & Monte Cristo Railway brought Blackman Brothers with a tie sawmill, James Roycroft, who built the Granite Falls Hotel, and several merchants. The railway reached the town in October, 1892. Anderson & Davis built a shingle mill and a little later organized the Granite Falls Manufacturing and Mercantile Company. The Granite Falls Post was established July 25, 1903, by Niles & Moore; November 8th the town was incorporated as a city of the fourth class with B. E. Chappell, mayor; J. H. Fox, J. G. Luckey, D. J. Carpenter, L. H. Messner and W. H. Earle, councilmen; C. T. Smith, clerk; and Dr. Frank Chappell, treasurer.

The Town of Sultan was built on the homestead upon which John Nailor and his Indian wife settled in 1880. Nailor became the town's first postmaster in 1885, when the placer mines in the neighborhood brought in a sufficient number of people to make a postoffice possible, and a few years later built the first hotel. Twenty acres of the Nailor claim were platted in October, 1889, by William B. Stevens, who bought the Nailor Hotel and started a store. Dr. J. L. Warren arrived and opened a drug store, Stone & Ewing built a sawmill and in 1891 H. M. Shaw established the Sultan Journal. The building of the Great Northern railway turned the town into a supply point for the contractors and brought a floating population which, when the hard times period set in, left the district. The citizens, realizing that the town must be given some stable industries, in April, 1895, organized the Sultan Millsite & Improvement Company, obtained water rights and rights of way for flumes, dug ditches, bought a small tract of land and then offered to lease the property to any one who would build a mill. The first result of this public spirited enterprise was the building of the Keefe & Perkins shingle mill. Other enterprises came and on June 10, 1905, the Town of Sultan was incorporated, the first officers being: H. M. Meredith, mayor; John F. Warner, G. V. Pearsall, E. A. Beebe and George W. Fowler, councilmen; Thomas W. Musgrove, clerk; and Eli Marsolais, treasurer. Miss Mattie Warren, in 1890, taught the first school, the expense being met by voluntary subscription. John A. Swett established the Sultan Star, September 7, 1905.

Several ambitious attempts were made to develop the placer mining in the Sultan River, the largest being that of Doctor De Soto, who in about 1900 began development work designed to alter the course of the river and uncover what many believed would be rich pockets of nuggets. A costly tunnel was driven to conduct the river into its new channel and an expensive plant was built to recover gold from black sand. A considerable quantity of gold was taken and the venture might have been a success had not a freshet wiped out practically everything the hand of man had created and packed the De Soto tunnel so full of timbers and boulders that a cockroach could not have passed through it.

The first claim taken on the Stillaguamish River was in 1864, when Harry Marshall settled on the land upon which the Village of Florence was built.

James H. Perkins arrived in 1866 and opened a logging camp for Reynolds & Duvall, bought the Marshall claim and built a residence for his family.

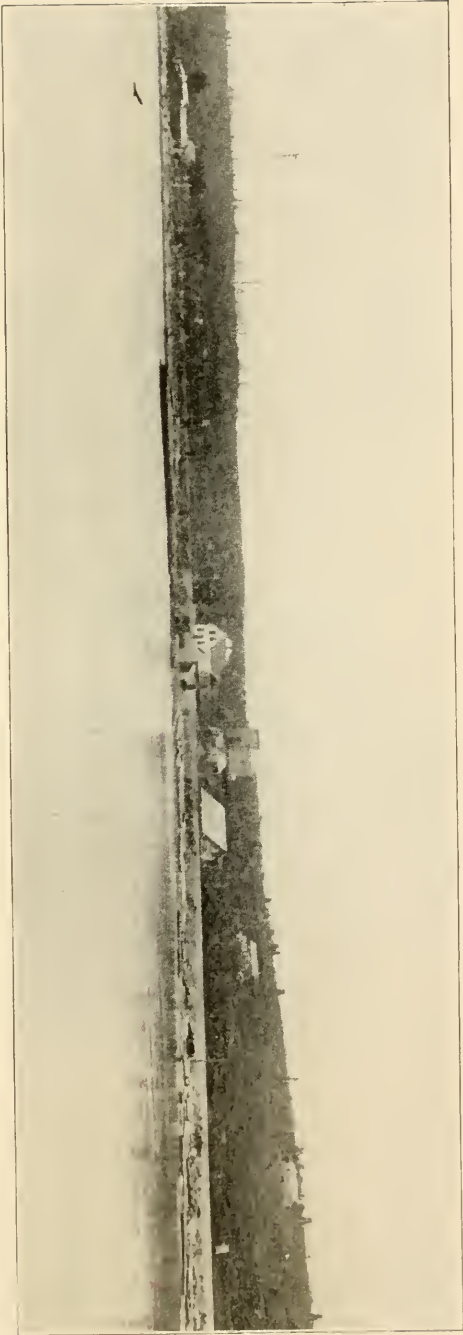
Index had its beginning in April, 1890, when Amos D. Gunn opened a hotel for the accommodation of the placer miners working in the district. Gunn became postmaster when the Index office was opened in the spring of 1891, and built a new and larger Hotel Index when fire burned the old house, July 22, 1893. He was also the town's first storekeeper. Lively days followed the building of the Great Northern; the Everett Terminal Land & Milling Company bought a half interest in the townsite and mining gave promise of a permanent foundation upon which to build a town. July 22, 1893, the entire town, except the railway station, was burned to the ground.

The development of the Copper Bell and Sunset mines in 1898 started another boom. Tents and shacks, housing hundreds of mining prospectors, soon appeared. John A. Soderberg established a store; Isaac Korns a drug store, the Grand Pacific Hotel and the Haybrook sawmill were built.

Early in February, 1900, Seattle and Tacoma were much excited over the report that the Northern Pacific Railroad had bought the Standard Oil Company holdings in the Monte Cristo Railway. Tacoma was feeling that the Northern Pacific was about to desert her. Seattle, still harboring resentment against the line, refused to permit it to monopolize the waterfront, so that when the dispatch announcing the purchase of the Monte Cristo line, with its valuable terminal facilities at Everett, reached the two larger cities, both were in a frame of mind to accept the reported statement of President Mellen to the effect that "the particular occasion why the Northern Pacific bought the road is to secure more terminals for its growing Pacific Coast business. Tacoma proved too small and Seattle was too exacting." President Mellen next day denied that he had made the statement, but it served to make many an investor in Seattle and Tacoma real estate look down his nose for a few hours. The road had been bought as a feeder line. The Silverton and Monte Cristo miners had been having trouble with the owners of the Everett smelter and when the road passed under the control of the Northern Pacific, it was hoped other smelters would be accessible to them.

A severe freshet in the spring of 1897 swept a great part of the Everett & Monte Cristo track into the river and dealt Everett a heavy blow. Her merchants had struggled along until they had placed their city in the position of dividing honors with the Bellingham Bay cities for fourth place in the state, and when reports were sent out that the road would be abandoned and not rebuilt, Everett business men turned their attention toward the development of the Index district. Everett, in seven years, had grown from a town to a city of 10,000, the county seat of Snohomish County, with 10 churches, 1 hospital, 1 daily and 3 weekly papers, electric lights and street railways, water works, 3 banks, 1,300 school children and 26 school teachers.

Erskine D. Kromer and Ezra Hutch, veterans of the Mexican war, in 1871 took claims on the peninsula formed by the Snohomish River and Port Gardner Bay. John F. Stevens, engineer for the Great Northern Railway, in 1890 discovered Stevens Pass in the Cascades and within a short time real estate speculators and town builders discovered that the claims originally taken by the two old soldiers offered a fine opportunity for the booming of a new townsite.



EVERETT WATERFRONT IN 1891

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The Everett Land Company was organized and bought nearly all the land on the peninsula; the leading spirits in the land company being Henry Hewitt, Jr., Charles L. Colby, Colgate Hoyt, W. J. and B. J. Rucker and W. G. Swalwell. The first lots were sold in November, 1891, and in the next two years nearly three million dollars were spent for improvements, grading, building sidewalks, planking streets, construction of electric light and water systems, and the Monte Cristo Railway.

Everett was incorporated May 1, 1893, and through the panicky days of the '90s was referred to by rival towns as of mushroom growth. Sawmills, shingle mills, smelter, and other industries went there and soon gave the name "City of Smokestacks" to the place.

Henry Hewitt, a resident of Tacoma, has made the statement many times that Tacoma should have had practically every industrial plant that was built in Everett in the beginnings of that city. He has said that he made liberal offers to Tacoma interests for acreage on the tideflats, promising them in return nail factory, barge works, smelter and the various other semi-experimental enterprises that were started in Everett, but that the land-owners demanded too much. It is probable, in any event, that the Everett townsite would have figured in the terminal ambitions of the time. After James J. Hill made it the terminal for the Great Northern and built shops, etc., and placed John T. McChesney in charge of the large development work which the railroad interests undertook, Everett enjoyed a period of substantial growth and denuded itself gradually of the mushroomy odor of its earlier days, and now, with paved streets, unusual business blocks and many fine residences, occupies a position of decided advantage.

Everett is Washington's youngest city. Other cities and towns date their beginnings back to pioneer times, before the coming of the railways, but Everett is the creation of the railways. Dennis Brigham and Erskine D. Kromer settled on the shore of Port Gardner some time in the '60s. Kromer became the agent of the telegraph company then building a line from the Sound to Asia via Alaska. Neil Spithill, John Davis, Ezra Hatch, John King and William Shears were other early day settlers who came before the arrival of the Ruckers.

In 1889 W. J. and B. J. Rucker and their mother, Mrs. J. M. Rucker, arrived from Tacoma, bought the Edmund Smith farm and the next year were joined by William G. Swalwell and Frank B. Friday in platting some fifty acres into the townsite of Port Gardner. Henry Hewitt, Jr., acting for Charles Colby and other New York capitalists, arrived in the spring of 1890 and bought the Swalwell and Friday interests.

In November the Everett Land Company was organized and announced the building of a city. The people on the townsite did not take much faith in the scheme, but when in the following spring the company began clearing land and grading streets on a great scale they changed this opinion.

From bay shore to river bank stretched the length of Hewitt Avenue—a long street even for a good sized city, but a seemingly endless thoroughfare for a town with but few houses and no large business institutions. On the river bank the Swalwell Land, Loan & Trust Company, in September, 1891, laid out an addition. At the time W. N. Webster bought the first lot for \$1,000 there were but two families in the neighborhood. Ten days later 1,000 persons had moved into the

new addition. A few months before this Mrs. B. L. Mitchell had been appointed postmistress of the newly established postoffice.

The town was named in honor of Everett Colby, son of Charles Colby, and the first postoffice was on the bay end of Hewitt Avenue. This location was unsatisfactory to the people on the river end of the long street and resulted in a move to the top of the hill at Hewitt and Lombard. There a new building had been specially built, but business increased so rapidly that it had soon outgrown the building and the Government appropriation and the chamber of commerce was forced to come to the rescue and hire an assistant postmaster and larger quarters.

The whaleback steamer C. W. Wetmore arrived December 26, 1891, with a cargo of iron and machinery for a nail mill and paper factory. Great Northern trains began arriving about this time and it was believed James J. Hill contemplated making the town the western terminus of the line. Daily train service was established in January, 1892. The Bay View Hotel was completed at a cost of \$40,000; the First Presbyterian Church, Everett's first church building, was begun in March; the Sunset Telegraph and Telephone Company began installing a telephone system; the Hewitt-Lombard Bank opened its doors for business; and Clark & Company completed the "Wigwam"—an immense barn-like structure at the corner of Hewitt and Wetmore avenues that was to play an important part in the history of the town.

The place had grown so fast that it needed a city government—and did not have time to wait for any delay in getting that government. A meeting was held in the Wigwam and a "Committee of Twenty-one" selected to act as a kind of informal city council. It was made up of the following men: E. D. Smith, E. H. Hallenbeek, E. D. Ingersoll, A. S. Pruden, W. O. Hayden, S. L. Gates, A. H. Gamel, James Hornbly, C. W. Caddigan, D. E. Powers, C. D. Sweeney, W. G. Swalwell, E. L. Bogart, George Noyes, J. S. Borland, J. H. Mitchell, J. J. Maney, P. K. Lewis, J. P. Murphy, W. M. Ross, and G. L. Lazier. These men served the city from March 19, 1892, to February 17, 1893.

Incorporation was effected and April 27th the first election was held. Four tickets were in the field and a lively campaign resulted in the election of Thomas Dwyer, democrat, mayor; James Hambly, republican, treasurer; H. D. Cooley, republican, attorney; C. P. Clark, republican, clerk; Dennis Crowe, peoples party, marshal; Dr. O. V. Harris, democrat, health officer; Charles Reed, assessor; W. G. Swalwell, J. J. Maney, Samuel H. Nichols, O. N. Murdock, W. J. Gillespie, S. E. Thayer and C. A. Swineford, councilmen. The first councilmanic meeting was held in the Wigwam May 8th. Already the town had had volunteer fire fighting organizations for more than one year.

The spring and summer of 1892 are notable for the industrial plants placed in operation. May 11th the Puget Sound Wire Nail and Steel Company made its first nail. A silver dollar was used and the first keg of wire nails was sent to the New York office. The first order was received from the Schawbacher Brothers Company of Seattle. In April the Pacific Steel Barge Company finished its plant; Mathew P. Zindorf was erecting the first brick building on the Bay side of the town; W. G. Swalwell was erecting a \$30,000 brick block on the river side; the Everett Brick & Tile Company was making 1,500,000 brick for the Everett Reduction Company which was laying them in its smelter buildings as rapidly as

they were received, and the Everett & Monte Cristo Railway Company was pushing its line toward the mountains as rapidly as men and money could accomplish the work.

On September 1, 1891, the town had one schoolhouse with two teachers employed. One year later there were nine schoolhouses and ten teachers. The Great Northern began its tunnel under the city in 1893, the Everett Electric Railway Company began operating cars on July 3d and on October 24, 1894, the City of Everett was launched. It was estimated that twelve thousand people witnessed this event, the launching of the first whaleback steamer built on the Pacific Coast. Governor McGraw made the principal speech, and Miss Katrice Lentzy christened the vessel. At this time Everett was entertaining hopes of obtaining a great fresh water harbor. Congress on November 3, 1893, granted the Everett Land Company permission to take up the work, but little was accomplished until the Congress of 1901 made an appropriation of almost four hundred thousand dollars.

Financial troubles drove the Everett Land Company into the hands of a receiver and John D. Rockefeller became its owner. It was reorganized as the Everett Improvement Company and became the owner of the unsold portion of the townsite. The Hill interests were in active control. Since that time Everett has grown into a modern city, and while still scattered over a much greater area than necessary, gives promise of some day building until it covers all the territory included by its enthusiastic promoters.

The City, River and County of Snohomish take their name from the dominant tribe of Tulalip Agency living adjacent to the territory of the present Tulalip Reservation. The Government life-saving steamer for the Pacific Northwest, "Snohomish," takes its name from the same source. Governor Rogers was wont to say that a circumference with a radius of 200 miles and with Mount Rainier as its center included within its bounds a section of the earth's surface that could nowhere else be duplicated for the wealth of industrial possibilities possessed by it.

The first white settlement in the present Snohomish County was made at Tulalip, on Tulalip Bay, in 1853, before the county itself existed. This fact will be set forth more fully later; it suffices here to call attention to the fact that Tulalip is the father of Snohomish County. Less than two years later, January 22, 1855, the treaty was made at Point Elliott or Mukilteo. Mukilteo is about ten miles south of Tulalip and the intermittent flash of its lighthouse can be seen from the steps of the schoolhouse at Tulalip (the Tulalip School is a treaty-pledged school). At the time of the first settlement at Tulalip (1853) and at the time of the treaty of Mukilteo (1855) Snohomish County had no actual existence as such and was both unsettled and unexplored. During the Indian wars of 1855-56 what is now the county was explored somewhat by the Northern Battalion of Washington Volunteers recruited from Whidby Island and Port Townsend. About this same time Colonel Ebey (after whom Ebey Slough and Ebey Island are named) led the first military expedition up the Snohomish River. When the settlements began many of these soldiers remained. In 1857 Rev. Father E. C. Chirouse, O. M. I., arrived, landing at Priest Point, Tulalip Reservation, at the mouth of the Snohomish River on its north bank. In 1859 the so-called "military road" was cut from Seattle to the Stillaguamish River. At this time E. C.

Ferguson and E. F. Cady projected the Town of Snohomish—then called Cadyville.

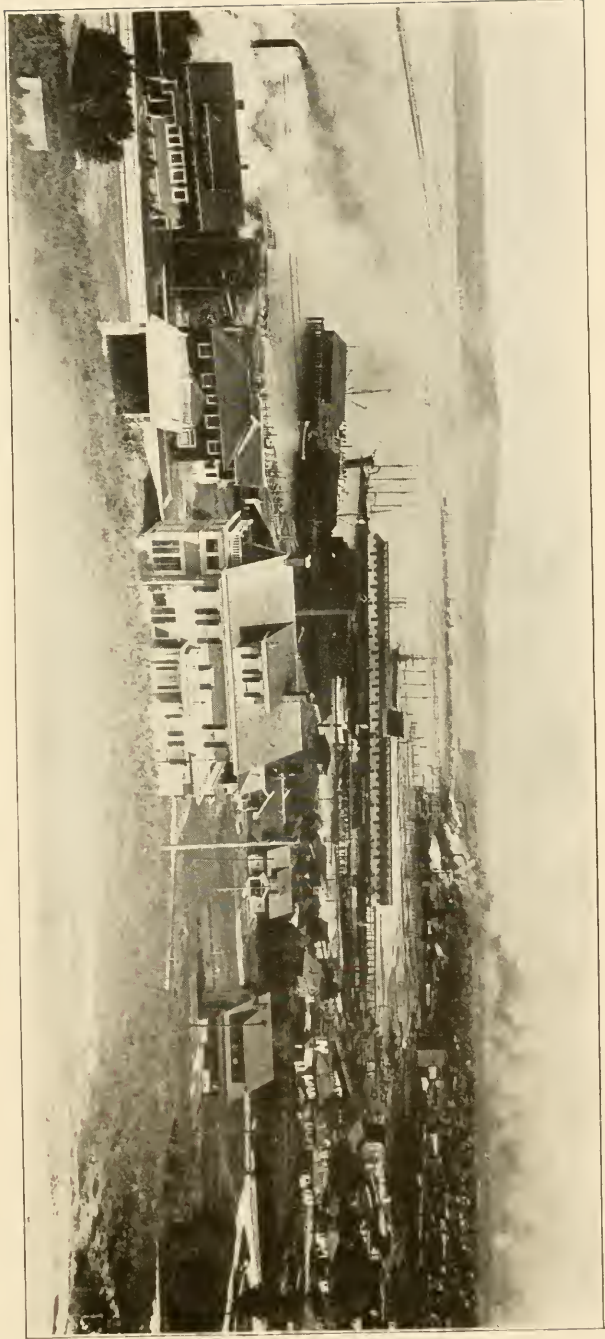
In 1861, before there was a white woman within its bounds, the County of Snohomish was organized and Mukilteo was designated by the Legislature as the county seat. The population of the portion of the territory set off as Snohomish County did not at that time exceed forty white persons but there was quite an Indian population. At that time, and for some time thereafter, there was no steam communication about the inland water of Puget Sound. Most of the mail routes were served by row boats, canoes and sailing vessels. As there were no roads the wants of the settlers had to be supplied by the same means.

One of the earlier settlers in this county (about the earliest now surviving) is Alexander Spithill, Sr., of Marysville, Wash. Mr. Spithill is married to a Tulalip Indian allottee (Mrs. Spithill is a half-blood). Mr. Spithill was born in Greenock, Scotland; later lived in Australia; came to California in the gold stampede of 1849; he later engaged in a seafaring life, leaving his ship October 6th, 1856, at Port Orchard, Wash. November 9, 1856, he went to work in a spar camp at Utsalady (on the north end of Camano Island), whence they were shipping masts and spars for the navies of France, England and Russia. At that time Snohomish County was a part of Island County and the only white settlers between Seattle and Bellingham were the settlers on Tulalip Bay who built and operated by water power one of the first mills of the Northwest (about the first water power sawmill). Prior to going to Utsalady he had been employed in carrying the mails between the various Indian reservations and military posts, this "express" consisting of a boat manned by five Indians and one white man. Mr. Spithill was the first road supervisor of Snohomish County.

The first auditor of Snohomish County was Jacob D. Fowler, who was also the first probate judge of the county. As auditor he received his appointment and qualified (before J. J. H. Vanboklen, deputy district clerk of the third judicial district) February 12, 1861. Jake Summers was appointed and sworn in as the first sheriff of the county on the same date. The first arrest that he made was of an Indian, Allen Phims, charged with the murder of a white man named Carter, who had been killed on the Snohomish River on what is now known as the John Noble place. At the regular term of the District Court in Port Townsend, February 27, 1861, the Indian was admitted to bail in the sum of \$600, six Indian chiefs being accepted as his bondsmen. The murder was coldblooded and without provocation but the perpetrators were never brought to trial. Of the three Indians (father and two sons) connected with the murder, all are now dead. Allen Phims was killed by another Indian in a drunken row in Seattle in February, 1870. Charlie Phims died a natural death. Their father died in British Columbia, where he went shortly after the murder. Mr. Carter, the murdered man, was quite old and peaceable.

The first road built or supposed to be built in Snohomish County was one contracted for by the Federal Government from Fort Steilacoom to Bellingham. One of the contract provisions was that payment should be made as soon as a wagon was actually taken over the road. The wagon went over the road all right to the bank of the Snohomish River where the Cascade sawmill now stands. An army officer was detailed to inspect the road and he traveled from Steilacoom by canoe. He found a wagon on the river bank and concluded that it had been

EVERETT'S WATERFRONT AS IT APPEARS TODAY



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drawn over the road on its own wheels; as a matter of fact it had been taken apart, the wagon had, and had been carried over a very poor trail on the backs of pack mules.

At one time Mukilteo was an important telegraph station of the Western Union Company. Seattle was the nearest office south and the actual business terminus was New Westminister, B. C. The line followed the meanderings of the shore; it crossed Tulalip Reservation and telegraphy was one of the former lines of activity of the agency clerk at Tulalip. Portions of the wire of this line are to be found in the Tulalip woods yet; for years the Indians found it very useful indeed in fence-building as a binder for the double upright posts. Whenever an Indian fenced a plat of land he went out into the woods to secure several hundred feet of the telegraph wire to assist him in securing his fence properly. The plan had been to continue this line to Behring Sea for telegraphic communication thence by way of the Russian lines and to that end material was delivered at various points all along the coast and portions of it actually went under construction. The laying of the Atlantic cable put an end to the scheme.

The first postmaster in Snohomish County was that pioneer factotum, Jacob D. Fowler, who was also first auditor, first probate judge—and a few other things. He qualified as postmaster and also as county commissioner October 29, 1861. November 3, 1861, he and his son opened the postoffice and sent three packages through the mail—the first sent through a postoffice from and in this county. Mukilteo early enjoyed a mail service; the little steamer "Mary Woodruff" called once a week on her way from Seattle to Bellingham. It took her a whole week to make the trip—and pushed her to do it in that time. Mr. Fowler and his daughter had charge of this postoffice for more than forty years.

At the time of the organization of Snohomish County, Morris H. Frost and Jacob Fowler established a store at the newly-designated county seat, Mukilteo. It was the only one between Seattle and Utsalady (on the north end of Camano Island). It was an Indian trading post and furs were the chief medium of exchange at that time, being given for flour, blankets, powder, calico, etc. The store then was on the site now occupied by the hotel. Travelers were few and far between but the latchstring was always out for the wayfarer. At this time the entire population of the county did not exceed several dozen.

The first election held in Snohomish County was that of July 3, 1861. At that election the county seat was changed (by a vote of thirteen to nine) from Mukilteo to Snohomish (or, as it was known at that time, Cadyville). At that election C. C. Ferguson was elected auditor over J. D. Fowler, who had been both auditor and treasurer—as well as a few other things. At this first election Mr. Fowler was elected one of the county commissioners. E. C. Ferguson was sworn in as the first justice of the peace on Tuesday, March 12, 1861. Precincts and districts for Snohomish County were organized also on that same date, by the county commissioners, and the general business of the county began.

The first sawmill in the county was built at Tulalip (the site of the first settlement in the county) in 1853. The first steam sawmill in the county was built by Livingston Brothers on the beach half way between Mukilteo and Everett. They began it in the fall of 1862 and had it ready to run by the same season of the next year (1863). This mill shipped several cargoes of lumber to San Francisco by the barque "Mallory." She sprang a leak in the vicinity of Cape Flat-

tery on her last voyage; she made for Neah Bay and was beached there. Her lumber cargo was saved and used for building houses on the Neah Bay or Makah Reservation. The sheriff sold the machinery of this sawmill in 1865 to satisfy a judgment on a mortgage in favor of Richard & Hoyt of Whatcom (now Bellingham); it was moved to Freeport, now West Seattle, and used in the mill there. This disastrous two years of experience ended the sawmill business on Port Gardner Bay until the City of Everett came into existence (1892). This Livingston mill plant was not only the first steam sawmill on Port Gardner Bay but was also the first stationary steam plant in Snohomish County. The boiler and engine of the Livingston mill were first used on Bellingham Bay in connection with a coal mine (operated by Richards & Hoyt) on the Morrison claim (now that portion of Bellingham that was formerly Fairhaven). This mine proved a failure, as did many others opened on the water front of Bellingham Bay.

The first seagoing vessel built in Snohomish County was constructed by Morris H. Frost at Mukilteo in 1863. She was named the "Gazelle" and was used by the firm of Frost & Fowler in the trading business between Mukilteo, Port Townsend and Victoria, B. C. She was afterwards sold to Marvin & Sons, ship chandlers of Victoria, B. C., and used by them in trading and fishing along the coast of British Columbia and Southeastern Alaska. The next seagoing vessel was built by Leander Bagley, at the mouth of the Snohomish River, on the site now occupied by the Blackman shingle mill (formerly the site of the ancient Indian village of "Hay-bohl-ub"). This vessel was christened "Rebecca;" after launching she was towed to Victoria, B. C., and rigged as a schooner. She took a cargo from Victoria to Honolulu and from there to San Francisco. She was later placed in the oyster carrying trade between San Francisco and Shoalwater Bay and was afterwards wrecked on the California coast. After that, which was in 1865, there were no more seagoing vessels built in this county until the ship yards were established in Everett (Everett having been started in 1892).

In 1869 Miss Robie Willard taught the first school in the county; it was in the City of Snohomish. In 1876 Eldridge Morse of Snohomish started the first paper in the county and called it *The Northern Star*. The first church in the county (aside from the Tulalip Mission Church built on Tulalip Bay by Rev. Father E. C. Chirouse, O. M. I., in 1857) was the Union Presbyterian Church organized at Snohomish in 1876 with a membership of seventy-six.

WHATCOM COUNTY

Capt. Henry Roeder was born in Germany July 4, 1824. His father, a soldier under Napoleon at the battle of Waterloo, left Europe and came to America, settling at Vermillion, Ohio, in 1831. Young Roeder became a sailor on the Great Lakes and when the California rush set in went to St. Louis in the spring of 1850 and joined a large caravan then setting out overland for the Pacific Coast. Roeder reached Salt Lake City where, July 4th, he heard Brigham Young tell his followers they would establish a government of their own. Here the wagons and cattle were sold for Mormon money, worth in California 75 cents on the dollar, and the journey to the coast was completed with mules. Roeder had indifferent success at mining, and, contracting cholera, he gave it up and became a fisherman on the Sacramento River, where he often made as



FIRST GOVERNMENT BRIDGE IN WHATCOMB COUNTY
Built by General Pickett's Forces of Fort Bellingham, 1858

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high as \$100 a day. Hearing of the vast quantities of fish in the Columbia River, Roeder left California in 1853 and came north with the intention of establishing a fishing business. Before he had completed his arrangements fire swept San Francisco and the rebuilding operations sending the price of lumber to unheard of eminences, Roeder turned his attention in that direction, formed a partnership with R. V. Peabody, and crossing to Olympia started on a canoe exploration of the Sound country. On the east shore of Bellingham Bay Peabody took a claim at what later became Whatcom, Roeder taking one where Sehome afterward was built. The building of the mill soon was under way, and more help was needed. Roeder, taking a small sloop, crossed to Victoria in search of workmen. Upon his return he set out for California, where he bought the machinery for the mill, paying 25 cents a pound for the iron used in it—the first mill built in the northern waters of the Sound.

After establishing himself at Bellingham Bay, Captain Roeder was frequently in Victoria, where he sold much lumber and became well acquainted with Sir James Douglas, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company and governor of the colony. Telling a newspaper reporter of one of these visits, Captain Roeder once said:

"I was frequently in Victoria and when I had gotten acquainted with the governor, Sir James Douglas, we were on very good terms. One day he asked me if I did not want to see how their criminals were punished. Taking me to the prison he said to the turnkey, in a deliberate tone, almost a drawl: 'Mr. Hall, bring out number so-and-so, fasten him to the post and give him two dozen.'

"The poor fellow was brought from his cell and given twenty-four stinging cuts with the cat-o'-nine-tails. At the end of the punishment the man made an angry remark, and the governor said, very slowly: 'Mr. Hall, I see he has not yet had enough. Give him a dozen more, and lay them on a little harder.'

"The blood was already running down the man's back, and at the first blow he begged for mercy, but he got the whole dozen. I saw the object of the governor. He wanted me to tell the boys at Whatcom the treatment they might expect if they came to Victoria and broke Hudson's Bay Company laws."

The third vessel to receive Puget Sound register was built by Captain Roeder at Bellingham Bay in 1854. The vessel was the schooner H. C. Page. The next year Captain Roeder helped in constructing the trail across the mountains to the Colville mines, also in building the stockade at Old Fort Bellingham.

March 4, 1859, Samuel D. Howe introduced a bill in the Territorial Legislature providing for the organization of a new county, to be known by the name of Bay. It was to include all the territory lying north of King and east of the Sound to the summit of the Cascade Mountains. The bill was amended, changing the name to Whatcom, and was adopted March 9th. The county seat was not named. William Cullen, H. C. Page and R. V. Peabody were named commissioners, Ellis Barnes, sheriff, and A. M. Poe, auditor.

The old brick building on E Street, Bellingham, was the one permanent thing left by the Fraser River gold stampede of 1858. Thousands of men passed through what has since become the City of Bellingham on their way to the mines. Early in the rush came John G. Hyatt and Charles E. Richards, who decided that a town was to be built at the mouth of Whatcom Creek, also that they were going to erect that town's first brick building. San Francisco con-

tractors brought the brick, iron and glass, constructed the building and when the tide turned and the miners came back through the town on their way out, Richards & Hyatt had a large stock of general merchandise laid out on the shelves of their new brick building.

At that time Whatcom County contained all the territory of what is today Whatcom and Skagit counties, the county seat being at LaConner. The bursting boom left Richards & Hyatt with a monopoly on brick buildings, but there were no buyers for that class of property. May 7, 1863, Richards sold the building to the county to be used as a courthouse, receiving \$2,000 of scrip which was worth about 25 cents on the dollar. Next day the deed was filed for record, was mislaid and did not reappear until in June, 1871.

Skagit County was created in 1883 and Tuesday, January 4, 1884, Judge Roger S. Greene, of Seattle, opened the first session of the Territorial District Court for the Third Judicial District in the old building which had been turned into a courthouse. The other officers of the court were James F. Cass, clerk; James O'Loughlin, sheriff; Stewart Leckie, deputy sheriff; E. C. Pentland, bailiff; J. W. Siegfred, crier. J. P. deMattos, afterward several times mayor of Bellingham, was appointed prosecuting attorney.

Admission of attorneys was the first business before the court, I. M. Kalloch, ex-mayor of San Francisco; W. H. Harris, E. P. Sine and W. Stanfield being admitted to practice. The grand jury sworn in at this time was composed as follows: Mesdames M. H. Mayhew, Will D. Jenkins, J. G. Powell, R. E. McPherson, R. Merriam, E. A. Vernon, L. M. Durkee and E. C. Pentland; Messrs. Rufus Stearns, N. F. Blomquist, Edward McAlpine, H. Austin, Edward Holtzheimer, S. Stubbs, W. H. Harte and P. A. McMackin; Mrs. Powell, clerk, and Rufus Stearns, foreman.

The old brick building did service as courthouse and jail until 1891, when the new courthouse was completed. It passed into private ownership in March, 1903.

Late in the summer of 1859 Sheriff W. J. Kelly arrested Telliskanim, chief of the Nooksacks, and locked him up in the old block house jail on the hill above the brick building. The tribe, which throughout the Indian war of 1855-56 had remained friendly with the whites, felt itself terribly insulted through the arrest of its chief and a rescue party was organized. A big war canoe containing some twenty painted braves came down the river, crossed the bay and was anchored under the bluff. Boldly advancing to the brick building the party attacked "Buckskin" Roessel, the only white man in sight. It was Sunday afternoon and the settlers were at home. Roessel was killed, but the Indians made so much noise in doing the job that armed settlers soon appeared. At the first and only volley three braves bit the dust and the others, forgetting all about their painted canoe under the bluff, started over the hill for home. This route lead past the home of Capt. Henry Roeder, where his wife and children were.

From up the trail came back a shriek and those in pursuit, thinking Mrs. Roeder and the children were being butchered, hastened their footsteps. Coming in sight of Captain Roeder, members of the party saw him twisting the hair of a Nooksack squaw who, yelling at the top of her voice, was telling the braves to leave Mrs. Roeder and the children alone—advice which, if heard by the

fleeing braves, was unnecessary. They were making the best of a good opportunity to get away.

The old brick building is still a land mark in "Old Town," Bellingham. D. E. Tuck, a pioneer of the '50s, is authority for the statement that it is the oldest brick building in the state, antedating the one-story McCaw & Rogers brick at Steilacoom by several months. The next one erected was the old bank building at Olympia, built by George A. Barnes in 1870.

The first ascent of Mount Baker, or Kulshan, as the Indians knew it, was made by Edward T. Coleman, who a year later started up Mount Rainier-Tacoma with Stevens and Van Trump. For some reason he did not continue but fell behind and had no part in the final triumph. Writing of Mount Baker Mr. Coleman said:

"Shortly after this we were cheered by our first view of Mount Baker, at a point where the river divides into two forks. This seemed a favorable opportunity for calling a halt—all the more so as here was established the mansion of Umptlalum, the chief of the Nootsacks.

"Like many mightier kings he possesses a winter and a summer residence. The permanent encampment is a little below the forks, while the Nootsak Versailles is on an island, where his majesty may enjoy immunity from the mosquito race. These Nootsacks are a distinct tribe from the Lummi, and differ considerably in language, manners, and modes of life. They occupy the territory from the base of Mount Baker down to within five miles of the mouth of the Lummi. Like all inland tribes they subsist principally by the chase, whereas the Lummi depend on fish and clams. Father Chirouse, who is well known in connection with the Indian mission at Tulalip, and Mr. Finkboner (C. E. Finkbonner, farmer in charge of the Lummi Reservation) suppose that they originally came as a hunting party from the Clallam country to San Juan and Shaw's Island, and thence they fought their way up to their present location, and that the original inhabitants of the Lummi district are extinct. They have a tradition that they are all descended from one original pair.

"Umptlallum is a venerable looking man, and though somewhat short in stature, looks every inch a chief. He is benign and intelligent in aspect. His snow white hair was parted in the middle and combed down behind his ears. He wore a tuft on his chin and his complexion was tanned by long exposure to the sun."

The Village of Whatcom took its name from Whatcom, chief of a tribe of Indians that inhabited the country around the lake and along the creek. The Indian meaning of the name for the lake was Tear of the Mountains. Bellingham Bay was unknown to white settlers before 1852. In that year Capt. W. Pattle was cutting timber on what afterwards became Sehome, for the San Francisco market. One morning two loggers named Brown and Hewett went to the shore to remove a big windfall, when they found that the roots of the tree when they turned out of the ground had left exposed a body of black looking rock. Examination showed this to be lignite coal.

Capt. Edward Eldridge was born in Scotland and in 1849 was a sailor on Lake Erie. In 1853 Eldridge was in San Francisco and met Captain Roeder, who had gone to that city to buy a sawmill outfit. Roeder was accompanied by R. V. Peabody, who was interested with him, and they induced Eldridge to

come north with them. Eldridge took up a donation claim and assisted the other men in building the sawmill. All of the lumber used in its construction, as well as that used in the building of the first houses, was hewed out of the logs. The sawmill was built at the mouth of Whatcom Creek and had a daily capacity of about one thousand feet. It was a famous old mill, cut much of the lumber used in early building operations of Whatcom County and from that day to this there has always been a sawmill or other woodworking plant at the foot of Whatcom Creek Falls.

Captain Pattle made some shipments of his coal to San Francisco, but the tests were not very successful. The coal was of low grade, but he induced Calhoun Benham and Captain Fauntelroy to visit the bay and inspect the mine. Benham and Fauntelroy bought the mine, the latter remaining at Sehome while his partner returned to San Francisco. A man by the name of Fitzhugh came up as agent of the purchasers and development work began. The Indian war of 1855-56 caused considerable excitement among the few people then on the bay, but as none of the settlers were killed no damage was done. At the close of the war eighteen donation claims had been taken on the bay.

Six months after the Fraser River excitement began, it was all over, most of the people had drifted to other parts of the country and their shacks, tents and other belongings were sold at any price they were offered by the few who remained. The rush served its purpose in that it attracted attention to the bay and really started the development of the county. The mines closed down in 1878, the expense of pumping out the water with which they were nearly always flooded, proving too high for profitable operation. Lumbering had grown and by 1883 had become the important industry. The settlement had hopes of becoming the terminus of the Northern Pacific and when the railroad did reach the town, it began to grow in earnest. In 1890 Sehome and Whatcom were incorporated as New Whatcom.

Nelson Bennet, in 1889, bought the Dan Harris claim for \$40,000, paying for it in coin. Dan Harris, or Dirty Dan as he was known, was said to have been the laziest man that ever came to Washington. He located at what afterwards became Fairhaven many years before the coming of Bennet and his Fairhaven Land Company, and in reply to a question from Bennet said that at first he did not know how he was going to find stuff enough to live on, but that when the tide went out the table was set.

Harris made a trip to Olympia and a friend of his there presented him with two pigs. He did not know what to do with them, but taking them back home with him, he turned them out to rustle for themselves. They grew fat and Harris was at a loss to know how the trick was done until he found them on the tide flats digging clams. This gave him an idea and he followed the pigs as they followed the receding tide. They would dig out two clams and Harris would at once appropriate one for his own use, treating the pigs fairly, he explained, by never taking more than he could use between tides.

Morse's Monthly, published by Eldridge Morse at Snohomish, in January, 1883, published an interesting account of a trip from the headwaters of the Skagit to those of the Nooksack—the trip having been made in August, 1881:

"We had learned some two years before that at this place (Williamson's hop ranch, 'two miles north of the coal mines,' which must have been north of



NEW WHATCOM IN JUNE, 1888



REVELLE HILL, WHATCOM, 1884
Now covered with handsome business block

Hamilton) the South Fork of the Nootsack, was less than ten miles north of the Skagit River; while all existing maps made the distance between these rivers over twenty-five miles. Mr. Williamson said he had been through a mountain pass, over a dim Indian trail, so that, from where he stood, he could see the Nootsack River flowing at the foot of a high bluff on which he was standing. He thought it was some seven or eight miles from his place to where he reached the edge of the bluff. He lived over a mile north of the Skagit River, so that by his estimate it could not exceed nine miles from river to river.

"We could find no one who had ever been through to settlements or who could tell us how far it was down the Nootsack to where white people lived. None but Indians had ever been through, and as it was hop-picking time, they were unwilling to go either as guides or as companions. Taking over ten days food, a piece of cotton cloth 6 by 9 feet for a tent, a hunting knife and a small revolver, but no blankets, so as to go as light as possible, we started alone in the rain about noon on a Thursday, and that evening we not only reached the Nootsack, but traveled down it a mile or more before it became time to camp.

"After reaching the summit of the Williamson Pass, the rain ceased and when we were down by the Nootsack River we found no evidences of it having rained there for several days. All day Friday we traveled down this mountain valley without seeing any traces of men having ever been there, except some old blazes on trees, which looked as if white men had made them many years ago, and they seemed to be continuous from the settlements on the Skagit to those on the Nootsack."

Morse describes the first place reached on the Nootsack as being a high bluff of white quartz and says that one of the first things noticed upon his arrival there was some tall timothy growing at the water's edge. Saturday he passed through a belt of fine white pine; climbed a mountain to get around a "canyon whose walls rose, perpendicularly, on each side of the river, some seven hundred feet high" and found a valley through which fire had run some twelve or fifteen years earlier.

"While passing down this portion of the river we were frequently compelled to wade it. At the same time the 'humpy' salmon were running. This far up the river their backs are coal black, and hump or rounded so as to form a semi-circle along the back and extending from the head to the tail.

"These salmon completely filled the stream; literally, there were millions of them. On the riffles they were so thick that when we were wading the river at such places they would dart between our legs and sometimes nearly tip us up. Bear were on the banks of the river by hundreds, feeding on the salmon; that is, we saw no bear, but heard a great many of them and saw innumerable fresh bear tracks. In fact bear trails were almost the only trails we had and sometimes these appeared to have been as well traveled as a village sidewalk; but again they would cease at the end of a hollow log, or would take us into a salmon bush, crabapple or devil's club thicket, and, as Mr. Bear had no use for a trail over four feet high, in the dense underbrush none of these trails were cleared higher than that and thus one would be frequently compelled to go down on all fours to follow them. In other places the trails would be, for a mile or more at a time, so full of rotten fish that one could scarce avoid stepping on them. Evidently Mr. Bear, finding it to be a good day for fishing, had been

catching salmon by the wholesale, just for the fun of the thing, and as he could not eat them all, was compelled to leave them there in the trail.

"The salmon at work on the riffles in such vast numbers, rooting like so many hogs among the boulders and gravel, made a noise which could be heard for one-fourth of a mile. They worked away, half out of the water, digging in the gravel with their long thin snouts, with their backs blistering in the sun until the flesh would fall from the bones; when, losing their strength, the swift current would sweep them down the stream and off the riffles. As long as possible they would attempt to make headway up stream; but growing weaker rapidly, they would soon drift ashore to die. In this stream the water was so clear that the fish could be seen on the bottom and one could watch all their motions.

"It was no uncommon sight to see trout, splendid looking fellows from one to two feet in length, feeding on the torn and ragged backs of the still alive, but defenseless humpies; who in vain sought to get away from their more active and merciless enemies. * * * We took no compass with us on this trip, and we seldom carry one, as we usually find it easier, if not safer, to rely on natural objects as guides in the forests than on the points of the compass.

"On Sunday forenoon we began to approach the region of drifts and jams. Above there the river was kept free by the swiftness of the current. We were on so good a trail we felt certain that an Indian camp must be close ahead. We fancied that we could hear children playing, and heard what greatly resembled the noise of drawing a canoe over the gravel and shoving it into the water. We hurried on, the noise grew plainer and now seemed to resemble the excited talk of several startled Indians; but the more we hurried, the faster these noises receded from us and the further off they seemed to be.

"Finally the trail led us over a jam, across the head of a slough, and then for one-fourth of a mile on a gravel spit until we despaired of overtaking our tillicums. We had closely followed this retreating sound for a mile or more, on a well beaten path, when we came to the lower end of the gravel spit. All this time we had been so certain that the sounds we heard came from Indians that we had not examined the fresh tracks in the trail to see whether they were made by the bare feet of Indians or by bears' feet; but here we saw what made us almost wish we had not been so much in a hurry. At our feet was a very large humpy salmon, with a large mouthful bitten out of its back. It had been so recently taken from the water that it was still wet; while the fresh blood was still running from its back. Between where it lay, on the lower point of the gravel pit, and the bank of the river, was a low sag, covered with soft mud. In this soft mud were to be seen the fresh tracks of an enormous bear. Just as we saw all this, we heard a loud crashing in the bushes, made by the rapidly retreating bear whom we had so far and so eagerly, but unconsciously pursued.

"After seeing that our cartridges were in good condition, we took out a rule and measured one of these tracks. An ordinary black bear makes a track from 4 to 5 inches wide and from 7 to 9 inches long. This track was made in the soft mud and the impression of every part of the foot was plainly visible. It was 9 inches across the ball of the foot and 13 inches in length, including the marks of the nails in the mud; without them it was only 12 inches long. This was evidently an extra large cinnamon or grizzly bear. At least we did



COMMERCIAL STREET, BELLINGHAM

Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the state on parade

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not feel as if we had lost any bear so did not try to cultivate his acquaintance further."

Monday afternoon Morse passed the first Indian house, which at the time was vacant. At sundown he prepared to camp, when he was surprised to see a canoe appear at the last riffle he had crossed. The canoe carried two Indians who appeared greatly surprised at seeing Morse and began talking excitedly.

"It seems that only a few hours before they had seen our tracks at the edge of the river and each was equally mystified and alarmed. One thought that these tracks must have been made by a stick siwash (ghost or forest demon), or by a tamanaous, or other spiritual power; while the shoes indicated the presence of a white man, or Boston, as they term one in their jargon.

"They concluded that we could not be a genuine flesh and blood Boston, as none had ever heard of one being that far up the river alone before. They concluded that we could not have come there by natural means, and that what they saw was a spiritual manifestation or tamanaous. They wished to pass us but dreaded to do, so, while we were insisting that they should come ashore. Finally they came to where we were at the edge of the river and it was only after hyu wawa (lots of talking) and much persuasion that they became willing we should get into the canoe with them. They talked to us only in Chenook, but the genuine Indian to each other. Both of these Indians were old men and one was so affected by St. Vitus dance that he could not be still, either sitting or standing. It happened that these were the only Indians on the river; all the rest were off hop-picking.

"They asked us innumerable questions and were eager to know if we were hunting gold. We told them that we were not hunting gold. After they let us get into the canoe, in reply to many questions as to what was our name, where was our home, etc., we told them, 'Our name is S'Be-ow, our home is everywhere, conaway illahee, that we have no particular place to live, but all the time are traveling, going over the whole country.' We inquired if they knew of old S'Be-ow hyas ancatty, or a long time ago. They knew all about him and what we had told them agreed so well with the old S'Be-ow wawa, that they were prepared to believe anything we might say.

"Seeing this we attracted their attention and then spit out a double set of artificial teeth, and then said:

"That since so many Bostons came into the country we had turned Boston, too; that we had forgotten the siwash language and had only remembered what we used to do when we heard the siwashes speak of such things; that although we look and talk like a Boston, we were still just as much siwash as ever; that we are good friends of yours and that we have just come from Mount Baker, where, in behalf of your people we have been making a treaty with the stick siwashes, and that if you treat us well you will never have any more trouble with them. The stick siwashes are also our friends and should you not treat us well, there will be no end to the trouble you will have with them.'

"These Indians stand in constant fear of the stick siwashes and other monsters which are supposed to inhabit Mount Baker. One of S'Be-ow's most characteristic feats was his ability to take himself to pieces and put himself together again. He could also take others to pieces and put them together again. What we had done was to these siwashes as conclusive proof of our being gifted

with supernatural power as any miracle recorded in sacred writ could have been to the awe stricken multitudes by whom such things are supposed to have been witnessed in Galilee or Judea.

"As S'Be-ow could change himself into any desired form they were not surprised to see him changed with the times and now appear as a Boston. They were quite certain that we could take ourselves to pieces and did not wish us to try our powers upon them. They seemed to be inclined to believe the whole story, wished to gain our good will, and offered to take us down to settlements, some thirty-five miles, for 50 cents and a few matches. All this was done because we were old S'Be-ow. At the end of our journey with them we tried to explain who we were, where we came from and what were our real objects in traveling over the country. This only increased the mystery and made them better satisfied than ever that we were old S'Be-ow, himself; for had they not, with their own eyes, seen us do the very things that none beside old S'Be-ow would ever do?"

The main Indian village at the junction of the North and South forks of the Nooksack was reached the following day. Owing to the presence of numerous log jams it was a difficult trip, the canoe being hauled around each of these obstructions and several times being almost swamped in the swift stream. Somewhere near the present Town of Everson, Morse reached the first settlements of the whites. Nootsack or Nooksack means clearwater.

Mrs. Kate Waller was the first white woman settler at Point Roberts. In 1876 she and her husband moved to the Point and took up a claim. Nine years later her husband was drowned and in 1892, just as the woman was proving up on the homestead for which she had undergone so much privation, D. Drysdale, who two years before had come to Blaine from Canada, filed a protest against her claim.

The first white woman on the site of the City of Bellingham was Teresa Eldridge, born in Ireland June 24, 1832. She died in Bellingham May 10, 1912. She came to New York in 1850 and to California in 1851, Edward Eldridge being second mate of the vessel on which she made the trip. They were married the next year and in 1853 came to Bellingham. Her son, Edward Eldridge, was the first white child born there. This was in 1855. The Eldridge donation claim of 320 acres formed a part of the old Whatcom townsite.

The first settlement at Lynden was made in 1866 when J. A. Patterson took a claim. In 1870 the first family arrived, that of Clallahan Judson. Kilcup & Luckman were running a small grist mill there in 1876, using a water wheel 8 feet in diameter with a 2-foot breast and grinding about 10 bushels of grain a day. The building was 15 by 24 feet in its grand dimensions and the whole mill did not cost to exceed \$200.

Blaine was named in honor of James G. Blaine by General McPherson. E. A. Boblett, pioneer homesteader, went there in 1870 and built the house in which he for more than twenty years lived. During the Blaine presidential campaign Boblett, who had laid out much of his homestead in town lots, left the town so that he could get away from men who desired to buy his property. The bursting of the boom left the old man "high and dry."

The Tacoma Ledger for May 29, 1890, said that Garretson, Woodruff, Pratt & Company of Tacoma had just shipped, by chartered steamer to Blaine, the

largest bill of goods ever bought of a Washington wholesale house. The cargo consisted of 29 rolls of carpets, 30 bundles of blankets and 43 cases of miscellaneous merchandise, the whole valued at \$14,000, and was consigned to Cane Brothers. It had been sold to them by G. V. Hammond, traveling salesman.

Cane Brothers were homesteaders at Blaine when the boom of 1889-90 transformed them into imaginary millionaires. They sold lots, erected a three-story wooden building about one hundred feet square and prepared to enter the mercantile business on a scale in keeping with the city they were sure would be built where the international boundary line between the United States and Canada dips into the waters of Semiahmoo Bay on its way to the northwest monument on Point Roberts. The Tacoma order may have been the largest ever sold in the Northwest up to that time, but it was but a part of the stock of goods which Cane Brothers placed on the shelves of their store—New York was called upon to supply other goods, also expert clerks, floor-walkers and other employes. When the store was opened Blaine is said to have had a population of some eight thousand persons, 5,000 of whom were living in tents while their houses were being erected. Then the boom burst, the boomers went away, the store was closed and Cane Brothers, sadly crippled in fortunes, opened a little grocery store where they were glad to wait upon their infrequent customers and personally superintend the shipping of the cedar shingles which they received in exchange for their groceries.

Just east of the homesteads of James and George Cane was that of Thomas Bunbary—"Old Tommy," as he was known to the people of Blaine. Tommy was an Irishman, very fond of playing the violin and drinking wine. The boom affected "Old Tommy" in much the same way as it did the Cane Brothers and he placed a price of \$1,000,000 upon his quarter section.

Boomers offered him \$160,000 and he left town for fear that in an unguarded moment he would accept something less than a million. He was enabled to "hold on" to all except a small parcel of his land which he sold for \$2,000.

Long had "Old Tommy" lived alone in the little cabin, still standing in Blaine's city park, and when he got his hands on the \$2,000 he decided to have a journey and to return with him a Mrs. Bunbary, to enjoy the \$1,000,000 homestead. In San Francisco he found an Irish lady willing to wed. The \$2,000 went for clothes and when the couple returned to Blaine the lady wore a fine silk dress, while Tommy, very dignified in Prince Albert and high hat, carried a brand new violin. In a shining carriage they set out over the old punchon road to the little cabin under the hill.

The boom over and the dream of great riches at an end, "Old Tommy" and his wife settled down to enjoy the life of work and deprivation they had known before they were married. Mrs. Bunbary died in a few years and "Old Tommy," unable to dispose of his property at a price to his liking, became a county charge. Delinquent taxes piled up and the county commissioners decided that one of them, who was acquainted with the old man, should make a proposal to him. The commissioner told him that the county would agree to give him a good home at the county farm as long as he lived, a bottle of wine every week, all the violin strings he could use and when he died a good funeral conducted by the Catholic priest, if he would give the county a quit claim deed to his property. It was a great blow to "Old Tommy," but when his friend

told him that the county would be forced to foreclose he consented to the arrangement and went to the Whatcom County poor farm, where he died a few years ago with his fiddle at his side.

The municipal history of what now is Bellingham began December 10, 1883, with the incorporation of Whatcom. Sehome, embracing the Fitzhugh, the Vail and part of the Paige and Utter donation claims, was a cluster of houses. A small addition called Bellingham, afterward annexed to Fairhaven, was conspicuous enough to send a small column of smoke above the fir trees in winter.

There was intense rivalry among the individual settlements along the bay. They were lusty infants. Whatcom, the leader of the quartet of villages, succeeded in changing its name three times. It was incorporated as Whatcom November 28, 1883, under an act of the Legislature passed through the influence of T. G. Nicklin. April 18, 1890, the Town of Sehome attempted to incorporate and failed.

Nelson Bennett, in 1889, bought the Dan Harris claim for \$40,000, paying for it in coin. Dan Harris, or "Dirty Dan" as he was known, was said to have been the laziest man that ever came to Washington. He lived at what afterwards became Fairhaven many years before the coming of Bennett and his Fairhaven Land Company, and in reply to a question from Bennett, said that at first he did not know how he was going to find stuff enough to live on, but that when the tide went out the table was set. Harris made a trip to Olympia and a friend of his there presented him with two pigs. He did not know what to do with them, but taking them back home with him, turned them out to rustle for themselves. They grew fat and Harris was at a loss to know how the trick was done until he found them on the tide flats digging clams. This gave him an idea and he followed the pigs as they followed the receding tide. They would dig out two clams and Harris would at once appropriate one for his own use, treating the pigs fairly, he exclaimed, by never taking more than he could use between tides.

New Whatcom was consolidated with Old Whatcom in the spring of 1891, and the consolidated towns, with small area of annexed territory became known as New Whatcom. By an act approved February 19, 1901, the name was changed to Whatcom, and under the name Bellingham, Whatcom was consolidated with Fairhaven October 27, 1903.

The first campaign following the incorporation of Whatcom was one of the bitterest. The three candidates for the office of mayor were William L. Steinweg, W. L. Miller and James P. deMattos. The convention chose Steinweg as the nominee, but friends of deMattos, then a "rising young attorney," were not satisfied. It was rumored that the convention ballot box had been stuffed by a man whose opposition to deMattos was so strong that he boasted of the act. "Little Mike," as deMattos was called—a sobriquet he acquired while running for justice of the peace in Denver in opposition to an Irishman named "Pat"—was urged to run against Steinweg. Several of his friends enticed him to a big log in front of the Whatcom House and argued the matter until 1 o'clock of the morning following the convention. DeMattos finally consented.

The brief campaign was marked with bitter personal attacks. At that time there was deep opposition to the Bellingham Bay & British Columbia Railroad Company, owners of Sehome. One of the employes of the company spent part of his time in deMattos' law office and this brought against "Little Mike" the charge of being a company candidate.



LOOKING SOUTHWEST FROM CHESTNUT STREET IN SEHOME, NOW
BELLINGHAM, IN 1889



ELK STREET, BELLINGHAM, FROM LAUREL, IN 1889

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATION

November 22, 1883, about two weeks before the election, the Territorial Legislature passed an act giving women the right of suffrage. DeMattos was unmarried; Steinweg had joined the benedicks. There was a new factor in Whatcom politics, and the new factor placed deMattos in office. The election was held December 10th, and of the 171 votes cast, forty-three were cast by women. It was a finish fight. DeMattos was elected by a margin of four votes.

"Gentlemen, we should be proud to be held in such high esteem by our fellow citizens, especially that new (and not uncertain) element in politics, the ladies. God bless them! But for them your presiding officer would not be with you tonight," exclaimed the newly elected executive in his inaugural address before the council December 11th. On the following day the official paper suggested that "the little mayor should show as much confidence in the ladies as they showed in him."

The members of the first city council were M. C. Latta, Charles Donovan, Frank Jackson and E. F. Hemenover. During the first year Frank Jackson left the city and Alonzo Mayhew was chosen to fill the vacancy. The officers elected by the council were Abel E. Jones, clerk; W. T. Coupe, treasurer; Byron Badger, marshal; E. H. Marcy, assessor; T. C. Austin, surveyor; Capt. G. W. Douglass, street commissioner; S. D. Reinhart and Frank Ellis, justices of the peace.

Incorporation brought to Whatcom its second stage of prominence. The first was the result of the Fraser River gold mining excitement of 1858. In the early '80s there was a large influx of settlers from the central states. The biggest single colony was from Kansas—afterwards dubbed "the grasshopper gang."

In 1883 "the Washington colony," as the immigrants from Kansas were known after they had formed a corporation, began to build up its portion of the town. A contract was made with the Peabody heirs, and Messrs. Roeder and Utter, whereby the colony was to receive one-half of the town site, with riparian rights to deep water. One-half of the proceeds were to go to the incorporation, provided it should build a sawmill with a capacity of 20,000 feet daily, put in a small flouring mill, build twenty-five houses, and make other improvements. Squabbles soon arose and for several years the colony was involved in litigation. John Stenger became head of the concern.

In early days Division Street, lying between D and C streets, was the principal thoroughfare. Sentinel firs towered high in the center of what is now the business part of the city. The nucleus of the city was "old town." It was proposed to improve Division Street. A petition was filed with the Council in 1884 asking for a trestle driveway. The Council was evenly divided. Mayor deMattos cast the deciding vote, a vote which resulted in the formation of two factions that grew further and further apart until they represented the opposite sides on all questions.

Meantime there were bickerings among the rival towns. The Town of Sehome, July 16, 1888, was incorporated by order of R. A. Jones, judge of the third judicial district of the Territory of Washington. This incorporation later was found to be illegal. Undaunted by so small a trifle the citizens annexed some outside territory and in 1890 incorporated as the City of New Whatcom. Whatcom and New Whatcom were full grown rivals. On the bay there were four ambitions, each steaming over with jealousy of the other. On the north side old Sehome was conducting a lively campaign against old Whatcom; on the south Fairhaven,

which had practically absorbed Bellingham, believed itself so far out of its swaddling clothes that it was ready to engage both contestants on the north.

The question of consolidation was agitated at various times. Neither Sehome or Whatcom was willing to concede much. The legal description of Sehome and Whatcom tells of an iron bolt on Champion Street near Holly. This was the point of demarkation. The feeling between the people of the two towns became so bitter at one time, in 1890, that a good rough-and-tumble fist fight seemed to be the most amicable means of settling the matter.

A delegation of old Whatcom citizens crossed the imaginary line running through the iron bolt. It was met by a Sehome delegation, as strongly determined to carry its point. The Whatcom representatives, led by Robert Knox, according to the story, "edged" back to the iron bolt. There it stood its ground, and the Sehome crowd, led by Ed Cosgrove, halted. Neither attempted to go further, and the municipal row ended. There was also a feud between the boys of the two towns, and woe betide the youngster who ventured either way beyond the iron bolt. The two settlements finally were consolidated under the name of New Whatcom, 1891. Ten years later the name was changed to Whatcom.

Fairhaven, so-called because of its excellent harbor, is a typical "boom town" of the West. It responded to the mighty licks of Nelson Bennett and grew with great rapidity. Bennett poured thousands of dollars into the town-building, and made a comfortable fortune. The town was called Seeseeleechem by the Indians, it is said, the term meaning "a place of safety." It enjoyed a greater growth than any other town on the bay and the zealous citizens saw visions of the day when it would be without a rival on Puget Sound. It is at the extreme south end of the chain of towns that sprang up like mushrooms and from the time it received its first impetus was a formidable rival of Whatcom.

Fairhaven is situated, for the most part, on the early day claim of Dan Harris. Harris was an eccentric individual, and so suspicious of people that he would not trust a lawyer to handle his business. In 1882 there were reports of immigration to Bellingham Bay and the following year he had his property platted. Later a large portion of it was bought by the Fairhaven Land Company, which became the heaviest land holder in the boom period. September 1, 1889, Fairhaven's population was estimated at 150; December 29, 1890, 8,000 was the boasted figure. The influx of settlers had been so great that in the city election May 6, 1890, 1,408 votes were cast.

The citizens believed that James J. Hill intended making their town the terminus of his transcontinental railroad. Hundreds of people rushed in; the wilderness was attacked, and in less than a year Fairhaven was built to almost its present size. In its first issue, March 11, 1890, the Fairhaven Herald, edited by Col. Will Visscher, said:

"Before the blows of the workmen the forest bows and recedes: with the onward march of bravery and brawn, enterprise and intelligence, capital and capacity, marching in twos and generated by progress, Fairhaven rises apace."

Col. William Lightfoot Visscher, Kentuckian of the "vintage" of 1842, had led quite an eventful life before his appearance in Fairhaven. Following almost four years of service in the Civil war he became a lawyer and from this profession drifted into journalism, on the Louisville Journal. For a time he published a newspaper on the commodious steamboat Richmond, plying between Louisville

and New Orleans, and then became a free lance journalist. He traveled into many parts of the world, finally landing in an editorial berth on the Portland Oregonian.

One day he asked Editor Harvey Scott to employ some one else to assist with the editorial writing; saying that in all the time he had been employed on the paper he had never seen a smile on the faces of a single employe and he needed a change of scene.

Late in December, 1888, Visscher became editor of the Tacoma Globe, a paper which Harry Morgan, notorious gambling house proprietor, had established to counteract the church and prohibition sentiment then threatening his highly profitable business. In Tacoma, Visscher found plenty of excitement. The Ledger, then waging war against all gamblers, and Morgan in particular, turned its guns on Visscher's large red nose. This did not bother the Globe's editor. He was more interested in getting out a good newspaper and he did the job so well that in a short time the Globe had a larger circulation than both the Ledger and News combined.

From Tacoma he went to Fairhaven as editor and part owner of the Herald. The panic of the early '90s left him in bad financial condition, he returned to Tacoma, was for a time employed on the News while that paper was under the editorial management of Franklin K. Lane, and in 1893 went to Chicago as representative of the News at the World's Columbian Exposition. He is now serving the Chicago Press Club as librarian.

It was not the fault of the citizens of Fairhaven that the marvelous growth which was predicted for the city did not materialize. A system of street railways was planned. A franchise was granted December 2, 1890, to a company backed by such prominent men as Senator T. C. Platt, of New York, and Samuel Hill, son-in-law of James J. Hill, of Minneapolis. The electric system was built, saw-mills came and Fairhaven began to be a manufacturing city. There was almost no opposition to incorporation and the woods rang with the noise of celebration when it was announced that "for incorporation" had carried by an overwhelming majority. The election was held on May 6, 1890, and May 14th the new mayor and Council were installed. E. A. Turner was the city's first executive. In his inaugural address he urged that Fairhaven be not allowed to languish. He told of its wonderful achievements, and likened the founding of the city to the birth of Minerva, who was not born as were others, but sprang full-armed from the head of Jove. The first Council consisted of E. L. Cowgill, J. J. Donovan, J. M. Miller, M. M. McKechnie, J. F. Wardner, and W. A. Woodin.

"It almost broke their hearts when they learned that Jim Hill was not to make Fairhaven the terminus of his transcontinental line. He decided to build through the Stevens Pass and have the road terminate fifty miles south of here," said a pioneer of Fairhaven, in speaking of the bubble that burst. The people were discouraged with the outlook. The town which had been called "The Focal City" by Will L. Visscher, and later "The Imperial City" by James J. Hill, met with sudden reverses. Then followed the panic of 1893. The obstacles were too great to overcome and it was necessary for many of the poorer people of Fairhaven—and of other towns on the bay for that matter—to rob the clambeds. Since then Fairhaven has recovered and is now on the highway to the goal sighted by the enthusiastic city builders of 1890.

Even in the early '90s, while bitter rivalry existed between the towns on the two ends of the bay, there had been a sentiment in favor of consolidation. Bellingham had been annexed by Fairhaven. The north side towns had been united. Both Fairhaven and Whatcom were then self-governing corporations. The question of consolidation soon became an issue. Committees from both cities investigated the advisability of uniting the two towns as early as September 12, 1890. Not until 1903 was the question submitted to a vote. Both towns, after many conflicts, agreed upon the name of Bellingham.

The election was held October 28th and consolidation carried. A. L. Black served as mayor from December 28, 1903, until July 29, 1904. A census on January 25, 1904, showed the population to be 22,632, or more than enough to incorporate as a first class municipality. An election was held July 12, 1904, and J. W. Romaine was elected mayor. The first Council of Bellingham consisted of S. B. Van Zandt, G. E. Blakeslee, George Butler, S. E. Mullin, E. M. Adams, E. J. Cleary and C. F. Nolte.

SKAGIT COUNTY

The bill creating Skagit County was adopted by the Legislature November 28, 1883. Orin Kincaid was the author of the bill, which provided for the creation of the new county out of the south side of Whatcom and fixed the county seat at LaConner until the voters could express their choice. H. P. Downs, F. E. Gilkey and H. A. March were the first county commissioners.

Back into ancient history, as ancient history on Puget Sound is written, runs the story of the rise of Laconner. Long has it been famous as the center of a fertile farming district whose reclaimed tide lands have produced more wealth for men who tilled them than almost any other section in Western Washington. One of Snohomish City's early day mercantile institutions was the store of Low & Sinclair. In May, 1867, Alonzo Low established a branch at what later became Laconner. It was not a success and after fourteen months Low gave his store building to a negro as payment for transporting the stock of goods back to Snohomish. The negro moved the property in canoes, including a pair of oxen which Low had been forced to accept in payment of a bill.

Thomas Hayes soon appeared and established a trading post. The year 1869 brought John S. and Louisa A. Conner, his wife. They came from Olympia, bought the Hayes store and the next year opened the postoffice. The name Louisa A. Conner was shortened to LaConner, in honor of the first white woman to make her home on the townsite. John S. Conner was born in Ireland and received a good education. J. J. Conner arrived in 1872, took a claim adjoining that of his brother and laid out the townsite. A. G. Tillinghast arrived in December of the same year and began building the pioneer seed business of Puget Sound. To the work of Tillinghast Puget Sound farmers owe much. He it was who demonstrated the value of this section as a producer of high grade cabbage and cauliflower seed—a business which has grown to immense proportions. James and George Gaches arrived in 1873, bought Conner's store and later became prominent in the town's business affairs.

With E. A. Sisson and R. E. Whitney Tillinghast obtained 500 acres of salt marsh land which they diked and reclaimed. After spending five years in



THE BEAVER MARSH, SKAGIT COUNTY

Looking northeast from Pleasant Ridge. With the possible exception of the Valley of the Nile, this is believed to be the richest agricultural land in the world.



PETER SAMUELSON'S STOCK FARM
A typical farm home in the Skagit valley.

Skagit County Tillinghast returned to Pennsylvania, where he remained for five years and then returned to Skagit County. He at once entered upon the business of seed growing, established the Puget Sound Seed Gardens and in 1890 moved from Padilla to LaConner, where he soon was conducting a large business. Tillinghast's first seed catalogue was issued in 1886 and by 1900 he was devoting some 200 acres of land to the growing of seeds, supplying a great many Eastern seedsmen with their cabbage and cauliflower seeds.

Conner, the following year, began shipping oats from the land he had reclaimed. J. O. Rudene, Edwin T. Dodge, Robert White and Archibal Seigfried arrived and established homes. Mrs. Seigfried was the mother of the first white child born in Laconner. Potatoes were legal tender. Canoes and row boats were the means of getting from one farm to another or for intercepting the steamers running from Seattle to Utsaladdy and Whatcom. The fare between the two latter points by the old steamer Mary Woodruff was \$5. Capt. John S. Hill, in 1874, put the Fanny Lake on the Seattle-Skagit City run.

Early attempts at diking resulted in many costly mistakes, both in dams and flood gates. By 1876 the amount of land reclaimed shows Michael Sullivan to have had 100 acres; J. S. Conner, 400; E. T. Dodge, 300; Samuel Calhoun, 270; Dr. G. V. Calhoun, 160; Walker & Gill, 160; Leando Pierson, 160; James Harrison, 150; James Gaches, 120; John Cornelius, 100; Thomas Lindsey, 100; Culver estate, 60, and Mr. Alden, 20. Mr. Gilliland, the telegraph operator, was also the notary and drew most of the legal papers.

Dr. J. S. Church, Laconner's first physician, was also the teacher of the first school. The building was one belonging to Isaac Jennings and was north-east of the town. This was in 1873 and three years later, the district having been organized, Miss Ida Leamer, later Mrs. E. A. Sisson, taught school in the town. Reverend Thompson, a Presbyterian minister, held the first church service in the summer of 1871. The year following Father Prefontaine built a Catholic mission church. A Masonic lodge was organized about the same time.

Laconner, before the creation of Skagit County in 1883, was in Whatcom County, which extended from the northern line of Snohomish County to the British Columbia border. The Bellingham Bay town was the county seat, but Laconner was chosen as the place for holding the District Court. The first term of court was held in the summer of 1878. G. W. L. Allen was sheriff. Judge J. R. Lewis presided, and Howard H. Lewis was clerk. G. Morris Haller served as prosecuting attorney, the regular prosecutor being absent, and the grand jurors were J. A. Cornelius, foreman; Olaf Polson (father of Perry Polson), E. A. Whitworth, John McGlenn, S. C. Peck, A. E. Boblet (Blaine pioneer), B. H. Bruns (Birch Bay pioneer), Enoch Hawley, Richard Ball, S. B. Best, T. W. Haskins, A. C. Marston, Henry Shields, John Beesner, Alex Charles and R. E. Whitney. The court was in session three days. The records had not been brought from the old brick court house at Whatcom, and the jurors could not make a report as to the condition of county affairs. They, however, returned five indictments and the court admitted John L. Dale, of Samish, and Frances D'Arcy, of Stanwood, to practice law. An Indian named Taws was found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to five years in the penitentiary.

The meeting of the District Court in Laconner, June 4, 1878, was up to that time the most important event in the town's history. McGlenn, proprietor of the Maryland House, built a 16 by 18 foot addition to his hotel, one of the features of this improvement being a billiard table.

Whatcom's brick court house, built in 1858, offered a strong inducement for that town's being retained as the county seat. Every settler in the Skagit Valley objected to making the long and round-about trip to Whatcom by way of the river to Laconner and then down the Sound. Holding court in a town removed from the county seat had been found troublesome and the people began considering the advisability of dividing the county. Knowing that county revenues were small and that the maintenance of two organizations would be a heavy tax, the Bellingham Bay Mail, February 15, 1879, urged the granting of any reasonable concessions to the people in the Skagit Valley rather than bring about a division of the county. Skagit Valley settlers wished the dividing line to run along the Chuckanut Hills. This was objectionable to the Bellingham Bay settlers, who feared that such a line would result in the selection of Ferndale as the county seat of the northern county. Real estate speculators fought the division along the proposed line.

The Puget Sound Mail was moved to Laconner and the Reveille took its place at Whatcom. Editor J. W. Powers, of the Mail, was elected to the Legislature and, in the fall of 1883, introduced a bill providing for the division of the county. The Chuckanut Hills were to form the line, and Whatcom real estate owners, fearing Ferndale and its county seat aspirations, opened a fight on the measure. October 24 it came to a vote and was defeated. Whatcom partisans returned home and November 15 Representative Orrin Kincaid, in the house, introduced another bill, providing for county division. This was hastened through, sent to council, and in a short time adopted. The Mail, on Thanksgiving Day, celebrated the success of the plan, and poked fun at the Whatcom boosters for returning home before the close of the legislative session.

Laconner was made the county seat of the new Skagit County, H. A. March, H. P. Downs and F. E. Gilkey being named commissioners. The new county at once entered upon the first of many county seat fights, and at an election held November 4, 1884, Mt. Vernon defeated Laconner and became the seat. By an act of the territorial Legislature, passed November 20, 1883, Laconner became an incorporated town. The papers later were found to be defective, and the town was disincorporated January 6, 1886. In the District Court, Judge Boyle presiding, December 10, 1888, Perry Polson, J. S. Church, B. L. Martin, R. H. Ball and W. E. Schricker were appointed trustees and at the election May 2, 1890, the town again was incorporated, the officers chosen being G. V. Calhoun, mayor; W. E. Schricker, Perry Polson, H. S. Conner and James Gaches, councilmen. L. L. Andrews was made treasurer. Perry Polson was born in Sweden, July 8, 1854, and with his parents came to America in 1868. The family settled in Illinois, going the next year to Iowa, where two years were passed. Over the Union Pacific the family came to San Francisco in 1871 and later to Portland, from which point Perry, his brother Paul and his father walked across country to Olympia. By ship they went to Port Townsend, took Indian canoes to Whidby Island, and a little later arrived at Laconner, where the father took up land on Brown's Slough. Perry was soon employed as chairman with



LA CONNER CITY IN 1890

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John A. Cornelius and assisted in surveying the shore line from Port Susan to Fidalgo Island. Polson worked in logging camps, mines or at any other employment that offered, saved his money and, in 1877, bought the Harvey Wallace farm near Laconner. He assumed a heavy debt, with interest at 15 per cent. The debt was wiped out, but Polson, broken down in health, was advised by his physician to take up some other kind of employment. Forming a partnership with F. S. Poole, Polson entered the farm implement business. The Laconner store was outgrown and one was opened in Seattle, it being the forerunner of the present Polson Implement Company.

July 4th, 1891, dawned at Edison without any "noise of cannon and waving of Old Glory." Instead the little town was enjoying one of the wildest gold mining excitements that ever overwhelmed a town. Paddy Mohr, cook at the Blanchard Logging Company's plant, came into town on the night of July 3 and quietly told a few of his friends of the fact that "colors" had been discovered in the fertile fields of Pat Smith's farm. Lee Byles, Charles Barber, John Morrison, Jack Cain and a few others saw the colors which looked so much like gold that lanterns soon were seen moving about over the level silt-made fields. Great secrecy had featured the actions of the discoverers, so that it was not surprising that Judge Joe Bland was called from his bed to make out filing papers for a large number of applicants. One man had a coffee bag full of sand and colors and announced that he would take the early morning boat for Seattle and have it assayed. He was persuaded to wait until more pay dirt could be gathered. All day that Glorious Fourth the miners dug "colors," bought and sold claims and dreamed of wealth. Night came. The mining came gave promise of drinking the night away, in which event men would not be in condition to perform the labors incident to a logging camp. Mohr and his fellow conspirators confessed that they had salted Smith's farm with bronze and brass filings. They had grown tired of the dullness of logging-camp life and maintained that in giving their fellow workmen some Fourth of July excitement they had performed a real public service.

Harrison Clothier, in September, 1875, settled in Skagit County and became a teacher of the school. In February, 1877, the firm of Clothier & English was formed, E. G. English, a former pupil in one of Clothier's Wisconsin schools, being the junior member of the firm. For \$100 Clothier & English bought ten acres of land of Jasper Gates and surveyed the first lots and streets of what we today know as Mt. Vernon, the county seat and principal town of Skagit County. Clothier & English erected a store building and in a short time William Bice built the first residence. Jonathan Shott, at a cost of about \$150, established a hotel, and Martin Coltenbaugh gave up his job as cook in the Gage logging camp, moved into the town, and after building a shack, opened it as a restaurant. Shott must have been much in advance of the town, as the next year John A. Bievel was occupying the shack with that much more profitable early-day logging camp institution—a saloon.

The pioneer claim-holders at Mt. Vernon were Jasper Gates and Joseph F. Dwelley, who settled there in 1870. Michael McNamara, in 1879, built a good sized hotel and Dr. D. Y. Deere opened a drug store. The opening of a channel through the log jams brought many new settlers, among them being John Lorenzy, a man then past sixty years of age. One day in the latter part of June,

1880, Lorenzy and Clothier were standing in the main street of the little settlement discussing the approaching anniversary of the nation's birth. Down the street a little way stood a fine straight cedar tree. Lorenzy remarked that the tree would make a fine flag pole, and soon he was busy cutting off the cedar's limbs. One hundred and forty-seven feet from the ground Lorenzy rigged a pulley and on the morning of the Fourth of July ran up the United States flag to the top of his living flag pole. Eleven years later Mt. Vernon was almost wiped out by a bad fire. Lorenzy's cedar tree flag pole was so badly damaged that its removal became necessary, and it is said that as the tree crashed to the ground the old man's eyes filled with tears.

Mt. Vernon Lodge No. 23, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, was instituted in 1882, and for many years its hall served the community as city hall, church, court house, theater and social center. The lodge's first officers were H. C. Leggett, noble grand; Henry Cooper, vice grand; Phillip Bartlett, secretary, and David O'Keefe, treasurer. Among the Odd Fellows prominent in the state organization who were present at the institution of Mt. Vernon Lodge were Governor Newell, T. N. Ford, Judge Hewitt and Capt. George D. Hill. About this time the Masons organized at Skagit City, later moving their lodge to Mt. Vernon. April 27, 1885, the Odd Fellows dedicated their hall. It was a big event. The steamer Glide brought a large delegation from Seattle and then went to Laconner and brought about forty Odd Fellows and Rebekahs from that town. From Utsaladdy came the Arrow and the Josephine brought the Snohomish contingent. From up and down the Sound came the canoes of miners, loggers and farmers; many others coming by wagon, horseback or afoot along the trails through the forest.

The years 1883-84 saw the arrival of Dr. H. P. Montborne, McNaught & Tinkham, lawyers; Yik Lung, laundryman; L. B. Knauss, barber; Moody & Hendricks, meat dealers, and that most important feature of all ambitious towns—the newspaper. The first issue of the Skagit News appeared in March, 1884, William C. Ewing being the editor. Rev. F. B. Homan, on April 27, organized a Baptist Church, which in November, 1889, dedicated the first church building in the town. The Methodist organization closely followed that of the Baptists.

The year 1889 found Mt. Vernon with about 1,000 inhabitants and incorporation ambitions. Capt. M. A. McCall, the preceding year, had erected the first brick building, and March 25, 1889, a meeting was held for the consideration of municipal affairs. E. C. English, C. D. Kimball, J. B. Moody, Jasper Gates and G. E. Hartson were chosen trustees and applied for articles incorporating the City of Mt. Vernon. Judge Hanford refused to grant the request. The territory having become a state, with new laws, the trustees the following spring succeeded in attaining their object. June 27 the first election was held, C. D. Kimball being chosen mayor, with J. B. Moody, G. E. Hartson, L. R. Martin, M. McNamara and William Murdock councilmen, and V. E. Campbell, treasurer. At the first council meeting, July 7, the city government was completed by the appointment of F. E. Pape, police judge; E. H. Vaughn, marshal; and F. G. Pickering, clerk.

In its issue of June 9, 1877, the Northern Star, Snohomish, printed the report of a trip which Editor Eldridge Morse had just made to the settlements along the Skagit River and in which he expresses this opinion of Mt. Vernon:

"For the present, at least until after the removal of the jam and the starting of a town higher up the river, it will be quite a business center, catching a good deal of the up-river trade, but the largest permanent town will, in time, be built above the jam. Nearby the townsite is a very commanding ridge, from which the town derives its patriotic name of Mount Vernon."

Morse, in one of his many trips into the new settlements one year before, had found practically nothing above this log jam. Below it was Skagit City and the camp of the men engaged in the stupendous task of cutting a passage through the two immense jams then obstructing the Skagit River. This early day editor and explorer has left a good description of the two log jams, which he said had been formed at a time so remote that large trees were then growing on its surface and the loggers began their work by first slashing and grubbing the pile of logs, which in some places was thirty feet deep.

For two miles above Skagit City the river was clear of logs. At this point the lower end of the lower jam was encountered. It was 1,400 feet long with a clear stretch of water about three-fourths of a mile long between it and the upper jam, which was more than one-half mile in length.

The first settlement on the Skagit was made by William H. Sartwell in February, 1863; he being followed shortly thereafter by William Alexander, William Johnson, J. V. Abbott, Edward McAlpine, T. R. Jones and family, the latter being the first family in the valley and the date of its arrival 1870. Five families arrived in 1871 and nine the year following. By 1876 there were some fifty families in the valley, which at that time had a population of about 300 white persons. A. Hartson, wife and daughter, Mrs. W. Gage, arrived about 1870-71, so that they were the first white women to live in the valley.

Skagit City was established, boats experiencing no trouble in getting that far up the river, but here the jam shut off travel to the rich timber and agricultural lands lying beyond the present city of Mt. Vernon. Congress, through the territorial Legislature, was asked to appropriate money for the removal of the obstruction. Engineers estimated the cost of the work would be about \$15,000, and Congress could not see that the improvement was necessary. In 1874 John Campbell and others began cutting a channel around the lower jam. They soon gave it up. Two years later, in February, 1876, Marion Minnick, Daniel McDonald, John Quirk and Joseph Wilson, with Campbell assisting part of the time, attacked the jam itself, their tools being those usually used by hand loggers. The river, from 400 to 600 feet wide, was choked with the accumulation of ages of spring freshets; thousands of logs locked and interlocked in a mass as permanent as the forest on the shore. Fritz Dibbon, Daniel Hines, and Dennis Storrs and wife joined the jam loggers, Mrs. Storrs doing the cooking for the men as well as caring for her four small children. Cutting a channel 150 to 200 feet wide through the jam was no small task and several years were devoted to the work. In places the jam extended twenty feet above the surface of the river. These surface logs were removed, only to have their places taken by those underneath, and in this way the channel finally was cleared. Steamboats then could reach the upper river.

A March freshet, coming suddenly, caught the loggers napping, swept away many of their tools, loosened some twenty acres of the jam and carried away many of the merchantable logs which the workmen had boomed below the jam.

The loggers had expected to get a good part of their pay from the logs removed, but many of them were lost in the swift water that constantly boiled through the jam. Settlers contributed money and the rapidity with which Mt. Vernon and the upper river country grew, following the removal of the obstruction, justified the expenditure. Skagit City at this time was the center of the river settlement. It had a grange with a membership of forty; a Good Templars lodge of forty-five, and a number of stores.

J. J. Conner was conducting a trading post at Laconner in 1872 when an Indian called Charlie Seam came to the store and told Conner he knew where there was a whole mountain of "hyu fire stone, all the same as at Whatcom." Conner paid but little attention, but two years later Amasa Everett and L. S. Stevens accompanied the Indian up the river some forty miles and discovered the Skagit coal fields. Just after making the discovery Everett's leg was broken by a falling stone. Primitive methods of treatment brought on trouble and he finally had to go to Seattle and have the limb amputated. Notwithstanding, the man continued his work in the Skagit hills. Several years later, when the surveyors were running their lines through the upper river country, the Indians objected and broke the instruments. Everett advised the surveyors to shoot some of the Indians, which advice the natives overheard. Everett was attacked by the Indians and after shooting at them with his revolver, escaped down the river with Willard Cobb in a canoe. At Mt. Vernon he surrendered to the authorities and later was acquitted. Most of the Indians had sided with Everett in the trouble, and when he again went up the river they held a great powwow in his honor. They paid him for the things they had stolen or destroyed at his cabin, he paid the two Indians for pot-shooting them, and peace reigned.

When the trouble broke out, Colonel Pollock, the government Indian agent, appeared with forty soldiers under the command of Lieut. Culver Simons. The arrogance of the authorities irritated Everett and the other settlers, who considered themselves competent to meet the situation without military interference. Peace had been established. The settlers decided to punish the soldiers. The Indians were sent down the river with instructions to fire over the heads of the soldiers as they passed down stream on their way back to Port Townsend. The soldiers' canoes, drifting rapidly in the swift current, were making good progress when from the river bank came a volley of shots. None of the returning soldiers was hit—the Indians being careful to shoot over their heads; but, it is said, the time made between the point of action and Mt. Vernon never has been equalled.

Thursday, May 23, 1878, the steamer *Wenat*, Captain Bailey, ascended the channel through the log jams and entered the upper Skagit. The *Wenat's* voyage extended up the river some fourteen miles. The jam loggers had devoted two and one-half years to the dangerous task of removing the tangled mass of logs. Individuals had contributed \$450 and the merchants \$300—the men had worked for very low wages, but they had opened the river to navigation.

Late in the summer of 1879 the steamer *Josephine* made the first trip into the waters of the upper part of the river. Reaching Ball's Landing, later Sterling, the steamer tied up for the night and the next day ascended the river to Birdsvew. While the boat was tied up near the present site of Hamilton, James H. Armstrong fell overboard and was drowned. Aside from this acci-



SKAGIT COUNTY HOME AND HOSPITAL, TWO MILES SOUTHWEST OF
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dent the trip was a success and opened the way for the development of the up-river country. A short distance above Mt. Vernon James H. Moores had stretched the first gill net ever placed in the waters of the Skagit. That season he caught and packed fifteen barrels of salmon which he sold for \$10 a barrel. Indians robbed his nets and finally stole his gear, but from this small beginning Moores' fishing enterprise grew and later he became one of the Sound's prominent canners.

George Sawyer was elected recorder of the Ruby Creek mining district upon its organization in 1880. Ruby City was platted, twenty feet of snow covering the townsite at the time, and in July following the Slate Creek district was discovered. At the mouth of Baker River Theodore Sunter and mother; Eli Frome, Amasa Everett, Orrin Kincaid, S. Anderson and Frank Hamilton and wife had established a settlement. Hamilton and Frome, while bringing a bull up the river from the lower settlement, blazed a trail which later became the river road.

Charles von Pressentine, in May, 1877, settled at Birdsvew, taking as his claim a tract of land covered with timber so heavy that when it was removed some 10,000,000 feet of logs were sold. The next year B. D. Minkler built a water power mill and in 1880 was appointed postmaster of the newly created postoffice of Birdsvew. Minkler's first name was Birdsley and it was from this the name of the postoffice was derived. Sixteen years later the first wagon road reached the town, all business before this time being done by boats and canoes.

Thomas P. Hastie, in June, 1870, made the first settlement in what is today known as Fir. Isaac Lanning settled in the valley the year before and his daughter, Ida, was the valley's first school teacher. The building was one which D. E. Kimball had erected as a barn. The next year G. E. Hartson, later one of the leading citizens of Mt. Vernon, became the teacher. Miss Zena Tingley, afterwards the wife of J. D. Moores, about the same time opened a school in a cabin belonging to Joe Wilson. A. R. Williamson, a pioneer hop grower of the Puyallup, settled above the Skagit jam in 1871, being followed in a short time by Rev. B. N. L. Davis, who took a claim at what is now the south end of the Great Northern bridge. Davis farmed both his own and the Williamson hop ranches and in a few years cleared about \$40,000. With this money he established a stock farm, importing many high grade Holstein cattle and fine horses from Eastern states and laid a part of the foundation upon which the present day Skagit Valley stock breeding industry has been built.

Harrison Clothier was born in New York and after finishing his education became a school teacher. From New York he went to Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nevada and California, in each of which states he taught school—in fact, he taught his way across the continent. In 1876 he assisted in harvesting the wheat crop of the Walla Walla Valley, coming to the Skagit Valley early in the fall. There he again took up school teaching and became merchant, townsite promoter, miner, logger, city, county and state official, a member of the constitutional convention and all-round good citizen.

About one mile southwest of the present City of Sedro-Woolley, David Batey and Joseph Hart, natives of England, in 1878, took up claims on the

bank of the Skagit. The next year Batey's wife, Dr. Georgiana Batey, pioneer physician of the settlement, and sons, John H. and Bruce, arrived. The same year James M. Young, John Duffy, Thomas Conmey and Thomas Taggart settled a few miles farther up the river. William A. Dunlop and William Woods took claims adjoining that of Batey.

In 1884 came Mortimer Cook, an eccentric town boomer, who opened a store the following year—the first building erected in the town of Sedro. Cook bought forty acres of land which W. Scott Jameson, of Port Gamble, had "scripted"; laid out the townsite and down at the river landing erected a sign board upon which he had painted the word "Bug." Cook said he wanted a name entirely unlike that of any other town in the country. Mrs. Cook objected to living in a place with such a name as bug.

Some of the settlers suggested that some one might prefix the word "hum" to the bug, in which event the town might have a hard time getting a start. Mrs. Cook took the question under advisement and while looking through an old Spanish dictionary found the word "cedro," meaning cedar. The "c" was changed to "s" and the town was renamed Sedro. January 1, 1886, Cook became postmaster of the new town of Sedro and the following fall began operating one of the first ten block shingle mills in the country. In December, 1889, the first Fairhaven & Southern train arrived at the town. The Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern (Northern Pacific) and the Seattle & Northern (Great Northern Rockport branch) were soon running their trains into the district and another town was being laid out.

Mortimer Cook was born in Mansfield, Ohio, September 15, 1826, and at the age of nineteen left school and joined the army, serving in Mexico and along the border until 1850, when he was mustered out in California. After two years spent in Ohio Cook returned to California and in 1858 took part in the rush to the Fraser River country. On Thompson River he constructed a ferry known for many years as Cook's Ferry. From 1864 to 1867 he farmed the old Mansfield homestead and from there went to Topeka, Kansas, where he built the first iron bridge across the Kaw River. Disposing of this toll bridge for \$100,000, Cook returned to the Coast and became a banker at Santa Barbara, Cal., a city with which he had been much pleased during his stay there in the early '50s. As president of the First National Bank of Santa Barbara, Cook became prominent in the town's business circles, erected several pretentious buildings and served as mayor. Financial reverses overtook him and with a few thousand dollars he came to the Sound, bought 2,234 acres of land on the Skagit and built the town of Sedro.

In 1886 he built the largest shingle mill in the county. One of its features was a dry kiln—the first in the history of the shingle industry—and it is said the first Washington shingles to go into the Mississippi Valley were shipped there by Cook. The first car shipped from this mill went to Mansfield, Ohio, and sold there for \$4 the 1,000. In 1889 Cook sold the mill and his timber holdings and turned his attention to the development of a big farm on the Olympia marsh. In the panic he lost this farm and went back to his Sedro store. Fortune did not smile a third time for him and at the age of seventy-two he left Skagit County for the Philippines, where he expected to develop the hardwood

industry of the islands. Contracting malaria he was taken to the United States Hospital at Iloilo, where he died, November 21, 1899.

Phillip A. Woolley arrived in 1889 and, buying land further back from the river at a point where he knew the railroads would meet, began building a combined lumber and shingle mill. Possessed of considerable public spirit, Woolley and his wife entered heart and soul into the building of the new town and on July 4, 1890, raised a fir flag pole 104 feet high, ran up a 16 by 40 foot flag, manufactured by the ladies of the new town, and held a big celebration in the mill yard. Sedro, not to be outdone by the new claimant for municipal honors, trimmed the limbs from a growing cedar and unfurled a flag 226 feet above the ground. August 1 the Woolley postoffice was opened. An election was held, William Murdock being chosen mayor, with William Doherty, treasurer; Phillip Woolley, clerk, and Norris Ormsby, David Moore, George Gregory and a Mr. Goosie as councilmen. This was a temporary government which was made permanent in December, 1891, by the election of Phillip Woolley, mayor; Rev. Mr. Rouse, clerk; and William Doherty, treasurer.

Notwithstanding the dull times of the early '90s the two towns continued to show intense rivalry. As business improved, this spirit gave place to one more reasonable; citizens began talking of consolidation, which was effected December 19, 1898, under the long, and, by those not citizens of the town, much condemned, name of Sedro-Woolley. Norris Ormsby was chosen mayor; William Doherty, treasurer; D. M. Donnelly, Henry Horsch, Charles Villeneuve, M. B. Mattice and F. A. Douglass, councilmen.

William Bell was the pioneer school teacher of the settlement, the school house being the old home of William Woods, in Sedro. It was a two-story, two-room school—one on the first and the other on the second floor, with the teacher's desk so arranged that he could stand guard over both rooms and hear classes in either. Mrs. Woolley, in 1890, taught the first school in the new town, her services being donated.

With the arrival of railway trains, and the settlement of neighborhood differences through consolidation of the towns, Sedro-Woolley entered upon a period of rapid development, the value of improvements for the year 1901 being placed at more than \$100,000.

Thomas Payne became Mt. Vernon's first telegraph operator when the Postal Telegraph Company built its line into the town in 1886. The telegraph office was in Hartson's printing office. The coming of the telegraph caused the people to begin discussing a railroad to Seattle, a facility that did not materialize until some five years later. August 12, 1891, the Great Northern track-laying crew reached the southern edge of the city and the next day pushed the steel rails across Kincaid street. W. J. Henry the same year completed the new \$12,000 school house and the next summer the Mt. Vernon Opera House was finished.

The "Wild Cat," which in the years 1889 and 1891 gamboled through the streets of many Western Washington towns, spent but little time in Mt. Vernon. She did not ride on the high tide of that day's frenzied finance. During the boom the Mt. Vernon Electric Light & Motor Company built a good light plant, the Skagit Sawmill & Manufacturing Company built a \$30,000 plant, Stephenson's grist mill, the Cascade Steam Laundry, the Grand Central, Great

Northern and Brooklyn hotels, and a number of new store buildings were erected, and the Mt. Vernon Chronicle was established.

Skagit County farmers, before and through the boom, borrowed much money with which to improve their lands. Mortgages were as common as were the dykes built with the borrowed money. They were supposed to be good dykes, high enough to hold the waters of the river within bounds. In 1892 Westerman & Yeaton, of Seattle, were building the first wagon bridge across the Skagit and the 8960 persons living in the county were feeling satisfied. November 18, a Chinook wind swept up the river and brought down an unexpected flood. A log jam formed against the new pier in the bed of the river. At midnight of the 19th, farmers and laborers were called from their beds and took up the fight against the waters. Log after log was carried into the jam, which grew to such a height that the back waters were forced over the dykes and began to flood the fields. Suddenly the pier gave way and the jam started down stream. Three feet of water swept through the southern end of town, putting out furnace fires. Fir, Skagit City, Sedro and Hamilton were flooded. Below Mt. Vernon the water spread out over the farms. The owners, in water up to their armpits, worked day and night getting farm animals and field products to safety. The Great Northern track was washed out and for five days trains did not run. The temperature went down to 10° below zero and everybody suffered. Following the flood the dykes were built higher and people thought the river had been conquered.

May 24, 1894, began a rain which soon brought torrents of water down the river. A small leak in one of the dykes rapidly increased in size, broke through, and many of Mt. Vernon's sidewalks became rafts. First floors were deserted, business was suspended, fences were carried away, crops were ruined and the whole country between Mt. Vernon and the Sound was under water. About the middle of June another flood again washed out the crops. The need of a better dyking system was manifest. Meetings were held. New districts were organized and the people went at the task of river control in a systematic way.

"Who called the meeting?" was an unanswered question in Mt. Vernon in the worst of the dull times. In April, 1894, the following call, printed on handbills, was distributed around town:

"MASS MEETING!

"A meeting of the citizens of Mt. Vernon is hereby called to meet tomorrow, Tuesday evening, April 24th, at half past eight o'clock, at the courthouse for the purpose of considering the present depressed financial and commercial conditions of the land. Free seats reserved for the ladies. Speeches by leading business men. This meeting is for all, regardless of party."

Time was a commodity that everybody had to spare. When the hour set arrived, the courthouse was crowded. People waited for some one to open the meeting, but no one appeared. Some one suggested that a chairman be appointed and an effort was made to carry out the suggestion. A row developed, the meeting broke up and the question of who called the meeting became an unanswered riddle.



SCENE IN MOUNT VERNON



SECTIONAL VIEW OF MOUNT VERNON, OLYMPIC MOUNTAINS IN BACKGROUND

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Fire originating in the Washington Hotel at about 1:30 A. M., July 13, 1891, destroyed the greater part of the business section of Mt. Vernon, burned the famous 157-foot cedar-tree flag pole. From the Washington Hotel, a wooden building, the flames destroyed the residence of D. Storrs, the first building erected in the town, and reached the freight warehouse of the steamboat company, in which had just been unloaded a \$10,000 electric light plant, the first built for the city. The steamer Henry Bailey, which had arrived a short time before the coal oil lamp had been overturned in the hotel, still had steam up and the crew undertook to assist in fighting the fire, but the fire department's nozzle would not fit the Bailey's hose. Herbert Combs, one of the deck hands, climbed to the roof of the warehouse and, notwithstanding the intense heat, held the hose into the fire. The stream of water was practically without pressure, but it saved the buildings, and Combs, who was frightfully burned about the face, stuck to his post until Mart Brantigan, fireman, and Jack McGraw, deck hand, went to his assistance. The flames spread into the building beneath the men, burned their clothing, and those below expected every moment to see the three men fall into the flames. The steamers Lilly and Indiana got up steam as quickly as possible and joined in the fight, which then soon was won. They saved the town from total destruction. But Mt. Vernon had lost her hotel, fifteen business houses, two residences and her famous flag pole, said to have been the tallest in the world.

Charles W. Beale, Robert Beale, Charles Pearson, John Hughes, Lieut. Robert H. Davis, and a man named Brown, in 1859, went to Fidalgo Island on a hunting trip. At the head of Fidalgo Bay they discovered fern-covered prairies which so pleased them that Charles Beale and Davis decided to take up claims. They, with the help of the others, built a cabin. Davis, a nephew of Jefferson Davis, shortly thereafter made peace with his family, returned to the South and joined the Confederate army. His claim later became the property of William Munks, "The King of Fidalgo Island," who, with Enoch Compton, H. P. O'Bryant, Shadrach and Richard Wooten, arrived before 1864.

Charles Beale went north, leaving his claim in the hands of his cousin Robert. Becoming pinched for money, and thinking his cousin had abandoned the claim, Robert sold it. Charles returned, found another man in possession, crossed the bay and took up the land upon which he for many years made his home. Late in the fall of 1859, Josiah Larry put up a cabin on a claim and then left the island. Enoch Compton took the land. Larry later returned and finding Compton struggling along trying to make a farm out of the land took up another claim at the mouth of what later was known as Joe Larry's Slough.

Eldridge Morse, in the Northern Star, tells of a visit he made to Guemes, or Ship Harbor, in 1877, and says that Messrs. Hill and Bowman were preparing to lay out a townsite on the land selected by Governor Stevens as the terminal site of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Sheriff G. W. L. Allen, of Whatcom County, was preparing to build a hotel.

Amos Bowman and wife arrived on the harbor in 1877. Bowman was a mining and civil engineer, born in Blair County, Ontario, in 1840. From Oberlin, Ohio, University he went to the University of the City of New York, later graduating from the College of Mines at Freiburg, Germany. Coming to the Pacific Coast as a member of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey,

he was for a time located in California. In connection with the Government's geological exploration work Bowman was sent to the Sound country and in the spring of 1876 was a resident of Seattle. Here he became interested in Ship Harbor and the old Stevens claim. For \$1,000 he bought the 168 acres of land, which at that time belonged to Governor Stevens' daughter, Miss Maude Stevens, took his family into the Fidalgo Island wilderness and began the building of a new terminal city. A wharf and store were built, a postoffice, with the name of Anacortes, in honor of Mrs. Anna Curtis Bowman, opened, a townsite laid out and a newspaper—The Northwest Enterprise—founded.

Among the old records of the Northern Pacific at Tacoma, Bowman, in 1878, found the map of the Skagit Pass survey made in 1873 by Brown, Ward and Sheets. On this map and profile Fidalgo Island was shown at the western terminus of the line. To Bowman's mind, trained as it was to the solution of engineering problems, it showed a route that, in all probability, would some day be followed by a railroad from the east side of the mountains. That Stevens had had the same idea is shown by his having bought the land on the island. Bowman, now thoroughly enthusiastic over the matter, set to work. Using the old Northern Pacific map as a basis, he drew a new map in which the advantages of his town were fully set forth. With his own hands he made a cut from this map and in 1882 published it in his Anacortes newspaper. Thousands of copies were sent broadcast. They went into every railroad office and in a short time Anacortes had become nationally famous.

The Northwest Enterprise, four 16-inch pages of five columns each, was born March 25, 1882, with Alfred D. Bowen and F. M. Walsh, editors and publishers. Financially it was not a success, but Bowman needed it, so that when, in the following January, its publishers were ready to give up the struggle, Bowman became its owner. For three years he paid the bills and on the fourth anniversary of its birth, he closed its career—his town had not developed as rapidly as he had hoped. The Enterprise had served a useful purpose. Soon the directors of the Northern Pacific became interested. In 1885 Villard sent his agents to the town—M. V. B. Stacy, James and Joseph McNaught, John L. Howard and Villard himself visited the new terminal city. The agents bought 3,000 acres of land. Villard, encountering financial difficulties, was not able to carry out whatever plans he had and Bowman turned his attention toward the development of the country back of his town. Later he went to California to assist in writing Bancroft's "History of the Pacific Coast," and while engaged in this work, W. H. Holman, of the Oregon Railroad & Navigation Company, and Engineer Milner, of the Oregon Improvement Company, sent him word that they wanted a land grant for a railroad to Anacortes. Returning to the Sound, Bowman, Mrs. Bowman, Rev. Albert Taylor, Orlando Graham and H. P. O'Bryant, accompanied by Calhoun and Hopkins as notaries, tramped all over the island urging the people to donate land towards the subsidy. It was secured. Rumor said the Northern Pacific, the Union Pacific and the Canadian Pacific all desired to get their lines into the town. Land, which in 1886 had sold at from \$2 to \$10 an acre, advanced to \$100 an acre. January 1, 1890, Anacortes had a population of 40, which by February 1st had grown to 500. March 1st it was 2,000 and fifteen days later 3,000.

January 1, 1891, the city had 2 wharves completed to deep water and 2 others



HEWITT AVENUE, EVERETT, LOOKING WEST FROM COLBY, 1892



HEWITT AVENUE, EVERETT, LOOKING WEST FROM COLBY, 1916

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building; 3 miles of graded streets, 2 banks, 3 sawmills, 2 sash and door factories, a 3-story printing office building, 12 hotels, 1 theater, 1 daily paper, the Progress; 1 weekly, The American, and 27 real estate offices. It had spent \$250,000 in clearing land, \$100,000 for street improvements; \$500,000 for new buildings; \$300,000 in water and street railway systems; \$270,000 for railway terminals and docks. Hat, Burrows and Cypress islands had been platted as residence property and \$1,200 an acre had been paid for land on Burrows Bay. Among the investors were Governor E. P. Ferry, John Collins, P. H. Lewis, Judge Hoyt, John H. McGraw, Governor Squire, Kinnear Brothers, General Sprague, Allen C. Mason, Dexter Horton, Arthur Denny, James McNaught, Judge Roger S. Green and other men who were not likely to be using money in chasing a will-o'-the-wisp. Plats for 63 additions had been filed by the close of the year 1890.

Capt. F. A. Hill, in June, 1889, put 1,000 men at work on the Anacortes end of the Seattle & Northern. August 1st twenty miles of grade had been finished. The road was completed to Sedro the year following and November 25, 1890, Anacortes celebrated the arrival of the first train from Seattle. The first ocean-going steamship, the Umatilla, had arrived March 11th. The city had been incorporated and at its first election, held May 21, 1890, it had elected F. V. Hogan, mayor; W. W. Bailey, R. E. Whitney, A. P. Sharpstein, John Semar, T. H. Anderson and W. H. Johnson, councilmen; John Platt, treasurer, and Paul Law, clerk. With a capital stock of \$25,000 the Chamber of Commerce had been incorporated June 11th.

Bowman's city had arrived. Its Fourth of July celebration that year—1890—is remembered as one carried out on a scale unequalled in the Northwest. Its railroad was continued on eastward up the river to within six miles of Hamilton before financial embarrassment in 1891 put a temporary end to the work.

Having become the leading city in the county, Anacortes decided to acquire the county seat. She might have succeeded had not Sedro and Burlington at the same time developed like ambitions. It was a hard-fought battle and when the votes were counted November 7, 1892, they stood: Mt. Vernon, 867; Anacortes, 873; Sedro, 636; Burlington, 164. Too many contestants had spoiled Anacortes' dream.

By this time the pace had begun to tell. The railroad could not get over the mountains and neither the Union nor Canadian Pacific lines were making any effort to get into the town. The Northern Pacific appeared satisfied with arrangements as they were. Bowman's daily paper died and by 1893 the panic had completed the wreck of more than one hope of achieving fortune in Anacortes. While it lasted it was the swiftest boom that ever excited the Coast.

Late in the '90s, Anacortes, in common with other Western Washington towns, began to climb out of the limbo of blasted hopes. Her saw and shingle mills found a market for their products. The Fidalgo Canning Company, Bell Irving, owner, and Frank Lord, manager, built its salmon cannery.

Amasa Everett was born in Maine and came to Skagit County in 1873. At Anacortes Everett met Lafayette Stevens and Orlando Graham. They had heard the story of the Indian who the year before had told J. J. Conner of quantities of coal and some gold on the upper reaches of the Skagit and the following summer the trio set out for the upper river. Late in September they

discovered the Hamilton coal mines field. J. J. Conner grubstaked the men, who continued their explorations and discovered the Skagit, Cascade and New Cumberland mines. The dividing line between the two latter properties was Loretto Creek, so named in honor of Miss Loretto McLoughlin, daughter of James McLoughlin, one of the men's backers. Miss McLoughlin was the first white child to visit the district.

In 1875 Everett, Stevens, Graham and John Rowley ascended the river to the present site of Marblemount where they spent the winter prospecting for gold. Later Everett began developing a farm on the upper Skagit and from this grubstaked the men who went into the Ruby Creek district. While continuing his farming operations Everett discovered a fine body of limestone on his land. He induced an expert to visit the farm and while they were discussing the prospect, the expert remarked that the clay with which Everett had made brick for his chimney, was valuable for the making of cement. Awake to the possibilities of the combination of lime and cement clay on the same land, Everett showed samples to New York capitalists who bought forty-five acres of his land and, in 1904, established the Portland Cement Company plant at Cement City, which has developed a large business.

Out of the Stevens-Everett coal discovery came the Cokedale enterprise. When the Fairhaven & Southern, in 1889, reached the mines a tunnel had been driven some three hundred feet into the vein. The Skagit Coal and Transportation Company was organized with Nelson Bennett as principal stockholder, and development work was carried forward. Bennett's interests passed to C. X. Larrabee in 1891 and under his management still further development was made, the mines beginning to make shipments in considerable quantities in 1894. Next year forty coke ovens were built and the name "Cokedale" was applied to the district. James J. Hill became interested in the project, acquired full control in 1899 and five years later closed down the property.

Blazing their way into the dense forest, John P. Millett and William McKay, in 1882, established the first settlement on what is now the site of Burlington. They built a cabin and opened a logging camp. Logging was continued through the '80s and the first sawmill was built by T. L. Fox in the winter of 1890-91. Seattle & Northern trains had, the preceding summer, placed the little settlement in close touch with the outside world. New Years day McKay filed a plat of the townsite and a little later Dale & Company built the first shingle mill, its power being furnished by a threshing machine engine. Shortly after filing the townsite plat, a postoffice was established and May 1, 1891, Miss Clara Carl opened the first school. Although a junction point on the Seattle & Northern and Great Northern railways, Burlington had a slow growth and was not incorporated until June 16, 1902. The 260 persons then living in the town elected F. W. Weideman, mayor; Zachariah Warfield, Orson Pease, William Hurley, Michael Hogan and David Kach, councilmen. Two miles north of Burlington the Town of Bellville had a neat railroad station and very little town. The Great Northern, having obtained the old Seattle & Northern, one Saturday night loaded the Bellville station on flat cars and when the people of Burlington awoke the following morning they were greatly surprised, as well as delighted, to discover the building occupying a site near the junction of the two railroads.

Ben Samson took a claim at Edison about 1869. Next year Edward McTaggart arrived. March 26, 1876, forty-three settlers met at McTaggart's home and petitioned the Government to establish a postoffice. McTaggart became the first postmaster and Swen Johnson was the mail carrier. Capt. A. J. Edwards, a sloop trader operating on the Sound, joined the settlement in 1880 and opened a store. Through the foreclosure of a mortgage, Col. Granville O. Haller became interested in the town and in 1886 platted the townsite.

Writing of a visit to "Samish Landing, near the mouth of the Samish River," Eldridge Morse, in 1876, says he found there William and George Dean, who had for three years been living in the neighborhood. The Deans, like most of the settlers of that period, had undertaken the subjugation of the forest with but little money. No common men were the Deans. Self-reliant, resourceful and of an inventive turn of mind, they had succeeded in building a sawmill, the motive power for its operation being derived from a windmill.

Two immense trees were "topped" at a good height above the ground and served as foundation and tower for the windmill wheel. The trees had been well braced so that vibration would not loosen the upper works and the mill had a daily capacity of more than one thousand feet. All the mill pulleys were hand made. The belts were manufactured on the ground from home-tanned leather. There was a finely adjusted cone gear and a self-feeding arrangement which enabled the operators of the mill to turn out much smoother lumber than that usually found in pioneer mills. A blacksmith shop had been equipped, even the bellows of which was home-made: in fact, Morse says, these men had constructed their entire plant at a cost of not to exceed \$50 for material which they could not make on the ground. At the time he visited the mill, the owners were preparing to make additions which would bring their daily output up to 3,000 feet and would enable them to produce turned woodwork. George Dean was born in Banffshire, Scotland, and was apprenticed to the shipwright's trade. He came to New York in 1850 and twenty-five years later arrived in Seattle. Spending but a short time in Seattle Dean went to Samish Landing, where his brother was keeping a store and postoffice. At the landing, now in the Edison neighborhood, the Dean brothers built their unusual sawmill. Later they built a schooner which they used in the lumber carrying trade—the lumber for this schooner being sawed in their windmill sawmill. For nine years George Dean sailed this schooner and then built the schooner Mary Purley, which he operated for 3½ years. During the Klondyke rush of 1897 Dean, together with Capt. J. F. T. Mitchell, a Seattle shipbuilder, went to Unalaska where they built a number of vessels for the Boston & Alaska Trading Company. Completing this work Dean returned to the Sound and completed some fishing gear improvements upon which he had, for some time, been working. One of these inventions was a combined purse seine and fish trap.

Rienzi E. Whitney, in the winter of 1887, bought a large tract of salt marsh at the lower end of Padilla Bay for \$22,500. He spent \$10,000 in its reclamation, going in debt for both land and improvements. People said he could not possibly make the thing profitable, but in 1893 the land, then known as Whitney's Island, was separated into seven farms which sold for \$70,000.

South of Anacortes, or Ship Harbor, as it was called at that time, William Allard, Eldridge Sibley, Samuel McCarty, James Lathrow and John T. Griffin

and wife established a settlement in the latter part of the 1860-70 decade. The Griffins came up the coast from California in 1864 and for a time had lived at Whatcom, where Mrs. Griffin had taught the first school conducted in that county. She was the first white woman on Fidalgo Island.

Munks, the King of Fidalgo Island, in 1896 brought a mowing machine to his farm on the island. The next year he brought in the first threshing machine and the following January opened a store. The first mail was brought to the island by the steamer Mary Woodruff in February, 1868. So rapidly did the settlement grow that the Government land had all been taken by the end of the year 1873.

PACIFIC COUNTY

John E. Pickernell was the first white man permanently to settle in Pacific County. About 1842 he settled near the mouth of the Wallicut River and the only English speaking neighbor that he had was a negro named Saul, who lived on the present site of Fort Canby.

July 5, 1788, Lieut. John Mears, commander of the East India Company's ship Felice, had sailed into Willapa Harbor and because of the large area of tide flats, bestowed upon it the name of "Shoalwater Bay." In the next sixty years various sailing masters visited the harbor and in 1851 Charles J. W. Russell, one of the victims of Dr. Elijah White's Pacific City real estate boom, crossed the portage from Baker's Bay and laid the foundations of what in a few years developed into a thriving oyster industry. Building a combined house and trading post on a point of land extending from the eastern shore of the bay, Russell employed Indians to gather oysters and in a short time he sent his first shipment to San Francisco. They met with a warm welcome and before the close of the first year Russell was supplying oyster cargoes for a regular line of small vessels engaged in the business.

Upon the invitation of Russell, James G. Swan, in the fall of 1852, sailed from San Francisco on the brig *Oriental*, Captain Hill, and took up his residence on the bay. Swan was destined to play an important part in the early history of the state and for many years wrote books and newspaper and magazine articles which are almost invaluable to students of early history. As an ethnologist and botanist Swan contributed much to our knowledge of the life and habits of the Indians while his studies of the vocabularies of the various tribes made before the corruption of those languages through the addition of English words assists in untangling many a knotty problem. In "The Northwest Coast; or Three Years' Residence in Washington Territory," which was published by Harper & Brothers in 1857, Swan gives much interesting information about the country. He was a close observer, a man of education and scarcely had established himself in the territory than he was appointed to a Federal office. In 1857 he went to Washington, D. C., as secretary to Isaac I. Stevens who then was serving as territorial delegate in Congress. Later he took up his residence at Port Townsend.

At the time of his arrival on the bay Swan found quite a settlement, among the pioneers being Russell, Mark Winant, John Morgan, Alexander Hanson, Richard J. Milward, Thomas Foster, George G. Bartlett, Richard Hillyer, John



VIEWS OF THE OYSTER INDUSTRY

W. Champ, Samuel Sweeney, Stephen Marshall, Charles W. Denter, A. E. St. John and Walter Lynde, all of whom were depending more or less on the oyster business for a livelihood. It was in this year, 1852, that Lieut. James Alden, commanding the United States survey steamer *Active*, arrived and made a reconnaissance of the bay.

Near Russell's house was the lodge of an old Indian chief named Toke, who in his younger days had been a man of great importance, but a love of liquor had reduced him to "an object of contempt and aversion by the whites, and a butt for the jests and ridicule of the Indians." Although at that time living on the eastern shore, Toke's home was on a point of land on the northern side of the bay, his name still appearing upon the map as Tokeland, from which place come Toke Point oysters. Whatever old Toke may have lacked in business acumen or industry was made up by his wife, Suis, who was a woman of considerable intelligence, possessing a notable shrewdness in the management of her own affairs. Toke was her seventh husband.

Winant, Hanson, Morgan and Milward were members of the famous Bruce Company which in 1851 arrived in the oyster schooner *Robert Bruce*. The cook of the Bruce set the schooner on fire. The "boys," as the oystermen were known, went to work and soon earned enough to buy the schooner *Mary Taylor*, which was placed in the command of Hanson. It was a profitable venture and the following season the company added the schooner *Equity* to its fleet, Capt. John Morgan taking the command. By this time the oyster business had grown to an annual output of 50,000 baskets, each basket selling for \$1 at the side of the vessel. A few years later even higher prices were realized and the "oyster boys settlement" was never short of money.

Immigrants began arriving on the bay, among them being Joel L. Brown, who took a claim on the Palix River (at that time spelled Palux), cut a road on the portage between the south end of the bay and the Columbia and announced that he intended to start a town. With Brown came Samuel Woodward, Henry Whitcomb, Joel and Mark Bullard and Captain Jackson. Brown planned great things for his prospective town but death concluded his program. About this time James Wilson and family settled at the bay side of the portage, and Captain Weldon and wife of San Francisco arrived, the captain taking a claim at the mouth of the Necomanchee or North River where he built a fine house. Mrs. Weldon was the first white woman resident. Captain Weldon, with George Watkins, soon had the first sawmill under construction and settlers came so rapidly that the oystermen began planning a town at their settlement. Capt. Charles Stewart had taken a claim at the mouth of the Willapa River, the early day spelling of which was "Whilapah," and the various settlements were rapidly spreading and gave promise of encircling the shore.

The constantly increasing demand for oysters resulted in a sharp rise in price and Swan decided to take an oyster claim. Old Toke, with whom Swan had established a friendship, promised to show him a good place and one day the two set out for the mouth of a creek some two miles up the bay from Russell's house. Here they found a beautiful camp site on shore. Great piles of clam shells and ruins of Indian houses showed that the place once had been used as a camping ground, and Swan asked old Toke why the Indians should have left it. The old chief said it long had been a favorite home for the Indians, but

it was now inhabited by memelose tillicums—dead Indians—but that they would be afraid of the white men, who would be safe from the evil spirits of bad Indians who had once lived in the vicinity. Swan and Captain Purrington at once moved to the site, broke down the ferns and nettles which were just getting nicely started on their spring growth, and planted a garden in the rich soil at the river's mouth. A short time later Swan was called to the Columbia and upon his return the latter part of June was informed that the settlers were planning to hold a Fourth of July celebration at his tent home. This was the first celebration of the nation's birthday anniversary held on the bay and Swan thus describes the day's events:

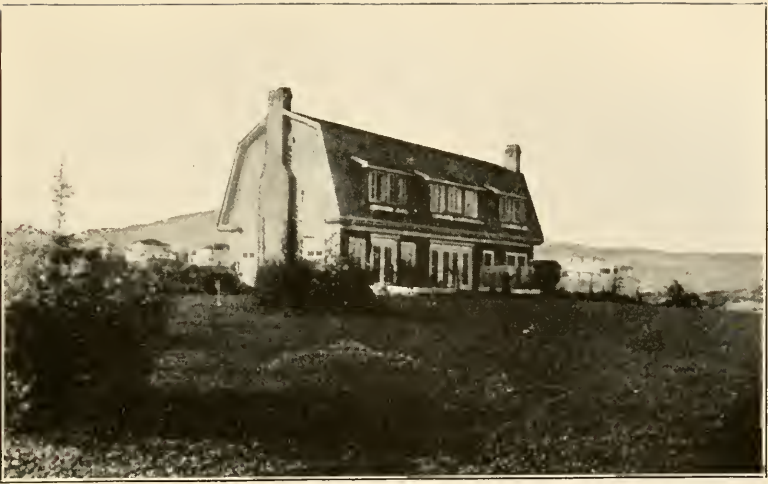
"The day was ushered in by a tremendous bonfire, which Baldt and myself had kindled on Pine Island, which was answered by every one who had a gun and powder blazing away. Toward 2 o'clock they began to assemble, some coming in boats, others in canoes, and a few by walking around the beach, which they could easily do at any time after the tide was quarter ebb.

"Each one brought something: one had a great oyster pie, baked in a milk pan; another had a boiled ham; a third brought a cold pudding; others had pies, doughnuts, or loaves of bread; and my neighbor, Russell, came bringing with him a long oration of his own composing, and half a dozen boxes of sardines. When all were assembled, the performances were commenced by reading the Declaration of Independence by Mr. St. John, extracts from Webster's oration at Boston on Adams and Jefferson, then Russell's oration, which was followed by the banquet, and after that a feu-de-joie by the guns and rifles of the whole company.

"These ceremonies over, it was proposed to close the performance of the day by going on top of the cliff opposite and make a tremendous big blaze. This was acceded to, and some six or eight immediately crossed the creek and soon scrambled to the top of the hill, where we found an old hollow cedar stump about twenty feet high. * * * We went to work with a will and soon had the old stump filled full of dry spruce limbs, which were lying about in great quantities, and then set fire to the whole. It made the best bonfire I ever saw; and after burning all night and part of the next day, finally set fire to the forest, which continued to burn for several months, till the winter rains finally extinguished it."

Swan seems to have been especially well fitted to get into the good graces of the Indians. Perhaps his success in this was due to his habit of treating them fairly and to the reputation which Russell had given him—that of being a great doctor. Russell seems to have been a man who believed in placing a rather high value upon his own achievements and abilities; and, be it said to his credit, that in introducing his friends to the Indians tried to impress the savage mind with the great importance of the "Boston men." Swan was introduced as a great doctor, possessed of much skookum medicine, a reputation which he at times found embarrassing. To the Indian the stronger the smell and more terrible the taste of a medicine, the surer it was to cure, and one of Swan's main standbys was a liniment made from aqua ammonia and whale oil.

The arrival of Doctors Cooper and Johnson formed a welcome addition to the settlement and relieved the white settlers of the fear they had felt whenever any of them fell ill. Swan's Indian patients, though they at times called



RIVERVIEW, RAYMOND



HIGH SCHOOL, RAYMOND



AUTO ROAD, RAYMOND

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a new doctor, remained steadfast in their allegiance to him. Swan says that an old Indian called George, or Squintum, in a drunken frolic, received a blow from a hatchet, thrown by his wife's brother, "a perfect young savage, named Kohpoh. Doctor Cooper was called and dressed the wounds, which were in the neck and of such a character as to completely paralyze the lower portions of the body.

"A few days after I met the doctor, when he remarked, 'Pray, what is that powerful medicine you have given to the Indians formerly?' He said he had found it necessary to use caustic to cauterize old George's back, but that that individual, not experiencing immediate relief, had told him that I was a better doctor, and had a skookum, or strong medicine, which he knew would cure him.

"I told the doctor I expected it was the celebrated liniment I had formerly used. He laughed. 'Well,' he added, 'if you have any more, I wish you would try it. It can't hurt the old fellow, if it don't do him any good, and he seems to have great faith in it.'

"I then went to Doctor Johnson, and getting from him some of the most powerful aqua ammoniæ, proceeded to the lodge of old George. 'How are you, George?' I asked. 'I have come to give you some medicine.' 'Good,' he replied; 'I can't move; I am all dead but my heart and tongue. My heart is strong, and I can talk.'

"I told his squaw to raise him up, which she did, and I requested him to smell of the ammonia. 'Smell hard, George,' said I. He gave a powerful sniff at the bottle, and the result was that he was knocked over immediately. 'Ugh!' he grunted, as his wife gathered him up; 'that is good—that is medicine. Now I will get well.'

"I then asked his wife for some whale oil, which she brought me, but it smelled so bad that it would almost have killed flies. However, I poured some into a bottle with the ammonia, producing a compound which had, as one remarked, a 'solid stink.'

"This high-scented liniment was then rubbed all over the old fellow, producing, as he said, a sensation like a thousand needles. He was delighted, and expected to get well in a couple of days; but I assured him that if he recovered in six months he would be fortunate. He did, however, recover during the summer so far as to be able to do a little work, and gradually got well; but he always thought that my skookum medicine was what cured him."

As the Indian tribes took their names from the watercourses upon which they lived, considerable difference of opinion had arisen as to the correct names of the coast tribes. Various explorers had written this name in various ways and Swan says that at the time he became well acquainted with the numerous small bands or tribes inhabiting the coast from the Columbia to the Straits of Fuca, the names given him by the Indians themselves were as follows:

"Chenooks, on the Columbia.

"Kar-wee-wee, or Arts-milsh, the name of the Shoalwater Bay tribes, which are now nearly extinct, and are usually considered as Chenooks.

"Che-ha-lis, on Gray's Harbor and Chehalis River.

"Co-pa-lis, on the Copalis River, eighteen miles north of Gray's Harbor.

"Que-ni-ult, at Point Grenville." This name, Swan says, is often mispronounced. The first syllable is pronounced strongly while the last so very softly

that many people had been lead to think that the Indians called themselves simply Que-nai.

"Next north of the Queniult tribe are the Quai-tso, then the Hooch ro Hooh, Que-lai-ult, and Que-nait-sath.

"The Indians of Shoal-water Bay had no distinct language of their own, but used the Chenook or Chehalis promiscuously, with the exception of the tribe on the Whil-a-pah River, who spoke a language somewhat resembling the Cow-litz. There are two or three of the Whil-a-pah Indians still living at Shoal-water Bay, but the rest of the tribe is all extinct. The other names of the Shoal-water Bay Indians were the Ne-coman-chee or Nickomin, who resided on a river of that name flowing into the north side of the bay.

"The Que-lap-ton-lit, whose village was at the mouth of the Whil-a-pah River, on the banks of a creek whose name they took, and where at present the house and claim of Capt. Charles Stewart are.

"The War-hoots village occupied the present site of the Town of Bruceport, and the Quer-uelin village at the mouth of the creek where my house was.

"The Palux Indians, on the Copa-lux or Palux River, the Mar-hoo, the Nasal, and several other villages on the peninsula of little account."

Increasing population brought increasing responsibilities and the oystermen, who had been a law unto themselves, were called upon to elect officers to enforce the laws. John W. Champ was chosen justice of the peace and Charles W. Denter, or "Big Charley," constable. Champ, a Vermonter, had lived in Wisconsin, later joining a party bound for Oregon where he had lived several years before coming to the bay. Swan, telling of the election and events subsequent thereto, says:

"At this period Champ was about sixty-five years old, tall, wiry, and muscular, with an iron constitution, that had withstood the rough-and-tumble of a long border life. Like all the rest of the frontier people, he was fond of Old Rye, and, when under its influence, was a noisy and rough customer; but when sober, was a sensible, common-sensè, kind-hearted old fellow, ready at all times to do a good turn or lend a helping hand.

"The constable, or 'Big Charley,' as we used to call him, was a good natured, lazy fellow, who, from driving logs on the Penobscot River, in the State of Maine, had shipped on board a whaler, and, like some old stray spar or loose kelp, had been washed up into the bay without exactly knowing when, where or how. Charley was an excellent woodsman, and could handle an axe or build a log house with the best man in the bay. But Charley preferred his ease and a bottle of whisky to anything else. We thought the justice and constable would do very well. We had been very peaceable, having no lawsuits or bickerings. If any of the boys got vexed with each other, they would step out and settle the difficulty with a fist-fight, and then the trouble was over. But, now that we had a 'squire, every one seemed anxious to bring him some business, and it was not long before the justice held his first court in Shoalwater Bay.

"A fellow that Russell had hired to take charge of his affairs while he himself should go to California, had been found to have stolen a small sum of money from Russell. This information was soon known among the settlers, but there was neither proof nor any one to prosecute. At length the sheriff, who was always ready for a joke, partly in sport and partly in earnest, wrote a

notice to the thief that he must leave the bay or he would be lynched. This paper was taken to Champ (who, although he could sign his name, could not see to read very well, having smashed his spectacles on a frolic), and he was requested to sign the 'warrant for the arrest.' Champ, supposing it made out in due form (for the sheriff was a scholar), signed his name, and, calling up Big Charley, ordered him to proceed at once and arrest the offender, and have him up for examination. Charley accordingly went to where the fellow was residing, some two miles distant, and, being apprehensive that he should meet with resistance, adopted the following unique method of arrest: Walking in where the chap was sitting, he asked him very coolly for something to drink. Bowman (for that was the man's name) replied that he had nothing. 'Well,' says Charley, 'Old Champ has just got a demijohn of first-rate whisky; suppose we walk down there and get some.' The other, nothing loth, consented, and the pair walked down to the 'squire's. The boys began to collect, and at last the 'squire, who had been out feeding his chickens and wetting his whistle, came in and took a seat.

"'Order in the court!' said he; then facing the prisoner, he addressed him thus: 'Well, this is a pretty how-d'ye-do; why, what have you been about, hey?'

"'What have I been about?' asked Bowman, with surprise, 'nothing in particular, that I know of; where's your whisky, 'squire?'

"'Where's my whisky?' says the 'squire, now getting into a rage. 'Where's my whisky? Don't you know you're 'rested? and do you think to throw contempt into my court by asking for whisky?'

"'I did not know,' replied the other, 'that I was arrested; pray what is the charge?'

"'Why, you big loafer,' said Champ to the constable, 'did'nt you show that paper to Bowman?'

"'Yes,' growled Charley, 'I did.'

"'I never saw it,' says Bowman; 'let me have it now.'

"Champ then, after expressing his disgust at Charley for not attending to his business in a legal manner, ordered him forthwith to arrest Bowman, and show him the warrant. Charley then produced the paper, and arrested the man in the name of the United States. Bowman read it and remarked that it was more of a lynch-law notice than a warrant, and then inquired of what he was accused.

"'What are you 'cused of?' said Champ, with the greatest contempt for the supposed sham ignorance of the prisoner; 'why, you are 'cused of stealing Mr. Russell's money.'

"'I should like to know who accuses me, and who are the witnesses against me,' said Bowman, who now began to think that something serious was to happen.

"'See here, Bowman,' says the 'squire, 'I don't want any witnesses; and as for who accuses you, why I accuse you, and everybody on the beach accuses you, and you know you are guilty as well as I do; there is no use of wasting time over this matter. I am bound to sentence you, and my sentence is that you leave the bay in twenty-four hours, or receive fifty lashes if you are here at that time. And now, Charley, do you take charge of the prisoner; treat him well, but if you let him escape we will tie you up in his stead.'

"Some one here remarked that Charley must have a hard show of it; but the 'squire replied, 'Well, well, you know what I mean. I want that fellow out of the bay, and I don't want Charley to let him go, to be prowling about this neighborhood any longer.'"

Russell arrived next morning from San Francisco and was told what had taken place. Champ ordered a new trial at once and told Russell if he said so they would give Bowman a few lashes by way of remembrance. To this Russell replied that he thought the man had been sufficiently punished, so the boys took up a collection which was given to Bowman, with instructions to make himself scarce. He departed for Astoria.

Not caring to trust their 'squire the oystermen tried the next case of theft themselves. A stranger known as Joe drifted into the settlement and was accused of stealing a pair of boots from the store, and with having set Captain Hillyer's boat adrift. Joe admitted having taken the boots but denied the boat charge. Dick Hillyer then proposed that Joe be tied up and threshed with a rope's end in an effort to force a confession. Swan happened to be passing and was called into consultation. He happened to know that Toke and his squaw, Suis, had been having one of their frequent rows and that Toke had started for a new lodge he had just built on the other side of the bay. Suspicion at once fell upon the old chief as being guilty of taking the boat and it was proposed that Joe be confined until Toke could be found.

There having been no need of a jail, the settlers had not as yet provided this adjunct of civilization, but in the discussion of means of detaining the suspected man, it was decided to confine him in Squire Champ's chicken house—a building of solid log construction, strong as a fort. That afternoon Toke returned with the boat. In the excitement incident to administering justice to a boat thief Toke might have escaped punishment had it not been for the fact that the old rascal demanded pay for the return of the boat. This was adding insult to injury and so Hillyer gave him two dozen lashes, laid on with a piece of ratlin-stuff. This cleared Joe of one of the charges and the men went to the chicken house to attend to the case of boot theft. The door was opened and Joe was sucking eggs. Squire Champ, who had returned, was enraged at this new breach of the peace of his hen roost and demanded that the egg-sucker be thoroughly flogged. The oyster boys decided that the day's confinement in the chicken house had been sufficient punishment and Joe was placed on a boat bound for the portage, and told that he must never return. Captain Hillyer's twenty-ton schooner *Elsie*, the first vessel built on the bay, was launched September 12, 1854.

In the summer of 1854 Geizey, representing a company of Pennsylvania farmers, who having immigrated to Wisconsin and becoming tired of the climate had decided to come to Washington, arrived on the bay in company with Messrs. Warbous, Shaffer, Roundtree, Pearsall and Knight. The party came over the newly opened trail from the Cowlitz. Swan writes that this was the first time this trail had been used and that while it was in bad condition in a great many places, it furnished a means of reaching the capital and, upon the return of the party inland, Doctor Cooper and Russell accompanied the party to Olympia. As a result of this visit the country between the bay and the valley of the Chehalis received quite an addition to its population. Along the shores of the Willapa River several settlers already had opened clearings and established homes.

Of these Swan mentions Walter Lynde at Walters' Point, also called the Narrows; Capt. John Vail, Samuel Woodward, Henry Whitcomb, "Roaring Bill" William Cushing, Captain Crocker, Captain Gardner and the farm of Mark and Joe Bullard.

Many early day courts were conducted in a sort of a go-as-you-please manner. Pioneer settlers the world over have usually relied upon their own methods of settling difficulties. The majesty of the law, as represented by courts and lawyers, awoke no deep veneration in the minds of the early settlers. In James G. Swan's discussion of the session of the United States District Court in Pacific County in the fall of 1854, the writer, ever a close observer of men and events, while telling a delightful story, fails entirely to mention the names of the presiding judge, the United States district attorney, or any of the lawyers. His story contains the names of those who were before the court.

"The building selected as a court house," says Swan, in describing this early day court at Chinook, on the Columbia River, "was a small one-story affair, measuring about 12 feet by 15, or somewhere near that; at all events, it was so circumscribed in its limits that, when the jury was seated, there was barely room left for the judge, clerk of the court, and counsel, while the sheriff had to keep himself standing in the doorway. The outsiders could neither see nor hear till some one suggested that a few boards be knocked off the other end of the house, which was soon done, and served the purpose admirably.

"The grand jury were then called in and sworn, and the usual forms gone through. There was nothing of importance on hand except a case of homicide, and the judge charged particularly upon that point. The counsel for the defense was a former judge of the same court, and considered one of the most able lawyers in the territory. The prosecuting attorney was a younger brother of his, who was now to make his first attempt to manage a criminal prosecution."

The case was one in which one Lamley, a resident of Chinook, or Chenook, as Swan spells the word, was to be tried for killing an Indian. Lamley, who a little earlier in the season had gone to Shoalwater Bay to trade with the Indians for cranberries, while defending himself against an attack made by a drunken Indian, had picked up an oar and struck the savage across the base of the brain, breaking his neck.

"The grand jury, having been duly intructed, were marched into old M'Carty's zinc house near by, as that was the only unoccupied place in town. There were but two rooms in this house, one of which contained several hogsheads of salt salmon, and all of M'Carty's nets and fishing gear, and had certainly an 'ancient and a fish-like' perfume. Although every one of us were well acquainted with the smell of salmon, from partaking of it every day boiled with potatoes, yet this was too much of a good thing; but there was no help for it, so we proceeded to business. Now a grand jury are presumed to do their business in a very quiet manner, and, to further the ends of justice, a culprit must not know that there is any bill against him till it is popped in his face by the sheriff; but old Mac's zinc house was just as sonorous as a drum, and, for all purposes of secrecy, we had better have held our deliberations on the logs of the Chenook beach than where we were. The outsiders either crawled

under the house or stood outside, where they could hear perfectly well what was going on; and if any one was a little deaf, all he had to do was to get a nail and a stone and punch some holes through the zinc, then clap his ear to the aperture and become perfectly cognizant of all our proceedings. And in addition to this publicity, when the petit jury was called, the challenge exhausted all the people present, and they were obliged to take nine of the grand jury to serve as petit jurors.

"But to return to the manslaughter case. Another of the jury was old Captain Scarborough, of whom mention has been made previously. The captain was very deaf and talked loud. He was a great advocate for the 'majesty of the law,' and very bold to speak his mind freely on all occasions, but he was respected very much by the inhabitants, and his remarks were usually listened to with deference.

"The principal, and, in fact, the only witness in the case was William Martindale, who has been cabin boy with Captain Scarborough, and had remained with him in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company till he had risen to the rank of second mate. The old captain was in the habit of addressing Bill in the same tone and manner as when on board ship, and Bill always comported himself with the same feeling toward the captain.

"When Bill was called in for examination, he was quite tipsy, and pretended not to know anything of the occurrence. To every question he would reply, 'I don't know nothin' about it.' Captain Scarborough, who was leaning forward, with his hand behind his ear, to catch the sound of Bill's voice, no sooner fairly comprehended that he was talking nonsense than he grew intensely indignant.

"'Bill!' he roared out, 'do you know what you are about?'

"'Oh, yes, captain,' says Bill, 'I am wide awake.'

"'No you ain't,' bawled out the irascible old captain; 'you're drunk. Go below and get sober.'

"Then addressing the jury, he remarked: 'Gentlemen, you see the fellow is drunk; send him to bed.' So Mr. Bill was marched into the bedroom by the sheriff, and comfortably tucked in.

"After the jury adjourned, the captain and myself walked in to see Bill, who had then slept himself sober, but very thirsty.

"'Now,' says the captain, in his loud tone, 'are you fairly awake, Bill, and do you know what you have been about? Do you mean to stand up before my face, and tell me a parcel of lies?'

"'Oh, captain,' says Bill, 'just let me have a drink; my throat is all parched up.'

"'It will be worse parched in the next world,' replied the indignant old mariner, 'if you don't belay those lies of yours, and begin to pay out the truth. Not one drop shall you have to drink.'

"'Well, but, captain, the squire axes me so many hard questions that I don't know what to say; I'm knocked all aback.'

"'Never you mind the squire; do you tell the truth. Your course is laid down straight. Keep her full and by, and mind your helm; keep her steady; for if you go yawing as you did this morning, first falling off your course and then luffing sharp up in the wind till you make all shiver and shake, you may



VIEW OF SOUTH BEND IN 1890

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depend upon it, my lad, you will find yourself ashore before you can think. And I can tell you that if you touch bottom among these lawyers you will find it will take all hands to heave you off again. If they catch you foul, they will hang you up without waiting to rig a grating. Now I don't want you to say one word to me; but when you go before the jury again, do you just tell the truth like a man.'

"This excellent though homely advice of the worthy old captain was not lost on Bill, and the result was that an indictment was found against Lamley, and the case called on for trial.

"When the jury was called and the challenges exhausted, it was found that there were no more persons to draw from. So the counsel agreed on a compromise, which was that nine jurors should be selected from among the grand jurors who had just solemnly rendered a true bill against the prisoner. However, in a new country, old forms cannot always be adhered to; but as it is considered that any proposition between conflicting parties 'is fair if you only agree to it,' the jurors were accordingly selected, and the case proceeded.

"This being the first time the district attorney had ever addressed a jury on a criminal case, he proceeded to elucidate the points in a speech of considerable length, commencing from the American Revolution, and continuing his deductions to the time of Washington's death, and closing with a beautiful tribute to the memory of the Father of his Country.

"This argument had such a direct bearing on the case on trial that the counsel for the defense was forced to reply to it by quotations from ancient authors, and to prove his position by reciting extracts from the "Arabian Nights' Entertainments," which, although not considered so orthodox as Coke and Blackstone, had the effect to mystify the prosecuting attorney, who forgot the 'order of his going,' and, beginning at both ends of his case, broke down in the middle, and the case being submitted to the jury, they returned a verdict of not guilty.

"The argument of the two counsel caused the most intense delight to the court and spectators, and the result was just what was hoped for, and everybody was satisfied."

The oystermen's settlement had grown to the dignity of a village when it was proposed that a name be selected. Messrs. Coon & Woodward had arrived, established a store and opened a hotel, and at a meeting called for the purpose it was decided to name the town Bruceville, a name that soon was changed to Bruceport.

December 11, 1851, the brig Robert Bruce sailed into Willapa Harbor; her officers being John Morgan, captain; Sam Winneat, first mate; Thomas Foster, second mate; Dick Hilliard, Mark Wineat, Frank Garitson and Dick Milwood and an Italian cook making up the rest of the crew. The cook set the vessel afire, escaped in a small boat and was never heard of. The stranded sailors started the settlement which later became known as Bruceport and in May, 1852, began shipping oysters to San Francisco, the barque Equity, Captain Morgan, carrying the cargo. About this same time Captain Weldon, Captain Crocker and V. S. Riddell located at Hawks' Point on the north side of the bay. On board the barque Palus, Captain Weldon took a cargo of piling to San Francisco, it being the first cargo of lumber ever shipped from Pacific

County. In 1853 Weldon began the construction of a sawmill. It never was finished.

Pacific City was established in 1851 by J. D. Holman, who arrived in 1850, E. G. Loomis and another man. Holman built a hotel with 100 rooms. Later it was burned by United States troops, Holman being paid an indemnity. Loomis Holman and others built the first steam sawmill in Pacific City. It was later removed to the John Crellins donation claim near Nahcotta.

Capt. James Johnson settled at Ilwaco in 1848. He was the first Columbia Bar pilot and was drowned by the capsizing of his pilot sloop in 1854. Ilwaco was then called Whealdonburg.

Pacific County's first court was held at Chinook in the spring of 1853, with Judge Moore presiding. He was a Kentuckian, appointed by President Pierce. Court was held in Job Lamley's house. Lamley was sheriff. J. W. Cruthers was elected first representative, but died before taking office. Henry Feister, who took his place, dropped dead while taking the oath. James G. Strong was elected and served the full term.

SKAMANIA COUNTY

Early in March, 1854, John D. Biles introduced the bill by which the Legislature created Skamania County. March 9th the bill became a law and the following officers were appointed: S. M. Hamilton, Joseph Robbins, Jacob W. Scroder, commissioners; E. F. McNoll, sheriff; Comelius Palmer, probate judge; I. H. Bush, treasurer; George W. Johnson, auditor; N. H. Gates, Lloyd Brooke and B. B. Bishop, justices of the peace.

During the next ten years the county grew slowly and with the rising power of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, became a dangerous political element in territorial affairs. The navigation company controlled its affairs which turned to the benefit of the company. The territorial Legislature of 1865 repealed the bill by which the county had been created and returned its territory to the jurisdiction of Clark and Klickitat counties. Skamania appealed to Congress which, in 1866, annulled the act of the Legislature and restored the county.

COWLITZ COUNTY

Famous old Monticello became the county seat of Cowlitz County when the Legislature on April 1, 1854, adopted the bill introduced by H. D. Huntington March 8th. Thomas Roe, Alexander S. Abernethy and Taylor Rue were the first commissioners; Charles Holman, auditor; Alexand Crawford, treasurers; James Huntington, sheriff; Nathaniel Ostrander, probate judge; Benjamin Huntington, assessor; Nathaniel Stone and W. H. Harris, justices of the peace.

KITSAP COUNTY

January 9, 1857, T. D. Hinckley, of King County, introduced in the Legislature a petition asking that a new county, to be called Madison, be created on the west side of the Sound. At the same time Henry C. Wilson of Jefferson and Clallam counties, presented the petition of Amassa S. Miller and forty-five

others asking that the boundaries of the proposed new county be arranged to include their claims. The bill was reported on the 13th, at which time it was proposed to change the name from Madison to Kitsap.

Another faction wanted the name changed to Slaughter and a row developed the result of which was the passage of the bill on the 27th with the question of name still unsettled—the Legislature passed the decision up to the people and in the election Kitsap won.

The new county took a part of King, Jefferson and Sawammish or Mason, counties and its county seat was located at Port Madison. Dan S. Howard, G. A. Meigs and Cyrus Walker were the first commissioners; G. A. Page, sheriff; Delas Waterman, auditor; S. B. Hinds, assessor; S. B. Wilson, treasurer; William Heebner, William Renton and M. S. Drew, justices of the peace; and Henry Wilson, probate judge.

LEWIS COUNTY

When Vancouver District was divided by the Oregon Legislature of 1845, Lewis County was created out of that part lying west of the Cowlitz River and northward to the southern limit of Alaska. To it belongs the distinction of at one time including within its boundaries nearly all of Western Washington and British Columbia.

Its early history has been told in preceding chapters in connection with the Hudson's Bay Company. Following the extinguishing of the British company's title to the Cowlitz farms, E. L. Finch, William Lemon, J. H. Pierson, George Hulseple and Jackson Barton each took possession of 320 acres of the farms and became settlers under the American Government. At this time Marcel Bernier was a resident of Lewis County. Bernier was born at Spokane Fort in 1820 and was the first white child born in Washington. His parents were Canadian French, his father an employe of the Hudson's Bay Company. James Galloway, Lemuel Whittaker, James Morgan and J. B. Brouchard, Americans, took all the rest of the old farm with the exception of the 160-acre claim held by G. B. Roberts, lessee of the company.

John Decker settled in the Chehalis River Valley near the present City of Chehalis and then in the '60s came William West, remembered by all pioneers as the "Father of Chehalis." Mr. West has passed on to another life but he left an excellent account of early days in Lewis County from which is taken the following facts:

"J. D. Decker had been living on his claim for several years, which was a small prairie of about 200 acres, surrounded by heavy timbered land. He had a good comfortable frame house, a good orchard and large barns, and most of his land under cultivation. One of the barns had a threshing floor thirty feet square, on which he tramped out his grain with the horses, and winnowed out the chaff with a fanning mill. He also had a large canoe made out of a cedar log that would carry 125 bushels of wheat, with which he boated his wheat down the river to the mouth of the Skookumchuck to the old Borst blockhouse, and took it from there by wagon to Olympia, a distance by river and road of about forty miles.

"He came originally from Maryland, and had the courtesy and hospitality of

the southern planter. He gave us a hearty welcome to the best of everything and our worn-out team luxuriated in a good pasture free of charge. His nearest neighbor was John Alexander, who had located here two years previously upon his return from the Fraser River gold mines, and who, like Mr. Decker, lived the life of a bachelor bold and brave, with everything that his heart could crave.

"There were in this new country at this time far too many of these bachelor homes, plenty to eat and drink and wear, but cheerless. There was dearth of woman's smile and the merry prattle of childhood.

"Further up the river was the little Village of Claquato, at that time the county seat of Lewis County. There was a small building used for a courthouse, but no terms of the district court were held in it, as the regular terms of court were held in Olympia and the building was used only for the sessions of the county commissioners, who met once in three months, and the probate judge transacted what little business he had to do, which was very little indeed, as hardly anyone had lived here long enough to die of old age and there was not a doctor in the country.

"There was a general store and postoffice kept by J. T. Browning, and, by the way, Mr. Browning was a very useful man in the community. He would extract an aching molar gratis and furnish a glass of brandy to the patient as an anaesthetic and general tonic; was ever ready to render first aid in an accident, and on one occasion set a broken leg, and did a first-class job of it, and there was no bill to pay. A. F. Gordon was for many years the village blacksmith, but later retired to a farm. I am sorry to say that in the last few months both of these estimable gentlemen fell asleep and were laid to rest in the cemetery at Claquato, and just a few months ago another sturdy old pioneer, J. H. Fay, a friend and neighbor of theirs for many years, was placed beside them in the silent city of the dead.

"Thomas Pearson and J. D. Clinger were the village carpenter and wheel-right, and in addition held the offices of probate judge and justice of the peace. Mr. Elkanah Mills kept the hotel, stage station and ferryboat on which the daily stage running from Olympia to Monticello crossed the Chehalis River with the mail and passengers. This daily stage coach was started about 1861 or 1862 by Henry Winsor and Rice Tilly of Olympia, who later sold out to Charley Granger of Olympia and A. L. Davis of Claquato. The last owner of the stage line was Mr. Coggins of Olympia, who was captured, tortured and killed by a band of Indians in one of their outbreaks in 1877. This stage was the only means of travel for the general public, until the building of the Northern Pacific from Kalama to Tacoma in 1872 and carried many eminent men of national fame, such as Generals Grant, Sherman and Sheridan, and territorial governors and judges, and other national officials sent out from Washington City. The pioneer bishops of the church used it as a means of visiting their scattered flocks and often had to put their shoulders to the wheel when mired, in some deep mudhole caused by the heavy rains of winter. This coach had only eighty miles for the day's run and was a slow affair compared with the stage from Canyon City to The Dalles, which made 175 miles for the day's travel.

"The Davis family occupied a prominent position in Claquato at that time, owning about 1,000 acres of land, and also running a flouring mill and saw-mill. The flouring mill was a great convenience to the neighboring farmers,



CHEHALIS AVENUE, CHEHALIS



MARKET STREET, CHEHALIS

it saving them many a long trip to Olympia through the deep mud during the short rainy days of winter. The sawmill was of more limited capacity, its best work being 1,200 feet daily. It was operated by one man. These mills were of general utility to the public and were evidence of the energy of the early pioneers.

"Another small building in the village was used for a schoolhouse during the week, and for religious services on Sunday, whenever an itinerant minister or missionary could be found to occupy the pulpit.

"This was the county seat of Lewis County in 1864 and had a population of forty or fifty people.

"Further up the river on the north side were the Goff brothers (bachelors) on a good donation claim, and the families of A. F. Tullis, J. H. Fay and the Purcells, and James Mallis (bachelor). Over the hill on the Boistfort prairie, were the Hogues, Roundtrees, Buchanans, Whites, Stillmans and Newlands. Nearly all of these located on Boistfort prairie in the early '30s and had donation land claims of 320 acres for single persons and 640 acres for man and wife. T. W. Newland located here in 1852 or 1853, and was the first county superintendent of schools, and Mrs. Newland was the first school teacher in the county.

"There were also a few settlers on the south side of the river—Burbee, Eastman, Chapman, Gates, Foster and Lemon—and away up the river close to where Pe Ell is now located, was the Mauermann family, entirely isolated, without any way of getting in or out except by a narrow pack trail.

"The Chehalis district was then known as Saunders' bottom, where the Saunders family held a donation land claim, and Judge O. B. McFadden owned some 800 or 900 acres of land in the valley, but his judicial work kept him in Olympia the greater part of his time, where he died about 1875 or 1876. Judge McFadden was sent out to this territory in 1853 by James Buchanan, then secretary of State and later president, to fill the position of justice of the supreme court, and in 1858 was appointed chief justice, and served in that capacity until 1861, when, owing to the change of national administration, a successor was appointed. He then practiced law until 1872, when he was elected territorial delegate to Congress and spent most of the next two years in Washington City. During his residence in this territory he was the active leader of the democratic party, was energetic and influential in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the territory, and in 1863 raised by subscription in the City of Olympia \$1,000 for the improvement of the road through Saunder's bottom, which was highly necessary, as nearly all of the produce of Lewis County had to be hauled that way. So with the money a new and shorter road was cut out through the forest and most of it was corduroyed and places were made passable where previously the wagons would sink to the axles in the mud. So our present road builders can see that good roads was an important question more than fifty years ago.

"The judge was a man of many parts, an able lawyer and jurist, a good farmer, resourceful pioneer, genial in society, and a born leader. His country residence is yet standing in the southern part of the City of Chehalis, and is to the best of my knowledge the oldest inhabited house in the county. (Mr. West refers to the residence now owned by D. H. Dowry, and shown on page 6 of this publication, the second residence from the top in the left hand row.) To the north was George Washington, a colored man from Missouri and the founder

of the City of Centralia; Joseph Borst, on whose land stands the old blockhouse erected in 1855 in the time of the Indian war to furnish protection to the scattered settlers; George Waunch, James Tullis John Shelton, the Ward and the Brown families, and J. K. Lum, Mr. Ferdinand and Mr. Chable who kept the ferry close by the old blockhouse. These were about all the settlers to the north in Lewis County.

"South of Chehalis were the Phillips brothers; Mr. James Phillips, yet hale and hearty in his ninetieth year; T. R. Winston, Charles Bishop, the Yates', Dillenbaugh, Garrison and Hendricks families. On Newaukum prairie were the Moores and the Berniers; farther south on Highland prairie was John R. Jackson, a native of Yorkshire, England, who crossed the plains from Missouri in 1844 to Oregon and located here in 1845. He was the first sheriff of Lewis County, assessor and collector of taxes; he made a practice of assessing and collecting the taxes at the same time. He had no deputy. There was no bank in which to deposit the funds—a sharp contrast to our present method. In 1846 he made a report of the amount of crops grown in the two counties of Lewis and Clarke—1,800 bushels wheat, 9,200 bushel oats, 4,475 bushels peas, and 5,760 bushels of potatoes, nearly all of which was grown on the Hudson Bay Company farms at Vancouver and the Cowlitz. At that time the two counties of Lewis and Clarke included the whole of the present State of Washington. The first term of court ever held in Lewis County was held at the Jackson home and the old log building is still standing, although in a dilapidated condition. His house was located on the old Hudson Bay trail, which was at that time the only route of travel through the country, and became a regular stopping place for travelers. John R. Jackson was a most genial host, and it was the delight of the weary, hungry travelers to partake of the bounties of Mrs. Jackson's table, whose reputation as cook and hostess was known all along the coast and even spoken of in Washington City. About two miles west of Jacksons' were the Urquharts and MacDonalds, energetic, thirfty Scotchmen, who had good homes and well-improved farms, both of them large families, who are now taking an active part in the business life of the community. Mr. Urquhart, Sr., in his lifetime filled several prominent positions, especially in the territorial Legislature.

"South from John R. Jackson's was the Cowlitz prairie, a fine open piece of country some six or seven miles long and two or three miles wide, on which was a Catholic church and a girls' school, kept by the Sisters of St. Dominic. The settlers living here in 1864 were the Plomondons, Chappelliers, Pinto, Henriots, Sareautl, Cottonaire, Bouchard and L. L. Dubeau. The latter was quite influential among the French population and filled several public offices in the county and was in turn sheriff and county commissioner. The American settlers were the two Howes, the two Spencers, Russell and Javan Hall. Javan Hail was a leader in the political life of Lewis County. He was for many years regularly elected sheriff and could be depended on to get any desperate character that defied law and order, and some very interesting anecdotes have been told of his strategy, daring and success in capturing an offender that was needed in court. He was a great friend to those for whom he formed a friendship. I know that soon after I came to the country he offered to loan me money without any security and take my own time for payment, wanting me to use the money to clear by-land, and so get a farm opened up at once instead of the slow, laborious task of doing it all

alone, but having a thorough dislike of incurring debt, I thanked him and declined the offer.

"The settlers on Grand prairie were Mr. Champ, Mr. Pike, Captain Drew and W. B. Gosnell. Mr. Gosnell was quite prominent in his vicinity and served the county as county commissioner and as representative in the Legislature.

"I have given most of the names of the settlers who were here in 1864 with, a few exceptions whose names have slipped my memory, but I can yet recollect the places where they lived and with all of whom I became personally acquainted. Nearly every house was free and open to the traveler; the latch string hung outside; strangers were made welcome; board and bed for the night was without money and without price, the only drawback being the scarcity of housekeepers. Women were a minus quantity and bachelors were everywhere in evidence.

"This string of settlements was mostly on the line of the old Hudson Bay trail from the lower Cowlitz to the Nisqually, except the Boistfort settlement which was on the Indian trail to the Willapa. Nearly all the rest of the county was an uninhabited wilderness, excepting a few scattered bands of Indians of the Cowlitz and Chehalis tribes, who subsisted mostly by hunting and fishing, but who were partly civilized by the Hudson Bay Company who employed them as trappers and laborers on their farms.

"There were in Lewis County at this time five election precincts and five school districts. The election precincts were Boisfort, Claquato, Skookumchuck, Newaukum and Cowlitz. The school districts were Boistfort, Claquato, Saunders' bottom, Newaukum and Cowlitz. Saunders' bottom at that time had no school-house, and did not build one until 1876, but school was held in a deserted log cabin on the land now owned by Robert Getz. The school was supported nearly altogether by public subscription, as only a four-mill tax could be levied and there was very little property to tax, and a three-months' term of school was all that could be taught during the year.

"I remember an incident that occurred in 1862. A teacher just out from the eastern states had been employed to teach the school. One day as he was going out to the porch for some wood for the stove, an animal which he supposed was a big yellow dog was lying just outside the door. It rose up and snarled at him, whereupon the teacher swung the axe and split the animal's head open. The pupils hearing the noise, ran outside, exclaiming, "You have killed a cougar." The affair unnerved the teacher so much that he dismissed school for the day. This log cabin was a few years later disused and a better one furnished on Judge McFadden's land, and was used until the courthouse was built, when the upper room of its was used as a schoolhouse. It was built in 1876.

"I have given the names of a great majority of the men, heads of families, residing in Lewis County on my arrival in 1864, and of several who were bachelors, but who had settled homes and vocations. I also have mentioned several who took active part in the public life of the county and some of them had been active and zealous in its defense, during the Indian wars of 1855 and 1856, having gone into organized companies, furnishing their own horses, arms and equipment, and who were never paid anything at all by the national Government for their services. A few received some meager compensation, but most of them were dead before anything was ever done for them in the way of compensation for their losses and sacrifices.

"I can yet remember five of them who lived in this immediate vicinity: William Packwood, Mr. Remley, Charles Bishop, S. A. Phillips and James T. Phillips. Mr. Bishop and S. A. Phillips did receive some compensation a few years before their death, and J. T. Phillips has been allowed a small pension, which he is now enjoying, in his ninetieth year, with every prospect of rounding out and passing the century mark.

"Horace Howe of the Cowlitz prairie was another sturdy old pioneer, who took an active interest in public affairs. He located on the lands of the Hudson Bay Company farms before the award had been paid by the Government, and when notified to leave by a certain time, or take the consequences, he told them to come at any time, as his rifle was in good order, and that the sights on it were properly adjusted. His early life had been spent as a flat-boat man on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, before the days of steamboats, and in times when every man depended on his native courage and strong right arm, as ample protection in all emergencies. In 1863 some of the Hudson Bay Company's barns at the Cowlitz farms had been burned. The newspaper in Olympia had censured Mr. Howe as having taken a part in causing incendiary fires. Mr. Howe, on hearing of the accusation, at once went to Olympia and in an altercation with the editor, Mr. Kendall, during which he used his horsewhip, was shot down by Mr. Kendall, but recovered.

"Mr. Howe served the county in public capacities and was county commissioner for several terms, had a quick ready wit and resolute will. I remember the following incident of his quick repartee: Mr. Howe, Mr. Fay and Mr. Ingalls were the county commissioners, and I was county clerk and auditor. Mr. Howe was at that time seventy-five and Mr. Fay about forty-five. One morning we were standing on the porch outside the courthouse. Mr. Fay turned to Mr. Howe, saying, 'How old are you, Mr. Howe?' Mr. Howe replied, 'Seventy-five.' Mr. Fay remarked, 'Well, I wish that I may be as good a man as you are when I get to be your age.' The reply from Mr. Howe came sharp and quickly: 'Well, if you are you will have to improve wonderfully.'

"Mr. Howe had read law and often took cases before the justices of the peace, and often won his cases against regular practicing lawyers. He was a ready speaker, and could see as far into a legal millstone or knotty question of law as most of the trained lawyers.

"On one occasion he was defending a client before a local justice, and the plaintiff's attorney had come from the capital city and had brought with him a bulky assortment of law books, from which he read a number of extracts to prove his side of the case, claiming that they were precedents of the old English common law, when he was interrupted by Mr. Howe, who appealed to the court, saying that this country was not now under English law, that we had fought against English laws, that we had suffered, bled and died fighting against English laws, and had won out, and asked that no more of the English common law be read in court. Whereupon the justice at once ordered the plaintiff's attorney to close his books, telling him that he had been trying for an hour to befuddle the mind of the court, by reading decisions of law emanating from a foreign jurisdiction, and that he would hear no more of them, and the case was according decided in favor of the defendant.

"Mr. William Packwood was also quite prominent in the early history of the



COWLITZ PRAIRIE—HISTORIC GROUND



VIEW OF WINLOCK

county; was a volunteer in the Indian war of 1855 and 1856, and spent the later years of his life prospecting the Cascade Mountains, and made some valuable discoveries of both bituminous and anthracite coal, but did not live long enough to reap any material benefit from them.

"Mr. A. F. Tullus was also a substantial farmer and man of business. He owned one of the best farms in the county and dealt largely in cattle, sheep and pigs, selling them in the Victoria market. He held various county offices.

"Joseph Borst was also a successful farmer and dealer in live stock, and at this time there were no factories or industries of any kind in the county outside of farming.

"The first brick made in Lewis County was by Mr. Dan House, on the Davis donation claim at Claquato, some time in the '50s. It was used only for building fireplaces and chimneys, so that one kiln of brick would last for several years, and was a great improvement on the old style of brick and mud chimneys formerly in use and also much safer from fire.

"Mr. D. Motter was also a greatly respected pioneer and took part in public affairs, but was not always successful in his political ventures, as he belonged to the minority party. On one occasion he was nominated for county representative in the territorial Legislature and lost the election. Coming to Chehalis a week or so after the election some members of the successful party undertook to 'guy' him on his defeat, and asked him how he liked to be beaten. 'Well,' he said, 'It makes me feel very much as Lazarus did when he was lying at the rich man's gate.' 'Well, how was that?' was the inquiry. 'Oh,' he replied, 'licked by the dogs,' and of course that answer ended the conversation.

"After looking around awhile I found a man wanting to leave the country who had taken a homestead, put up a small house and barn, and slashed two or three acres of land, so I bought his right to the land, paying him therefor \$150, and took it as a homestead, moved onto it in December, 1864, and worked on it through the winter to get the land which had been slashed cleared up and ready for a crop in the spring.

"During the winter and early spring I kept at work clearing the land, got in a good vegetable garden and about four acres in wheat, oats, peas and potatoes. I borrowed a plow and harrow to put in the crop, got three or four pigs and some poultry, so that we had plenty of eggs, milk and butter, and soon had a fat pig and made our own bacon. I secured my harvest in good condition, housing it in the barn, and during the winter season tramped out the grain on the threshing floor with the mules. Meanwhile during the summer I had slashed five or six acres more land, and got a good burn on it, and was clearing it up for a crop the next season, but that winter came a very high flood and got into the crop stored in the barn and ruined more than half of it, which taught me to in future keep my crops above high water.

"By the following spring I had several acres more ready for cultivation, and had to have a plow, so I loaded a little wheat, some eggs and the bacon from two pigs, and took them to Olympia for sale or barter. There was only one plow in the town for sale and the merchant would not take my bacon in pay for it, only wanting the hams, which were not enough. In looking about the town I stated my case to Captain Percival, who kept a store, and he offered to take my eggs, bacon and other produce and get me the plow, and would also pay cash for my extra produce over and above the amount of my purchases,

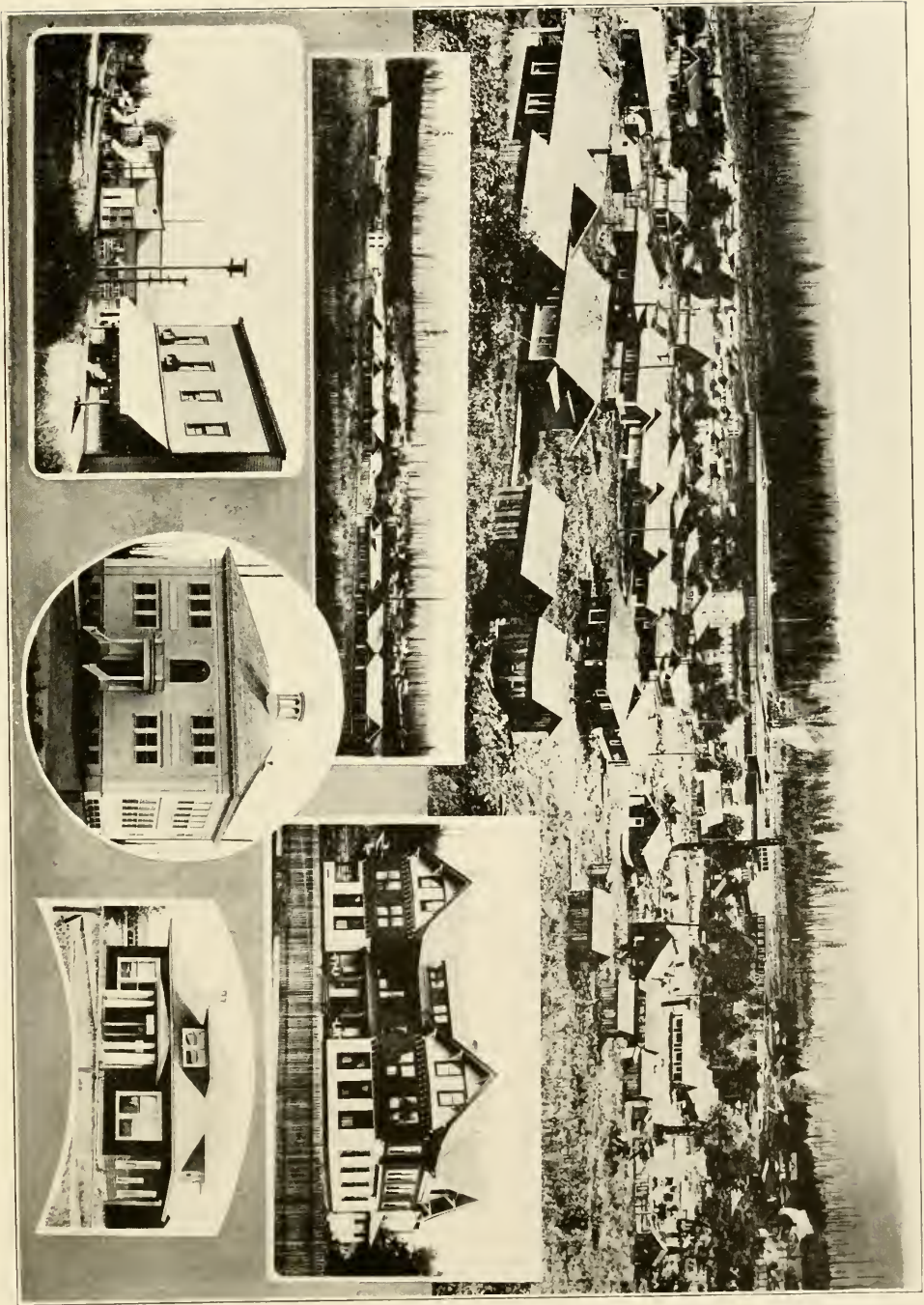
so I got the much needed plow, and Captain Percival gained a customer who dealt with him as long as he lived.

"My hard times were now getting somewhat easier. I got my crop in all right and harvested in good condition, and during that summer was able to hire a little help on the farm, clearing more land and got ten acres of land slashed and cleared ready for a crop the following spring, sowed my older land to oats, peas and other crops, and put the whole of the ten acres of the newly cleared land into wheat and harvested from that ten acres 650 bushels of wheat, and had about as many bushels of oats and peas besides hay and potatoes from my other land. Meanwhile I had acquired a few head of cattle, some sheep and a good lot of Berkshire pigs, and as I thoroughly understood how to make good bacon, having worked four winters in a packing house in Illinois, and it had gained a good reputation in the Olympia market, I was now in my own estimation rich, although I could not have sold out for very much. Yet it had been an herculean work cutting down the giant forest trees, some of them four to eight feet in diameter, and 200 to 300 feet long. They all had to be burned then, and the immense stumps had to be taken out by hand, as stump pullers and dynamite were unknown at that time.

"In the year 1866 or 1867 I was summoned as a grand juror to attend the March term of the district court in Olympia and I was in a quandary about what to wear. Like most of the fashionable ladies, I was out of clothes suitable for the occasion; in fact, I had not a suit of any kind, just duck overalls and jumpers, and plaid flannel shirts. Mrs. West and I talked the matter over by the fireside and the result was that we went to the store and bought some grey woolen cloth, took it home, then ripped up an old suit that I had brought across the plains, and used it for a pattern to cut the new suit by, and together we made it up. It was just the thing, fitted all right—like a duck's foot in the mud. So on the first Sunday in March I walked through the mud thirty-six miles to Olympia, sat down on a log in the woods at noon and ate a cold lunch, got a hot supper in Olympia and went to church that evening, which was quite a treat, as church services were few and far between at that time in this vicinity. I reported at the courthouse for duty on Monday morning. Nearly every one of the sixteen grand jurors were farmers like myself; wore cowskin boots coming just below the knee, slouch hats and plaid flannel shirts, but there was one man, Mr. Harned, with city ways and breeding, a well-to-do builder and contractor of Olympia. He was adorned in a suit of black, a starched shirt with cuffs and collar of immaculate whiteness, polished shoes, silk hat, etc., and as we farmers admired a good figure-head, we at once nominated and unanimously elected him as our foreman. He graciously accepted, and ruled us through the session, which lasted during the week. The following Sunday I walked home.

"I could relate a lot more personal experiences, for instance, the trouble that I had to make the lasts on which I made shoes for the children, and how I carded the wool into rolls, which the wife and mother spun into yarn for their stockings and knitted gloves, making candles and soap, and in attempts at making cheese, etc., as it is in the special province of the pioneer to be able to meet all emergencies, to think quickly, act promptly, and wrench a living from the closed hand of nature.

"In 1866 Mr. J. T. Browning, our enterprising storekeeper and general



MCCLEARY, WHERE IS OPERATED THE LARGEST SASH AND DOOR FACTORY IN THE WORLD

merchant at Claquato, decided to build a small steamer of about forty tons to carry the grain to market and bring in his merchandise which was brought by sea from San Francisco to Olympia, and from there hauled out by wagon to Claquato. So Mr. Browning engaged Courtland Ethridge, a boat builder in Olympia, to come to Claquato and build the boat, which during the building was an object of interest to the community, and in due time was completed. The day of launching was a gala day for the whole neighborhood. The traditional bottle of wine was broken over her bow and she was christened the "Carrie Davis." The boat made her runs down the Chehalis to the mouth of Black River and then up that river to the Shotwell Landing, where the cargo had to be hauled ten miles into Olympia. This was quite a help, as teams could take a good load from there and make the round trip in a day. Mr. Miller was the captain and Mr. Ethridge the engineer. They were very obliging and would run into the river bank at any time to pick up a passenger and give him a ride free of charge.

"I took a contract to furnish the boat with a lot of ash and maple wood for fuel, cutting, hauling and cording it on the river bank for 50 cents a cord, for which a man now would ask \$4.00, I got the wood off the land, getting in return my tea, coffee, sugar and such things for my work, and got about as well paid for my wood and work as did the owner of the boat, for he had quite a great deal of trouble and expense to keep the river open and free from drifts and log jams which constantly obstructed the running of the boat. In fact, the building of the boat was a step in advance of the times, and after a run of two or three years of unprofitable business the boat run was abandoned, the craft sold and, I think, taken over to the Sound.

"But this was not the only venture of the kind. The Goff brothers of Claquato determined to build a larger boat and open up trade with Grays Harbor at the mouth of the river, where there were one or two sawmills, but at that time no cities as at present. Small coasting steamers took away the product of the mills to San Francisco. So John, the younger brother, went to Olympia and there built his boat, close by Captain Crosby's mill at the head of Budd's Inlet. During the building of the boat I was hauling wheat into Olympia and on each trip would see Mr. Goff at work on the boat, would have a friendly chat with him, note the progress of the work and give him news from home.

"The boat was built especially for the river traffic, was flat-bottomed, drawing eighteen inches of water, was of ninety-six tons measurement, and a stern wheeler. When the boat was launched and the machinery in place, Captain Crosby gave Mr. Goff a few lessons in steering and boxing the compass, but the hardest thing that confronted Mr. Goff was passing the examination and getting a captain's license. He got a party of friends on board, started for Port Townsend and called at the custom house and invited the chief officer on board, gave an evening banquet, with plenty of liquid refreshments, which touched a responsive chord in the heart (or stomach) of the guest of honor, and in the wee sma' hours of the morning he was duly licensed captain, the commission duly signed, attested and delivered. That day Mr. Goff started out through the Straits of Fuca for the Pacific Ocean and put into Neah Bay for the night, resuming the journey the next morning for the open ocean, without a chart, or even a life preserver on board. The sea was calm, but a dense fog shut out all

view of the land or sea, and when it lifted they found themselves abreast of the lighthouse north of the Columbia River, so the boat was put about and found the harbor all right, crossed the bar in safety, getting into port that evening—a feat of reckless daring, an exploit worthy of the vikings of the north. They found considerable trouble in navigating the river, owing to the swift and shallow rapids, but the captain proved himself equal to the emergency, for in the shallow places where the boat scraped on the gravel, he would then turn the boat and go stern first, for in that way instead of the wheel taking the water from under the boat, it threw the water under it, giving the craft several more inches in which to float. However, there was not population enough or business on the route to pay expenses, so this venture like the other one, was unremunerative, and in three or four years the boat was sold to go on the Sound. The new owners offered Captain Goff \$500 to deliver the boat at Port Townsend, which he promptly declined. He went to Portland on a vacation, saying that a trip on the ocean in a flat-bottomed boat, drawing only eighteen inches, was too risky a thing for him to repeat, since he had once learned the dangers.

“The preceding experiments in providing transportation facilities for the county, although partial failures, showed the enterprise and resourcefulness of the pioneers in trying to overcome the natural obstacles of the long distance to market, over roads almost impassable, for under existing conditions it cost more to haul a crop to market than it did to produce it, and the only alternative was to feed out the grain and hay on the farm to cattle and hogs and drive them to market.

“The first business enterprise started in Chehalis was the West & Dobson packing house, in 1878, and came about in a curious way. The farmers in the valley were not satisfied with the price paid for their fat hogs, which were bought altogether by Victoria packers, so a meeting of the farmers was called and after a full discussion of the matter the growers agreed not to sell under a certain price. When the agents of the Victoria packers came to buy they encountered an apparently united front, each asking the same price, which they refused to pay. But after a time one of the largest farmers broke ranks and sold, and others followed suit, with the result that our combine was broken. As Dobson and myself had been at the head of the organization, the Victoria packers refused to buy our fat hogs at any price, thinking by that means to punish us for our temerity in setting a price on our own products (a practice not yet obsolete), but they had reckoned without their hosts. The two of us talked the matter over and as each of us had 100 good fat pigs, decided to pack them ourselves, as I had worked four seasons in a packing house in Illinois and fully understood the work. So we fitted up a slaughter house on the farm, rented the old Chehalis warehouse, made an addition to it and started business. But we did not stop there. As we had to fit up to pack 200 head we thought that we might as well pack 1,000. But it took cash to buy fat hogs and we did not have much, so made arrangements to borrow money, for which we had to pay 1½ per cent interest per month, which was 18 per cent per annum. But we started business, packing our own pigs and got a fair share of the others and found a good market for our meat.

“The next business enterprise to be located in Chehalis was the flouring mill, built by Messrs. Roudebush and Botham, and was for several years of great



ELKS CLUB HOUSE: GENERAL HOSPITAL: THEATER: CARNEGIE LIBRARY,
HOQUIAM



SCENE IN HOQUIAM

benefit to the farmers giving them a home market for their wheat and furnishing them flour at current rates, or in lieu thereof would grind the farmers' wheat for toll.

"About the same time, or perhaps a little later, a sawmill was built by Wadhams and Elliott of Portland, which had a capacity of 35,000 feet daily and furnished employment to quite a number of men both in the mill and in the woods getting out logs. The logs were floated down the river to the mill and the enterprise gave our little village a chance to get out of the mud in winter by furnishing cheap lumber for sidewalks.

"During the autumn of 1883 meetings were held in Chehalis for the purpose of incorporating the village and committees were appointed to draw up articles of incorporation, and petition the Legislature. The articles of incorporation were drawn by J. E. Willis and adopted by the Territorial Legislature, and the first meeting of the town council was held December 21, 1883, with A. F. Tullus, mayor, J. E. Willis, city clerk, U. E. Harmon, city attorney, and T. L. Holloway, M. D. Roudebush, John Scott, H. J. Brooks and W. H. Long, councilmen. Mr. Tullus was afterwards elected mayor to succeed himself.

"In the summer of 1883 Messrs. Mayfield and Tozier started the publication of the Nugget and issued its first number in August, the first copy that was run through the press bringing \$1.50 at public auction. A. L. Davis was the buyer. In June, 1884, J. E. Willis became the owner of the paper, which afterwards changed ownership several times. The Bee was founded in June, 1884, by W. W. Francis and G. M. Bull, the first issue appearing June 6, 1884. In November, 1898, Dan W. Bush consolidated the Bee and the Nugget, and the paper has since been known as the Bee-Nugget, certainly an appropriate name—busy as a bee, rich like a nugget—a good combination.

"In 1884 a bank was started by Messrs. Coffman and Allen. A few years later other parties were taken into the firm and organized a national bank, later changing into a company, or state bank, under the name of Coffman, Dobson & Company. It was the first bank organized in Southwest Washington; has always been reliable, conservative and prosperous, and has enjoyed the confidence of a large number of patrons. It has by successful management paid large dividends and accumulated several times over the original amount of its capital stock in its reserve and undivided profits, and today occupies a prominent position in the financial circles of Lewis County.

"In 1884 a movement was started to build churches as a result of the labors of the Rev. J. B. Brouillette of the Presbyterian Board of Missions, and the Rev. R. D. Nevius, D. D., of the Episcopal Church, both having done faithful missionary work here and at Claquato for the year previous. The result was the organization of a small congregation by each of the clergymen and the following summer buildings were commenced and opened for worship that autumn. Other churches followed in the next few years, in about the order mentioned: Methodist, Baptist, Catholic, Christian, Lutheran—all of them doing their work, each in its own special way, for betterment of humanity, and the spread of the gospel of peace on earth, good will to men. These things were done, but the departed ones were not forgotten. In 1885 the Chehalis Cemetery Association was formed, articles of incorporation were adopted, and land bought and

laid off into family plots and sold. I find that the articles of incorporation were filed May 23, 1885.

"After the completion of the Northern Pacific it became an easy matter for settlers to get here from the eastern states, taking them a less number of days travel by rail than it had done in as many months by the old-time prairie schooner. Chehalis kept up a steady growth, good stores were built supplied with ample stocks of goods, business and professional men located here, but the roads were yet in a most unsatisfactory condition. Some of the worst places had been corduroyed, but were objectionable. As it was too rough for speedy travel a great many road meetings were held and ways and means discussed. A strong feeling in favor of plank roads was created, eloquent speeches were made by the leading men of that time for plank roads, as the only road good for rapid travel and heavy hauling, and everybody except a few who were really not up-to-date voted for plank roads. I remember hearing one eloquent speaker (who, by the way, had never built or even mended a foot of road in his life) tell his opponent that he was altogether out of date and fifty years behind the times. Well, the plank roads were built, miles and miles of them, the city streets were covered with them, even the street in front of the capital building in Olympia boasted of its fine plank street, and country roads followed the fashion. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent for plank roads. Driving over them for the first few months was delightful, but they did not last long; they rotted on the under side and wore away by the travel on the upper side; the rot and the wear soon met and the plank was gone. The worn-out plank soon became worse than the old corduroy roads, and if a man today was to expend the road taxes for a plank road he most likely would be tried before a lunacy commission and sent to Steilacoom.

"I will close these recollections with the mention of two or three incidents in the growth of Chehalis. In 1890 the Northern Pacific built the South Bend branch, making their connection with the main line at this point, and asked the citizens of Chehalis for a grant of land on which to erect a roundhouse and other buildings necessary for a division point, and to show their good intentions brought here a turntable as part of their equipment. A meeting was held, a sum of about two thousand dollars was raised and the land purchased for the railroad company. When this transaction was finished and the deed for the land delivered, the turntable (which had never been unloaded from the car) was taken away and that was the last of the division point, and the company kept the land.

"The Chehalis Land & Timber Company was organized in 1890 and bought a large tract of land, platted it into town lots and thus furnished plenty of room for the town to expand. In 1892 a most disastrous fire swept out most of the business portion of the town, which was eventually rebuilt with better buildings, and the necessity for better fire fighting apparatus was demonstrated. In 1888 or 1889 the Citizens' Club was organized as an aid to civic progress and has taken its part in public affairs. Electric lighting, street paving, city hall, public library and city water plant have all been added as the years passed, besides a number of manufacturing industries, and it has proved to be strenuous work to build a town out of a wilderness and furnish it with all the modern improvements in one generation."



THE MARTIN LUMBER COMPANY'S PLANT, CENTRALIA
Said to have been the first sawmill built in Lewis county



THE OLD BLOCKHOUSE AT CENTRALIA
This interesting structure is to be removed from the Borst ranch to the Centralia City Park

In 1873 General Sprague then superintendent of the Northern Pacific, planned to build a town where Chehalis now stands. Mrs. Eliza Barrett owned some of the land which Sprague wanted but as he was unable to obtain it he gave up the plan and laid out the Town of Newaukum, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south, on a section of land owned by the railway company. A station was built, water tank and side track constructed and lots offered for sale. The same year a postoffice was established, Taylor Rue being appointed postmaster. Rue was one of Washington's early pioneers, he having settled at Monticello and later moving to Newaukum. His daughter, Annie Rue, married H. C. Shorey who, with Lute Davis, later erected a building and opened a small store at the new town. Shorey was elected sheriff of Lewis County.

Claquato at this time was the county seat and the settlers started a petition to remove the county offices to a point where the Newaukum and Chehalis rivers joined. The N. P. offered a free site at its new town and agreed to erect a \$4,000 courthouse, but the people refused to consider this and decided to put the county seat where the City of Chehalis has been built. The valley settlers objected to Newaukum because they had to climb over a hill lying between the town and the valley. The Newaukum postoffice was discontinued January 1, 1907, the people being served by Rural Route No. 1 out of Chehalis.

George Washington and a man named Cochran were the first settlers on the site of Centralia. They came overland from the East to Portland; turned northward into Washington Territory; crossed the Cowlitz and in the valley at Centralia decided to take up donation claims and make homes for themselves and their families. In a recent article by Thomas H. Dunckley the following interesting facts regarding Centralia are given:

"The natural conjunction of trails in what may be termed George Washington's back yard naturally made his home a stopping and resting place for settlers going to market—a place to spend the night—and Washington doubtless thought that there was an opportunity for a third trading place, midway between Portland and Olympia, that would save settlers from the rich lands of Lewis County and from the equally rich lands of the Willapa and Chehalis valleys and from the Grays Harbor country many a weary mile of march. George Washington knew very little about surveying and still less about civil engineering, but he knew that a town must have streets and alleys, and that the land must be sub-divided into lots and building sites of equal size. Armed with a yard stick and stakes and a piece of chalk he 'surveyed' the Town of Centerville, and had the plat of the new town recorded in the office of the auditor of Lewis County. The crudity of the 'survey' is in evidence today in the erratic twists and turns that some of the streets take.

"Meanwhile the Northern Pacific had completed its line from Portland to Seattle, and George Washington's town became a community of no little importance. He sold lots, stores were erected and merchants brought in stocks of merchandise and catered to the wants of the settlers from the surrounding country, and of the residents who flocked to the new Town of Centerville in the expectation of partaking of the opportunities that the new community offered.

"Centerville became Centralia. The new name was equally significant as was the old one, and just a little more euphonious. Washington's dream of a central trading point had become a reality.

"There was a boom in the early '80s. Buildings sprang up like mushrooms; out of all proportion to the demand; land changed hands, and every change was based on enhanced speculative value; a street railroad was built, the motive power being a steam locomotive that had to be turned around with a screw-jack at the terminus of the line on Main Street, and again at the terminus on North Tower Avenue. There was no valid excuse for a boom, and the inevitable happened. There was a collapse that brought ruin to many of the reckless real estate speculators, and that left others with town lots on their hands that had little or no value because there was no demand for them.

"Following the collapse of the 'boom' came the hard times of the early '90s. Centralia became a community inanimate. The business men played checkers, and the checker boards were moved from office to office, from store to store, as the occupants defaulted in their rents or left the town for more promising fields of enterprise. But fields of enterprise were scarce in those days, and many of those who had left Centralia in disgust returned in greater disgust at the towns and villages they had prospected. After all, Centralia was Centralia, and the very name implied success and prosperity.

"In 1900 the official census gave Centralia a population of 1,600, and it is safe to say that every man, woman and child was counted. Centralia boasted of a mayor and councilmen, a city marshal and a voluntary fire brigade. The council met in regular sessions and gravely discussed needed improvements and paid bills with warrants that drew interest but whose redemption was indefinitely deferred. The first improvement of any magnitude to be undertaken was the construction of a cinder bicycle path along the east side of Tower Avenue; and the debates waxed eloquent over the building of wooden crossings at the bisection of Tower Avenue and Main Street, Pine Street and Magnolia Street. Public traffic hardly warranted the construction of crossings further north along the avenue.

"The town gradually grew. Lumbering interests were developed that furnished a demand for labor. Empty houses became tenanted; new ones were erected to meet the growing demand for homes. Rents went up and land values increased; and those who had once left Centralia in disgust were glad they came back, and those who had stayed with the town through all the long days of depression began to reap the reward of their faith. As the town grew in wealth and population the municipal government was confronted with problems the solutions of which gave rise to violent discussions for and against each proposed innovation. The cows were banished from the public streets, a sewerage system was instituted. Tower Avenue was paved, the residence streets were graded, wooden sidewalks gave place to ones of concrete, frame buildings were torn down and ones of stone and brick were erected. Centralia became a city; and the census of 1910 recorded a population of nearly eight thousand; showing the highest percentage of growth of any community in the State of Washington."

JEFFERSON COUNTY

Jefferson County, named in honor of that great President, Thomas Jefferson, whose far-sightedness in providing for the Lewis and Clark expedition did so much toward saving Oregon, was organized December 22, 1852, while Wash-



AN EARLY VIEW IN CENTRALIA

ington was still a part of Oregon Territory. The first settlement was on Point Hudson on the north side of Port Townsend Bay. Alfred Plummer in 1850 took a claim upon which was later built the greater portion of Port Townsend's business district, and about the same time Henry C. Wilson, fresh from the experience gained in helping Capt. Lafayette Balch establish Steilacoom, arrived.

The next few years brought Loren B. Hastings, David Shelton, T. A. Ross, T. Tallantacre, Frances W. Pettygrove and others, all of whom took claims. Hastings and Pettygrove came from Portland, Ore., at that time a little ague-infested settlement with more mosquitoes than any other place on the Coast. Pettygrove had immigrated from Maine in the early '40s. September 30, 1846, a sailing ship arrived at Portland with news of the settlement of the boundary dispute. This welcome intelligence was brought by a man named Benjamin Stark, a stranger, but Frances Pettygrove was so pleased that he decided to name his new-born son Benjamin Stark Pettygrove. The family moved to Port Townsend, Benjamin Stark Pettygrove grew to manhood, played his part in the development of the city and died March 7, 1913, aged sixty-seven years, sixty-one of which were passed in Port Townsend. Stark remained in Portland and arose to prominence in Oregon affairs.

Port Townsend's early settlers lived in much the same manner as did those of other pioneer towns. Other settlers arrived and in 1853 the townsite was platted. During the Indian war the Indians became troublesome, and this led the Government to establish the Port Townsend military post. Except for a short time during the Civil war, the Government ever since has maintained military posts in the vicinity. Today the guns of Fort Worden and Fort Flagler from the mainland side and Fort Casey, just across the channel, guard the entrance of the upper Sound.

Port Townsend's location led its people to entertain great hopes of future success. The location there of the customs house and marine hospital gave the town an early day advantage and in the days of sailing ships there was good foundation for the belief that it would become an important shipping point. The development of the steamship, a vessel independent of fickle winds, and the building of railroads along the more accessible eastern shore of the Sound, took away from Port Townsend the reputation she once enjoyed of being the best known town in the territory.

Possessing vast timber resources, Jefferson County early attracted the lumberman to her borders and Port Ludlow, Port Hadlock and other places became important sawmill towns. The bog iron ore deposits and Irondale furnished their quota of interesting excitement and then came the development of the dairying industry in the Chimacum and Quilcene valleys. Farming and timber and railroad development promise much for the future.

In 1860 there arrived in Port Townsend a six-year-old boy who was to play an important part in Western Washington events of later years. This boy was Allen Wier, born in California, and the grandson of one of the first Missouri fur trappers who ever set foot in the valley of the Columbia River. The boy grew to manhood in Jefferson and Clallam counties, bought the Puget Sound Argus, Port Townsend, in 1874, and began a career of writing and speaking

which resulted in his election, in 1889, as Washington's first secretary of state. He died at his Olympia home, October 31, 1916.

In 1891 Wier delivered an address entitled "Roughing it on Puget Sound in the Early Sixties," before the annual meeting of the Washington Pioneer Association. As it contains many interesting facts regarding the period, especially relating to Jefferson and Clallam counties, told in a happy and illuminating way, much of it is given a place in this history:

"On the 29th day of May, 1860, the Weir family landed in Port Townsend from the steamer Panama, having made the trip from Los Angeles County, California, to San Francisco in the steamer Arizona, and from thence to Puget Sound via Portland, Ore., in the Panama. Father had come north in 1858, attracted by the Fraser River gold excitement, and had crossed to the American side from Victoria in company with Joseph A. Merrill, A. Colby and G. Collins.

"They purchased a whaleboat, and for a time killed deer on San Juan Island for the Victoria market. Being caught out in a gale in the Straits of Fuca on one occasion, and having to steer for the American shore, they landed at Dungeness, in Clallam County, and liked the appearance of the country so well that they concluded to settle there.

"Arriving at Port Townsend, we were quite sure we had found what Frank Henry has so aptly termed the 'end of the jumping-off place.' We put up at the old Pioneer Hotel, then run by Capt. H. L. Tibbals. It was not an aristocratic place, and would hardly have passed muster among the later and more fashionable resorts; but the grub was wholesome and plentiful, and the welcome of the people was hearty and spontaneous. Harry Tibbals, the present mayor of Port Townsend, was a curly-headed baby, the pride of his daddy, and I remember I concluded at once I could lick him without half trying. Its largest mercantile establishment was that of D. C. H. Rothschild, who called his place the Kentucky Store, and who furnished goods to the retail dealers of a little village called Seattle, where Henry L. Yesler and the Dennys and a few others were bravely trying to transform a logging camp into a town. Tacoma had not yet been thought of, and its present site was as wild and uninviting as any other part of this land in its primitive condition.

"'Baron' Rothschild shared the business of Port Townsend with L. B. Hastings, O. F. Gerrish, E. S. Fowler and F. W. James, who each had a store there. Bulkeley's jewelry store and the drug store afterwards purchased by Dr. N. D. Hill and about a dozen saloons made up pretty much all there was of the business part of town. Doctor O'Brien and Doctor McCurdy represented the medical profession, as did also Dr. L. DeB. Kuhn, now of Brooklyn, N. Y., who was the Government physician at Port Townsend. Charley Bartlett, who came in 1864 and opened a store, was looked upon as a very enterprising Yankee from Maine. Charley Eisenbise, who was clerking for E. S. Fowler in the Pioneer Bakery, and who afterwards bought it out and set up in business for himself, was a beardless young man of methodical habits who was looked upon as a right smart German chap who 'knowed how to git along in the world.' He is today perhaps the wealthiest man in Port Townsend.

"The Hastings, Pettygroves, Plummers, Clingers, Briggses, Fowlers, O'Briens and others had already been citizens long enough to be looked up to reverently as old settlers. The Indian war of 1856 had become a memory, with its harrowing



SCENE ON THE WATER FRONT, PORT TOWNSEND



WATER STREET, PORT TOWNSEND

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experiences. Victor Smith was soon after appointed collector of customs, and the exciting events attending the removal of the custom house to Port Angeles followed. The old steamer Beaver was still about the best that British Columbia could do in the steamboat line, while the Eliza Anderson was enjoying a monopoly of Puget Sound trade, and was earning the barrel of money with which her owner, Captain Finch, retired a few years afterward. Messrs. Bishop, Eldridge and Robinson were the only settlers in Chimacum Valley and were away out on the very ragged edge of civilization.

“Major Van Bokkelen was holding one of the half dozen Jefferson County offices, in which he took turns for several years. The newspaper field in Port Townsend had been invaded by Mr. Whitaker, father of Mrs. Al Bartlett, now of that city, and by Rev. John F. Damon, now of Seattle, and was subsequently occupied by Harry Sutton, and by Alfred B. Pettygrove, and by C. W. Philbrick, and afterwards for twelve years by the undersigned, and later by numerous ambitious ‘ink slingers’ who waded in for glory, profit, politics, fame, satisfaction, revenge, bread and butter and the various other rewards that sometimes follow in the wake of literary ventures. Judge Swan’s nimble pen had, in ‘sixty’ scratched like sixty to the edification of the public. Those were the days of the old Olympia Review, published by U. E. Hicks, followed by John Miller Murphy’s Standard, which still flourishes, and one or two other newspaper ventures north of the Columbia River. Dave Sires and Captain Selden were familiar figures on the Port Townsend ‘beach’ in those days. Ben Pettygrove was a lank ‘kid’ with a notion to play the fiddle. Port Townsend in those days had been something of a ‘tough’ itself. One of its peculiarities was afterwards described at a temperance meeting, where it was solemnly declared that in digging on the sand spit you could smell whisky for ten feet below the surface.

“Rev. J. F. Devore, a fine looking young Methodist presiding elder, had visited Port Townsend for the purpose of establishing a preaching point in that part of his district. The novelty of a real live Methodist preacher in town had aroused everybody’s curiosity. It was an unusual quiet Sabbath morning. For a wonder there had been no ‘man for breakfast’ for two or three days. Still there was a little ‘game’ going in the principal saloon. Not being able to meet the crowd anywhere else, Elder Devore walked in and became a spectator.

“Improving his opportunity while the cards were being shuffled, he introduced himself and expressed a desire to hold services in the county courthouse, a wooden shack then gracing Water Street, down near Clinger’s. John Quail, properly known as ‘Poker Jack,’ reached over and swept his coin and poker chips into his pocket with one hand and picked up the cards in the other, saying, ‘Come, boys.’ And the entire outfit adjourned to hear the new preacher. What is more, ‘Poker Jack’ took up a liberal collection at the close of the sermon.

“‘Poker Jack’ finally met his death from a knife wound, but he wasn’t taking up a collection in church when it happened. It was hardly base flattery to say that Port Townsend has come up several notches since. Such scenes as the shooting of Charlie Howard on Union Wharf by Harry Sutton, or the numerous shooting or cutting scrapes that used to occur, are no longer common.

“In 1860 Port Townsend boasted a population of about three hundred, and the Pettygrove and Hastings residences in the valley were away out in the country. The old Marine Hospital property, the Plummer residence, Doctor Mc-

Curdy's, Rothschild's, E. S. Fowler's and Judge Dennison's were the principal land marks on the hill.

"On the 5th of June, 1860, we went to Dungeness, the family having been conveyed hither in a whaleboat. We landed on Protection Island on our way down and ate lunch. Our family consisted of father, mother, John Weir and S. J. Weir and five children, the eldest, Marion, being a boy of thirteen years. Laura, Susan, Martha and the writer were the younger members. At the time there were but few white women in Clallam County. Those now called to mind were Mrs. Bell and Mrs. Clark, of Sequim; Mrs. Lotgesell, Mrs. Barrow, Mrs. Abernathy and Mrs. McAlmond, of Dungeness, and Mrs. Downie, Mrs. Martin and Mrs. McDonnell, who lived a few miles farther toward Port Angeles. At Port Angeles the Morses, Meaghers and Goodwins constituted about the entire population. Hezekiah Davis and wife, Alonzo Davis and family, and S. Walker and family settled at Dungeness a little later on.

"In 1860 there was a store kept by Van Valzah, on 'Whisky Flat,' as it was generally termed, near what is now the mouth of the Dungeness River. At the same place was also a stand for 'liquid refreshments,' kept by William Law. Among the settlers then in Clallam County I remember Elliott Cline, Thomas Abernathy, William King, Daniel Smally, George Gypson, Henry Blake, George Davidson, George Gerrish, H. W. McPherson, S. S. Irwin, G. H. Fitzgerald, J. McDonnell, J. J. Rogers, James Downey, J. J. Barrow, J. A. J. Shaw, John Allen, J. A. Merrill, J. Seibert, N. Shomar, J. C. Brown and others, all of whom have since gone to their long home.

"Among others remembered, who are yet alive, are: E. H. McAlmond, John Thornton, C. M. Bradshaw, D. F. Brownfield, F. Roberts, James Sherard, F. Crozier, H. Hoffman, John Bell, A. Vincent, John Donnell, W. Webster and a few others.

"Those were the days of primitive conditions. Our family settled in the river bottom, a mile from the water front, and there was no road nearer than a half mile of the little log cabin into which we moved. That cabin was about 12 by 26 feet in size. It had a split cedar door on wooden hinges and an old-fashioned latch with a buckskin string hanging out, to be pulled by a person desiring to enter. It had a fireplace and chimney of clay and sticks built outside at one end. There was no window to the house. A roof of clapboards completed the picture. There was no clearing. So dense was the forest that we lived there all summer without knowing the existence of a hill 100 yards from the house. Father's old muzzle-loading rifle kept the table supplied with wild meat. When we had 'jerked' elk meat, fresh venison, an occasional bear steak and potatoes or clams to match, we thought ourselves lucky. Boys and girls worked together planting 'spuds,' and style in clothing was a secondary consideration. Bangs and beaut-catcher curls were among the least worries of the women folks; though mother did have a switch occasionally—in her hand. It was worn mostly on the boys.

"When I got big enough to boss a gang of siwasches in potato-digging time, life was considered worth living. The Indians were quite numerous in those days. Now and then a big potlatch would bring many more from British Columbia or other points.

"Smallpox among them at one time created a scare among the whites. Lord Jim was one of the principal chiefs. He was saucy, cunning and utterly unscrupu-



TAYLOR STREET, PORT TOWNSEND



RESIDENCE SECTION, PORT TOWNSEND

lous. When George Davidson first arrived at Dungeness, Lord Jim undertook to make him pay two bits for a drink out of the Dungeness River. Davidson's foot came up rather suddenly and collided with Mr. Indian's chin, and the latter recovered consciousness an hour or two afterward. Lord Jim afterward started to take a white man to Port Discovery in a canoe, and when out several miles demanded extra pay. The white man refused. Mr. Jim jumped overboard and tried to capsize the canoe. The white man seized a paddle and brought it down on Mr. Injun's head so hard that Lord Jim sank to rise no more.

"John Allen went to Victoria in 1861, and while away his squaw wife at Dungeness was killed. On his return, blaming the Indians for the death of his squaw, Allen shot an Indian. The next day the Indians were arrayed in war paint on one side of the Dungeness River, and the white men of the settlement (a mere handful compared with the Indians) were gathered on the opposite bank prepared for the worst. Fortunately the affair was patched up without further bloodshed by John Allen paying the relatives of the dead Indian a sum of money.

"The Indians had fights among themselves occasionally. Once a band of Northern Indians (seventeen in number) camped on Graveyard Spit, at the mouth of Dungeness Harbor. During the night the Dungeness Indians crossed over and killed every one of the others except a squaw, and she was stabbed so that she had been left for dead. The attacking party lost their leader, Chief Sam.

"We had a few original characters about Dungeness. One of them, a lank Georgian, filled the 'offiss' of justice of the 'pees.' On one occasion he had 'sarved' a writ of replevin, or sent it to be 'sarved,' to get possession of some potatoes and some barley, but the party in interest had sneaked the property away in a canoe bound for Victoria, and got it beyond the jurisdiction of the court. The plaintiff went before his 'onner' to see what further relief he might secure. The court, however, dismissed the cause in the following eloquent language:

"'Mr. ———, you ain't got no case. Whar's your pertaters? Whar's your barley? The whole case is squashed.'

"On another occasion when the judge was called upon to perform a marriage ceremony in public, he was quite overcome by the dignity of the formal 'per-sedins,' and impressively closed his declaration in the following words: 'Now, tharfore, what me and Gad have jined together, let no man put asunder.'

"Dungeness was a place of genuine frontier hospitality. No one ever happened along meal time without being invited to partake of food: Good neighbors there were, and few quarrels. Not until the vigilante troubles that made the early '60s memorable in that section was there bad blood among the people who settled there. A few runaway hard characters from the British navy who formed a gang to themselves and became reckless through drink and debauchery, finally concluded that the country owed them a living, and they proceeded to appropriate said living by stealing.

"Hen roosts were robbed, pigs and sows disappeared, and finally matters were brought to a climax when a band of sheep were driven past my father's door in broad daylight and the thief was taken redhanded an hour or two later, where he had driven the sheep into a barn and killed one or two of them. My elder brother was one of the principal witnesses who saw the culprit standing over the slaughtered animals with a bloody butcher's knife in his hand.

"Jack Tucker was the man thus discovered. His 'claim' adjoined my father's. He was arrested and tried. In court his defense was that the blamed sheep were trying to bite him. He was finally found guilty and sentenced to thirty days in the county jail. There was no jail in the county, and the prisoner simply lived with the sheriff at the expense of the county for a month. After being released he was vindictive, and the gang became more reckless than ever in their depredations. Finally a vigilance committee consisting of thirty-four persons, was formed and three of the ringleaders of the desperadoes, Jack Tucker, Nick Adams and Tommy Gould by name, were escorted to the bounds of the county and warned never to return. Tucker returned, and his body was found on the Groveland farm, pierced by a rifle bullet. The others formed a party in Victoria and planned to cross over in the night, waylay and murder John Wier, E. H. McAlmond and James Sherard and then defy the neighborhood. Their plans failed, however, and they prosecuted a civil suit for damages at Port Townsend. They got money damages, but never came back to stay. Had they returned to remain there would have been damages of another sort, because the people were determined.

"Nick Adams came back, was caught and probably would have been dealt with summarily but for the fact that he succeeded in convincing the vigilantes that he merely desired to settle some business affairs. He was accorded an escort until this was effected and then bade farewell to the place. He kept a saloon in Victoria some years after until he died.

"Logging camps and sawmills constituted about all the industries on the Sound in the '60s. The men who worked in the camps were a peculiar product of the times—generous to a fault, usually kind-hearted, after a homely fashion, but merciless in guying a 'tenderfoot.' These men were from every state in the Union, from Canadian provinces, from England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, and most everywhere else—a cosmopolitan mixture; but a few short weeks of association together in the rough-and-tumble of that sort of life usually sufficed to beget a feeling of brotherhood. That is, brotherhood towards every 'feller who was not stuck up.' A newcomer, unused to the ways of camp life, would be spotted at once. If he escaped getting 'broke in' many weeks it would not be the fault of the boys. Wild steers and refractory oxen were 'broke in' to work in the woods by a discipline that was always sure to kill or cure. A similar process awaited the uninitiated stranger who essayed the work of a logger. His mettle was sure to be tried. If he proved ready for a fight, as occasion might offer, he would probably command respect in very short time. No good qualities, however commendable, could make up for the lack of physical courage. If he affected the airs of a dude or a fop, or failed to fall into the use of current slang vernacular and the off-hand free and easy style of the times, he was promptly treated as one foreign to the body politic and out of harmony with it. To 'take him down a peg' would be considered a patriotic duty and a privilege too pleasant to let slip. Most of the single young men then at work on Puget Sound were drifting about, working for wages and looking for a chance to 'make a stake.' Very few had any definite aim in life, and most everyone was expecting to return to home and friends some time or other. They were a hardy stock for the most part, men who had courage and enterprise to break away from early surroundings and launch out into the world in search of an opportunity to conquer fate.

No wonder that they laid the foundations of a mighty empire. The neighborhood 'shindig,' Fourth of July horse races and Sunday afternoon poker games constituted the main part of the diversions.

"The rancher in Clallam in the '60s who had an ox team was considered unusually fortunate and forehanded. John Thornton had a cart, and Elliott Cline an old wagon that had crossed the plains. These men were the aristocrats. Everybody else had to use clumsy sleds. When John Thornton and J. A. J. Shaw brought a span of horses from Oregon for farm work it was a neighborhood event, and was talked about for months. My father, who ran a blacksmith and wagon shop in the little clearing in the woods where our log cabin stood, built the first wagon ever made in the county. It was for George Gypson, who offered to pay for it in greenbacks when they were worth 40 cents on the dollar, whereupon father sold it to the Port Discovery Mill Company. Soon afterward Daniel F. Brownfield built a cart, the wheels of which were obtained by sawing off sections of a big tree about six feet in diameter. That cart was ironed and finished in my father's shop. It may still be seen as a relic on the farm of Hall Davis. Thus did the farmers gradually emancipate themselves from the days of sleds and ox teams.

"Victoria was the principal market in those days, and when a farmer got far enough along to be able to ship 500 or 1,000 bushels of potatoes he was considered a nabob. The freighting was done entirely in sailing vessels and canoes. Clams and fish supplemented other table supplies, and leather breeches and moccasins were more fashionable than at present. Roads were almost out of the question, except such as an unavoidable necessity for getting to and from salt water. Houses were mostly built of logs with clap-board roofs and clay fireplaces. When Captain McAlmond built one of real lumber throughout, actually lathed and plastered inside, with real boughten doors and a cornice around the roof, there was a general feeling that the county had taken a long stride toward the opulence and luxury of the old world. The captain was elected justice of the peace out of pure deference for his superior attainments.

"The Dungeness people enjoyed life, however, after a fashion. Carpets for their floors were entirely unknown, and only the upper ten could afford chairs with rawhide bottoms. The others had to worry along with the wooden benches and stools; and very little time was wasted, either, in vain regrets and longing for more luxuries. Each house had its big, open fireplace, in the largest living room, and that fire place, if it were of the regulation size, would accommodate a four-foot back-log. Against that back-log would be built a fire to correspond in size and heat with the severity of the weather. Long, winter evenings would be spent by the family in front of the fire. If there was a bearskin rug in front of the hearth for the smaller children to play upon they were contented. The older members of the household would play fox-and-geese, or read the newspapers, if there happened to be any. The men would load their pipes and perhaps spin yarns about the most remarkable of their 'Injun' fights on the plains, or maybe they would tell the wonder-eyed youngsters about 'ole Missouri,' or 'Kentuck,' or 'Eclynoy,' or they would speculate as to whether or not Abe Lincoln could 'lick them there southerners;' or, dropping into a reminiscent mood, would tell of 'corn huskins' with the boys and gals 'thirty years ago.' At this stage of the evening's entertainment mother might be seen to pause in her work and snuff

the tallow candle on the cedar table at her side, and maybe wipe her 'specs' as she recalled some pathetic or romantic incident of other days. We children used to suspect that she thought a great deal more than she expressed. Her evenings were mostly spent in sewing flour-sack patches on our pants, or sewing buttons for our 'galluses,' or knitting or darning socks. The girls had to mend their own clothing.

"I well remember the sensation in our house when the first kerosene lamp was brought home. It was after an unusual good crop and good prices; when hay had brought \$30 per ton, pork 10 cents per pound on foot and potatoes \$1 a bushel. The winter's provisions had been bought, the hired man had been paid his wages, and a pair of shoes had been brought home for each of the girls, and I was the proud possessor of a pair of real store boots with red tops, and mother had an alpaca shawl and the girls had knitted hoods in bright, pretty colors; and oh, wonder of wonders, there was a real glass lamp with a chimney and a funny something down the inside, right into the coal oil, that looked just like a piece of my knit socks! How impatient I was for the night to come, so that the lamp could be lighted and we could enjoy the illumination!

"The first school at Dungeness was presided over by James McFarlane. Capt. Thomas Abernethy had built a new house for himself and family and his old cabin was used for a school house. There were about a dozen of us who attended. Of this number the Downie family furnished three, the Weir family furnished five, and Richard McDonell, Matilda Burk, Ellen Gypson and Isabella and Etta Kelley were the others."

CLALLAM COUNTY

The bill creating Clallam County was introduced in the Territorial Legislature by W. T. Sayward and became a law on April 25, 1854. E. H. McAlmond, E. Price and Daniel F. Brownfield were appointed commissioners, Charles Bradshaw, sheriff; J. C. Brown, assessor; G. B. Moore, auditor; John Margrave, probate judge; G. H. Gerrish, justice of the peace, and Fitzgerald, treasurer.

In the story of Victor Smith's attempt to establish Port Angeles and in Allen Weir's "Roughing It on Puget Sound in the Early Sixties," much of the early day history of Clallam County already has been told. Through the death of Smith, Port Angeles lost a true friend. The Federal Government had its hands full in the reconstruction of the South; peace quieted fear of the supposed British menace at Esquimalt and the "Second National City" reverted to the quietness of pre-Fucian days.

And then there came to Port Angeles another Smith—George Venable—a man who had taken part in the anti-Chinese riots in Seattle and who saw in the Government reserve an opportunity for working out a long cherished plan for a communistic colony. Under the name "Puget Sound Co-operative Colony" Smith organized 2,000 of his followers, raised capital and with 1,000 colonists proceeded to Port Angeles. Labor was to be the basis of value. For their own use the colonists issued a paper currency, established eleven industries and a general store and prospered.

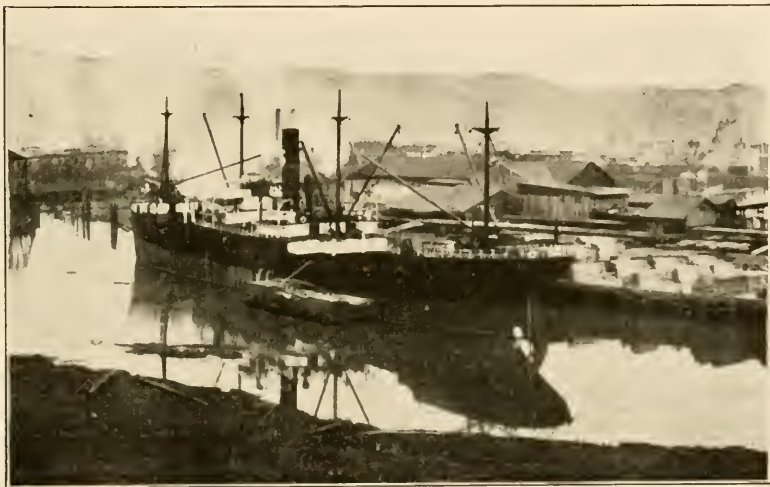
Prosperity proved to be the cause of their downfall. It attracted social outcasts who, not satisfied with conditions as they found them, organized sects,



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF RAYMOND



RESIDENCE STREET, RAYMOND



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fomented trouble, and within two years developed so much internal dissension that the colony was broken up.

The townsite lots had been appraised by the Government, which, during the year 1886, sold thirty-two. This number was increased to 165 in 1887 and to 467 the next year. An immense boarding house was built on the beach at Ennis Creek. Its capacity was taxed to the limit and the crowds overflowed into tents. A sawmill was constructed and lumber provided for new houses which increased rapidly in number. The town had 1,000 inhabitants when it was incorporated as a city of the fourth class, June, 1890. One year later it had grown to 4,000.

Back of the town was the unsurveyed Government reserve. Growth in that direction seemed out of the question. It was decided to jump the reserve. A squatters' association was organized, the reserve was roughly laid out in lots 100 by 140 feet in size, and the squatters took possession. Trees began to fall. Stumps were dug out of the land and the squatters petitioned the Government for an appropriation of \$20 a lot with which to pay for a survey.

Later Secretary Noble visited the town. Ruthlessly had the settlers destroyed the Government's timber, but the secretary was so impressed by the effort they were making to obtain homes that he ordered the immediate survey and appraisal of the land. It is said that as soon as the secretary's boat had passed out of sight, the hard working squatters threw down their axes and rested until they some time later obtained title to their holdings.

With the title to their lands secured the Port Angeles people set out to make their historic town a city. The railway came and reaching out into the forest brought logs to the mills which in turn supplied lumber for cargoes. The claim holder preceded the railroad and the farmer followed the logger. Oftentimes the claim holder was both logger and farmer. The waters of the Elwah were harnessed and, as electrical energy, now travel over wires to operate factories, light the streets, business houses and homes of Port Angeles and other towns. Lake Crescent and Sol Duc and the Olympic Mountains are now famous.

Tatoosh Island, Clallam County's northwest corner, at the entrance to the straits, is the first point of American territory sighted by the inward-bound mariner. The United States lighthouse there warns him away from the dangerous shore against which the waves of the Pacific for ages have hurled their attacks. Tatoosh is a Nootkan word, meaning thunder, or fire from thunder-lightning. The thunder of the waves and the gleam of the light are signals—to the coming guest Clallam County flashes a welcome, to the departing, bon voyage.

MASON COUNTY

On March 8, 1854, David Shelton introduced in the Territorial Legislature a bill providing for the organization of Sawamish County. It passed on the 13th and gave the new county the land lying between Hoods Canal and Case's Inlet from Puget Sound to the Pacific Ocean. The county seat was established at the home of H. A. Goldsborough. Wesley Gosnell, Charles Graham and Lee Hancock were appointed county commissioners with F. K. Simmons, sheriff; V. P. Morrow, auditor; Orrington Cushman, treasurer; Alfred Hall, probate judge, and Aaron Collins, justice of the peace. Later its boundary lines were changed

and January 8, 1864, it was given the name Mason, in honor of Charles H. Mason, the first territorial secretary.

David Shelton, first settler in the county, was an Oregon pioneer of the immigration of 1847, and one of the first settlers at Port Townsend. From there he went to Mason County in 1852 or 1853 and, at a point twenty-five miles northward from Olympia, took up a 640-acre donation claim on Big Skookum Bay. For many years Shelton and his family had the bay and its forest-clad shores all to themselves. Along in the early '80s other settlers were attracted to the fertile lands. Sawmill men and timber land speculators became interested in the timber resources of the county and the Town of Shelton was laid out on the old donation claim. This was in 1884, and in 1889 the village had grown to a town and became incorporated as a city of the fourth class.

The old Satsop Railroad was started in 1884 and the next year was logging along about one mile of track. It passed through several changes of ownership and was reorganized as the Peninsular Railroad Company in 1889. It extends westward into Grays Harbor County.

THURSTON COUNTY

Earliest pioneer names and incidents of the early days when Washington was Oregon are clearly and officially recorded in an ancient volume filed in the archives of Thurston County and guarded with veneration by the clerk. The book is the record of the District Court of the United States for the Third Judicial District, Oregon Territory, journal docket, fee book, judgment docket and naturalization register. It shows that Judge William P. Bryant convened this court at Steilacoom on October 1, 1849, for the County of Lewis, as the huge district lying south of Puget Sound was then known. Court was opened by proclamation of Joseph Meek, Esq., United States marshal.

On the second day of that session Marshal Meek was charged with a duty which, from the place he holds in pioneer memory, was doubtlessly as promptly executed. He was directed by order of the court to take two Indians out and hang them on the following day. The record of this dawning of American jurisprudence in the extreme western wilderness reads as follows:

"The following good and lawful men, having been duly summoned, answered to their names, to wit: John R. Jackson, who was duly sworn as 'fourman,' David Chambers, Jr., Marshal Birner, Benjamin La Ramer, Mitchell Cottonaire, John Batise Chasolafar, Gabriel Jones, John Bradley, Simon Plomondo, J. Batise Real, Samuel Hancock, George Brill, Isam Corrier, Oliver Duffany, Michael J. Simmonds, who were duly sworn as a grand jury, were charged by the court and retired to consider their charge."

Alonzo A. Skinner was appointed district attorney for the term, and six Indians arraigned for the murder of Leander C. Wallace. David Stone, attorney-at-law, was assigned to their defense, and William Wallace appointed clerk. On the following day the grand jury returned an indictment against Kussap, Lullahmost, Stuhamai, Tatum, otherwise called Talatum, Whyeek and Quailthlumkyne, all of the Snoqualmie tribe. A verdict of guilty in the first degree against two of the defendants was brought in without noticeable delay by the following petit jury:

Thomas M. Chamber, Peter Stuart, William Craig, John Sexton, Jonathan Burbee, John Ellenberge, Sidney Ford, Lewis Plomondo, Hiram Stuart, James Porter, David Kindred, Nathan Hamlin.

They convicted Lullahmost and Kussap, although their names are recorded the second time as Quallamost and Kussuss, an inconsistency in the record that clogged the wheels of justice not a grain, for this decree followed delivery of the verdict:

"It is considered by the court that the said defendants be taken from hence to some convenient place of confinement, and that on tomorrow the said marshal take them hence and hang them by the neck until they are dead."

Indians outnumbered the whites by hundreds to one when this sentence was so expeditiously carried out. That much accomplished, the first grand jury this part of the country had seen was formally discharged.

At a matter of practice no pioneering handicap was permitted to interfere with the purpose of establishing the accepted administration of law. In a session held at Cowlitz Landing on November 29, 1854, Judge Chenoweth found himself without an official seal. He disposed of that inconvenience by the following entry on the record:

"It appearing to the court that there is no official seal of this court, it is therefore ordered by the court that until a seal can be provided the clerk be directed to use the eagle side of an American half dollar." So far as Thurston County authorities have been able to discover no sample of that seal exists, although it must have been used frequently on writs and orders issued.

Something that smacks closely of a county seat war of the border style is intimated in an entry made April 12, 1853, by James C. Strong, who certifies:

"That records of the District Court of the United States within and for the Third Judicial District, in the Territory of Oregon and County of Lewis, were stolen from me and thrown into the Columbia River.

"That when found the books were utterly ruined and the writing so obliterated that it was almost impossible to read it; that it was necessary to copy said record, and that the foregoing is a true and faithful copy of the docket of said court within and for the County of Lewis aforesaid."

Thomas Nelson appears in the record as Chief Justice for the district on May 26, 1851, with James C. Strong, clerk; Amory Holbrook, United States attorney; Joseph Meek, marshal, and A. I. Simmons, sheriff. John B. Chapman, of Indiana, was admitted to practice law at this session. The grand jury included Peter Dougherty, Joseph Broshears, Samuel H. Williams, Thomas Chambers, William Patterson, William Wallace, George B. Roberts, George Drew, I. Cathman, John Rembley, William S. Fraser, George Lamb, M. F. Simmons, A. M. Poe, S. S. Ford, A. Sargent, Joseph Borst, David Chambers, John Reid. Instead of indicting Indians for murdering white men this time, they indicted white men for giving liquor to Indians.

The year 1859 brought prosperity to the pioneers of Olympia. A brick yard was opened in Swan's addition and a brick walk was laid on Main Street to the capitol building.

The tide of immigration which set in early in the year 1859 brought with it a large number of tramps and other floaters. Early in the fall the town suffered from a wave of incendiarism, among the buildings burned being the old block

house at Main and Fourth streets. After discussing fire protection for some weeks a meeting was called on Christmas eve and the Alert Hook and Ladder Company was organized with C. E. Williams, foreman; John L. Head, first assistant foreman; H. D. Morgan, second assistant foreman; T. M. Reed, president; A. J. Moses, secretary, and W. G. Dunlap, treasurer. An attempt was made to buy a fire engine, but the town had not reached the fire engine stage of development.

County seat agitation reached a climax when at the May, 1861, meeting of the county commissioners, the citizens of Tumwater presented the following communication to the board:

"We, the undersigned agree to pay the material and land set opposite our names for the benefit of Thurston county, W. T., provided the county buildings are located at Tumwater at the next annual election, to-wit: Smith Hays, 39 M feet of lumber; Ira Ward, 30 M shingles; C. Crosby, four blocks of land 240 feet square; Nelson Barnes, 5 M feet of cedar lumber; Dudley Barnes, 5 M feet of cedar lumber; John Scott, \$25 to be paid in Lumber; E. Eastman, \$50 to be paid in blacksmithing; Biles & Carter, \$50 to be paid in lumber."

This proposal aroused Olympia. The town at the annual April election voted to offer the county the public square as a building site and the two propositions were submitted to the voters, the result of the balloting being: Olympia, 344; Tumwater, 104, and West Olympia, 4. Olympia delayed filing a deed for the property and when the commissioners met in November they were forced to adjourn, subject to the call of the county auditor. The deed soon was made and at a special session of the board December 7 the auditor was authorized to advertise for bids for furnishing and laying 200,000 brick, the building to be used as a jail. While still discussing the building question it was discovered that when Edmund Sylvester had donated the block of land to the town, he had inserted a clause to the effect that it should be used as a public square and the town had no power to use it for any other purpose.

Turning their attention to other available property, the commissioners finally bought the Wesleyan Institute property at Union and Washington streets for \$1,000, and awarded a contract for fitting the building for courthouse purposes to Benjamin Harned.

In a course of lectures on sexual equality, C. H. DeWolf and wife created great excitement in the spring of 1862, the sensation of the year being created by Mrs. DeWolf riding horseback through the streets of the town clad almost entirely in men's attire. Such performances as a woman wearing riding breeches and riding astride was unheard of and caused no end of comment.

About the time that John Miller Murphy was establishing the Washington Standard in Olympia, Mr. Barnes had occasion to bring a considerable quantity of gold from Portland to Olympia. The trip was to be made by stage and Mr. Barnes was at a loss to know how to transport the money without taking chances of being robbed. He went to a printing office where he secured a common box used by typefounders in shipping type. The gold was placed in this box which was marked "Printer's type. John Miller Murphy, Standard office, Olympia, W. T." Mr. Barnes saw it thrown into the stage at Portland and journeyed with it to Olympia where it was delivered at the Standard office, Mr. Barnes appearing there to claim it and explain the cause for its shipment.

Temperance agitation and the rapid growth of the Good Templars and Sons of Temperance organizations in the territory induced the Olympia lodges to establish a paper devoted to the further spread of the movement against liquor traffic. The Echo made its appearance in 1867, but the year following its plant was sold to L. G. Abbott and C. B. Bagley, the latter soon disposing of his interest to J. H. Munson. Munson later became sole owner with L. P. Venen as editor and in November, 1873, sold the paper to J. N. Gale, who the following year sold it to Francis Cook. The Echo under Cook's management became a political sheet and a daily. John Miller Murphy was at the head of the Washington Standard and C. B. Bagley had become owner of the Courier. Neither of these publishers looked with favor upon Cook's Daily Echo, and while either of them would have faced a serious loss in an attempt to put Cook out of business, they thought that by combining forces they might establish a daily and thus save their weekly papers from being outdone by the Echo. The new paper was known as the Olympian, Bagley and Miller "taking turns" at getting it printed. It was a non-partisan sheet, established ostensibly for the purpose of booming the town. Bagley, being absent on one of the days when he was to get out the paper, placed the editorial duties in the hands of his father. Bagley, senior, evidently forgot the non-political side of the sheet and inserted some editorials of a partisan republican nature. Murphy said nothing, but the next day when his turn came, the Olympian was decidedly democratic in tone. The Bagley-Murphy combine came near breaking up and the Olympian might have gone out of existence had it not been for the fact that the Daily Echo still showed signs of life. Murphy, a little later, disposed of his interest and Bagley continued the publication alone.

Prosch says that Morris H. Frost, who afterward became a Federal office holder under territorial government, came to the Sound mounted on a horse. Thinking the animal needed a drink, Frost lead him to the waters of one of the inlets near Olympia, but the horse refused to take a drink. This struck Frost as peculiar so he tasted the water and upon finding it salt exclaimed: "Pickle, by thunder."

September, 1870, brought the most violent earthquake Washington had ever known. Clocks were stopped and articles of furniture were thrown to the floors in dwelling houses. Chimneys tumbled to the ground and people left their houses and, going into the open, were thrown to the ground. Chickens were thrown from their roosts and cracks were found in the earth. Some of these along the trail to the Cowlitz were of such size as to require repairs being made before the road could be used.

Saturday, December 14, 1872, at 9:40 P. M. another shock was felt by the Sound settlements, the disturbance extending as far south as the Skookumchuck, where trees swayed and caused a panic among the livestock. In Olympia, the story is told, a certain fraternity was initiating a candidate. Blindfolded the candidate stood in the center of the room when the swaying of the building terrorized the brethren, who promptly took to their heels, leaving the candidate alone. They soon returned, however, and completed the ceremony. To the amusement of the lodge the novitiate afterward said he supposed the rocking of the building was a part of the ceremony.

The Legislature of 1882 passed an act incorporating Olympia as a city and

at the municipal election which followed the officers chosen were N. Ostrander, mayor; A. H. Chambers, H. Sabin, Richard Osseno, R. G. O'Brien, W. J. Yeager, and J. S. Dobbins, councilmen; J. V. Yantis, clerk; C. B. Mann, treasurer, and J. R. Rose, marshal. The banking house of George A. Barnes was reorganized in August, becoming the First National Bank with Jodge Hoyt as president. The Olympia Light Company was also incorporated, the capital stock being placed at \$1,000. The incorporators were George A. Barnes, T. I. McKenny, George Gelbach, A. A. Phillips, John P. Hoyt, A. H. Chambers, N. H. Owings and N. S. Porter. The plant was completed the following year and a satisfactory illuminating gas furnished. Allen C. Mason, of Tacoma, owned the controlling interest in the plant.

The years 1888-89 brought quite an addition to Olympia's population.

The real estate movement of the winter of 1888-89 was responsible for the establishment of the Olympian by John Miller Murphy. Real estate sales depend upon advertising and the agents, feeling that they must have quicker service than the weekly papers at that time afforded them, entered into a contract whereby Murphy was to publish a daily paper for six months, during which time he was to receive a certain amount of advertising from the real estate dealers and other business men. The Evening Olympian appeared in February, the boom, however, did not last and by the end of May lots were a drug on the market. The advertising contracts expired just at the time the capital campaign was at its height and the board of trade kept the paper going until after election.

When the schools opened for the fall term, the increased attendance made the renting of outside rooms necessary. In November the first session of the Legislature met and Olympia hotel accommodations were found to be poor and inadequate. A new hotel was built.

The Olympia & Tumwater Railway, Light & Power Company, on March 7, 1890, obtained a street railway franchise. This was followed on the 28th by a similar franchise on certain other streets to George M. Savage, who in September received a franchise over additional streets. April saw the chartering of the Sunset Telephone Company; September brought the Olympia Water Company with its contract whereby the city was to pay \$2,000 a year for twenty fire hydrants, the contract to run for twenty years. In December the Western Union Telegraph Company was granted the right to erect poles and string wire through the streets and E. T. Young was given a franchise for an electric light system. The North Olympia Land Company was organized to buy the large tract of land which Ira Bradley Thomas had bought for the Northern Pacific in 1871. Title to this land had been tied up in the courts since the sudden death of Thomas put an end to Olympia's hopes of becoming the terminus of the line.

The Olympia & Grays Harbor Electric Company was organized and announced that it would build a telephone line between the capital city and Grays Harbor. The State Printing Company was organized with O. C. White, territorial secretary, as manager. It bought the plant of the Olympia Partisan and prepared to capture the state printing.

A special election was held to vote bonds to the value of 5 per cent of the assessed valuation, the vote being 176 for to 14 against. J. C. Percival obtained a franchise to build a wharf on Water Street. Cincinnati capitalists had bought the plant of the Olympia Water Company and in March were granted



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a new charter. On Ayer's Hill a new reservoir was built, a pumping station was installed, new pipes were laid and Olympia was given one of the most complete water systems to be found in the West. Moxlie Creek Springs supplied the water.

The Union Pacific, disguised as the Portland & Puget Sound Railroad Company, in May received a franchise over certain streets; the Olympia Railway Company and the Olympia Light & Power Company were given franchises for railway lines; also the Tacoma, Olympia & Grays Harbor—Northern Pacific—in fact so many franchises had been granted that the council soon found itself the storm center of conflicting interests and revisions and amendments were made until, had all the lines been constructed, the streets would have presented an elaborate system of cuts and grades through which ordinary vehicles and pedestrians would have needed a guide.

George M. Savage was the first to begin operations. He laid a track along Main Street from Fourth to Thirteenth and put two horse cars into operation. A rival company began to talk of building on Fourth Street, and Savage, to hold the center of the thoroughfare, began grading and laying rails until he had reached Puget Street.

With the object of making available the rich timber resources of the Black Hills, the Olympia, Sherman Valley & Grays Harbor Railroad Company was incorporated in February, 1890. Railroad excitement ran high. The Union Pacific, April 10th, submitted a proposal to build a road from Portland through Olympia to Seattle, provided the city would give a right of way, fifteen acres for terminal grounds, a subsidy of \$50,000 and 1,000 feet of water front. The Tenino road recently had passed under the control of the Port Townsend & Southern, which at the same meeting of the council, proposed to build freight and passenger stations within the city and to extend the line to Portland by January 1, 1891, provided the city would give terminal grounds 300x1,500 feet in size; right of way on the west side to deep water and \$50,000 in cash. Both offers were accepted and committees at once began the work of raising funds.

Such generosity upon the part of the people aroused the interest of the Northern Pacific which, in May, submitted a guarantee to build from its main line to Olympia by December 1, 1890, and to extend the line to Grays Harbor, provided the citizens would give depot grounds 200x2,000 feet; right of way through the city, and \$50,000 in cash or land at a fair appraisement. A soliciting committee at once went to work on this but soon found that the subscribing of \$100,000 had about exhausted the giving ability of the people. Then too, many of the citizens remembered 1872 and were not inclined to place confidence in the Northern Pacific. However, Olympia faced another capital fight and was desirous of having the assistance of the Northern Pacific; or at least to escape its opposition. Therefore the money was subscribed and January 1, 1891, the construction train reached the city limits out in the woods. The line was pushed to completion. Terminal grounds were established on the west-side tide flats and a dredge removed mud from the bay and made freight and passenger station grounds. The Seventh Street tunnel was completed and on September 10, 1891, the first overland train from Chicago reached the city. The Union Pacific and the Port Townsend & Southern had, by this time, abandoned work, the latter having

widened the Tenino line to standard gauge and extended its track to deep water on the west-side.

Increasing business had taxed the capacity of the Seattle land office and a new district, embracing Pierce, Thurston, Mason, Lewis and Chehalis counties, was created in 1890, the office for the new district being opened in Olympia. Two new banks, the Capital National and the State Bank, opened for business; J. W. Robinson purchased the weekly *Partisan*, changed the name to *Tribune* and established a daily with Major C. M. Barton as managing editor. The Olympia Iron Works Company was incorporated. New settlers created a demand for both business houses and residences, rents advanced and Olympia faced what appeared to be a rosy future. The capital campaign was won, the vote being Olympia 37,413, Ellensburg 7,722, North Yakima 6,276 and a number of scattering votes. In July B. M. Price, of North Dakota, bought the *Review*, which, during the campaign became the *Daily Capital* and continued as such until in March, 1891.

More than usual interest attached to the general election of 1890. Olympia was fighting for the capital, which she won by a large majority; the county commissioners had submitted the question of bonding the county for \$100,000 for courthouse purposes. The bond question carried by a vote of 1,116 to 393 and in October the commissioners employed Architect W. A. Ritchie, of Seattle, to furnish plans. The bonds were sold to the state land commission. March 27, 1891, John Rigby, of Seattle, was awarded the contract for the new courthouse, the price being \$107,000 and the date for completion March 1, 1892. W. A. Rogers was appointed superintendent of construction. Friction soon developed between Rogers and the contractors' foreman and W. H. Owens was appointed superintendent. This and other matters delayed work and the building was not completed until October.

Early in 1892 the Westside Railway Company and W. L. Russel were granted franchises for railway lines on the west side. The Westside Company laid a track across the Marshville bridge and did other construction work. Olympia with the rest of the country, suffered from over expansion. City warrants were discounted 5 and in some cases 10 per cent by Olympia banks. A Seattle bank's offer of 99 per cent brought them back to par. Bonds had been voted for the building of a new high school, but before they could be delivered increasing taxes and diminishing property values influenced the directors to delay matters. An error was discovered in the notice calling for the election, the directors of the district refused to correct and the bonds were not sold.

Early in the winter of 1892-93 organizers for the People's Party appeared in the county and began their work, meeting with such success that the *Weekly Capital* advocated the cause. Now that Olympia had secured the capital her people intended to use every means of obtaining an appropriation for a capitol building. The Legislature in January, 1893, found the city solid for this improvement and so well did the citizens work that the Legislature passed a bill appropriating \$1,000,000. Thurston country had double reason to rejoice over the selection of Tenino stone as the building material.

Established by a company of printers in April, 1891, the *Olympian* shortly thereafter was purchased by Thomas Henderson Boyd, one of the most brilliant newspaper men of the state. In December, 1892, Boyd was murdered in Seattle

by Ursula Ungfung, with whom he had for some time been living. Boyd's administrator, E. T. Dunning, of Tacoma, sold the Olympian to J. O'B. Scobey and George W. Hopp, who also purchased the Tribune of J. W. Robinson, the consolidated publication becoming the Olympian-Tribune.

Several improvements were made in the road system in 1893; bridges were built across the Skookumchuck, Chehalis and Nisqually rivers, also across Mud Bay. The Rutledge farm at Little Rock was bought by the county for \$10,000 and became the home of indigent persons. Business men and county officials held conferences and discussed the question of how best to preserve the credit of city and county. Warrants were selling at a big discount and current expenses were so high as to offer no hope of reducing the debt. Economy was demanded. The school year was shortened to six months, salaries were reduced and steps taken to meet a part of the debt. Work began on the foundations for the new capitol building and gave employment to a force of men both at Olympia and at Tenino. Another long-hoped-for improvement was the dredging of the harbor which the Federal Government began in 1893. Owners of mud flat property were offered free dirt by the dredging company, the only requirement being that such owners build bulkheads. This offered an opportunity for the filling in of the Fourth Street bridge, but the city had no money in its treasury and its warrants were shaved right and left. However, the merchants were appealed to and they agreed to furnish workmen with supplies in exchange for their warrants and the bulkheads were built.

In the fall of '93 Talcott Brothers bored a well 125 feet deep, striking a good flow of artesian water. Other equally successful wells were soon put down. The following summer the county commissioners let a contract for supplying the courthouse with water from an artesian well; the price of well, tank and other necessary fixtures to be about \$400. At that time the water company was charging the county \$500 per year.

Grand Mound, Thurston County. Samuel James, the first settler, arrived in 1852 being followed in the same year by L. D. Durgin, Josephus Axtell, J. W. Goodell and E. N. Sargent, James Biles and C. B. Baker joined the settlement the year following and the first schoolhouse was built in 1855.

Black Lake, Thurston County. W. O. Thompson, who taught school for a number of years in Thurston County, was the first settler at Black Lake, the date being 1851. Enoch Hart located in the neighborhood the same year.

Gate City, Thurston County, was born at the time the Northern Pacific built its line to Grays Harbor. In 1890 S. C. Woodruff platted the town which for a time gave promise of developing into a place of considerable importance, it being thought that the timber resources of the Black Hills would lead to the building up of a manufacturing community, but the panic caught the town before it had developed strength and put an end to the dream of its founders.

William McLane, in 1852, located on land on Mud Bay—was still living there in 1895.

Tenalquot Prairie lying southeast of Olympia, attracted settlers in very early days, Thomas Linklighter and Thomas W. Glasgow having settled there in 1847. Hon. Frank Ruth settled there in 1853 and still lived on his farm in 1895.

Yelm Prairie. First settlers George Edwards and John Edgar in 1850. James Longmier and James Burus, 1851.

South Bay, Thurston County. Doctor Johnson in 1851 took a claim at the point since known as Johnson's Point. A. J. Frazier took a donation claim on the west side of the bay in 1852 and was followed the same summer by Levi Knott and Doctor Willard. C. H. Sylvester located the year following.

Tenino—Indian word meaning joining together. Stephen Hodgson took a donation claim on a prairie about fifteen miles south of Olympia in 1852 and was soon followed by Samuel Davenport who took an adjoining claim. Samuel Coulter also took a claim in the neighborhood—the first marriage in the settlement being Coulter and Miss Lizzie Tillie. This was in 1853 and the next year I. Colvin joined the settlement. During the Indian war of 1855-56 a military road was laid out from Vancouver to the Sound, one branch reaching Olympia, the other going to Fort Steilacoom. The road forked near the farms of Davenport and Hodgson and the Indians called this fork a "Tenino" signifying a fork or junction. Naturally this junction of the military roads became the center of the community and when the Northern Pacific built its line from Kalama to Tacoma in 1872 it established a station in the neighborhood, giving it the Indian name Tenino. It was to Tenino or the Indian junction that the citizens of Olympia in 1874, planned to build their railway to connect with the Northern Pacific, but when the road passed from the ownership of the original company into that of the Port Townsend & Southern, the latter built a new depot on the west side of the town, half a mile away from the main line.

The town's growth was similar to that of other little farming communities of Western Washington until the discovery of the ledges of fine building stone. In 1888 C. A. Billings began the development of a fine ledge of stone which had been discovered on his land south of the town. S. W. Fenton and George F. Vantine joined Billings in the enterprise two years later and extensive quarries were opened. The spring of 1890 saw the establishment of the Tenino Herald, a weekly newspaper which was not able to survive the panicky days of a few years later and passed out of existence.

Six miles from Tenino and about three miles from Rainier is the Thomas Linlater donation claim, now owned by Frank Groundwater of Elma. Standing on this farm, still well preserved, is a blockhouse built by the Hudson's Bay Company before 1848. George H. Hies says this is the only blockhouse built by the Hudson's Bay Company that still stands. All the others in the state having been removed. The old blockhouse is used as a granary and storehouse and with very little attention will stand for many years. Thomas Linlater was born in Scotland in 1819, and came to the coast with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1834 and settled on Tenalcut prairie. He died February 20, 1890, and was buried on his donation claim.

GRAYS HARBOR COUNTY

What is now known as Grays Harbor County was organized as Chehalis County by a bill introduced in the territorial Legislature March 10, 1854, by J. D. Biles. The county seat was established at Montesano with George Watkins, John Vail and John Brady county commissioners. Other county officers appointed were A. O. Houston, auditor; D. K. Welden, treasurer; James H. Roundtree,



VIEW OF MONTESANO IN 1889

On left center the first county courthouse: On extreme right Chehalis County Academy



FARM SCENE NEAR MONTESANO

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probate judge; W. A. Fairfield, sheriff; W. M. Bullard, C. L. W. Russell and Isaiah Scammand, justices of the peace.

With regard to the first settler in the county considerable uncertainty exists. William O'Leary, said to have been a ship deserter, is credited with having settled on the harbor, just across from the present site of Aberdeen, in 1849. John Hole built a cabin on the south side in 1852.

The first settler at Montesano, and possibly in the Grays Harbor country was I. L. Scammon, who had a donation claim of 640 acres on the south side of the river. From that fact M. F. Luark who has preserved much of the original data of the county concludes the claim must have been taken on or before 1850. However, S. F. Medcalf, whose grandfather homesteaded on what is now East Montesano in 1856 says Scammon had been on the south side only two or three years at that time, and that the only other settler near was Walter King, on the Wynooche—Corydon F. Porter having already gone to another claim on what is now called Porter Creek. John Brady also arrived in 1853 and took a donation claim on the Satsop. This is now the famous Guernsey dairy ranch of his son, Judge Elmer R. Brady, who has improved and preserved as part of his present home, the original homestead log cabin. Brady crossed the plains in '52 from Council Bluffs to Portland. He fought through the Indian war and was made sergeant.

Some time before 1855 James Pilkington settled at Cosmopolis. About this time Peter Anderson was living at what is now Elma. Still earlier a white man named Armstrong, and his Indian wife were located across the river from Cedarville where Armstrong had the first sawmill in this part of the state. It was run by water power, and the saw, an upright, was credited with cutting more than 1,000 feet a day. As early as 1854 James (Blockhouse) Smith was on his claim at Cedarville where the only blockhouse or fort the county ever had, was built in 1855-6. Smith came around the horn from New York, stopping first at San Francisco for a short time. His wife followed him in 1855.

By 1857 William James, N. E. Goddell and Levi Gates had built cabins at Hoquiam and Captain Elliot was building on the Wishkah.

This same Captain Elliot had the honor of introducing the dairy business, if not to the county, at least to that portion of it west of the Wynooche River.

Patterson F. Luark who settled in Lewis County in 1853 bought the Hole place at Markham and in 1857 brought in a team of oxen. Elliot had a cow and a heifer and the oxen and the cow were driven down together. At that time there were no roads, no bridges, and in many places not even trails. The cattle waded the ford near Elma. The Wynooche, however, was high and it took a day or so to get them over. From there down to the Wishkah was slow going. Some of the way brush had to be cut to get the beasts through. The Luark oxen had to be ferried in a big canoe to his claim.

The Harbor's pioneer steamer was the Enterprise, built on the Willamette by Wright Brothers and taken north during the Fraser River excitement. By offering a substantial subsidy the settlers induced the Wrights to bring the vessel to Grays Harbor and put it on the run between the settlements. Business dragged and Captain Wright became disgusted. And then came an Indian scare and an opportunity to turn an honest penny. Some Indians, and probably a few whites, got drunk and made the night terrible with their war shouts. Wright pushed the

steamer up the river until she snubbed her nose on a sandbar, made his way afoot to Olympia and pictured the danger of an Indian uprising so glowingly that the governor and Legislature were induced to send troops to the Harbor. They moved down the Chehalis River to where the Enterprise lay and Captain Wright transported them to Chehalis Point. The profits thus derived added a substantial sum to the year's earnings of the steamer.

All the way from the State of Maine came Isaiah Scammon in 1852 and settled at what was afterward to become the thriving City of Montesano. He was the first settler in the locality and was struggling along in much the same manner as other pioneers when he was visited by an old friend, a sea captain who asked many question about the country and its prospects of future growth and development. Of course Scammon was optimistic. He felt certain a city some day would rise upon the acres of his claim.

Back of the place a steep hill reared its timbered shoulders, and the old captain, looking at the hill, suggested that Scammon name his prospective city Monte-Sano; a combination of the Spanish words Monte, for mountain, and Sano, for health. This suited Scammon and the place thus was christened.

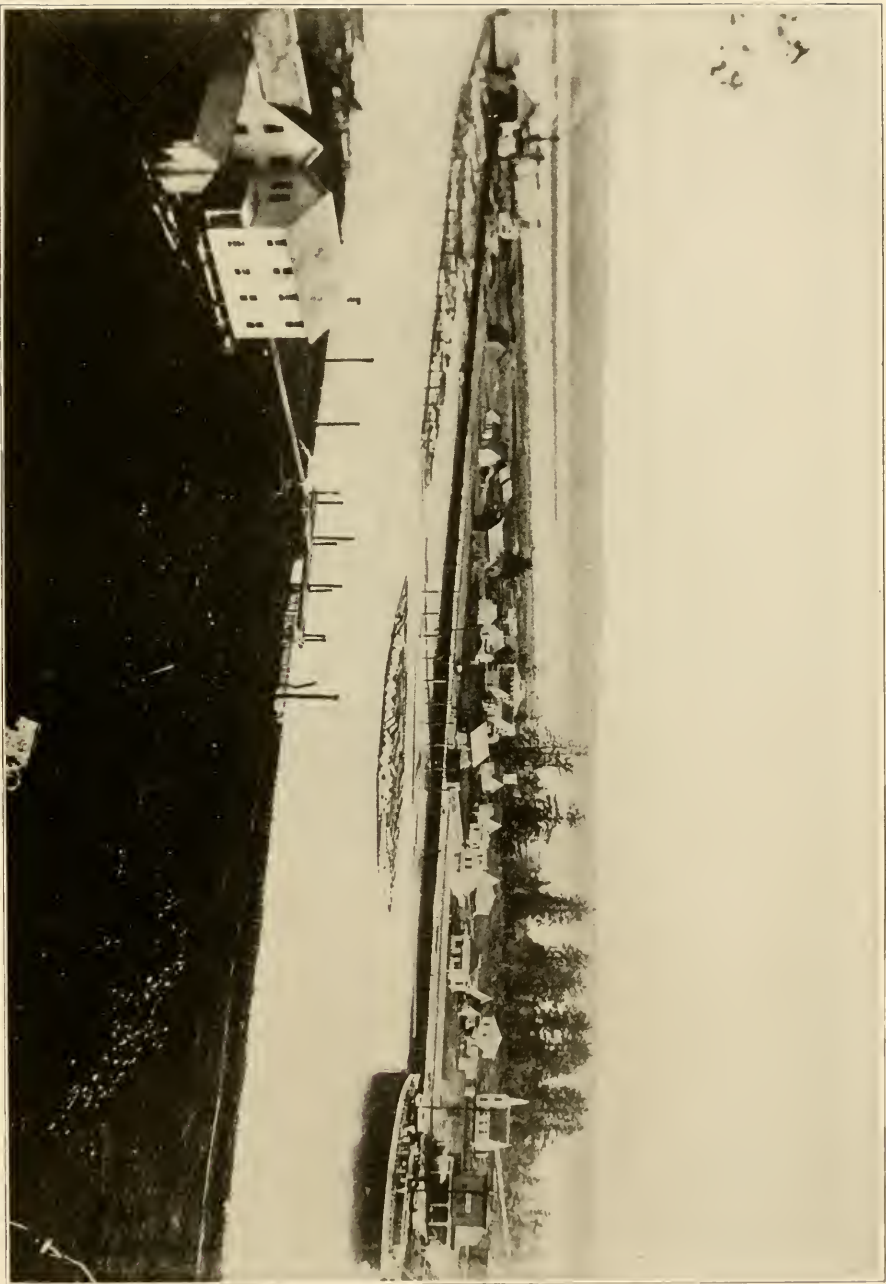
When Chehalis County was created in 1854, Montesano, or the little settlement then existing there, was given the county seat. This, together with its location at the head of Chehalis River navigation and its fine farming lands, attracted settlers and the place grew rapidly.

Hoquiam is an Indian word said to mean "hungry for wood." Early in the '80s the settlement at what is now Hoquiam began to show signs of developing into a city and then came the big boom of the late '80s and everybody felt sure the little town was destined to become the metropolis of Grays Harbor, if not of Western Washington. Hoquiam was a little late in getting started, in fact the "big movement" did not develop until early in 1890 when G. W. Hunt announced his plans of building a railroad from Centralia. Much depended upon Hunt's selling bonds and while he was in Europe on this mission the Northern Pacific, after blocking the sale, slipped a crew of surveyors into the field and won the race by obtaining a right of way around Porter's Bluff.

About this time agents of the Northern Pacific attempted to buy the unsold portion of the townsite, but as J. A. Karr, owner of the land, would not accept the offer made by the railroad, it built a line down the south side and laid out the Town of Ocosta. "Ocosta by the sea" became a byword. Hoquiam and Aberdeen were left to struggle along without a railroad while Ocosta was boomed to the limit of booming. Much money was lost when the Ocosta bubble bursted. By buying a shipload of steel rails the citizens of Aberdeen obtained a spur line connection with the Northern Pacific. Harry C. Hermans then submitted a proposal to build a Hoquiam connection provided the railroad company would allow the Hoquiam subscribers to the fund a percentage of the freight earnings of the line until its cost had been returned. The railroad company accepted this and Hoquiam soon had its first passenger station—an old box-car.

Regarding this period of the city's history the Hoquiam Record, in its twenty-fifth anniversary number of May 19, 1916, gives the following:

"In 1890 building became active and J Street, north of Eighth, was invaded. George Reuter built a home at J and Fourth. The construction of sidewalks



FIRST PHOTO TAKEN OF HOQUIAM

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was started. They were necessarily built high from the street because of the high tides.

"In 1890 Eighth, I, J and K streets were planked and the plank roadway to Aberdeen also built that year. This latter improvement furnished the first means of traffic, other than by water, to the neighboring town. There was of course the old Olympia trail around the bluff.

"About this time F. G. Foster opened a furniture store on Eighth Street. The bank building had meantime been erected on Eighth Street by Mr. Arnold and the Hotel Hoquiam was put up at a cost of \$100,000. According to Mr. Arnold, both the bank and hotel were built in 1889, the bank building being the first structure on Eighth Street.

"The North Western mill, which was the only industry here up to 1890, received a competitor in '90 with the construction and opening of what is now the E. K. Wood mill. Inability of the North Western to fill the demand for lumber forced organization of the company which started the Wood sawmill. The New York Hotel was built by George Lamping in the fall of 1890, or to be more specific, the first twenty-five feet of the present hotel was built.

"In the winter of 1891 the first ferry on the Hoquiam River was operated.

"In recent years residents of Hoquiam have experienced winter storms accompanied by high tides that flooded sections of the city. Try and imagine Hoquiam before the dykes and the streets downtown were paved, thereby lifting the place to a mark above the ordinary high tide. The entire township, except the hill districts, were frequently submerged. James A. Karr, in fact, kept a boat moored at his back door, which he and the family used in visiting the business section during high stages of the tide. Can you imagine a person paddling downtown from North Hoquiam?

"In the winter of 1893 this district was visited by a storm of hurricane proportions that flooded all low lands. Several buildings were blown down among these being the dry goods and crockery store of the North Western Lumber Company on Levee Street, at the corner of Ninth. A clerk in the second story of the building was caught in the structure when it collapsed, but almost miraculously escaped injury. A paint store on K Street about where the Whiteside Undertaking parlors are now located, was also blown over during that storm. Chicken coops in all parts of town were carried off by the flowing waters.

"There was a Fourth of July celebration twenty-six years ago that will, as long as life lingers, be fresh in the minds of old timers hereabouts. So will the following day, July 5th, for on that day the boom bubble burst and dreams of fortunes suddenly shifted to realization that much money was tied up in property that seemed destined to remain thus imprisoned for some time.

"But that Fourth of July celebration materialized just the same, and it was the biggest of the biggest. It was held on the strength of a capitalist named George Washington Hunt bringing a railroad to Hoquiam. Hunt was a railroad contractor of large means and in February of that year it was rumored he would build from Centralia here, and when finally Hunt verified the rumor and actually started work on the Centralia end, residents here waxed very enthusiastic and at heavy expense staged the glorious Fourth blowout.

"It had rained much in May, but July was ushered in with perfect weather, and with spirits high, Hoquiam took on holiday dress. From street end to

street end the bunting and flags stretched. Many buildings were artistically trimmed and at heavy expense.

"And then on July 3rd came the heaviest rain of the year with a wind that reached hurricane proportions. The decorations were made to look sick of course. But by 10 o'clock on the Fourth the rain ceased and the big parade started.

"It was an imposing pageant, too. Every business was represented by industrial floats and the big boom, then on in earnest, was forcibly emphasized in the procession.

"There were sports of various kinds in the afternoon and general merry-making ensued. That evening at the corner of Eighth and M streets a pyrotechnic display took place. Several costly set pieces were set off, the grandest being that of Hunt's locomotive.

"The fireworks were set off opposite the old Hoquiam Hotel. In those days there was not the large amount of money in circulation as now and as the town had "blown" itself generously for decorations and fireworks, and Judge Holcomb, who had realized a large sum of money on a realty deal by disposing of North Hoquiam addition, left for South Bend with his "wad," the bottom dropped out of the boom and most of the financiers went to work in the sawmill.

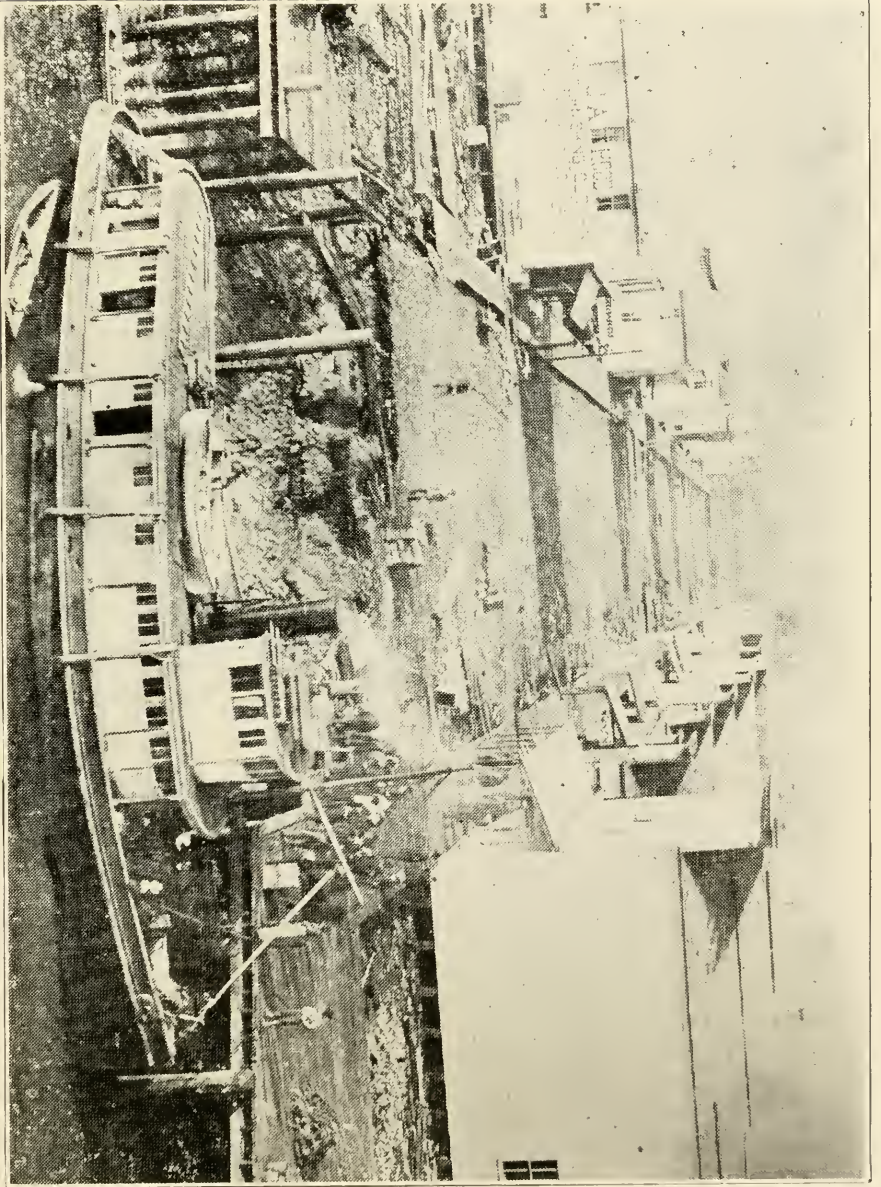
"The fact of the matter was there was not enough money left in Hoquiam to buy lots offered as low as \$40 each."

Samuel Benn, "Father of Aberdeen" arrived on the shores of Grays Harbor in 1868 and settled at the mouth of the Wishkah River. Wishkah is an Indian word meaning stinking water but if the water had any bad odor Benn either did not notice it or did not care. He bought several hundred acres of Government land at \$1.25 and settled down to await the coming of more people. Late in the '70s the Aberdeen Packing Company, an Oregon corporation, built a salmon cannery at what was then known as Sam Benn's Point at the mouth of the Wishkah. Settlers arrived and Benn decided to lay out a town.

In 1884, D. W. Fleet was employed to survey the townsite. He prepared a plat, giving the new town the name of Wishkah, but before the plat was filed this name was changed and that of Aberdeen pasted over it. Regarding the origin of this name Mrs. J. B. Stewart recently wrote as follows:

"To begin, for those who are not acquainted, let me introduce Samuel Benn, in early days owner of what is now the business center of Aberdeen, D. W. Fleet, of Montesano, engineer, who surveyed and platted the townsite, B. A. Seaborg, of the 'Aberdeen Packing Company' of Ilwaco, who had recently established a branch cannery at what was then known as 'Sam Benn's Point,' and the writer of this letter, who was also the writer of a letter published in the Oregonian about the middle of February, 1884, which communication contained the original suggestion which led to the naming of Aberdeen. Mr. Benn, who was then a mighty hunter and fisher, was at that time over on the Columbia to dispose of the season's pack.

"The morning the published letter appeared it was read by Mr. Morgan, who was business manager for the packing company, and by him shown to Mr. Seaborg, whose attention was called to the following sentence: 'We do not know what the new town is to be called, but would suggest the name Aberdeen, being the firm name of the cannery located there and to our ears quite pleasing.'



AN EARLY VIEW OF ABERDEEN

Mr. Morgan said Mr. Seaborg was very much pleased and to Mr. Benn, who came into the office just at that time, he showed the letter urging the name with the result as stated in the Vidette.

"Now a few words of explanation. In a former letter to the Vidette, I said that the name it was Mr. Benn's intention to give to the city was 'Hiraville' and that such was the fact was generally believed. How the report started I do not know, but it was said that he had so named it commemorative of the Hira, the first vessel to carry a cargo from the Wishkah and I believed this until after hearing Mr. Fleet's talk at the last banquet of the A. P. A.

"Mr. Fleet told me he was glad to change the name because the name Aberdeen was closely associated with some of the most pleasant memories of his youth, and I suggested the name because it was the name of the city of my father's birth and also of mine too. From Aberdeen in Scotland, accompanied by my parents and the rest of their family, I embarked on a sailing vessel bound for America early in February, 1848, while as yet I was incapable of storing memories, being less than two months old."

Eldridge Wheeler says: "The original plat covered that bounded on the east by Benn Street, part of the present City of Aberdeen on the north by East First Street, and on the west by Broad Street, and on the south by the Chehalis River.

"Two years prior to the organization of Aberdeen as a city the town had formed an organization governed by a board of trustees. The meeting which drew up plans for this trustee form of government was called to order by Judge J. C. Pearson and chose as its officials J. M. Weatherwax, A. J. West, C. R. Wilson, A. D. Wood and Samuel Benn. Benn was later elected president of this board and thereby was made the first governing official head of the town. Following Maling's short term as first mayor, Benn was elected to head Aberdeen's new form of government.

"It is interesting to note that the first ordinance ever passed by the board of trustees—which means that it was the first in the history of the town—provided that 'All saloons shall close at 11 P. M. and not reopen before 7 A. M. of the following morning.'

"On May 12, 1890, the town was placed for the first time under the control of a mayor and council. The first mayor was J. B. Maling, while the first council consisted of William Anstie, E. L. Koehler, O. M. Kellogg, A. J. West, Alex Young and L. F. Babcock.

"At that time the corner where the Finch Building now stands was in the suburbs, while the I and Heron street corner was covered with forest. A logging camp operated a donkey near the present Wishkah River end of Hume Street, dumping logs cut from nearby land into the water at that point.

"The business center of the town was on Heron Street between the Wishkah River and H Street. Along these two blocks were scattered some twenty-five or thirty stores which handled the business of the little mill town. Heron Street did not even have a bridge, a ferry transporting the men employed in East Aberdeen in the Slade or Wilson mills.

"The West lumber mill, now known as the Slade mill, was the first sawmill to locate here. After that the Weatherwax mill, now known as the Anderson-

Middleton came, and soon after the Wilson mill and the Emery & Mack mill, now the American, were built.

"At first the cannery boats brought the mail for Aberdeen, once a month. Later the mails began to come overland by stage from Olympia, once a week. In the early '80s a daily line was established between Aberdeen and Olympia.

"The Olympia-Aberdeen coach was merely a wagon with seats. It did not really come to Aberdeen, its furthest west stopping place being Montesano from which town passengers to Aberdeen boarded a little river steamer and came down the Chehalis."

Aberdeen's mayors have been: J. B. Maling, 1890; Samuel Benn, 1891; J. M. Weatherwax, 1892; A. C. Little, 1893; C. B. Weatherwax, 1894; J. A. Hood, 1895-96; L. L. Maley, 1897-98-99; A. P. Stockwell, 1900; William Anstie, 1901-2; A. J. West, 1903-4; John Lindstrom, 1905-6; Eugene France, 1907-8; E. B. Benn, 1909-10; J. W. Parks, 1911-12; Eugene France, 1913-14; J. M. Philips, 1915-16.

The British iron bark Ferndale, beating back and forth in an effort to enter the mouth of the Columbia River, went ashore at 9 o'clock on the morning of January 29, 1892, fifteen miles north of the entrance to Grays Harbor. The Ferndale, Captain Blair, bound to Portland with 2,000 tons of Australian coal, carried a crew of twenty-three men, all but three of whom were lost. Realizing that in the fog he had drifted too close in, Captain Blair, when the storm struck his vessel, tried to regain the open sea, but without success. Boats were manned and sent over the side only to be crushed and their occupants lost. Three sailors, Charles Carlson, Eric Sumba and Peter Patterson went aloft into the rigging. The wind shortly afterward blew the masts into the sea from which the men were rescued by Mrs. Edward White after one of the most heroic fights the western coast has ever known.

Mrs. White, with her husband and son, lived on a farm at the point where the Ferndale went ashore. James Welch, a neighbor of the Whites, seeing the plight of the Ferndale, came down the beach, and with White, went to obtain the assistance of other neighbors. Mrs. White, leaving her little son in the house, went to the beach, and was horrified to see the waves toss the apparently lifeless form of one of the sailors onto the sand. She quickly reached the man's side and before another wave could draw him back she hauled him to safety and began the work of resuscitation. Just as he was regaining consciousness, Mrs. White saw another man tossed on the sand, and telling the first one to go to the house, she assisted the second to a place of safety when a third form was seen riding the crest of an approaching wave. He was carried out as the wave receded and Mrs. White, running down the beach, took up a position from which she hoped to reach the man when he next was carried toward the shore. Gathering force the water came in with a rush, bearing the man on the surface. Dashing against the woman, the wave rolled her over and over. Mrs. White, however, estimated her position correctly and as she went beneath the wave she clutched the floating sailor by the hair. He was a large Russian and as the waves carried them out Mrs. White realized that with the handicap of a large and unconscious man, her chances of reaching shore were far from promising. When the waves started on their race back to the beach, she gathered all her strength and as her feet touched the sand, put forth every effort to retain her footing and hold on to the man she



AN EARLY PHOTOGRAPH OF OLYMPIA



THE FIRST PICTURE OF ABERDEEN

Taken in 1886

had rescued. Slowly she dragged him to safety. As consciousness returned, the Russian, in a dazed condition, attacked her. He took her to be an Indian until he heard her speak.

The story of Mrs. White's fight was published far and wide and later was brought to the attention of the British Government which sent the woman a gift of twenty-five pounds sterling, and a letter of thanks. Portland, Ore., people made up a purse of \$250 which, together with a handsome medal, was presented to Mrs. White.

Elma's transformation from wilderness began in 1853 when D. F. Byles and family, late arrivals overland from Kentucky, settled there. About the same time a Mr. Porter, C. C. Combes and J. M. Anderson arrived and a few years later Anderson opened the first store. It was a small affair—so small in fact that patrons said Anderson could stand in the middle of the room and without moving, reach any of its four sides. Having grown to the dignity of having a store, the little settlement decided it wanted a postoffice. James Waldrip suggested that the town be called Elmer, in honor of Elmer E. Ellsworth, the first Union soldier killed in the Civil war. A petition was sent to Washington and the postoffice department changed Elmer to Elma and the office was established with Waldrip as postmaster.

Early in Elma's career the fertile valley lands along the Chehalis River bottom attracted farmers and the town became the center of a prosperous agricultural community. It is today the supply point of numerous berry growing and dairying farmers and each year holds a fair that enjoys a state-wide reputation. It takes great pride in its lawns and flowers and in the homelike appearance of its comely residences.

The municipal government was established in 1886 with John J. Carney as mayor. Carney, three years earlier, built the town's first water system. It obtained its supply from the hills to the northward and the water was brought in through wooden pipes. Later Carney became postmaster at Aberdeen. Much of Elma's early history centers about the old log schoolhouse which the settlers built at a very early time. It stood at what is now Main Street and Division Avenue and for many years was schoolroom, church and community center. Inside its walls the town's first Methodist Church was organized with eight members; also the Christian Church. Later it was replaced with a frame building and Elmaites felt they had taken a long step towards metropolitan ways.

In the November elections of 1882 Chehalis County polled but 200 votes and ten years later Elma's population was given as 300. The census of 1900 placed it at 810 and that of 1910 at 1,532. The first newspaper, the Chronicle, was established in 1888 and the railroad came with the building of the Grays Harbor branch of the Northern Pacific. From that time down to the present the town's growth has kept pace with the country's development and today Elma is an important point.

TERRITORIAL OFFICERS

GOVERNORS

Isaac I. Stevens, democrat, appointed by President Pierce. Served 1853 to 1857.

J. Patton Anderson, democrat, appointed by President Buchanan. Served 1857. Did not qualify.

Fayette McMullin, democrat, appointed by President Buchanan. Served 1857 to 1859.

R. D. Gholson, democrat, appointed by President Buchanan. Served 1859 to 1861.

W. H. Wallace, republican, appointed by President Lincoln. Served 1861. Did not qualify.

William Pickering, republican, appointed by President Lincoln. Served 1862 to 1866.

George E. Cole, democrat, appointed by President Johnson. Served 1866 to 1867.

Marshall F. Moore, republican, appointed by President Johnson. Served 1867 to 1869.

Alvin Flanders, republican appointed by President Grant. Served 1869 to 1870.

Edward S. Salmon, republican, appointed by President Grant. Served 1870 to 1872.

James F. Legate, republican, appointed by President Grant. Served 1872. Did not qualify.

Elisha P. Ferry, republican, appointed by President Grant. Served 1872 to 1880.

W. A. Newell, republican, appointed by President Hayes. Served 1880 to 1884.

Watson C. Squire, republican, appointed by President Arthur. Served 1884 to 1887.

Eugene Semple, democrat, appointed by President Cleveland. Served 1887 to 1889.

Miles C. Moore, republican, appointed by President Harrison. Served seven months.

DELEGATE TO CONGRESS

Columbia Lancaster, democrat, 1854.

William H. Wallace, whig, 1854.

J. Patton Anderson, democrat, 1855.

Isaac I. Stevens, democrat, 1857 and 1859.

William H. Wallace, republican, 1861.

George E. Cole, democrat, 1863.

Arthur A. Denny, republican, 1865.

Alvin Flanders, republican, 1867.

Silvicius Garfielde, republican, 1869 and 1870.

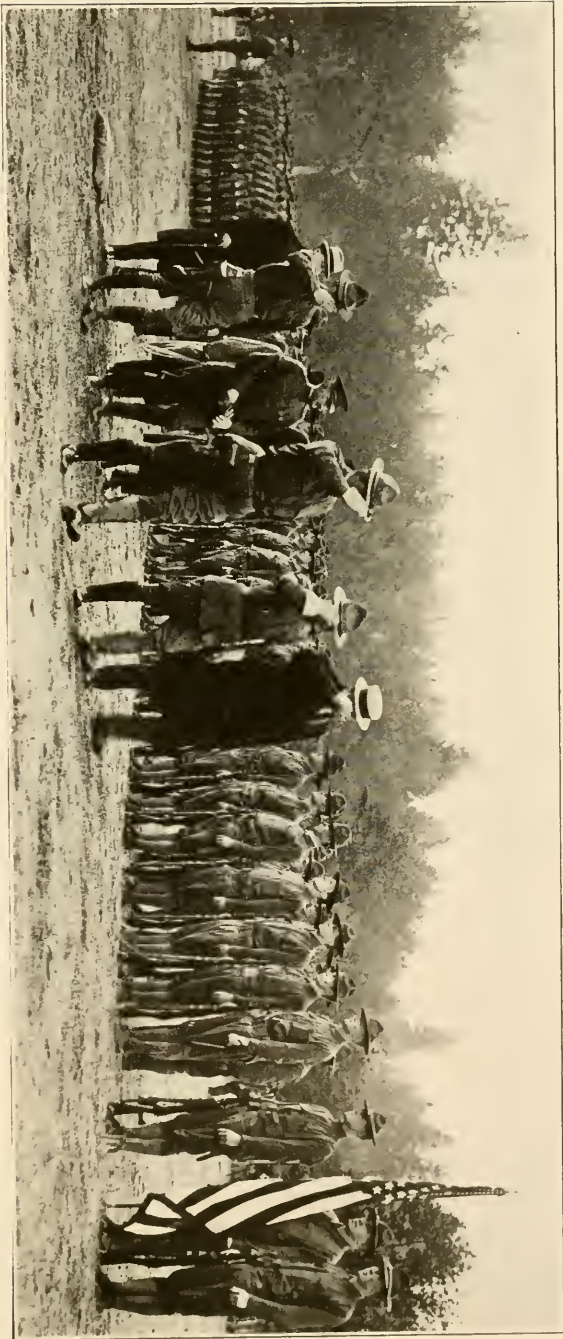
O. B. McFadden, democrat, 1872.

Orange Jacobs, republican, 1874 and 1876.

Thomas H. Brentes, republican, 1878, 1880 and 1882.

C. S. Voorhees, democrat, 1884 and 1886.

John B. Allen, republican, 1888.



REVIEWING THE BUSINESS MEN'S MILITARY INSTRUCTION CAMP AT AMERICAN LAKE IN AUGUST, 1915

From right to left, in the foreground: Former President Taft, Col. R. H. Wilson, Capt. A. P. S. Hyde, Adjt. Gen. Maurice Thompson, Lieut. Harry Ingles. In the rear of the party is Rep. Albert Johnson with Republican National Committeeman S. A. Perkins, who is only partly shown behind General Thompson.

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STATE OFFICERS

GOVERNORS

- Elisha P. Ferry, republican, 1889 to 1893.
 John H. McGraw, republican, 1893 to 1897.
 John R. Rogers, fusion, 1897 to 1901.
 Henry McBride, republican, 1901 to 1905.
 Albert E. Mead, republican, 1905 to 1909.
 Samuel G. Cosgrove, republican, 1909.
 M. E. Hay, republican, 1909 to 1913.
 Ernest Lister, democrat, 1913.
 John R. Rogers and Samuel G. Cosgrove died in office and were succeeded by their lieutenant governors.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNORS

- Charles E. Laughton, 1889 to 1893.
 F. H. Luce, 1893 to 1897.
 Thurston Daniels, 1897 to 1901.
 Henry McBride, 1901.
 Charles E. Coon, 1905 to 1909.
 M. E. Hay, 1909.
 Louis F. Hart, 1913 to —.

UNITED STATES SENATOR

- John B. Allen, republican, 1889 to 1893.
 Watson C. Squire, republican, 1889 to 1897.
 John L. Wilson, republican, 1895 to 1899.
 George Turner, fusionist, 1897 to 1903.
 Addison G. Foster, republican, 1899 to 1905.
 Levi Ankeny, republican, 1903 to 1909.
 Samuel H. Piles, republican, 1905 to 1911.
 Wesley L. Jones, republican, 1909 to —.
 Miles Poindexter, republican, 1911 to —.

CONGRESSMEN

- John L. Wilson, republican, 1889 to 1895.
 W. H. Doolittle, republican, 1893 to 1897.
 S. C. Hyde, republican, 1895 to 1897.
 W. C. Jones, fusionist, 1897 to 1899.
 James Hamilton Lewis, fusionist, 1897 to 1899.
 F. W. Cushman, republican, 1899 to 1909.
 W. E. Humphrey, republican, 1901 to 1917.
 Miles Poindexter, republican, 1909 to 1911.
 W. L. La Follette, republican, 1911 to —.

Albert Johnson, republican, 1913 to ——.
 C. C. Dill, democrat, 1915 to ——.
 L. H. Hadley, republican, 1915 to ——.
 John F. Miller, republican, 1917 to ——.
 W. W. McCredie, republican, 1909 to 1911.
 Stanton Warburton, republican, 1911 to 1913.
 J. W. Bryan, progressive, 1913 to 1915.
 J. A. Falconer, progressive, 1913 to 1915.

PIONEER W. J. BOWMAN'S RECOLLECTIONS

"When we arrived at the little hamlet of St. Joe late in March of 1850 we were at the western border of civilization. We would stand on the eastern bank of the Missouri River and, gazing across, wonder with bated breath what the great wilderness held in store for us—whether life or death, success or annihilation. Our people, striving mightily to change our minds, freely predicted the latter—the annihilation that overtook thousands of illy prepared adventurers under our very eyes.

"When after completing our outfit we crossed the river on a rickety old flat-boat that could scarcely carry our six horses and well laden wagon, on Sunday, April 5th, and treked a Sabbath day's journey out on to the wide silent plain, we stood face to face with a mystery we could not fathom and oppressed with an awe almost overwhelming. However, the great plain was not silent for long, for almost within an hour the bright sun was obscured and before we could get our camp pitched and secured a tornado struck us with wind and torrents of rain, stampeding our horses, demolishing the tent, which it took the most heroic efforts to keep from blowing away, completely drenching ourselves, clothing and bedding. Two or three days were required to recover the horses and restore the camp to normal.

"This was our baptism and we accepted it as such. It nerved us for what was to come. Without any serious mishap, but with all the danger and vicissitudes that attend a great journey through an untracked wilderness infested with savage animals and more savage men, where life was the price of watchfulness day and night, we descended the western slope of the Rocky Mountains.

"On entering the Bad Lands our real troubles began. The hot desert sand and alkali water and dust made life almost unbearable. Cattle died by thousands; the heat ruined many wagons; the maddened emigrants threw away everything that could possibly be spared to lighten the burden of the distressed teams and to permit them to go forward. Even then the miserable wayfarer was in many instances left on foot. Hundreds perished. With my own eyes I have seen the bodies, before they became rigid, rolled in their single blankets and dumped into shallow holes, only to be dug out by wolves as soon as the company was out of sight.

"Finally disaster overtook us. The Indians got our best horses and we had to leave our wagons. By a kindly comradeship our most necessary effects, the things we could not pack upon the two horses we had left, were distributed among teams that were strong enough to pull their wagons, and in a sort of half dazed, half dead condition we staggered into Fort Dalles on September 24th, five months

and nineteen days after crossing the Missouri River. We were almost destitute. Our fine supply of provisions had been given by my parents to save the lives of fellow travelers. Our two horses were sold to the Government for \$100, and with that munificent sum we made our way to a Hudson's Bay Company trading post at the mouth of the Cowlitz River. We took up 640 acres of good land in the Cowlitz Valley; by the end of October had a rough log cabin, with a stick and clay chimney, ready to move into. We bought plenty of good wheat from the Hudson's Bay Company and fine red salmon for a song—and I guess a rather sorry song at that—from the Indians. We planted a small patch of potatoes on the shares at one place, with some turnips on the side. Then we holed up in our cabin for the winter. With plenty of fuel at hand we lived like rats in a cheese, fattening on the wheat boiled till their jackets cracked open, salmon and potatoes boiled together and, as I said, turnips on the side cooked or scraped.

"In the spring home-making began. Of course we were not idle all winter. We made posts, shaved cedar shingles and split fir and cedar rails. It was a hard, rough life, but we were devoutly thankful and happy, and daily rejoiced we had been saved from the purgatory of the Band Lands and the scalping knife of the 'noble red man.'"

THE "CHOLERA BELT"

"We were married in October, 1851, at Auburn, Ill., and stirred by the stories of the wonderful resources of the West, made up our minds to come. So March 29, 1852, we set out, in company of the Turners. Mrs. Boatman's brother, William Richardson, was with us. When we arrived at Kaneshville, Iowa, now called Council Bluffs, a report came back from other emigrants who had left the town a few days before, that the Indians were making trouble. It was decided to wait until enough wagons arrived to offer a formidable defense against attack. This was a matter of but a few days, for 1852 was the year of the heaviest emigration—in fact we were never out of sight of wagons from the start of the journey to its finish. When thirty-two 'schooners' had gathered, Andrew Turner was elected captain, and our party proceeded. It was found that the trouble with the Indians came from their taking possession of a bridge across the Missouri River, built by the whites, and demanding toll from all passing over it. Beyond an occasional party of warriors on horseback dashing through the hills, we saw no other Indians.

"East of La Platte River we struck the so-called cholera belt. The first to succumb to the disease was Andrew Turner, who was followed a few days later by his grandson, John, a child eight years of age. Then came the boy's father, John Turner, Sr., who took sick at 3 o'clock one morning and was buried before 3 o'clock that afternoon. We used the partitions in the wagon boxes for coffins for the two elder Turners, and the boy was buried in a supply box.

"The remains of those dying along the trail were placed about three feet under ground generally, and in many instances the work of hungry wolves could be plainly seen in the freshly pawed soil from the tops of the boxes, and the human bones and other evidences scattered about former camping places.

"It was horrible. Hundreds fell victims of the disease. In one camp we passed there were six new graves, and the men of the party were engaged in dig-

ging more. Before our band had traveled far cholera had taken so many away the company disbanded, leaving our original party together once more. On the other side of the big sandy desert of Wyoming it was a common sight to see an old camping site dotted with from ten to fifty newly-made graves.

"The weather was very hot when we crossed the desert, and in the two days we were on it the oxen did not have a drop of water. We would stop during the hottest part of the day and also late at night that the animals might rest and eat the dew-wet plants. As we reached the edge of the desert the oxen were driven frantic by the scent of water at least $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles away. We knew it to be an alkali pool, and were compelled to unhitch them to prevent a stampede. They were driven to the Green River and then back to the wagons and the journey continued.

"The Green was so crooked we had to cross it nine times, and the waters were so high the wagon boxes had to be set on top of and fastened to the standards to prevent the entire outfit being carried down the stream. William Richardson died at The Dalles from mountain fever, and being out of boards with which to construct a coffin, his body was wrapped in a blanket and buried. The headpiece was made from a part of a trunk with an inscription written upon it. Portland was reached October 22d."

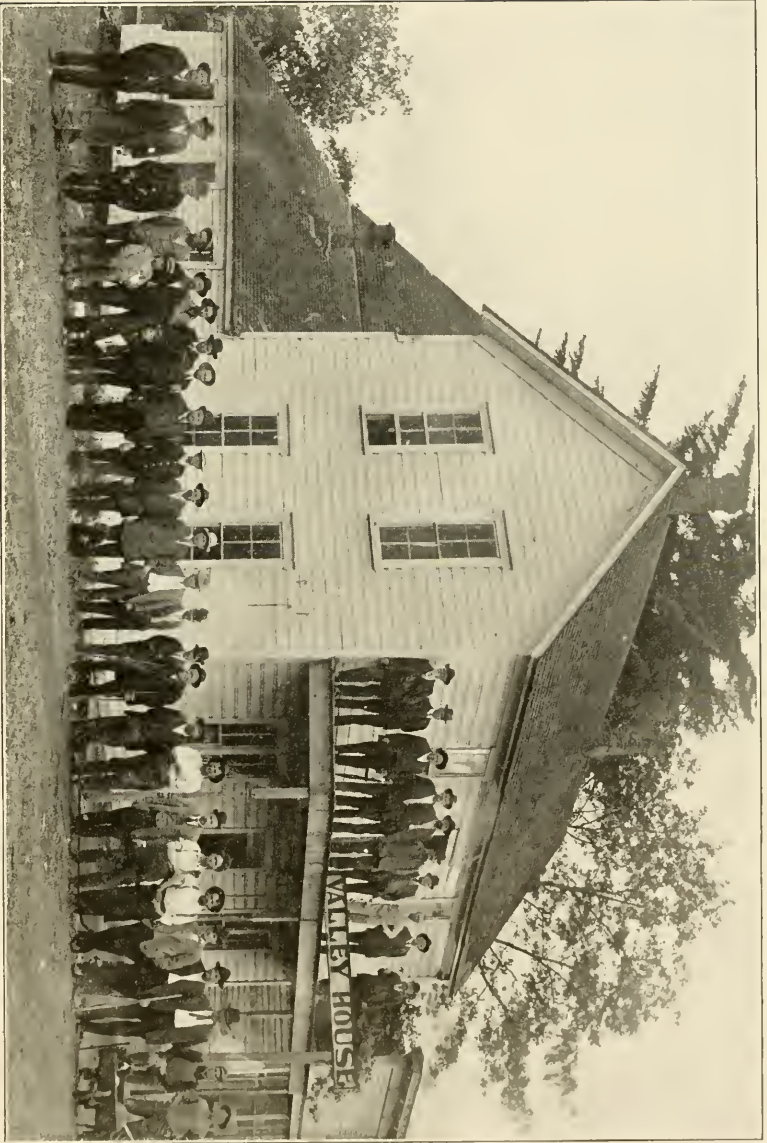
THE "LUSHANS"

Near the homestead of Isaac H. Whealdon, just above the Nasel Landing, lived an intelligent Indian by the name of Acelan, who said that a long time ago a little schooner came from the cold country far to the north and anchored just outside the entrance to Willapa Harbor. Early in the morning a large boat was lowered over the side of the schooner, manned by more than a hundred men. The boat crew came ashore in North Cove and made the Indians understand that they were very hungry. They were the first white men the natives had ever seen, they wore long beards, and Acelan in telling the story called them "Lushan Tillicums." They remained all day, trading with the Indians for fish and meat. In the winter of 1815-16 the Russian garrison at Sitka starved out and started for the Columbia River in the Juno, a schooner which Count Von Baranoff had bought from Captain De Wolf, an American sailor. The long bearded white men were Russians, "Lushan" being as near as the Indians could come to the pronunciation of the word.

THE OLD LUMMI POTLATCH HOUSE

Professor Meany, writing for a newspaper some years ago, said that the ruins of the old Lummi potlatch house less than ten years ago indicated that this tribe in the early days of the last century constructed a building at least two hundred and fifty feet long on the southern end of what afterwards became the Lummi Reservation. The Indian name for this locality is Swol-hasen and the house was occupied by the people of Sub-Chief "General Washington" and those of the head chief, Chow-its-hoot, the latter living in the northern part of the house.

The ruins indicate that the rear walls were 9 feet in height while the pillars which supported the front elevation were 12 feet in height with cedar logs about



A GROUP OF ELMA PIONEERS AT THE OLD VALLEY HOUSE, A LANDMARK

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40 feet long and 18 inches in diameter for plates supporting the roof of split cedar boards, many of which were 3 feet wide by 20 feet in length.

The Tamanaous of Chow-its-hoot, two circles, one within the other, with two arms suspended from the rim of the outer circle, with circles at the ends of each of these arms, was carved on each of the pillars of the part of the house occupied by Chow-its-hoot and his people. The chief came by his Tamanaous in the following manner:

In his boyhood Chow-its-hoot became a victim of the gambling habit, which fastened itself upon him so strongly that one day he wagered and lost his father's fur coat. The old chief gave Chow-its-hoot a severe beating. Smarting with pain and disgrace, the boy left the paternal home, resolved to find a Tamanaous which would bring him good fortune. Going to Deception Pass he built a raft of logs upon which he placed a heavy rock. From cedar twigs and bark he twisted a rope, one end of which he fastened to the rock and then pushed his craft out into the boiling waters of the pass.

Throwing the rock overboard Chow-its-hoot held the other end of the rope and followed the stone down into the water, where he soon fell asleep and heard a voice which said that he should go further west and repeat the performance. This he did and again fell asleep. He dreamed that he traveled to a country where the birds and fishes were making a great potlatch. The chief of the potlatch came and told him he would live long enough to give potlatch four times and that he would thus become a great chief. This was good news to Chow-its-hoot who awoke to find himself on the sandy beach with the bright sunlight shining in his face, and then he noticed that the sun was walking towards him carrying in each hand a treasure chest—and Chow-its-hoot knew that he had found his Tamanaous.

The sun aided him in giving the four potlatches, one on Whidby Island, one near the present City of LaConner, the third and fourth at Tom-wheak-sun, or Gooseberry Point, on the Lummi Reservation. His greatness being established, Chow-its-hoot built the great potlatch house at Swol-hasen and prepared for a monster potlatch, which was intended to be the greatest achievement of its kind ever attempted. The sun had promised to assist with four, but had said nothing about the fifth. Word was sent to all the tribes with which the Lummis had communication, the chief even asking the Clallams to put on the terrible Chayne-quah, or lightning play. Chayne-quah required that the man receiving it at the hands of approaching guests possess great power. The sun had promised to aid Chow-its-hoot in giving four potlatches—a number far greater than could be given by any Indian having a Tamanaous of less powerful influence—and success had, perhaps turned the old chief's head.

Potlatch morning dawned, the guests gathered from many quarters and soon the leading canoe of the Clallams burst into view around a point of land some two miles away. Under the influence of many powerful paddlers it took up a zig zag course across the intervening waters, followed by other canoes, until the whole two-mile space was filled. It was a great celebration, but the old chief had overestimated his power. In a short time his young Swinomish wife ran away. Gathering a band, Chow-its-hoot went in pursuit and was killed by his half-brother, S'Hoolk-ka-nan. The sun had said nothing about a fifth potlatch.

OLD-MAN HOUSE

The largest and best known of all the Indian houses was that of the Suquamish tribe on the beach near the present day Town of Suquamish on Port Madison. Nobody knows when it was built—it was an old structure at the time white men first arrived on the Sound—and today its outlines cannot be traced on the beach. The only evidence that any building ever existed there is found in the burned off butt of one of the monster posts which supported the roof. It was the home of the people from whom came the best known of all Puget Sound chieftains—Seattle—and every year this tribe holds a celebration in honor of his elevation to chieftainship. These celebrations are highly interesting. Older members of the tribe dance the old time dances, sing the old time songs and perform the old time rites. Guests, without cameras, are welcome, but woe betide the man or woman “camera fiend”—he is unwelcome and the very sight of the offending little black box is a signal for most strenuous objections from the performers. The younger folk of the tribe look upon the performance as a sort of “necessary evil” to be tolerated for the amusement of their elders. They do not take part in the dancing; but when the speech making begins they come to the front and demonstrate the fact that white man’s education has served to intensify the Indian’s love of oratory.

The man or woman who thinks the tales told of Indian oratory of past ages are but the imaginings of ultra romantic minds should attend a Chief Seattle Day celebration. The educated modern Indian has a mastery of words truly surprising. Close attention is necessary, for in the deliberate choosing of language with which to clothe and express his thoughts, the modern Indian orator gives his audience little time for thinking extraneous thoughts.

Frank Carlson, A. M., of the class of '03, University of Washington, after long and careful study of all available data regarding Old-Man-House, prepared what doubtless is the best history of the famous old building ever written. From it the following quotations are taken:

“The history of the Old-Man-House, or as the Indians called it, Tsu-Cub, possesses peculiar interest, which distinguishes it from almost all other Indian architecture in the New World. If it were possible to unravel fully the history of the people who built and frequented this house, we would undoubtedly have a history as full of romance as the story of Troy, so beautifully described by Homer.

“The ground-plan of this house is still traceable, although there is only one post standing; all the others have rotted off where they entered the surface of the ground, and then been washed away by the tide or burned by the Indians; but that part which remained in the ground is in perfect preservation, and shows plainly the location of the house.

“In front, the outline of the house measures about 900 feet, in the rear a little less, as the house curved somewhat to correspond with the beach. In width, it measures about 60 feet, with the exception of a short distance at each end, where it measures only 50 feet. At the north end, the rear end of a few of the rafters rested upon the bank. In height it was 12 feet in front and between 8 and 9 in the rear.

“It covered an area of about $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres, containing about 40 apartments, each

entirely separated from the other by a partition of boards or planks split from cedar, held together by sticks fastened at the top with withes.

The total number of posts is given by Gibbs to have been 74, which is about the correct number for the corner posts. The size of the posts differ; in front they were about 15 feet long, 2 or 4 feet wide and 10 to 12 inches thick; in the rear they were 12 feet long with the same width and thickness as those in front. All the posts were notched at the top and placed in position with the bark side facing the interior of the house and tamped solidly until they could support the great weight that rested upon them.

The rafters consisted of round cedar logs, hewed off at the upper side so as to make it level for the roof. They were about 65 feet long with a diameter of 24 or more inches in the large end and about 12 in the small end. These rafters had also a post in the middle to support them.

The roof was covered with cedar boards (shakes), which were laid on planks that rested on the rafters.

The outside walls of the building, like the roof, consisted of split cedar planks which were put up similar to the partitions.

In each apartment was one or more fireplaces, which were generally made of stone and raised a little from the ground. There was an opening in the roof through which the smoke escaped. This opening could be closed when desired.

Each apartment contained several rooms separated from each other by matings suspended from the ceiling, and in several of these rooms were raised bunks constructed around the walls for beds, on which were used as bedding, mats. On each end of the apartment was a door which hung on wooden hinges.

The chief apartment, occupied by Sealth, was built very strong; the wall in front consisted of very heavy posts with several openings, and a contrivance to place in front of the door in case of an attack by unfriendly tribes. In a like manner Kitsap's apartment was fortified.

Furthermore, on every corner post in front of the chief's and sub-chief's apartments, was carved the figure of the big 'Thunderbird' in the proportions in which it fixed itself in the minds of that particular tribe; and also a grotesque figure of a man, about half size, naked, and with bow and arrow. This latter figure was supposed to represent the ancestor of the tribe. There were also smaller carvings on the other front posts.

This massive house of the Indians of Puget Sound was over thirty times as large as the houses built by the mighty nation of the Iroquois, which were, according to Morgan's description, from fifty to one hundred feet long, and about seventeen feet wide.

As to the time when this house was built, there are various conjectures; some claim that it was constructed about the middle of the eighteenth century by one of the tribes of the Duwamish Confederacy; others think it was built in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The latter opinion is undoubtedly correct as Vancouver does not make any mention of the house. But the best evidence, perhaps, that can be adduced is the great mass of crushed, broken and roasted clam shells that are found to a considerable depth over every portion of the beach, even as far out as deep water.

An Indian whose name was Sub-Qualth has given the following information: 'In the Tsu-Cub lived eight great chiefs and their people. Space in the big

house was allotted each chief and his people and this was religiously consecrated to them and never encroached upon others. To chief Sealth was given the position of honor; Chief Kitsap next, Sealth's aged father ranked third, and Tsu-Lu-Cub came fourth.' These four Sub-Qualth remembered as they represented one-half of the Tsu-Cub. The next four Sub-Qualth did not remember, but his father, who was a cousin of Chief Sealth, had told him their names.

"That the Old-Man-House was originally built for a Polatch House there is no doubt, but it was also used as a residence for part of the year. It was chiefly used for that when the whites came.

"Directly across from the Old-Man-House is located at Point Agate, perhaps, the only permanent record of these tribes. Upon the flat surface of the rock is engraved characters of different descriptions whose meaning neither the whites nor Indians have been able to interpret. This engraving is said to have been made by the Tamahnous Man."

NORTHWESTERN INDIANS

George Gibbs prepared for the Government some years ago a report on the Indians of the Northwest. It was published in 1877. Gibbs grouped most of the Indians of the Sound under what he termed the Niskwalli (Nisqually) nation, separating them into a number of main tribes with various sub-tribes; his main divisions being:

"1st. The Skokomish, of whom the Toanhuch seems to be another name only, said to mean in the Klallam tongue 'a portage.' They occupy both sides of Hood Canal above Port Gamble and number 200 souls. Their chief is now Hol-hol-tin, better known as Jim. Their language constitutes a distinct one, differing so far from that of the Niskwalli as not to be generally understood.

"2d. The bands occupying Puget Sound and the inlets opening into it as far down as Point Pully. These all speak the same dialect, the Niskwalli proper, and were all included in treaties made at Shenahnam, or Medicine Creek, December, 1854. A division might be made of these into three sub-tribes, the first consisting of the S'Hotlemamish of Case Inlet, Sahelwamish of Hamersly Inlet, Sawamish of Totten Inlet; Skwai-aitl of Eld Inlet, Stehtsasamish of Budd, Inlet, and Nusehtsatl of South Bay or Herderson Inlet; the second consisting of the Skwalliahmish or Niskwalli, including the Segwallitsu, Steilakumahmish, and other small bands; the third of the Puyallupahmish, T'Kawkwamish, and S'Homamish of the Puyallup River and Vashon Island. The first are properly salt water Indians; the second are for the most part like the Staktamish, or upper Tsihalis, equestrian in their habits, and the last are river and Sound Indians.

Below these is the division of which the Dwamish and Sukwamish are the principal bands, occupying Elliott Bay, Brainbridge Island, and a portion of the peninsula between Hood Canal and Admiralty Inlet. Their head chief is Se-aathl, or, as it is usually pronounced, Seattle, from whom the Town of Elliott Bay has been named. In this connection there are also the Samamish, Skopahmish, Sk'tehlmish, St'kamish, and other small bands lying upon the lakes and the branches of Dwamish River, who are claimed by the others as part of their tribe, but have in reality very little connection with them. A very few of these last possess houses, but the majority are river Indians.

"3d. The Snohomish, with whom are included the Snolwalmu, Shiwhamish, Sk'tah-le-jum, Kwehtl-ma-mish, and Stolutswhamish, living on the Snohomish and Stolutswhamish rivers. The Snohomish tribe itself occupies only the country at its mouth and the lower end of Whidbey Island; the upper part of the river belonging to the Snokwalmu, etc. They number 441 souls, and the other bands, collectively, 556. The Snohomish assimilate in dialect to the next tribe, the Skagit, while the Snokwalmu speak the Niskwalli in its purity.

"4th. The Skagits, including the Kikiallu, Nukwatsamish, Tow-ah-ha Smalihu, Sakumelhu, Miskaiwhu, Miseckwigweelis, Swinamish, occupy the remaining country between the Shohomish and Bellingham Bay with the northern part of Whidbey Island and Perry Island. With them a different dialect prevails, though not so distinct but what they can be understood by those already mentioned. They altogether amount to 1,475.

"5th. The Samish, Lummi, Nuksahk, living around Bellingham Bay and the Lummi River. The two former are salt water and the last exclusively river Indians. Altogether they number 680. The language of the Lummi, at the mouth of the river, and of the Nuksahk, a few miles higher up, differ so much as to be almost unintelligible to one another. The latter seems to approach more nearly to that of Frazer River and, in fact, their principal intercourse is with Fort Langley and the Indians in that direction."

SKOKOMISH OR TWANA INDIANS

The tribe of Indians commonly known as the Skokomish really were Twanas. In ancient days the Twana tribe had three villages. One was at the upper end of Hood Canal near where Clifton now is. This village was called Du-hla-lip, one at Kol-cud-do-bish, the white man's Quilcene, and one called Sko-ko-mish. The word Sko-ko-mish means the people who dwell by the big fresh water and was given because this village was close to the mouth of the river which drains Lake Cushman. The Point-No-Point treaty of January 26, 1855, located the reservation at this village and thus the whole Twana tribe became known to the whites as the Skokomish.

INDIAN COOKERY

(By Frances Stone)

Out of the even heat of the modern gas oven, Mary Johnson carefully draws a loaf of bread, fragrantly inviting and alluringly brown. She holds it up to be admired by the instructor and her thirty fellow students, her brown cheeks flushed with the warmth of the kitchen, her eyes glowing with the peculiar pride in cooking achievement which every woman feels but once, and that at the time when she has produced her first loaf of perfect bread.

Mary is a student at Cushman School and one of the girls in a big class in domestic science. Her white middie is carefully ironed, and jauntily fastened with a gay red windsor. Her black hair is smooth under a modern net, and caught to her head with bright hair pins and combs. Her shoes are of black leather, buttoned and heeled. She is of the third generation since the coming of the white man.

Several times a week she and her classmates assemble in the long cooking laboratory, each girl before her gas burner, for lessons in home keeping—in the preparation of vegetables—carrots, parsnips, beans, spinach, potatoes, tomatoes, corn and squash; of meats, pastries, breads and fish. The teacher is a white woman and she tells them of the cookery of her peoples, developed through centuries of experiment and culture of domestic foods.

Centuries after the Pilgrim mothers had brought old English cooking to the shores of America, the women in Mary Johnson's family were cooking the roots and herbs of Puget Sound in wholesome, toothsome combinations. They were served without salt, without spices and seasoning of any kind, without French or mayonnaise dressings, but they were nutritious, and the men and women who ate them liked them and kept well. They were clean, too, for the Indians were a cleanly people before the coming of the whites and the development of civilized dislike for icy river water in January.

Mary's great-grandmother stirred her foods over an open fire or baked in a hole lined with hot stones for an oven. In summer the smoke rose through the green boughs of overhanging trees; in winter it filled the skin tent, and saturated her clothes and hair. Her vegetables were boiled in priceless baskets, close woven to hold water, or cooked in hot ashes, or roasted on hot stones. Her cooking utensils were of bone and wood, carved with a thousand crude designs. Her refrigerator was the earth, her cupboard the trees.

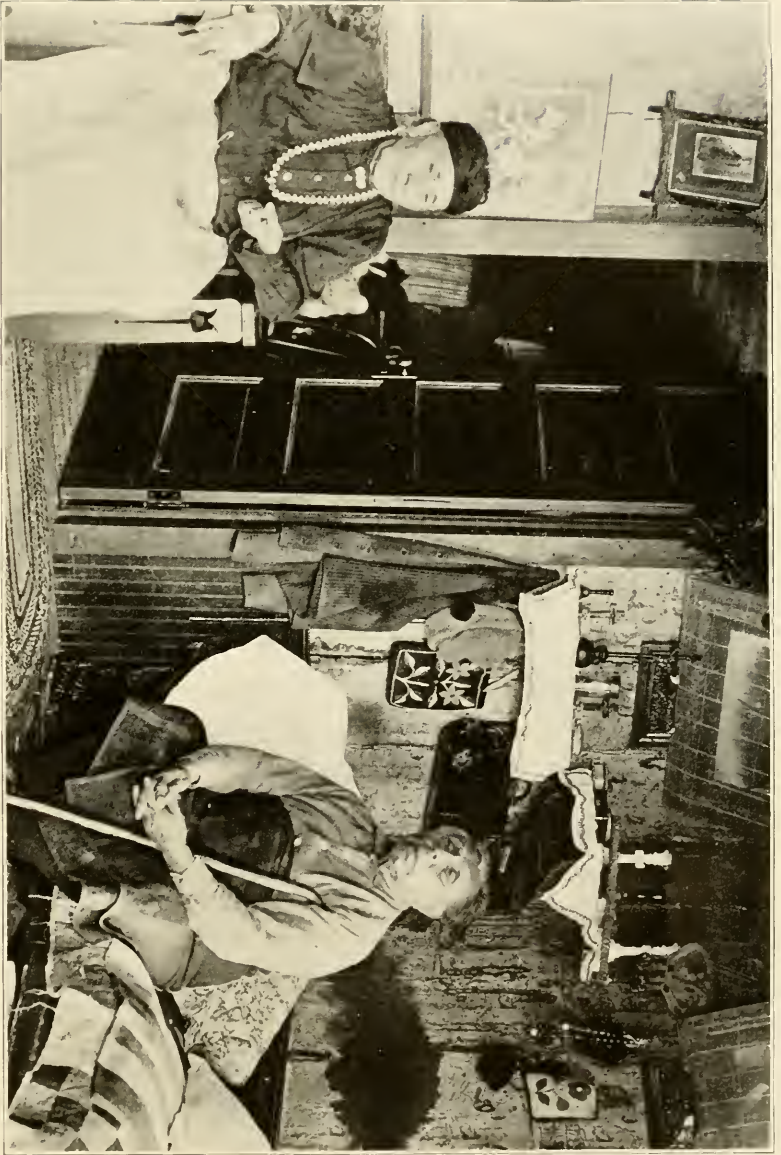
Her arms were bare—her sleeves never had been extended below the elbows. Her black braids, smooth from their vigorous combing with a wooden-toothed implement, hung over each shoulder and were tied with grasses. Her gown was of golden brown buckskin, sewed in picturesque pattern with grass thread and fastened with leather ribbons. Her feet padded about in fur lined moccasins. And she cooked as she had been taught in childhood by her mother and by the shadowy procession of her tribal women back to the time when the Great Spirit taught all people all things.

She was proud of her bread, too. All summer she and her sisters had gathered roots in the mountains and stored them against the coming of winter and the burial of the roots under the heavy snows. In hollowed stone bowls she had pounded the roots to a white pulp, and mixed them and baked them in hard round loaves. The exact roots which were used for the "real" Indian bread are not known on the reservation now, for the old Indian cooking is practically a lost art.

The Indians on Puget Sound knew every healthful, non-poisonous root and berry from the Sound to the mountains and ate them all. Many of those still grow, in fact most of them are to be found in the marshes or fields or woods, but they are passed unnoticed, or plucked for flowers and home decoration by whites and Indians alike.

Wapato—Indian potato, which grows in shallow lakes, creeks and low lands flooded by fresh water. It is the size of an egg, with white meat, sweet and very nutritious. It was considered a staple food by the Indians and cooked like the Irish potato. The plant could be grown easily and transplanted. Wapato Lake and Wapato Creek were its breeding grounds.

Za-look—a plant with a white flower and big leaves and stem, or sometimes two stems. It had a flat bulb and, cooked and eaten like the wapato, was delicious and of a sweetish taste. It grew abundantly in the open prairie lands.



JOHN HOTE

The last of the full-blooded Pnyallup Indians, who died in July, 1917. In the Indian war he exercised large influence in keeping his people out of the turmoil. Hote was blind for many years.

Kinnikinic berries, mashed and boiled and thoroughly mixed and beaten with raw or boiled salmon eggs made an excellent bread which would keep for months. Kinnikinic leaves when dried brown made good tobacco, though when used too freely they affected the user like opiates. This mixed with tobacco is still the standard smoke for the plains Indians. It was the kinnikinic "tobacco" which the Indian smoked in their pipes of peace when holding serious council on grave questions.

Tuddee—Fern roots were properly cleaned, the white fiber pounded into a fine powder or flour known as "nootsack." This mixed with cooked salmon eggs made a delicious bread and could be stored for future use. In this form it was called "za-duck."

Ollal (Cat-tails)—the big roots of the cat-tails were considered a dainty food and were eaten raw. They taste much like loin of beef.

Char-lake—a flat bulb, size of a large button, with bell-shaped flower, brownish in color and having a dark green leaf or stem. These were good when eaten raw or roasted.

The Sound Indians had a great variety of other vegetables, among them several which acted as splendid nerve tonics, and fruit, berries, meats and fish.

TULALIP—FAMOUS AS INDIAN SCHOOL

By Dr. Charles M. Buchanan, Superintendent

The early history of Tulalip appears to have been developed in cycles of two years, at the beginning, as follows: First settled, 1853; the treaty, 1855; first missionary, 1857; treaty ratified and proclaimed, 1859; and first official agency report, 1861.

Tulalip is often considered to be agency headquarters for two different mythical, non-existent tribes of Indians, namely, the "Tulalip tribe" and the "Siwash tribe." Tulalip is the name of a place and not a people. The Indian word "Duh'-hlay-lup" is a descriptive word referring to the almost land-locked condition of Tulalip Bay at low tide (as one Indian said: "Like a bag with its mouth almost shut"); the word Tulalip (pronounced Too-lay-lip, strongly accenting the second syllable) is the white man's partially successful approximation to the genuine Indian word already given. Tulalip should be pronounced Too-lay-lip—not "Tul-lal-lip" or "Too-lal-lip" or "Too-lah-lip," but "Too-lay-lip," strongly accenting the second syllable. A Tulalip Indian is not an Indian of the Tulalip tribe for there is no such tribe; he is merely an Indian who lives or belongs at Tulalip. As for "Siwash," the first French missionaries called the Indians "les sauvages" (the savages), which the Indian understood to the "Siwash"—it merely means a savage, an Indian.

In 1853, at Tulalip, was made the first white settlement in the present Snohomish County (Snohomish River, County and City all take their name from the dominant Indian tribe of the Tulalip Agency). Tulalip, therefore, is the father of Snohomish County. Here settled a few stout-hearted pioneers, attracted by the beautiful little sheltered bay and by the available water power, for they at once proceeded to build a saw mill. All of the material was felled, worked up, squared, etc., in the woods and the frame fastened with wooden pins—

no nail anywhere in the original structure. The motive power was a large, 26-foot overshot waterwheel and the saw was an old-fashioned upright "muley" saw. The capacity of the mill was nearly 1,000 feet of dimension stuff or of rough lumber per day, if conditions were favorable and nothing went wrong. These early settlers on Tulalip Bay were John Gould, Thomas Dixon, Doctor Cherry, Mr. Hall and Peter Goutre or Gochu who had donation claims. C. C. Philips was master workman in building the old mill and was given a share of the property for his services in laying out the mill. These parties are all dead. Doctor Cherry was killed by an Indian in Holmes' Harbor (Whidby Island) while assisting the sheriff from Seattle in arresting an Indian accused of killing a white man at Skagit Head (the southern extremity of Whidby Island). Peter Goutre, or Gentrie or Gochu (called by the Indians "Stuy-hy") was murdered on Hat Island, supposedly by Indians. The others died natural deaths. C. C. Philips formed a trading co-partnership with Captain Barrington of Oak Harbor and they ran the "express" to Olympia, one trip each way weekly with an Indian crew of four. After the Indian war of 1855-56 Mr. Philips was elected councilman or delegate from his county; he married a Miss Gillespie and had one son; later he was appointed Collector of Customs at Port Townsend; he died on his farm at Oak Harbor; his widow married R. C. Hill, the banker with Landes in Port Townsend and Albert Philips (C. C. Philips' son) is now assistant cashier with his stepfather (R. C. Hill) in the banking institution of Landes, Hill and Company. John Gould died at Coupeville about twelve years or so ago.

When the old Tulalip mill had been completed Mr. John M. Izett (who had gone to Utsalady in February, 1854, to superintend the lining and making of large spars and masts, eight square, for the governments of England and France) came to Tulalip for the lumber needed in building the spar camp. Mr. Izett was a ship-builder by trade.

Of the old settlers at Tulalip, Messrs. Gould, Cherry and Hall had locations on the present agency and school site and, as stated, built thereupon the first saw mill in Snohomish County. Peter Goutre (or Gentrie or Gochu) then held the land now occupied by Jim Snoqualmie. He (Goutre) acquired possession (as stated in Indian Office letter of April 30, 1895, Land—11790—1895) just prior to the establishment of the Tulalip Reserve. May 22, 1866, Hon. A. A. Denny of the House of Representatives forwarded to the Office of Indian Affairs for its consideration the proceedings of a board of appraisers, consisting of Caleb Miller, Thomas Maylor and R. S. Bailey, convened at Tulalip Indian Reservation, in Island County W. T. (the present Snohomish County was a portion of Island County prior to 1861), September 24, 1860, by M. T. Simmonis, Indian Agent, for the purpose of appraising the value of the claims and improvements of certain citizens of Washington Territory, which were situated on the lands selected for and secured to the Dwamish, Suquamish and other subordinate tribes of Indians by the treaty of Point Elliott, January 22, 1855.

These proceedings, which were sworn to before Jacob Summers, a notary public, show that the said board first proceeded to examine and value a mill site, situated upon a stream emptying into the Bay of Tulalip, on which was erected a saw mill owned by C. C. Philips, J. H. Hall and John Gould. After valuing this property and the separate improvements of said owners, they

"Examined the claim and improvements of Peter Goutrè, and that it consisted

of one hundred and sixty acres of land taken under the 'Donation Act,' that the claimant had legally notified when first making settlement and had lived the required time on the land to complete his title. They find upon said claim two frame buildings which they value at two hundred and fifty dollars (\$250), also eight acres of cleared land, which was in cultivation when set aside for the use of the Indians—which they value at \$56.25, fifty-six 25-100 dollars per acre; and one hundred and fifty-two acres of unimproved land which they estimate to have been worth (\$5.27) five and 27-100 dollars per acre, making the whole claim and improvements, according to the valuation of the board, to be worth (\$1501.04) fifteen hundred and one and 4-100 dollars."

The above described land and improvements now constitute the allotment of Police Officer Jim Snoqualmie (Indian). Goutre removed to Hat Island (Gedney Island on the charts), opposite Tulalip, was reputed to be a miser, and was doubtless killed for his money.

When the treaty of January 22, 1855, was made at Mukilteo the Indians chose, among other places, Tulalip. The Government, after the signing and ratification of the treaty, condemned, appraised and acquired the holdings, improvements, donation claims, etc., of the said early settlers, and occupied them for agency administrative purposes. As soon as the treaty was ratified the Indians began to live at Tulalip and in 1860 the first annuity payments were made there. The agency was organized and its first annual report bears the date of 1861.

The original old mill was in operation on its primitive site until 1907 when it was torn down (having been a curiosity for years). It was slow, cumbersome, awkward and of a mechanical type long since obsolete. In 1907-08 a new mill was erected on the old site, actuated by a turbine wheel and operating a double circular saw, all of the lumber and structural material for the new mill was fabricated in the old mill. The home of the former millwright was for years (before destruction) the agency office. This old agency office was razed and destroyed in the winter of 1913-1914, and is no longer existent.

The Government did not take actual and physical possession at Tulalip until 1860. In that year Indian Agent M. T. Simmons came to Tulalip, had a pow-wow with the Indians and issued some supplies to them. The first regular issue of treaty goods and supplies was in September, 1861, at which time and upon which occasion there were encamped at Tulalip 2,300 Indians coming from various points north of the south line of King County, south of the north line of Whatcom County (which was coincident with the international boundary line) and west of the Cascade Mountains. The first issues of these annuities were made under the protection of soldiers of the U. S. Army. June 7, 1861, the agent then in charge at Tulalip went to Olympia to request soldiers and on June 17, 1861, the revenue cutter "Jeff Davis" carried a detachment of troops to Tulalip to protect the Government property. June 18, 1861, the steam sloop of war "Massachusetts" arrived at Tulalip and remained there for purposes of protection. The first load of annuity goods promised by the treaty arrived at Tulalip August 26, 1861, on board the schooner "Growler," the day of arrival being Monday. At that time Mr. Samuel D. Howe took charge, his predecessors being but temporary. There were at this time few buildings at Tulalip and these were very poor, having been erected by the first settlers. Mr. Howe started at once to repair the old mill and to saw out lumber, and, in 1862, to erecting some agency buildings. In November,

1862, Mr. Alex. Spithill Sr. was employed by the Government to clear some ground for school buildings for a prospective site across the Tulalip Bay (the present "Mission" site across from the agency) for the Mission of Sainte Anne. The first building constructed on this site was the central building (afterwards known as "the priest's house" and occupied by Rev. Father Chirouse). This building and the one immediately north of it (used as a portion of the boys' dormitory) was built in 1863 by Mr. E. C. Ferguson of Snohomish. In that year Father Chirouse removed his school from Priest Point to Tulalip Bay, using these buildings. From 1857 to 1863 he had conducted a school for himself and on his own responsibility but after its removal to Tulalip Bay it was conducted by him for the Government under arrangement for the maintenance of a definite number of pupils. In 1868 the Sisters of Charity of the House of Providence of Montreal arrived in Tulalip and instituted a girls' school at the Mission in conjunction with the boys' school maintained by Father Chirouse. The next year regular contract was made for this school with this Government and it became thereby the very first Indian contract school in the United States.

The Oblate Fathers (members of the French order of Oblates of Mary the Immaculate, indicated by the initials O. M. I. after the name of the priest) established missions for the whites and the Indians east of the mountains as well as on Puget Sound. In 1848 they established a mother-house near Olympia, Wash., at a place adjacent to Priest Point. The first priest ordained for the Diocese of Walla Walla was the Rev. Father E. C. Chirouse, O. M. I. He was stationed at St. Rose's Mission, established in 1847 among the Yakima Indians. When the Indian wars broke out a few years later (1855-56) this mission and that of St. Joseph's also were abandoned (but was revived in 1866 by Father St. Onge and Father J. B. Boulet—Father Boulet lives at Ferndale, Wash., and is the missionary priest of the Lummi Reservation of Tulalip Agency). When these missions were abandoned Father Chirouse came to his mother-house at Olympia, looking about for further missionary fields and through this he became the Apostle to the Indians of the Puget Sound country. It is said that the register of the Oblate Fathers for Puget Sound contains no less than 3,811 baptisms from January, 1848, to August, 1868. Father Chirouse, in September 1857, came to Tulalip Reservation, locating at a point between Priest Point and Quilceda Creek (adjacent to Marysville), adjacent to the Percival and Tyee George allotments on the banks of Ebey Slough. One of the first fruit trees (an apple tree) is still standing and bearing fruit on this original site. Father Chirouse started a church at this site. The next year he moved a little further west, to Priest Point, where he established a church and cemetery on what is now the Charles Hillaire allotment. At this site he did some clearing and established a school. By the spring of 1859 he had quite a clearing on which he, with the help given him by the Indians, raised a considerable garden (one of his Indian gardeners of that day is employed as farmer at Tulalip and put in the garden at Tulalip School this summer, planting and transplanting his young onion plants as he had been taught to do by Father Chirouse years ago).

From that time on the Father kept clearing land and improving his buildings until in 1860 he had school running with about fifteen pupils and a settlement about him of about two hundred Indians. He also planted an orchard, a portion of which is still standing on the Hillaire allotment at Priest Point. It was from this



The oldest apple tree



The "witness tree," which a few years ago was undermined by the Columbia River

TWO FAMOUS OLD VANCOUVER TREES

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ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATION

point that the school was moved in 1863 to Tulalip Bay. Until the period of its removal it had received no assistance from the Government. The main support of the school had come from donations and even personal begging. It was the custom to take the school boys off on a performing tour of the Sound country; pass the hat and maintain school until the "hat" was empty. As one of the old pupils said to me:

"Those, Doctor, were the days of salt salmon straight—and we had to catch the salmon, too, before we could salt them!"

The dauntless spirit of Father Chirouse in the face of such odds and such obligations is amazing. He has left his impress upon the Indian people of the Sound country. At Tulalip he built a church in 1867; additions and improvements were added from time to time until its completion by the addition of the belfry in 1885. This church burned in the Mission fire of March 29, 1902, but its old bell still stands mounted outside of the gate of the present church. Father Chirouse also built churches at many points and missions about the Sound, at Lummi (1868), at Swinomish (1869), at Port Madison or "Old Man House" (1870) and at Muckleshoot (1880).

On December 8, 1856, several Sisters of Charity of the House of Providence of Montreal (founded by Mother Gamaliel) arrived and on that day began their mission of charity in the hospitals of the Northwest. In 1868 they came to Tulalip in order that Father Chirouse might extend to Indian girls the same training that he had been affording Indian boys. In 1869 the Government contracted with this school for the maintenance of a definite number of Indian pupils at a definite per capita per month and thus Tulalip became the first contract Indian school of the United States. It maintained this status unchanged until about 1896. At that time there was much feeling in Congress against the use of Government funds in sectarian schools. One branch of Congress desired to cut these schools off at once, to which the other house did not agree. A final compromise was effected, however, providing for 20 per cent decreases in contracts per year, thus eliminating such schools after five years instead of summarily. This condition applied to Tulalip Mission of Sainte Anne; but each year the Catholic Bureau of Indian Missions took up, carried and paid for the annual per centum decrement so that the actual revenue of the mission school was not affected so far as the Sisters' returns financially were concerned. In the winter of 1900-1901, however, the Government determined to assume possession of its plant and conduct its own school there. Dr. Charles M. Buchanan was appointed superintendent (the first superintendent to succeed the last U. S. Indian Agent, the Hon. Edward Mills) July 1st, 1901—at least he assumed the office on that date and one of his very first duties was to receive from the Sisters the old Mission plant. During the summer of 1901 improvements and additions were made to the old Mission plant and complete new equipment for the school was shipped in. The Government school opened its doors in the Mission buildings December 17, 1901. In making the transfer the Government had "covered in" the Mission principal teacher as the principal teacher of the Government school, there being no break in the continuity of service. The major portion of the Mission plant, six buildings of it, was destroyed by fire starting about 4:30 a. m. on the morning of March 29, 1902 (Saturday, the day before Easter Sunday). The Indian pupils were at once sent home and the school closed its doors.

The old Mission site, while a beautiful site, was not a suitable site from a sanitary standpoint, (1) because it was adjacent to and below the level of its stables and its cemetery, from both of which its water supply received drainage, (2) it was at the bottom of a sandy hillside or watershed with the result that the winter rains undermined the buildings and cut gullies through the grounds, and (3) it lay immediately adjacent to a large area of tideflat which received all the sewage of the school. In addition to that it was 1½ miles from the steamer landing and some of the problems engendered thereby could be eliminated by a change of location. For all of these reasons, and for a few other additional ones, the Mission site was abandoned and a new school site established at the agency adjacent to the steamer landing. This newly constructed school opened its doors for the first time January 23, 1905—fifty years after the signing of the treaty pledging a large agricultural and industrial school for all the Indians of the Northwest! Fifty years after the written pledge one building was given! Some additions have been made since that time and the school is still being maintained at the agency site which is far superior in every way (for institutional purposes) to the old Mission site.

Since the ratification of the treaty of Point Elliott or Mukilteo, the Tulalip treaty, in 1859, there have been several administrative principles visible in the policies. From 1859 to the fall of 1869 the agents in charge at Tulalip were civilians (save the first agent, Rev. Father Chirouse himself); from that time until the spring of 1871, the agency was under the charge of military officers; from 1871 to 1886 the agents were men recommended by the Catholic Bishop of the Diocese, under the policy instituted by President Grant and later abandoned; from 1886 to July 1, 1901, the agency was under civilian agents; in the latter year the position of agent was abolished and superseded by that of superintendent. The first superintendent (Dr. Charles M. Buchanan, the present incumbent) took charge July 1, 1901.

DEATH OF COLONEL EBEL

In the Washington Historian for April, 1901, Mrs. Richard Burton Hassell gives the following details regarding the death of Col. Isaac N. Ebel, Whidby Island pioneer, who, in August, 1857, was murdered by a band of "Kakes" Indians from British Columbia:

"I am indebted for the facts given below to Mr. William Engle, who still lives on the island, and to Col. Robert C. Hill and Mr. Nathaniel D. Hill, now of Port Townsend. They were Mr. Ebel's nearest neighbors. Two of them were on the spot a few minutes after the massacre, the third returned from a trip to the East three or four days later.

"For months the northern Indians had troubled the little band of settlers on the island. They had stolen their cattle and molested their property. The settlers complained and the United States vessel ordered the Indians away. While some of them were camped temporarily at Port Gamble, the vessel (the Massachusetts) fired into their camp, killing a chief. In the following August a company of these same Indians rowed down the bay and camped at Kellogg's Point, where now stands the lighthouse. The sequel shows that they came for one definite purpose—to seek revenge for the death of their chief.

"Doctor Kellogg was Government physician. By his position and professional dress he might easily be known to them as a "tyee," chief, or a big man, and it is not unlikely that they intended to take his life. But Doctor Kellogg was away from home and his wife, alarmed by the appearance of the red men, appealed for relief to the men aboard a revenue cutter lying at that point. They drove the intruders away, but they did not abandon their purpose. Taking their canoes with them, they walked over to a little lake, and there they camped all day. That afternoon an Indian appeared at the Ebey place and spoke to one Tom Hastie, who was working in the field. He asked whether Colonel Ebey was a 'tyee.' 'Yes a very great tyee,' Hastie answered. He was collector of customs.

"Mr. Ebey was that day in attendance at court. He returned to his home in the evening. There were in the house with him his family, consisting of wife and three children, and Mr. George W. Corliss, then United States marshal residing at Olympia, and Mrs. Corliss.

"All retired with no thought of danger near them. About midnight they were awakened by the barking of the dog. Colonel Ebey went to the door. He saw several Indians standing near, and stepping out asked, 'Icta mica ticka?' (What do you want?). 'Nisika ticka mica la tete' (We want your head), was their answer. Scarcely were the words spoken when a shot was fired at him. Seizing an ax-handle he chased them about the house. There was another shot. Those in the house looking through the window saw him as he passed it holding his hand to his breast. He tried to speak to them and they thought he said, 'stay, stay.' A moment later they heard him fall heavily to the ground. They climbed through the opened window and all but Mrs. Corliss ran into the woods near the house. She was ahead of all the others, and by chance struck a little path which took her up to a road leading to the nearest house, three-quarters of a mile away. It was then William Engle's homestead, now known as one of the Hancock places. Barefooted, clad only in her night gown, she flew over the road and cried to the inmates of the house for help. Four men were sleeping in the house that night, Engle, Robert Hill and Humphrey Hill, his partners, and Crosby, a lawyer in attendance at court. They did not believe her when she told them that Colonel Ebey had been shot by the Indians, but she insisted. They then tried to persuade her to stay in the house while they went to see what was wrong, but she refused to be left behind. 'I am safe with white men,' she said, 'and I must stay with you.' They could not desert her and this delayed them. Engle and Crosby helped her over the rough way, while the two Hills hurried on a little ahead. As they neared the Ebey home they heard pounding and knocking. Perhaps Colonel Ebey had driven away the savages and was nailing up the doors. Again they urged Mrs. Corliss to lie down in the ferns while they went on, but she was unwilling. Then Crosby called, 'Colonel Ebey.' Unfortunate call! There was a rush of the Indians down the beach to their canoes, and the splash of the oars as they rowed away. The men found the house in ruins, literally torn to pieces, and just in front of the house, with a shot through his hand and another in the breast, lay the headless body of Col. Isaac N. Ebey.

"Brave pioneer! He had chosen the chances of the adventurer and the frontiersman and he had paid the dearest price.

"No relative of the martyr now lives on the island, and only a handful of

those who knew him. It would be appropriate that the spot where he fell be marked by a tablet, which should tell the story and by a heap of beautiful white beach stones, to which every visitor might add, for it is at such a price that this country has been purchased as our home, and forgetfulness is ingratitude.

“‘Surely,’ I said to Col. Robert C. Hill, when he finished his narrative, ‘surely you could not remain after that.’ ‘Why not?’ he asked. ‘There was nothing to be afraid of.’ Then he told me that through all these years he has felt a deep regret that they did not then and there avenge the death of their friend. In substance he said: ‘The four men of us were well armed. There were at most but eleven Indians in the party, and only one narrow trail for them to follow from the house down to their boats. We could easily have shot down every one and we would have done it, too, but for our care for Mrs. Corliss, which delayed us and made us cautious.’

“‘Of course we staid on,’ said Mr. Engle. ‘The Indians were bound to have revenge for the death of their chief, and they had it when they took the head of one white ‘tyee’ or prominent man. A few families spent some months at one of the block houses still standing. Mrs. Ebey went up to her father-in-law’s for the winter and we boys went to homesteading.’

“Mr. Engle, who came to the island in 1852, landed at the Ebey place early one morning and remembers as his first sight a tame deer grazing with the two cows just above the beach. The Ebeys, two Crocketts, and the Alexanders had all come to Whidby in the spring of 1852. They crossed the plains the year before and wintered in Olympia. That was for a long time their nearest post-office. Olympia, Steilacoom and Victoria were their only markets until the Fraser River gold excitement of 1858 brought crowds from all over this country, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and China. Then there were new camps and a great demand for all produce the young ranchers could supply.”

Having made their escape from the island the Indians carried their gruesome trophy to their northern villages. The killing of their chief by the men of the Massachusetts was avenged by the killing of a white hyas tyee and they were satisfied.

Two years passed away and Capt. Charles Dodd, commander of the Hudson’s Bay steamer Labouchers heard that Colonel Ebey’s head was in the possession of a certain band of Indians. At great risk of his own life as well as those of his crew, Captain Dodd visited the Indian camp and opened negotiations for the head. After long and tedious discussion Dodd induced the Indians to surrender the relic of their murderous visit and in the fall of 1859 he delivered it to Ebey’s family. On January 20, 1860, the Legislature passed a resolution thanking Dodd for his services.

ROCHE HARBOR LIME

Using a pot kiln, British soldiers made the first lime ever burned on San Juan Island. Their manufacturing methods were somewhat primitive and about two weeks were required for the filling, burning and drawing of a fifty-barrel kiln, but the lime was of such excellent quality that much of it was shipped to England, the “Tommys” using the barrels in which they had received their meats, liquors and other supplies from the mother country in which to ship their product.

Following the settlement of the question of ownership by Kaiser William of Germany, and the acquisition of the island by the United States, a man named Ruff homesteaded the lime-bearing land. Real development work did not begin until in 1882 when two brothers named Scurr and three named Ross bought the land and under the name of the Roche Harbor Lime Company, built stone kilns and began the active development of the rich ledges—perhaps the greatest to be found in the West.

THE CENTENNIAL CANOE

As commissioner to procure articles of Indian manufacture for the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, James G. Swan went to Alaska in 1875, visiting many of the native settlements and obtaining many interesting articles showing the habits of life of the northern tribes. Among the most interesting was the "Centennial Canoe." On his way north Swan met Doctor Powell, Indian Commissioner of British Columbia, who told him of a monster canoe at Alert Bay on the northern end of Vancouver Island.

Swan found the canoe, a beautiful piece of Indian workmanship, 60 feet long, 8 feet wide and 4 feet deep, and arranged for its purchase. The canoe was made at Nootka Sound and given by Chief Moquilla to a chief of the Nimpkish tribe. From this chief Wesley Huson, an Alert Bay trader, purchased the canoe and it was from Huson that Swan obtained it. Sending the canoe to Victoria, Swan employed Haida Indians to redecorate and paint it and it was this fact that later led to a report that the Haidas were its makers. The canoe became a part of the Smithsonian Institute exhibit at Washington, D. C.

PORTRAITS OF WASHINGTON GOVERNORS

In the summer of 1905 Governor Mead began collecting the portraits of Washington governors. Writing of this work Governor Mead said:

"Having no special appropriation of public funds for this purpose it was impossible to seek elaborate or permanent portraits. But I did deem it essential to secure some portrait—either photograph or engraving—at this time, for the task of making the collection would grow more difficult year by year. The result of my efforts in this direction has been that I have collected all but one of the portraits. The missing one is that of Governor R. D. Gholson, who remained in the territory only a year and returned to his old home in Paducah, Ky., some months before his retirement."

When Governor Mead undertook the collection of the portraits the only one in the executive offices at Olympia was that of Governor Salomen. That of Governor Marshal F. Moore was presented by Mrs. R. G. O'Brien, of Olympia. Miss Marguerite M. Painter, of Walla Walla, loaned a portrait of Governor Alvin Flanders and Governor Mead had it copied. Miss Addie Wood, of Olympia, loaned a small photograph of Governor Fayette McMullin which Ashel Curtis enlarged for the collection. Judge Mason Irwin, of Montesano, contributed a photograph of Governor W. A. Newell. A steel engraving of Governor George E. Cole was obtained from Frank Hogan, of Spokane. Ashel Curtis and S. P. Weston, of Seattle, furnished photographs of Governor I. L.

Stevens and Governor E. P. Ferry. Governors Eugene Semple and Watson G. Squire furnished portraits of themselves. Those of Governors McGraw, Rogers and McBride were obtained from Olympia photographers. J. N. Bradley and W. H. Gilstrap, of Tacoma, furnished that of Governor Wallace. Mrs. William S. Mayfield, of Seattle, furnished an enlarged copy of an old daguerreotype of Governor William Pickering. Mrs. Mayfield was a granddaughter of Governor Pickering and wrote to Governor Mead that the old daguerreotype was the only picture her grandfather ever had taken.

Governor Mead wrote about five hundred letters in making the collection. Aside from the writing of these letters his expense had been about twenty-five dollars for enlarging and framing. While at the work Governor Mead learned that Governor McGraw had arranged with Mrs. Minnie Sparling Brown, of Seattle, for the painting of the portraits. Mrs. Brown, April 18, 1906, delivered the portraits of Governors Ferry, McGraw, Rogers and McBride.

HE FORESAW A GREAT CIVILIZATION

Captain George Vancouver, Voyage of Discovery, under the date of May 19, 1792, while just opposite or west of Seattle Harbor:

"During the night, we had a gentle southerly breeze, attended by a fog which continued until 9 o'clock on Saturday morning the 19th, when it was dispersed by a return of the N. W. wind, with which we pursued our route up the inlet; our progress was, however, soon retarded by the fore-topsail yard giving way in the slings; on examination it appeared to have been in a defective state some time. The spare fore-topsail yard was also very imperfect; which obliged us to get the spare main-topsail yard up in its room; and it was a very fortunate circumstance, that these defects were discovered in a country abounding with materials to which we could resort; having only to make our choice from amongst thousands of the finest spars the world produces.

"To describe the beauties of this region, will, on some future occasion, be a very grateful task to the pen of a skilful panegyrist. The serenity of the climate, the innumerable pleasing landscapes, and the abundant fertility that unassisted nature puts forth, require only to be enriched by the industry of man with villages, mansions, cottages, and other buildings, to render it the most lovely country that can be imagined; whilst the labor of the inhabitants would be amply rewarded, in the bounties which nature seems ready to bestow on cultivation."

FIRST MENTION OF PT. DEFIANCE

Charles Wilkes: Western America, including California and Oregon, 130 pp., 3 maps. Philadelphia, Lea & Blanchard, 1849, page 81:

"Commencement Bay lies at the bottom of Admiralty Inlet, on the east channel; it affords good temporary anchorage, and a supply of wood and water can be obtained. There is a small stream emptying into it, called, by the Indians, Puyallup.

"The Narrows, which connect Admiralty Inlet with Puget's Sound, are a mile in width and 4½ miles long; the tide here runs with great velocity, causing many whirlpools and eddies, through which a ship is carried with great rapidity, the danger appearing to be imminent. The banks rise nearly perpendicular, and are

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DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION UNVEILING MONUMENT MARKI
He is credited with giving the point its name. The Daughters have do



HERE WILKES IS BELIEVED TO HAVE LANDED, AT POINT DEFIANCE, TACOMA
ing a great work in erecting monuments on historic spots in this state.

composed of sandstone; a great variety of shrubs grow along their base. This narrow pass seems as if intended by nature to afford every means for a defense of Puget's Sound. Point Defiance on the east commands all the approaches to it.

"Puget's Sound may be described as a collection of inlets, covering an area of fifteen square miles, the only entrance to which is through the Narrows, which, if strongly fortified, would bid defiance to any attack and guard its entrance against any force."

"MOTHER JOSEPH"

In the early '60s the Catholics procured about 2½ blocks of land in Steilacoom, and proceeded to the construction of a convent, which was successfully conducted for about fifteen years. They believed Steilacoom probably would be the great commercial center of the Northwest. The convent, a frame building that stood near where the present Catholic church is, drew pupils, many of them non-Catholic, from all over the Northwest and from California and had a considerable reputation in its day, on account of the excellence of its instruction in music and domestic science. It was a two story building about 24x32 feet in its ground dimensions.

Later on an "L" was added, and the supervisor of this work was Mother Joseph, who came from Vancouver for the purpose. She handled tools with the skill of any man, climbed a ladder or walked the comb of a roof. She was architect, contractor and carpenter, and a forceful manager of workmen.

After she was seventy-five years of age she still was active. She drew the plans for the Sisters' Convent in Vancouver, a large and costly building, and she died there about ten years ago. She was known widely over the West.

SMALL POX EPIDEMIC OF '81

William P. Bonney had a drug store on Pacific Avenue, opposite Eighth Street, Tacoma, and in a tiny rear room he fumigated the inhabitants in the small pox epidemic of 1881, in the course of which there were many deaths. He cut a hole in a door, through which the patron breathed while the room was filled with the fumes of burning sulphur. For this operation a charge of 25 cents was made, and many persons took advantage of the low price. Mr. Bonney also sold a little tin box filled with carbolic crystals, to be carried about in the pocket as a guard against contagion. Carbolic acid baths were taken by some persons two and three times daily. The old steamer Alida was used as a pesthouse.

Smallpox was brought to Tacoma by the family of John Thanan, a waiter at the Halstead House and there was a great commotion among the guests when it was found that he had the disease. The proprietor sought to allay the fear by inserting in the newspapers an advertisement denouncing those who had started the report of a case of smallpox in the hotel. Neighboring towns enforced a "shotgun quarantine" against Tacoma which for many weeks was wholly isolated.

STEILACOOM-COWLITZ STAGE ROUTE

At the close of the Indian war Henry Winsor began operating a mail and passenger stage between Fort Steilacoom and Cowlitz Landing. Four, and sometimes six horses were required to pull the vehicle through the mud and over the

stones and tree roots. Passenger fare was \$20. From the landing passengers traveled in Indian canoes to Monticello and from there to Portland on steamboats—the fare for the water journey being about \$10.

Baggage rates were 7 cents a pound and freight rates 5 cents. These were winter rates. In the summer months freight wagons made occasional trips and tariffs were reduced, freight sometimes being transported for as low as 2 cents a pound.

FATALITIES FOLLOW DINNER TALK—LETTERS FROM WILLIAM H. TAPPAN THROWS
NEW LIGHT ON BEGINNINGS OF INDIAN WAR AND
CHARACTER OF GOVERNOR STEVENS

William H. Tappan, councilman from Clark County in the first territorial Legislature, designed and engraved the seal of the territory. Tappan came West in 1849 as a special artist in Government employ and at the close of the first session of the first Legislature resigned to accept appointment to the Indian service. He was with Governor Stevens in his treaty-making trip through what is now Eastern Washington, Northern Idaho, and Montana. During his residence in Washington he made a special study of Northwest history and Indian tribes and prepared the manuscript of a large work upon these subjects. It was burned in a fire that destroyed his home.

Tappan returned East and made his home in Massachusetts, serving two terms in the Legislature. From Manchester, February 12, 1898, he wrote to William F. Prosser a letter in which he gives the following very interesting information:

“I well remember that Legislative Assembly by the manner in which, with Bradford and Balch, we were introduced to the empty Council Hall, by a witty member of the House. With a low bow he said: ‘Come, gentlemen, and view the grounds where you will shortly lie.’ It was an odd application of the much-worn old hymn. I often think of that first legislative gathering. In the way of scholarship it did not rank with those of which I have had the honor of being a humble member, but for level-headed common sense it would be difficult to find its equal.

“The first governor, Isaac I. Stevens, Lieutenant-Governor Mason, Marshal Anderson, George Gibbs and Frederick Lander were there in 1854, but they are all gone. They were all able men. Fred Lander was quite remarkable, of splendid presence, untiring energy and marked ability. He went to the Pacific with Governor Stevens’ party as consulting engineer, but as they did not harmonize as to the location of the proposed railroad, they were not very friendly. With characteristic push, he crossed the plains with but one companion, and soon after he entered the Union Army won a high rank and a national reputation.

“Governor Stevens was an able, but he could not be considered a popular man. Yet my relations with him were always pleasant, though we often saw things through very different spectacles—as for example his Indian policy never seemed to me wise. He never understood the Indian character, and could never manage them successfully, and perhaps I cannot do better than to write a little about him, as that will necessarily include home matters in the early history of

your state which may interest you, and if I make myself more prominent than I ought, I beg you will pardon me.

“As a member of the first council, I drew the longest term (four years), but as I desired to see as much as possible of the Indian tribes of the interior, I resigned at the end of the first session and accepted the appointment of Indian agent with the understanding that I was to accompany the governor on the treaty-making expedition to the Rocky Mountains and beyond—thus I was much with him.

“In the spring of 1855 I was ordered to proceed to Walla Walla and at the treaty ground await the arrival of the governor. While at The Dalles on my way I met Skloom and a party of Yakimas. I had never before seen this chief, but he said he knew me through Klickitat friends who were in my district, and wished me to go with him to speak with Kamiahkin and his people about the coming treaty to which they had been invited, but they were in doubt as to their going; would I go?

“I went with them. Kamiahkin, Thowanay and many of the tribe were there, and preparations for a feast of beef were soon made. The object of the treaty was explained and all that day the talk continued, conducted mainly by Kamiahkin who was a man of fine presence and of decided mental strength, with knowledge of history that surprised me; from the discovery of the Continent, the landing of the Pilgrims, the settlement of the Western States and the Pacific Slope—all were familiar to him.

“It was the old antagonism between civilization and savage life, which cannot be harmonized. One wants the wilderness and the rivers left undisturbed so that game and fish may be abundant, while the other sweeps away the forest for towns, roads, fields and homes, and thus the game is destroyed.

“It is the inevitable conflict that must always come sooner or later. Without the Indians saying it, but from the nature of their questions it was to me evident that the crisis was at hand and the Yakimas were to take the lead. While apparently kind, I could not buy a horse, though they had great herds of them. At last Kamiahkin consented to furnish a tired horse, and a guide as far as the Hudson's Bay fort, at the mouth of the Walla Walla. The price I was to pay was an extortion. He shook hands with me with every appearance of friendship, but his words were, ‘Goodby, my friend; I hope you will reach your people in safety.’ Quite startled, I asked, ‘Do you doubt it? If I had not known the Yakimas were friendly I should not have come here alone.’

“The guide was a sullen fellow who did not speak Chinook or comprehend the language of signs, so it was a silent journey. On the way a badger was seen. The guide discharged his short rifle, but missed to his great distress. With my pistol I took a shot from my horse. He hurried to it and with great astonishment and delight placed his finger on the tiny hole in the very center of the skull, as he held it up that I might see it. This fine shot was a little matter, but subsequently it appeared more important.

“At last the fort was reached; there it lay on the other side of the Columbia. In answer to my hail, my friend Sinclair in charge soon appeared and rowed me across. A long talk followed. He was an experienced officer of the Hudson Bay Company, and well versed in the ways of the Indians. The next morning preparations were begun for the removal of his family and the abandonment of

the fort. The next day I reached the camp at the treaty ground. Agent Bolon and James Doty, the secretary, with a few men were there. They gave me a most cordial greeting for they were very lonely. The news I brought to Bolon from his district greatly surprised and pained him; he had never supposed there was any dissatisfaction and this came to him like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. I told him I was fortunate in having got out of the country with my scalp—the next white man traveling through that country would be less successful, and I begged him as he valued his life not to go there again without ample military protection, and this he promised.

“In a few days the governor came. I gave him an account of my visit to the Yakimas, but I could not convince him of the impending danger. He had always found them friendly and why should they have changed?”

“The Yakimas were late in reaching the treaty grounds. They were very sullen, and, riding as far as possible from the governor’s tent, pitched their camp behind the bush. But later Kamiahkan called; he was not cordial with His Excellency or with Agent Bolon. It is very rare for an Indian to show in any way surprise, but Kamiahkan did, for, when rising from the table at which I had been writing, I turned and extended my hand, with some excitement he started back and said to some Nez Perces with him: ‘I thought he was dead; his guide told me so.’ The Nez Perces believed I was to have been killed, but the lucky shot saved me.

“About the camp were Walla Wallas, Yakimas and Cayuses, all sullen, armed and dangerous. The Nez Perces were our only friends and right loyally they stood by us—they were partly armed. We had about thirty men with some arms and a small company of regulars. The settlers had abandoned their ranches. The Hudson Bay fort had been vacated and Mr. Sinclair, who was in camp with us, prepared to go to the settlements as soon as possible. Those were anxious days and restless nights, for all felt that we were in the hands of savages and could not tell what the next move might be.

“One day at dinner some one spoke of the general dread of sudden death—was it not better than a slow, lingering, wasting away? The governor thought it was and expressed a wish that if his exit was to be through violence it might be instantaneous, such as a ball between the eyes would effect.

“Sinclair had a great dread of a sudden death. He hoped that when his time came his exit might be more moderate. Bolon thought a ball in the side of the head would be painless and death would be none too sudden. Doty felt as Bolon did and placed his finger upon the opposite side of his head.

“Your humble servant, upon being asked, also preferred a sudden exit, but thought something larger than a bullet that would remove the entire head would be painless and there would be no doubt as to the result.

“After this gruesome discussion the conversation became more cheerful and when the meal was concluded all were quite merry.

“At length the treaty was signed and all went their respective ways. I met the governor again in the Flathead Valley and again we separated and met at the Blackfoot treaty grounds, on the waters of the Missouri. Upon the conclusion of that treaty, we traveled westward together reached the foot of the Rocky Mountains and crossed them on the 30th day of November. Thanks to

the Nez Perces and the Oregon Volunteers we were able to reach the settlers at The Dalles.

"I left the governor and did not see him again until war had been declared in the East and he was greatly depressed, more so than I had ever seen him. This I thought was quite natural to one leaving his family for the seat of war, but he was glad to talk and it seemed to do him good. He referred to our intercourse as having always been pleasant; we had not always agreed as to matters of policy, but they were honest differences. He was kind enough to speak very warmly of my services in the Indian department and said they had been of the greatest assistance to him. He left some messages for home friends and expressed the desire to be remembered kindly to every one. He called my attention to the conversation of sudden deaths at Walla Walla. 'Don't you remember it? How unhesitatingly all took part in it and how wonderfully those preferences have been fulfilled.

"First, Bolon was shot in the side of the head and died instantly.

"Then Sinclair, the first victim of the Battle of the Cascades, was shot near the heart and lived half an hour.

"Then Doty, a victim of his own excesses, but the dread messenger went just where he had placed his finger. It is indeed remarkable and only you and I remain—which will go next?"

"I had quite forgotten the conversation until it had been recalled by him, who had evidently dwelt upon it with very depressing effect. I believe all are more or less tinged with superstition—the governor was no exception. That goodby was a very sad one.

"It will be remembered that the governor joined the Union Army, and in leading a charge he was struck by a rifle ball between the eyes and fell dead.

"The death by violence had come just as he preferred—there was no pain. Peace to his ashes.

"I rejoice that you have begun the historical work. For many years I have been president of our local society and we have gathered much that otherwise would have been lost.

"With kind regards to you and the society you represent, I am,

"Yours truly,

"W. H. TAPPAN."

IN DEFENSE OF DE FUCA

Juan de Fuca; Oregon Question—Spanish title; from report of the committee on military affairs in the second session of the Twenty-seventh Congress, May 27, 1842:

"Juan de Fuca, in the service of Spain, in 1592, discovered and sailed through the straits, in latitude 48°, which now bear his name. The account given of this voyage was many years considered fabulous, and of the existence even of de Fuca there was no other evidence than some letters of an Englishman named Lock, written from Venice in 1596. The veracity and general accuracy of de Fuca, however, have been vindicated by the researches of subsequent navigators. And then Vancouver, in 1792 sailed through these straits, which had been pointed out to him by the American Captain Gray, he was forcibly reminded of the descrip-

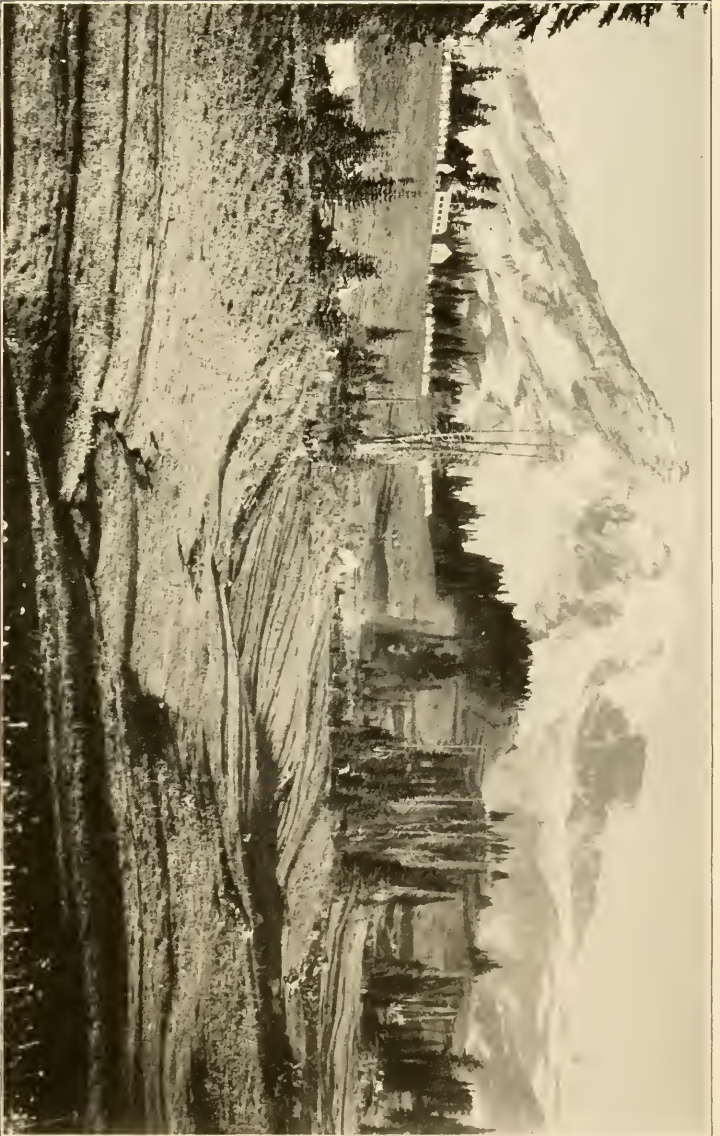
tion of de Fuca; and further investigations developing further points of resemblance, he perpetuated his own conviction of the original discovery of de Fuca, by giving his name to the straits, which they bear to this day."

THE ORIGINS OF MOUNTS BAKER AND RAINIER:

THE INDIAN LEGEND

In the Northwestern Cascades stands Mount Baker, the "Bride of the Pacific," always white-robed. In the Lummi Indian tongue the mountain is called Kulshan—once an active volcano, it is now accounted extinct. Kulshan means "shot at the extreme end or very point." It is not now known how long the mountain has borne this name nor exactly why it was given but it is very certain that Kulshan has been Kulshan for many generations. One of the most intelligent of the Lummi Indians attributes the name to the fact that the mountain was once conical and that the peak itself was destroyed by volcanic eruptions and explosions. The summit is not now conical but a cup-like crater. The name Kulshan is applied to other things than the mountain—any object that is long, slim or tall becomes "Kulshan" when shot at, struck and affected at the end.

In the olden days, so the old folks tell us, Kulshan was a fair and handsome youth who grew apace to man's estate and then espoused two wives. One of these wives fully equalled her husband in beauty—she was the favorite wife and her name was Duh-hwahk. She bore Kulshan three fine sons. The other wife was no match for Duh-hwahk in beauty but she was very amiable, very kind and very attractive in manner. This wife was named Whaht-kway. Eventually it came about that the kindness and consideration of Whaht-kway so completely won over her husband that she supplanted Duh-hwahk in the affections of Kulshan. This, of course, aroused furious fires of jealousy and resentment in the breast of Duh-hwahk, who constantly kept the entire household in dissension and strife by means of her temper and her jealousy. Finally Duh-hwahk resolved to regain Kulshan by artifice. Relying confidently on her beauty and on her former firm sway over her husband she conceived the plan of feigning to desert him. So, one day, when it happened that by chance she found Kulshan in amiable and mellow mood and more pliant to her purpose, she complained to him of the coldness and harshness with which she, Duh-hwahk, had been treated in the household, even more by Whaht-kway than by Kulshan. She assured her husband that she loved him but that the burden was more than even her great love for him could bear and that unless he soon changed these conditions she must leave him and take with her all of her possessions. Kulshan resolved to be master of his own household and without hesitation informed Duh-hwahk that she could go as soon as she chose and as far as she liked. Duh-hwahk was dumbfounded by this unexpected reply. She felt that she must make things appear to him in a more serious light. She felt confident of his love and sure that at the last Kulshan would relent. Indeed she could not believe that he would really permit her thus to desert him. Founding her faith in this imagination, she gathered up her possessions and made ready to go at once. She prepared her pack thoroughly, putting therein plentiful supplies of berries, fruit, sweet bulbs and even of beautiful flowering plants of many varieties. Thus amply provided with all that she desired she then said



A SUNRISE PICTURE IN PARADISE PARK

This wonderful park lies on the southeast side of Mount Rainier-Tacoma, at an elevation of about 5,000 feet. The picture shows Reese's Camp on the ridge. This camp is to be succeeded in a short time by a modern hotel camp.

farewell and fared forth, leaving her three children behind. The children bewailed the going of their mother and with many lamentations besought her to remain. This greatly pleased Duh-hwahk at heart for she now felt assured of melting the indifference of Kulshan. She was sure that he would call her back before she had been able to go any very great distance. With this in mind she managed to set forth on a course that would take her the longest way. So also she traveled down the valley between the mountain ranges so as to be always in the sight of Kulshan as long as possible, thinking to give him ample opportunity to recall her. She had not gone far, however, before she realized her mistake and richly repented her hasty action. So, as she went along, she would ever and anon look anxiously back. Her heart surged tumultuously with a fond hoping and a vain longing to see Kulshan wildly signal for her return—how she hoped that he would do so! Alas, she had gone too far for that, perhaps, and, besides, many little hills and valleys now intervened between her and home where she had left Kulshan and the weeping children. Therefore she must needs climb the knolls and pick out the highest hills from which to gaze back with longing eyes and sinking heart. Standing on the very summits of these hills she would strain with all her might, up to the very tips of her toes, seeking some sign from her loved husband. Sometimes she fancied she was not quite high enough and she would raise to her tip-toes and stretch forth her head in anxious gaze, yearning all the while and striving all the while to be just a little taller. This oft-repeated wish and effort soon began to have its effect upon her and she forthwith began to grow taller. At last she had gone so far that she must of necessity make camp. She selected for her stopping place one that seemed most satisfactory to her because from it she could have a clear view of her dear home so foolishly and uselessly abandoned. Here she removed her packs and cast the contents broadcast, blessing the place with all the stores of fruit, of berries, bulbs, tubers and beautiful flowering plants of many wonderful varieties, all of which she had taken away from Kulshan. There, looking ever and longingly northward, Duh-hwahk remains to this day and you may see her if you wish—look to the south and east—it is Mount Rainier. Therefore we know why all these beautiful things abound about Mount Rainier where Duh-hwahk cast them forth before she herself became the mountain. To the north lies the deserted husband, Kulshan, robbed of fruits and the beautiful things which Duh-hwahk took with her. Look to the north and you will see him, but the white man calls him Mount Baker, not Kulshan! All about Kulshan too you may see the deserted and weeping children.

In time the faithful Whaht-kway felt the premonitory pangs of childbirth. She yearned for the comfort and company of her people, and especially the advice and assistance of her old mother. None other than that old mother could give the needed care in the hour of trial. Kulshan listened to the pleadings of his faithful wife and yielded to them. Full well he knew, however, that the journey would be a hard one for Whaht-kway if she had to climb the mountains and journey over all the intervening heights and valleys. Therefore Kulshan engaged all of the animals with paws, from the lion to the mouse, to dig a long ditch from his home down to tidewater. This was done until the flow of water from his place was at last sufficient to enable a good-sized canoe to float down in safety. This stream we now know as the Nooksack River—adown it softly floated the canoe of Whaht-kway in these olden days when the river itself was new. At

last she reached her beloved Hwulch or Puget Sound, her own country. Down between the many islands the canoe made its way and in passing each of these islets Whaht-kway made sure to leave here and there certain edible things—where they may be found to this day. When Whaht-kway at last reached home her parents greeted her fondly and asked her what position she chose to assume. She remembered how the jealous Duh-hwahk had reared herself up, up, up into the air until she became a mountain peak. Whaht-kway would not do so. She chose to lie down so that coming people would be able to reach her head without great trouble or without climbing—with Duh-hwahk, alas, it is different. Whaht-kway is now an island low lying, to the north of San Juan Island. Whaht-kway is now better known by the name of Spieden Island and just a little north of it is the baby island which was born after Whaht-kway reached this place. At present all of the small islands between Kulshan and Whaht-kway bear the names of fish or some of the other edible things that Whaht-kway placed there as she passed by on the journey home. Many have cause to this day to remember with gratitude the generous thoughtfulness of Whaht-kway.

During all this time Kulshan was lonely indeed. Instead of having two wives he found himself with none. All the while he kept straining upward to see if he might not catch occasional glimpses of his departed wives. The children saw him and did likewise, profiting by the example of Kulshan. Today Kulshan and Duh-hwahk are mountains and the children are the mountains south and east of their father Kulshan. We have told you what the word Kulshan means—but what does Duh-hwahk mean? It means, and how fittingly, “clear sky.” So too Whaht-kway means a maiden who has just reached womanhood.

This is the story of Kulshan, his two wives and his many children, and of how they came to be what they are and where they are.

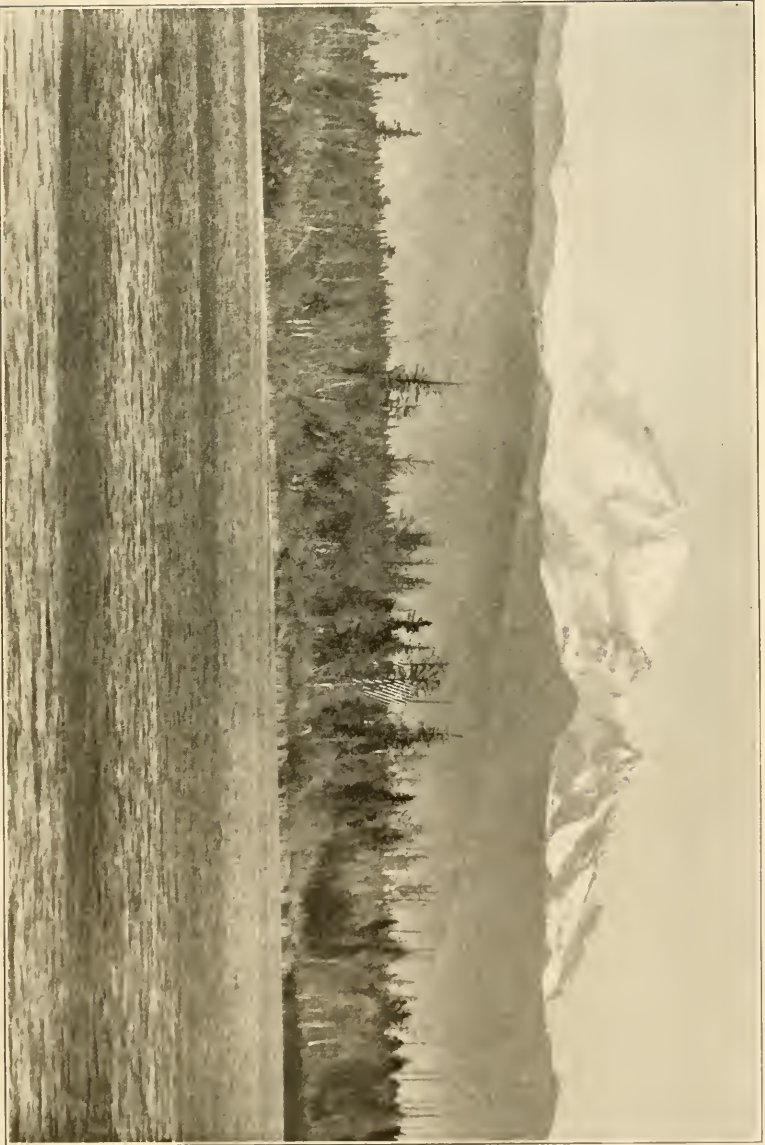
SNOKOMISH LEGEND

Long ago Mount Rainier stood on the west side of Hood Canal. Both Rainier and Mount Constance were the wives of one man, and as time went on they, becoming jealous of his love, quarreled. Mount Rainier filled a basket with food and left the house, crossed the Sound and sat down where she has ever since lived. In Rainier's basket were roots of the camas and pieces of salmon. Near Olympia she dropped some camas root, which soon grew and spread all over that section of country.

A piece of salmon fell into the waters of the Snokomish River and ever since that time the salmon have run up that stream to their spawning grounds. After taking up her new abode, Rainier sulked and nursed her troubles until she grew very angry, so angry that she made the thunder. Gathering fire, she threw it on the head of her rival and burned all the trees off her head.

THE “SHOALWATER TRIBE”

Many, many years ago, long before any white men had come to the Northwest, a big canoe came to what is now Willapa Harbor from the far cold country to the north. One hundred warriors with their klotchmen and papooses traveled in the canoe and tried to enter the Columbia River. Strong winds and



KULSHAN, OR MOUNT BAKER—A GLORIOUS PEAK

tides prevented, and they made a landing at the south side of Willapa Harbor, tied the canoe to the rocks, and started for the Columbia over the old Indian trail to Chinook.

After spending many months on the river, the Indians returned to the harbor only to find a sand spit where they had moored their canoe. Many clams had made a home in this spit. Upon its top grew a few small pine trees, while on the eastern side were some cranberries. The Indians decided that the sand-spit covering the canoe would make a good home and they built their houses there. The sand spit grew in size as the Indians multiplied in number. The land became the south peninsula and the Indians the "Shoalwater Tribe."

FLOOD LEGEND

The legend of a great flood is common among all Sound Indians. All refer to the highest mountain nearest them as Ta-ho-ma—meaning a lofty mountain—and say that a long time ago, at the breaking up of a terrible winter, Whulgo (the Sound) rose and all the men were drowned save one. He climbed to the peak of Mount Rainier. His feet turned into stone. Logs, clamshells and fish bones were carried to the top of the mountain. The water arose to the man's waist and then receded. The clouds broke, sky cleared, birds flew about, and the flowers bloomed, but the man could not move. The Spirit of All Things came and told him to sleep. While he slept, the Spirit took one of his ribs and made a woman. When he awoke his ready-made wife was there on the mountain top beside him. His stone feet dropped off and the happy pair came down the mountain and lived on the Whulge. Here sprung the human race at the foot of the mountain.

This legend is of interest chiefly in the fact that its very modern origin is betrayed. As a matter of fact, many of the Indian legends are based, as this one is, on missionary stories. Of flood and Adamic rib Lo had no knowledge until the missionaries told and retold the Bible stories to them.

ORIGIN OF OLD SI

The origin of Old Si, the mountain, east of North Bend. Snoqualm, the moon, long ago king of the heavens, commanded the spider, ty-ee, to make a rope of cedar bark and stretch it from the earth to the sky. The rope was made. Si 'Beow, son of S'Beow, saw the rope and told Ki-ki the bluejay, S'Beow's grandmother, to go up the rope and then told his father to follow her. Ki-ki kept going up and S'Beow followed. At last they came to where the rope was fastened to the under side of the sky. It was well into the night and Ki-ki picked a hole in the sky and crawled through, followed by S'Beow.

S'Beow found himself in a lake and changed himself into a beaver. He was caught in a dead-fall trap and his head was crushed. Snoqualm, who had set the trap, next morning found the dead beaver, removed the skin, which he stretched, and threw the carcass into one corner of his smoke-house. All day and well into the night S'Beow lay there, a dead beaver's carcass.

Snoqualm went to sleep and snored loudly, so loudly that S'Beow got up, removed the skin from the hoop where it had been stretched, put it on himself

and explored the house of Snoqualm. Outside the house he found great trees growing in a forest of fir and cedar. Pulling some of these up by the roots, by his Tamanowas he made them small enough to carry and started off with them under his arm. Hidden on a shelf in the house of Snoqualm, S'Beow found the machinery with which the Great Ty-ee made the daylight. This S'Beow carried away under one arm. He also took some fire from beneath the smoke hole, put some ashes and leaves around it, wrapped it in bark and carried it in one hand. On another shelf he found the sun, which he carried in his other hand. S'Beow now had a full load and proceeded to the lake where, as a beaver, he had been caught in Snoqualm's trap. Transforming himself into a beaver, he dived to the bottom of the lake, and found the hole through which he and Ki-ki had entered. From the beaver he was changed to old S'Beow again and descended the spider ty-ee's rope to the ground. The trees he planted and they became the fathers of the Puget Sound forests. The sun was set in position, the daylight-making machinery was put in motion; fire was given the Indians, who were made happy by the stolen gifts.

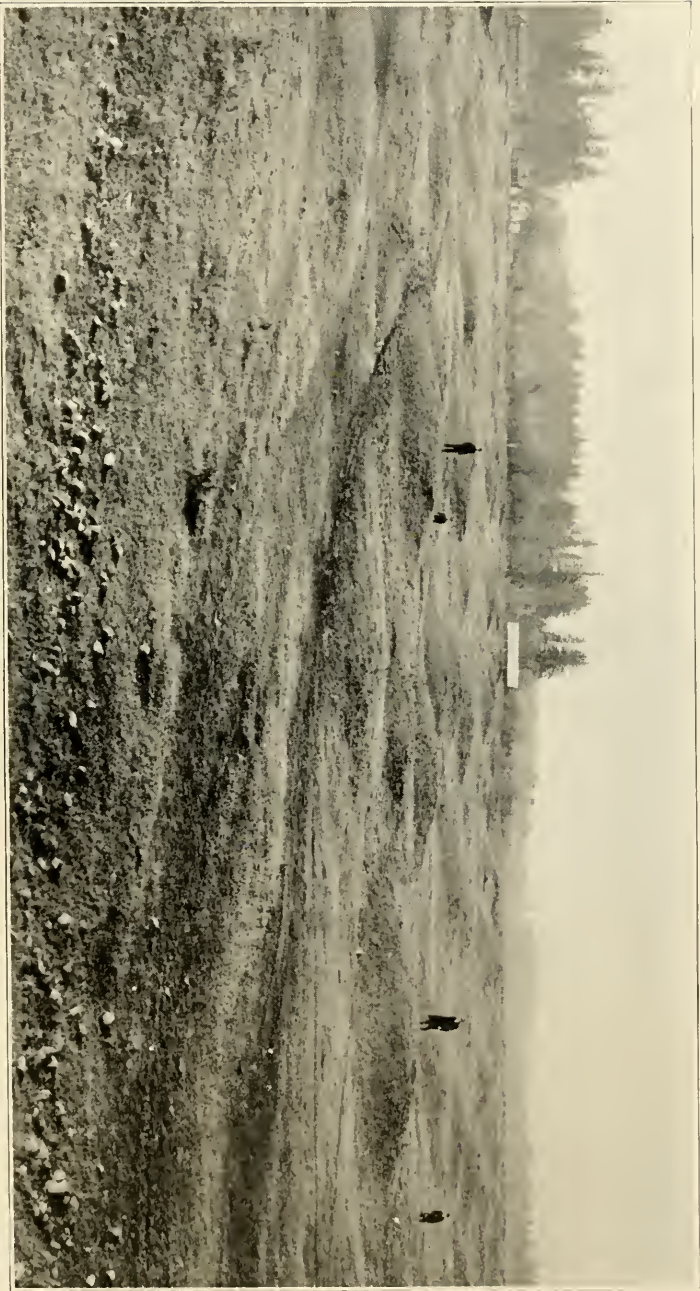
Snoqualm awoke in a great rage. Finding S'Beow's trail he followed it to the place where the spider ty-ee had made the rope. He started to descend to the earth when the rope gave way and Snoqualm fell in a heap that made the great mountain called Old Si. Snoqualm, once the King of the Heavens, was transformed into the mountain and his face, the Indians said, could be seen in the rocks of its walls above the waters of the river running through the valley.

SKOUBE, THE COYOTE

No one ever seemed to want little girls—except the Great Spirit. They're still abused and accused of tagging by the heathenish young tribe that came from "snakes and snails and puppy dog tails." But the Great Spirit was wise and far-seeing; so he took "sugar an' spice an' everything nice," and made 'em. And here they are.

Not that this is particularly relevant to Skoube, the coyote who was almost as great as the Indian god, Siap, except to show that Skoube, who didn't like little girls, may have owed this distaste to his lack of supreme greatness. Besides, even Indian legends must have something for an introduction when told without the spell which Jim Brown, nee Bibyam of the Wenatchees, and others of his skin weave about the white listener by the magic of their intoning voices, their eloquent hands, their eyes that look into the past with the vision of seers and prophets.

It's not at all hard to believe Bibyam's story of Skoube. He looks as though he must have lived in the days of the almost-God and it takes little imagination to see him in conference with Siap—the Great Spirit himself. His eighty years sit lightly on his activity, but they have burned his face to the hue of a mild Havana and left his hands the color of the protruding feet of Nellie, the University of Washington mummy. His gray-white hair hangs coarsely in sparse, ragged braids over his shoulder; a few short, curved white hairs decorate his upper lip and serve for a patriarch's goatee. His wide, sloping fine head rises



STRANGE MOUNDS, COVERING A LARGE TERRITORY EAST OF OLYMPIA

Science has not yet been able to account for this formation. Some writers believe they were created by large fish, possibly for nesting purposes, when the Puget Sound Basin was completely covered by water.

above eyes mild with age, and far-seeing and wise with the long span of years. And his smile is ready and sweet.

"Skoube" is the name which the Indians have given the coyote and is synonymous with "Snickel," an old tribal name. Skoube was supposed to be endowed with great cunning and other attributes that placed him above most of the creatures of the earth. He came on the earth just after its creation and just before the creation of man.

Over the earth were many animals that Skoube feared would imperil the safety of man when he came. Skoube, therefore, went about the world changing their form to that of mild animals which could not harm man. When he objected too seriously to an animal he would kill it and then create something harmless in its place.

One day Skoube and his wife—he had brought her to earth with him—were walking along when they came to a black rock. They had no children, so Skoube struck the rock with his stick and it at once began to cry.

"Pick up that child," he told his wife, "and tell me what it is." She lifted the weeping baby and told him it was a girl.

"Throw it away, I'll have no girl," he told her, and while she looked longingly over her shoulder they passed on. Presently they came to a white rock. Skoube struck it with his stick and it began to cry.

"Pick it up and see what it is," he told his wife.

"A boy," she answered.

"Bring it with you," he ordered, and so they had a son, Kokosup by name.

Skoube had finished most all the work he had set out to do, when he heard of one more person stronger than the men who were to come, far to the east. He sought him out. Unknown to himself, he had found Siap, the Great Spirit, creator of earth and man, who played with the mountains and conquered the fire, and ruled the seas.

Skoube was awed when he saw him pick up a mountain range and move it, but he boasted, "I can do that."

"Try it," said Siap.

So Skoube picked up a mountain and moved it.

"Never again can you do that," Siap told Skoube, and though the latter tried and tried until he was almost bursting with exertion, he couldn't budge the hills.

"That's as far as you will ever be able to change anything," Siap told Skoube. "All I will let you do now is to go back and give names to the mountains and rivers and say what shall grow in them, and hereafter you'll be called 'Amotkin.'"

So Skoube and his wife and Kokosup went back over the country naming its parts. When Skoube came to the Skagit country he merely looked over the mountains and said that there would be little grow in the valley of the Skagit. And that valley has always been too poor to support their horses even, the Indians say.

Skoube and Kokosup are off to the East now, Bibyam says, "way off on the edge of the earth some place." When the time comes to change the earth again, as it is bound to be changed, they'll come out of their hiding place and see to it that the job's done right.

Bibyam was a good-sized boy when the white men came, he says—"King George," he and his fellows call them. He was born on the Suyattle River in Skagit County, a branch of the Skagit.

THE HAPPY HUNTING GROUNDS

After years of seeking among the ashes and embers of legends from the withered lips of old, old men and women of the Western tribes, Henry Sicade, a keen student of the development of his people, has learned the legend of the happy hunting grounds and their relation to Arhade, the moon; Sky-ky, the bluebird; Bow-klish, the bumble bee, and Snoqualmie Falls. The redmen originally came by a process of evolution from the more superior of the birds and animals, Mr. Sicade's tradition runs. Some of the animals, the more cunning, more keen of scent and sharp of hearing and wise in their ways, gradually begat human beings. This also was true of the brighter and more intelligent of the birds.

In those days when the earth was young, trees were scarce, the land at large was open and easy to go over; there was no moon, no sun, and the people lived in a kind of perpetual twilight. They mingled with the animals; birds and beasts and men having a common tongue.

There dwelt on the earth at that time three sisters, the oldest called Tapalt, the next Yeslamish and the youngest Callocoblow. At seasons when the fern roots were good for food, these sisters would dig them to store for other times. When evening came they built a bonfire in camp, dried their roots and made their bed as comfortable as they could with the scanty means at their command. At early dawn they would return to work and repeat this for several days.

One evening when they retired Yeslamish exclaimed, "I wish that red star would be my husband." Tapalt seconded her and said, "I wish the white star would be mine."

The next morning, much to their surprise, they found themselves in an unknown land, each with her wish satisfied. Tapalt found that her husband had sore eyes. The youngest sister, who had expressed no wish, was left alone in the camp to carry back to her people the wonderful story of her sisters.

Hitching their matrimonial wagon to stars had its drawbacks, as the women soon found. The world where they lived was a pleasant one, much like the earth, but without wind or storms or rain. Their husbands guarded them jealously and strictly forbade their following the fern roots downward. Wecook, the grandmother of the women, who seemed in some mysterious way to have gotten to the land of star-husbands, always went with the sisters when they dug fern roots.

A son had been born to Tapalt and the White Star. She called his name Arh-hade (the moon), because he was born in the strange land and some day would be a famous and wonderful man.

Curiosity and homesickness soon became the supreme considerations of all the women. One day they dug, down, down the fern roots, until suddenly a gust of wind blew through and they saw far below their native land. Their

husbands felt the air moving and came to see what the women were doing, but they had stopped up the hole and pretended to be otherwise occupied.

The women whispered among themselves when the backs of their husbands were turned and planned to make a long ladder of cedar roots to reach downward. After days and days of hard work they had made a ladder long enough to span the distance. To deceive their husbands, they would take home large quantities of roots each night; so that they might have no notion of other activities. Deer meat was pressed into a tiny cake by each of the sisters, and when the appointed time came, Tapalt and her baby boy and Yeslamish went down the ladder. Wecook, the grandmother, volunteered to remain and cover the opening behind them, and then, being afraid the angered husbands would kill her, quietly cheated them and, covering herself up in the hole, turned into a fern.

There was great rejoicing and a big gathering when the sisters returned. The center of attraction was the swing ladder, used by the women as a clinching proof of their wonderful adventures. The years passed and the ladder finally fell down from the sky and was turned into the Snoqualmie Falls.

During the excitement of their return the sisters had given the baby, Arhade, to a blind old woman to care for while they told of their adventures and distributed bits of food which had miraculously increased to great abundance. Skulley, a monster disguised as a strange woman, and her two daughters appeared, and in the excitement stole the baby boy from his blind caretaker and fled with him to a distant and unknown land.

Clamorous rejoicing gave way to wails of grief and the best prophets and guessers were summoned to find where the baby had been taken.

Bow-klish, the bumble bee, was the best guesser, and after several tries, lying flat on his back and working his toes first one way and then another, finally announced the direction of the kidnapers' flight, and told the people by a great noise of pounding on boards. Sky-ky, the bluebird, grandfather of the boy, being bold and daring and swift in travel, was decided as the proper man to follow.

After overcoming many dangers and suffering untold hardships, Sky-ky reached his destination only to be confronted by a new difficulty. There was a dividing line constructed so it opened and shut at very short intervals. Beyond this was a strange land unknown to his people, and there the baby had been taken. The great barrier was like a wall cut in two, the lower part moving up and down, while the upper moved down and up. It looked impossible for any living creature to go through without being crushed to death. There was only one opening at a great distance from the ground. Above the opening the wall stretched to untold heights.

Sky-ky, knowing that he had come from afar and that to return with no news would be to carry bad news, determined to go farther if he must die in the attempt, that his people might know he had done his very best. Finally after he had been long baffled, he assumed the form of a bluejay and hopped back and forth, studying the wall and the best and quickest way to go through. After several efforts with many narrow escapes he finally made a desperate attempt to go between the two walls as the walls came together. Quick and agile as he was, yet the great walls nearly crushed his head as he quickly jumped through, feet first. The peculiar shape of the bluejay's head and the tuft of black

feathers at the top bear witness to his narrow escape in this great adventure.

Sky-ky beheld a strange and unknown land, a land full of streams, abounding in all kinds of fishes. The country was open, a vast expanse, where game of all kinds was plentiful. There was perpetual day there and the climate was temperate and fine. People dwelt there and for years he kept up his search for his grandson, Arh-hade, until one day he found a lonely man in a lonely place. The hermit was melancholy and troubled. Sky-ky's curiosity aroused, he asked the stranger why he should be so unhappy when all about him the people were so well and happy and contented in this great, fine land.

"I do not belong to this happy land; I was stolen from my people. Those who come here to live are the dead from our land," the stranger replied. Then Sky-ky greeted him as his long-lost grandson. The old man exclaimed, "You shall return the way you came. Take this stick to open the wall so as not to harm you. For me there are many more years of hard labor. Tell my people I, too, shall return, sometime."

Arh-hade then became the great changer of things. He subdued monsters, made the fire useful to man and many other things. Finally that he might be always helpful he changed himself into the moon in order to give light by night. So it was that from the "man-in-the-moon" came the only tidings of the happy hunting grounds to people who have never feared death.

"WE-QUA-QUA-US"—SAFETY FIRST!

(By Phillip Howell)

(Secretary of the Northwest Federation of American Indians)

How the Clallams secured the western half of Puget Sound by one of the largest real estate deals ever engineered in the Northwest.

Susatse, which means "The aspiring one," was a good-natured Indian, fond of jokes, fond of peace and fond of his own fond flesh. He followed the lines of least resistance and had great faith in his maxim, "We-qua-qua-us," which means in the Clallam language, "Safety first." So when a hostile tribe took it into their heads to go on the warpath, Susatse, instead of co-operating with his tribesmen in the art of preparedness or engaging in the favorite pastime of war, which was as popular in that age as it is now, generally found the maxim of "We-qua-qua-us" a safe and sane solution to the problem and immediately carried it into effect by seeking the heart of solitude, which he found, after quoting other maxims, that it stood the test of truth, that it worked, and that he could trust his life with it. A champion of the philosophy of "What was good enough for my fathers is good enough for me." Thus he fattened on the jokes from his tribe in regard to his "radical" theories, and thus he lived and saved toyik (Indian money made from rare shells) summer after summer, until he acquired five large basketsful of the precious shells and cornered the money market, which his fellowmen thought a great joke, often teasing the great good-natured capitalist in regard to his corner on tomahawks, blankets and toyik.

At this time the Clallams, one of the largest tribes that roamed the wilderness of Puget Sound, was fighting violently several tribes for certain hunting and fishing grounds along the Hood Canal. The tribes who opposed the Clal-

lams were chiefly from the north, and the lure of the Puget Sound climate, combined with its rivers and creeks, abundant with salmon, and its woods abounding with game and rich with berries, was a prize worthy of great sacrifices. So for many years much blood had been spilled on both sides, and the dove of peace was on a strike.

One winter—a very severe one for the Clallams, for they had been unable to make an advance into the abundant fields of Hood Canal—the autumn found them along the northern part of Port Angeles, with prospects of a famine staring them in the face.

Susatse's toyik was of very little use, for there was nothing to buy.

Finally it was agreed in a council among the sub-chiefs of the Clallams that two of the bravest young Indians of the tribe should make the trip to "No-homing," now called Brinnon, where salmon and deer are still in evidence even to this age.

This was held by several northern tribes and guarded very jealously, but the two young men, traveling silently by night, arrived at Brinnon, hooked from the river all the salmon they could safely carry in the canoe and started for home before dawn.

Now there is a legend among the Indians that is similar to the belief of the European people in the time of Columbus, that monsters existed in Hood Canal near the mouth of Quilicene Bay.

The two young Indians arrived at this place just at dawn, when a slight wind came up, and little choppy waves began to beat alongside their canoe, which was about eight inches above water. The wind blew harder; the wavelets grew bigger and began to beat over the side of the canoe. The only remedy was to lighten their load, so they cast back into the water much of the salmon they had caught. The wind had now changed into a gale, but they resolved to keep as much of their catch as possible. Thus they fought against the storm for the shore, and thus they capsized, right where the monsters, it is claimed, lived.

The youth at the prow urged his companion to swim for the bank, which was about a half mile distant, but he wished to save the canoe, and so stayed, while the other, seeing the utter folly of trying to save the canoe, swam for the shore. In the meantime the dead salmon, sinking below, caused sharks, blackfish and other monsters, which generally feed in the morning, to rise to the surface.

The young man had reached the shore by this time, and as he stood gazing wildly at his comrade, who was battling desperately with the elements, saw the monsters rise out of the water like trees and fall back into the boiling water with terrific splashing. He saw the body of his comrade tossed high in the air by these monsters; then he saw half of the body tossed still higher, and another half, until, unable to stand the scene, he broke wildly into the woods.

Thus he told the story a week later at the Indian camp, where he arrived in a demented condition. It was then that Susatse brought forward his plan to buy the western half of Puget Sound from Hoko, which is about twelve miles south of Neah Bay, to the head of Hood Canal for all the wealth he had saved during his life.

Messengers carrying peace tokens were sent to the northern tribes. A big pow-wow was arranged, which lasted three days. Finally things were settled, the sale made, with no "scrap of paper" to mar the deal, but the word of honor,

which those three tribes respected more than their lives, as it is known that there was never another war between these tribes.

And thus Susatse, a good-natured Indian, fond of jokes, fond of peace and fond of his own fond flesh, engineered one of the largest real estate deals known in Puget Sound history.

MADE VOCABULARY AS HE WENT

Dr. Chas. M. Buchanan says Father Chirouse, when he went as first missionary to Indians at Tulalip, found they had no word for writing nor did they have any words by which his theological terms could be made intelligible, so that he proceeded to invent words. He was a Frenchman. He spoke a French word and then caught the Indian's pronunciation of it, which he set down. He would hold up a peach, for example, and ask the Indian what it was. The Indian, never having seen a peach, would reply that it was food—giving a generic term.

"From his standpoint and with his object in view, this is not a defect—he was attempting to get into communication as quickly as possible and his vocabulary is full of short cuts from a missionary standpoint, but dangerous and deceptive from a philologic standpoint."

CHINOOK

Rev. Myron Eells said of the Chinook jargon:

"In order to write a complete dictionary of the jargon, one should learn to speak it thoroughly in one place, then go to all other places where it is spoken differently, and spend enough time at each place to note the differences. Words that are very common at once place are sometimes obsolete 150 miles from that place, and words that have been adopted into the language from the English in one place are unknown to neighboring Indians."

The language was used from Northern California to Alaska and east to the Rockies. It began with the traders at Nootka, who adopted some Indian, some English and words from other languages. The Astoria party increased by adding many Chinook words. It became known as the trade language or jargon. The coming of Canadians added French words. "Sound words" were added—like "tum-tum" for heart, "tik-tik" for watch, "lip-lip," boiling water, and "klak," the sound of a taut rope suddenly loosened. Mr. Eells recorded 1,402 jargon words in addition to 1,552 phrases which answer to single English words.

Swan gives considerable of the vocabularies of several of the Indian tribes with which he became acquainted and says that Indian names often are taken without regard to meaning. That is, persons and tribes may have a name which has no meaning whatever. In asking an Indian for an explanation of the meaning of his name one day, Swan was told that some names had meaning while others did not, like the white man's names, said the Indian.

"Your name is Swan, it has a meaning, but lots of white men have names that do not have a meaning—same way with Indians."

SOME PLACE NAMES

The following list of place names is by no means a complete list, nor one in fact scarcely scratching the surface. Professor Meany, of the State University, is now engaged in collecting these names and already has some ten thousand. It is a work well worth while. Many of the names here given are from lists published from time to time by Professor Meany. The writer also is indebted to Dr. Charles Buchanan, of the Tulalip Agency; Myron Eells, J. A. Costello, of Seattle, and others.

Skokomish, Skakabish.

Union City, Do-hlo-kawa-ted.

Tahooya, Ta-hu-ya.

Dewats, Du-a-taie.

Lilliwaup, Lil-la-wap.

Dukaboos, Do-he-a-bus.

Docewallops, Dos-wail-opsh.

Quil-Ceed, Kwil-sid.

Seabeck, L-ka-bak-hu (whisper hu).

Hoodsport, Slal-atl-atl-tul-hu.

Port Ludlow, Dos-la-latl.

Nisqually, including Squakson, Puyallup and Snohomish language.

Seattle, Sdze-Sdze-la-lich (meaning a peninsula shape). That portion of the town site below Yesler Way. In early days, before the extensive filling in was done, there was a small hill on the tide flats between First Avenue South and Third Avenue South at Jackson Street. This hill became an island when the tide came in, the water coming in back of it up to where the present Union Depot now stands. This made the locality a peninsula. William Deshaw, an old Texan who for many years lived at the Old Man House Reservation, and who was well acquainted with Chief Seattle, said that his name was pronounced Se-at-tee, or at least that was as near as the whites could get to it, and that the settlers on Elliot Bay were responsible for the idea that his name was pronounced Sealth. The Indians all called him Se-at-tee.

Tacoma, Chebaulip.

Olympia, Stu-chus-aud.

The River Deschutes, Dus-chut-wit.

Oakland, Tsut-tau-i.

Shelton, Pe-a-kwad.

Big Skookum, Sa-ha-wawsh.

Mud Bay, Skwe-ail.

Squakson Island, Pul-le-la.

Deschutes River was named by M. T. Simmons, the Indian name being Pacalups or Pukalbush.

Chambers Prairie, Elcumen.

Olympia, Chithoot.

Lake Union was Hartshu, or Little Lake. Washington was Lake Hartshu, Big Lake.

Angeline, Ka-kis-im-la.

Duke of York, Chits-a-mah-han.

Port Blakeley, Ku-kwns.

Cathlamet comes from the Indian word "Calamet," stone.

Chehalis, pronounced by the Indians Tse-há-lis, means sand and was given to the Indians at the mouth of the river because of sand there.

Clallam, name of tribe, also written S'Klal-lam, said by the Indians to be a corruption of Nu-Sklaim, their own name, meaning the strong people. Twana Indians say it comes from Twana name for the tribe, Do-sklal-ob, meaning "the big brave nation." James G. Swan says the name means The Clam People and comes from Klo-lub, clam; and aht-man.

Docewallops, from Twana word Dos-wail-oph, name of man having two wives who quarreled. One, Tu-wah-hu, left and traveled around the Sound to where Mount Rainier now stands, when a god called Do-ki-batl, the changer, came along and on account of their quarreling changed them all to mountains. Mount Solomon was the other wife. The man, Dos-wail-opsh, became a mountain and river.

Duk-a-boos River in Jefferson, from do-hi-a-boos, "a reddish face," because of a nearby mountain has a reddish face.

Duwamish, or Dwamish, the people living on the river.

Elhwa, elk.

Hama-hama, corruption of Twana Du-hub-hub-bai, from small rush called hub-hub growing there.

Kalama, corruption of calamet, stone.

Kitsap, name of chief, pronounced Kt-sap, accent on the last syllable.

La-push, jargon for mouth—town at mouth of Quilleyute River.

Lilliwaup, name of place, creek and falls from Twana lil-la-wop, inlet.

Makah, or Mak-kah, cape people, or people living on point of land projecting into the sea.

Neah, name of Makah chief Du-ah.

Quil-ceed, Twana name from quil-ceed-o-bish, the name of a band of Indians living on Quilceed Bay. It means salt-water people, in distinction from S-kaw-kaw-bish, or fresh water people.

Skokomish, from Twana word S-kaw-kaw-bish, pronounced S-kaw-kaw-mish by Clallams; means fresh water or river people; bish, or mish, means people.

Skookum chuch, jargon for strong or swift water. Skookum comes originally from the Chehalis language—sku-kum, strong; chuch, from old Chinook word, tl-tsuk, water.

Snohomish, tribe, "shaded or shadowy waters."

Snoqualmie, plenty of waters.

Squakson, from Squakson word Du-skwak-sin, meaning silent, or alone, because it was the only stream in that region, North Bay.

Steilacoom, corruption of Chief Tail-a-koom. Steilacoom is said to be the name of the Indian pink which formerly grew in profusion over the Steilacoom townsite.

Stillaguamish (more properly Stil-a-qua-mish), river people.

Ta-hoo-ya, Mason County creek; Twana words Ta, that, and ho-i, done, That done.

Ta-toosh, Chinook for milk, or breast; originally from Chippeway word to-



FRANK CARLETON TECK

Mr. Teck long has taken great interest in state history, has been identified for many years with commercial organizations of the state and was secretary of the Commercial Club of Port Angeles.

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toosh, or possibly from Makah word To-tooch, or Tu-tutsh, Thunder bird; also thunder and lightning.

Tu-ka-let, Indian name for Port Gamble, "the brightness of the noon-day sun," because of brightness with which noonday sun shone on sand of beach.

Tu-la-lip, "wide bay with a small mouth."

North Bay, Skwak-sin.

Puyallup (town), S-tuch-a-gwus.

Sumner, Sta-hu.

Kamilchie, Ka-bel-chi.

Tumwater, Spa-kwatl (meaning waterfalls).

Steilacoom, Ki-o-wal-up-sum.

Steilacoom Creek, Ch-til-a-kum.

Centerville, Muk-kah.

Nisqually River, Pu-yal-lup.

Deschutes River at Tumwater, Pu-kal-bush.

Puyallup River, Pu-yal-lup.

Port Madison, Tu-che-kup.

Port Townsend, Ka-tal.

Port Gamble, Tee-ka-let.

Point Wilson, Kam-kum.

Port Discovery, Skawa-kwe-i.

Sequim, Such-i-kwe-ing.

Dungeness Spit, Tsi-tsa-kwich.

Dungeness, Tses-kut.

Port Angeles, I-en-nis.

Port Gamble, Kel-up-kwa.

Port Ludlow, Sna-nul-kwo.

Port Townsend, Tsu-tlat-u-kwat.

Port Discovery, Kui-la-tsu-ko.

Scow Bay, Ka-ma-kwo.

Point Wilson, Kam-kam-ho.

Satsop, Sats-a-pish (lower Chehalis language).

Humtulips, Hum-tu-lips (lower Chehalis language).

West Seattle, Squ-ducks (meaning a promontory continuing into the water).

Mercer Island (Lake Washington), Klut-use.

Port Blakely, Kol-lus-um.

The Old Man House, near Port Madison, Tu-che-cub.

Port Washington, Squh-buck.

Salmon Bay, Ballard town site. Shul-shale, the name of a tribe of Indians that had their home near the mouth of this bay—now extinct.

Port Orchard Navy Yard site, Tr-cha-duk.

Lake Washington, It-kow-chug (meaning a large body of fresh water).

Lake Union, Kah-chug (small lake).

Black River at E. M. Smithers', Renton, Quo-doultz-spu-den.

Cedar River, Quo-b-quo.

The portage at the canal near Latonia, between the lakes, Squaltz-quiltl.

Lake Kitsap, K'l-loot.

Sidney town site, Quak.

Port Orchard Bay, Ter-cha-bus.

West Point, Per-co-dus-chule.

Point-No-Point, Hards-cubs.

Salt Water, Squat-lsh.

Fresh water, Qua-ooke.

Alki Point, Ma-qua-buck.

Cascade range, Squa-cooke.

Coast Range, Sun-a-do.

A beach near Utsalady town site, De-a-lerdy (where clams abound).

Camano Island, Ut-sal-lady—land of berries.

Port Orchard, Sinclair Inlet from Dye's Inlet to the head of the bay, Mar-mar.

Vancouver gave the name Point Partridge and died without explaining why. His brother, John, married into a family by the name of Partridge, and Professor Meany thinks this accounts for the name. John edited his brother's report.

Master Joseph Whidbey, in a small boat expedition, found the pass from the straits into what Vancouver had named Port Gardner. The name Deception passage was written in the chart. By this discovery it was found that a large island existed and the name Whidbey was given it in honor of the man who had made the discovery.

Cypress Island was named by Vancouver. On its southwestern coast is Strawberry Bay, also named by Vancouver.

Point William and Bellingham Bay were named in honor of Sir William Bellingham. The Gulf of Georgia and Birch Bay on its eastern side were named by Vancouver.

Vancouver's Port Gardner became Saratoga Passage under the Wilkes expedition, Wilkes thus honoring the flagship Saratoga in the battle of Lake Champlain, fought in the War of 1812.

Camano Island—Capt. Henry Kellett, of the royal navy, on a chart of 1847 gave this name to the island which Wilkes had called Macdonough in honor of the commander of the Saratoga. "On the chart of Don Francisco Eliza, 1791, the waterway at Point Partridge was called Ensenada y Boca de Caamano. Kellett thus shifted the name over Whidby Island and landed it upon Camano Island, dropping an a in the process," says a commentator. Wilkes called the group the Navy Archipelago and applied names of vessels and officers to many of them.

Fidalgo Island—Wilkes named this Perry's Island in honor of Oliver Hazard Perry, hero of the battle of Lake Erie, commemorating that battle by giving the name Mount Erie to the island's highest point of land. Moun^t/Erie remains, but Kellett called the island Fidalgo, a name which the Spaniards, in honor of Lieut. Salvador de Fidalgo, an officer with Lieutenant Eliza in 1790-91, had given to what is now known as Rosario Strait.

Allens Island—so named by Wilkes in honor of Master Commandant William Henry Allen, of the U. S. brig Argus, which in 1813 entered the English Channel and captured twenty vessels.

Burrows Island was named by Wilkes in honor of Lieut. William Burrows, who on September 5, 1813, captured the British brig Boxer. Wilkes' Argus Bay to the westward of Fidalgo Island, has become Burrows Bay.

Guemes Island—Lieutenant Eliza in 1791 named this island in honor of his

superior officer, Senor Don Juan Vicente de Guemes Pacheco y Padillo Orcastay Aguayo Conde de Revilla Gigedo, viceroy of Mexico. It was a good name, just the kind needed by a discoverer with a large number of islands and water passages to name, and Lieutenant Eliza made good use of it. His Isla de Gueme became Lawrence Island on Wilkes' chart, only to be changed to Guemes Island by Kellett, who apparently did not appreciate the achievements of Capt. James Lawrence, commander of the U. S. sloop of war *Hornet* in that vessel's first cruise of the War of 1812. Taking another portion of the long Spanish name, Lieutenant Eliza applied it as Isla de Vicente to Vancouver's Cypress Island—a name which seems to have met with the approval of Wilkes. Padilla Bay perpetuates a part of the Mexican viceroy's name, but Isla de Pacheco after being called McLoughlin Island by Wilkes, who thus sought to honor Doctor McLoughlan, Hudson's Bay factor at Fort Vancouver, was in 1853 named Lummi Island by George Davidson, of the United States coast survey.

Wilkes seems to have desired to apply to the San Juan group names of men and vessels connected with the War of 1812—names which would remind the British claimants to the territory of the fact that twice had they received threshings at the hands of the young republic.

Gulf of Georgia—Vancouver honored his king by giving to the largest body of inland water the name of the Gulf of Georgia. When Lieutenant Eliza sailed into this broad inland gulf he gave it the long Spanish name Gran Canal de Nuestra Senora del Rosario—Grand Canal of our Lady of the Rosary. Wilkes chose to allow Vancouver's name to remain. It also met with the approval of Kellett who applied a part of the old Spanish name to what is now known as the Rosario Straits, but which Wilkes had called Ringgold's Channel in honor of one of his lieutenants, Cadwalader Ringgold. Eliza had called this important waterway Canal de Fidalgo.

Sinclair Island was named in honor of another naval officer of the War of 1812, Capt. Arthur Sinclair.

Vendovi Island—Among the men of Wilkes' command was a Fiji Islander named Vendovi.

Blakely Island was named by Wilkes in honor of Capt. Johnston Blakely, commander of the *Wasp*, who with his entire crew was lost at sea in the War of 1812. The name of the vessel is preserved in Wasp Island, while Port Blakely, opposite Seattle, is another of Wilkes' tributes to the naval hero.

Lopez Island—Lopez Gonzales de Haro, in 1790, discovered what is known as Lopez Island. Wilkes named it Chauncy's Island for Captain Chauncy, who in the War of 1812 fought the British on Lake Ontario. Kellett swept Wilkes' name from the island and restored that of the old Spaniard, whose fame is also preserved in the present day Haro Strait, through which runs the boundary line between the State of Washington and British Columbia. To the westward of Lopez Island lie Griffin Bay, named for John C. Griffin, of San Juan pig war fame. Wilkes charted this bay as Ontario Roads.

Decatur Island—October 25, 1812, Capt. Stephen Decatur, commanding the frigate *United States*, captured the frigate *Macedonian*, in honor of which Wilkes named Decatur Island. To the crescent shaped channel which separates this island from Lopez, Wilkes gave the name of Macedonian Crescent. It is now known as Lopez Sound.

San Juan Island—In honor of Saint John, Lieutenant Eliza, in 1791, named the largest of the Puget Sound islands San Juan. The Hudson's Bay people called it Bellvue, a name that did not suit Wilkes, who in 1841 named it Rodgers Island in honor of Commodore John Rodgers, commander of the United States ship *President*, when, in May, 1811, she attacked the British ship *Little Belt*. Captain Kellett failed to see the appropriateness of perpetuating the name and in 1847 he restored the old Spanish name. The name *President Passage* which Wilkes bestowed upon the channel to the northeast of the island, has remained; but *Little Belt*, which he gave to the passage at the southern end of the Island, has disappeared.

Choosing the names of some of the younger officers of his crew, Wilkes named many of the smaller islands and passages lying to the northward and northwestward of San Juan and Orcas islands. Most of these are still used, among them being Henry Island, named for Midshipman Wilkes Henry; Spiedens Island, for Purser William Spieden; Stuarts Island, for Frederick D. Stuart, captain's clerk of the *Peacock*; Waldron Island, for Thomas W. Waldron, who filled a similar position on the *Porpoise*; Morse Island, for Purser's Steward William H. Morse. Other Wilkes names which have come down to present days are Pearl Island, Jones Island, named for Commandant Jacob Jones, who, on October 18, 1812, captured the British brig *Frolic*, the captured vessel's name being given to the channel now known as Upright Channel.

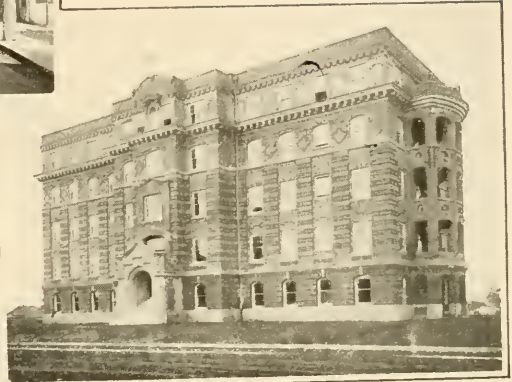
Shaws Island was named by Wilkes in honor of Capt. John D. Shaw, another commander in the War of 1812.

Orcas Island—In a recent article on the names of Washington localities, Prof. Edmond S. Meany, in commenting on the mystery surrounding the derivation of the name of Orcas Island, says:

"In the great work of George Davidson, 'The Pacific Pilot,' there may be found the history of many names, but not this one. The Bancroft history, the United States geological survey's origin of certain place names in the United States, all the histories of the state, these are all silent as to the source of this name. In the chapter on hydrography by J. G. Kohl in the geographic memoir in the Pacific Railroad Reports, volume 12, part I, page 297, is found: 'The present name Orcas Island comes perhaps from Scotland, and is originally to be found on the English admiralty charts of 1847.' That is the usual form guess-work has taken.

"Capt. John T. Walbran in his 'British Columbia Coast Names,' page 231, gives the best hint as to the origin of Orcas Island's name. In speaking of Haro Strait he says it was named by Sub-Lieut. Manuel Quimper in honor of his mate, Gonzales Lopez de Haro. Hence, Gonzales Point, Lopez Island and Haro Strait. In 1791 Jose Maria Narvaez, second in command in Lieutenant Eliza's expedition from Nootka, made a further examination of this strait by Eliza's orders, in the schooner *Saturnina*, alias *Horcasitas*, seven guns (hence Orcas Island in the State of Washington, U. S. A.).

"Eliza's chart shows the name *Saturnina* written where the present *Saturna* Island is located, and it also shows 'Boca de *Horcasitas*' where Wilkes' *Little Belt Passage* (now *Middle Channel*) is located. When Kellett began his magnanimous work of restoring old Spanish names he moved this one from the 'Boca' to the large island and then used the first part of it only just as the



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St. Joseph's Hospital
Elk's Temple

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Saturnina was curtailed. The initial letter was omitted because in Spanish 'h' is often 'mudo,' or silent. De Haro is given on Wilkes' chart as de Arro and it is so written often. In fact on Eliza's original chart the name is written 'Horcaci-tas' on the waterway and 'Orcacitas' in the title of the map. The alias of the Spanish schooner or goleta was in honor of the great viceroy of Mexico, whose long name (Senor Don Juan Vicente de Guemes Pacheco y Padillo Orcastas y Aguayo Conde se Revilla Gigedo) was spread all over Eliza's chart. Thus does the name of Orcas Island trace back to the Spaniard of high degree."

That geographers and historians, confronted with this long Spanish name and the fact that Eliza had, as Professor Meany says, spread it all over the San Juan Archipelago, should be confused and for so many years overlook the true source from which it came, is surprising.

But few of the names given to Orcas Island localities by Wilkes in 1841 are to be found today. His chart shows the island as Hulls Island, named in honor of Commodore Isaac Hull, who during the War of 1812, while commanding the United States frigate Constitution, familiarly known as "Old Ironsides" because she carried iron armor plate, on August 19, 1812, fought and defeated the British frigate Guerriere. The name Constitution was given to the highest mountain on the island, and as Mount Constitution it is still known. But the name Ironsides has long since given place to East Sound as designating that inlet. The name Guerriere was by Wilkes given to what present day travelers know as West Sound.

To the north of Orcas Island lies a group which early Spanish discoverers had given the name Sucia. Wilkes, in honor of Capt. John Percival, hero of the War of 1812, named these the Percival group, but Captain Kellett, in 1847 restored the Spanish name.

INDIAN LORE FOR CHEHALIS AND NEIGHBORHOOD

(BY DAN CLOUD)

The Wynooche River empties into the Chehalis at Montesano. It is pronounced by the Indians "Whan-oot-chy," meaning "sudden shifting" or "skipping."

The Black River, which empties into the Wynooche a few miles north of Montesano is the English name for the Indian name "Satch-ell," which had the meaning black or swampy.

Satsop River, emptying into the Chehalis near the Town of Satsop, is an Indian name, but the meaning is not clear.

Before leaving the Wynooche River, there is an Indian tradition—or was in the '50s—that a "Skookum,"—probably meaning, in this case at least, something supernatural—was living on the prairie bench above the falls on the river, about thirty or thirty-five miles north of Montesano, and that it was laying in wait for women and girls.

At about the time or shortly before the white men came the Indians stopped sending their women to that region for huckleberries which grew plentifully there, because of this "Skookum," which they described as a bear with a man's head, and as very powerful.

Early settlers who prospected in the Olympics from up the Wynooche believed this "Skookum" was really a very rare specie of bear, called the "white-faced-bear." At least one early prospector, a man named McFarland, who was sheriff in this county in the '60s, reported seeing such an animal. "While up there I saw an animal looking something like a greyish black bear, with a clear white face," he is quoted. "It was much longer limbed and slimmer of body than any bear I have ever seen before or since, and if ever an animal had the face of a devil it certainly did. I will tell you frankly it was the only animal I ever saw that I was afraid of, and was afraid—scared nearly stiff of it."

Chehalis, or more nearly Indian, "Tschalis," means "gun-powder place," so the name is not so old as many. The name was given by the Indians to the point where Westport is located at the south of the Grays Harbor opening. It was so named because of the black sand mixed with the white of the beach. The point was the Government site of the Chehalis tribe, and the chief's name also was Chehalis. The Hudson's Bay Company gave the name to the river, which the Indians before that time had called the "Noos-so-lups," or "Good Region."

The River Humptulips, which empties into the harbor some miles west of Hoquiam, is supposed to have gotten its name from an early tribe of Indians (before the whites came)—that is the "Humph's" region.

North River, which makes a loop from Pacific County into and out of this county to empty into Willapa Harbor, was called by the Indians "Nis-o-man-che," meaning "shadow water," and a very appropriate name it is. The river runs between narrow banks and through a heavily timbered country. Those who visit it today find pleasure in watching the shadow reflections.

Hoquiam River, pronounced by the Indians "Ho-qui-umptz," which flows into the harbor at Hoquiam, had the meaning "Always Hungry for Wood." This, too, was appropriate for the action of tide and waves against the inflowing river water resulted in one of the largest log dumps or jams at its mouth ever known in the Northwest prior to the beginning of logging operations.

Wishkah, "Whoosh-kah," which enters the harbor at Aberdeen, means in Indian "Stink-water," probably named from the salmon left in the upper waters after the spring runs, to rot and stink. Luark and other early settlers say that when the whites first came the salmon runs were very heavy and frequently after the runs many of the rivers and even sloughs were polluted by the decaying fish.

Nishkah, or Nooskah, a small river emptying into the harbor across from Aberdeen, meant "Good Water."

Johns River, emptying into the harbor on the south side, was called "Tseech," meaning "a flash," by the Indians.

Am unable to find the Indian name for Damon's Point, the long spit on the north side of the harbor entrance, where Captain Gray is supposed to have landed, but the meaning of the Indian name was "The Land's Nose."

"Cloq" was an Indian prefix to many stream names and is retained in the "Cloquallum," a stream which enters the Chehalis above Elma. In 1852 there was a big Indian village near Mound Prairie that bore the name Cloquallum. The houses were built of split cedar. In the winter of 1852-53 smallpox took many of the inhabitants and in 1853 the Indians themselves burned their town.

The chief's village or Indian capital of the Chehalis tribe at Chehalis Point



Officers' quarters

Inspection on parade grounds

Club house

Privates' quarters

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was once burned also as a result of a smallpox epidemic. Settlers in 1850 reported finding bones of the buried or burned dead of the village and many utensils that had been left in the cedar shacks, for there, too, the Indians had constructed their homes of split cedar.

M. J. Luark tells of having seen some of these village houses. He says that an Indian told him in the '50s that at the epidemic at Chehalis Point, (now Westport) more than three hundred slaves died, besides many of the tribe members. The houses, though small, were built with walls and roof. Split cedar was driven in the ground for walls and then split cedar was lapped lengthways for a roof. One side of the roof was a few inches higher at the peak and the split cedar lapped over the other side a few inches. That was the outlet for smoke. At both ends of the house were doors about 18 by 30 inches. The door was hung by a string from the roof. Mr. Luark is authority that while these doors seemed to keep out much cold and rain the Indian dogs soon learned to open them as well as the masters, and as a result fleas were always abundant in the houses. At Westport, the houses were built in a scooped out place in the sand. The storms then proceeded to bank the sand up around the houses, much as snow drifts are seen about houses in a prairie country. Up the river the houses sat on top of the ground.

In the Chehalis River opposite East Montesano is a place that the Indians called "La-quailtz," meaning "sit down," because owing to the rapids and the current where the Satsop joins the river it was wise for occupants of the canoes to sit down.

The Indians had a tradition that many years before 1850, probably, from the way they told it, several hundred years, and certainly before the time of Captain Gray's visit to the harbor, some Indians who lived in a village on the south side of the river at the time saw two men who were not like Indians and who had queer clothing and white skin and who rowed their boat with their backs to the direction they were going, come suddenly and swiftly around a bend in the river from the ocean way. Following the first boat, but some distance away, was another in which were several men dressed and looking like the first two. The last boat was gaining rapidly on the first and was evidently trying to catch it. The two men shoved their boat into the south shore near the village, lifted something that looked like a box and which was very, very heavy, out of the boat, and carrying it between them ran off into the woods and up the hill. Soon afterwards the other boat landed and the men pursued the first two. These later men carried sticks that spit fire and made a great noise. Some hours later the bigger party returned, and afterwards the Indians learned they had killed the two men, but the bigger party did not bring back the heavy box, for they looked for it for some time before they went back down the river. The Indians and white settlers of later years imagined the box contained treasure and in the early '50s much searching was made to find it. The whites imagined the men were from some of the early Spanish exploring ships.

This buried treasure tradition leads naturally to early stories of gold being found in the Olympics. Many, or at least some of the Indians had gold trinkets when the whites first came. They all said the metal was obtained from a ledge "up the Wynooche," or up some of the other rivers.

Joseph Mace, one of the earliest settlers near Montesano, and whose descend-

ants, or part of them, still live here, traded a bushel of grain to an Indian for a bracelet which was later pronounced gold and which the Indian said had been hammered out of rock found in a tributary of the Quillicene River, far up in the mountains. He said it was made by melting the rock over a hard wood fire.

Mace, Luark and many other of the early settlers prospected up the Wynooche, as a result of color found and stories told by the Indians, and there has probably not been a year since 1850 when one or more parties have not looked for a gold ledge which is of Indian tradition. According to the Indians, as told one of the settlers by a chief named Hyasman (which, by the way, I think is itself Indian for chief), who directed M. Z. Goodell on an exploring and prospecting trip, far up the Wynooche, after it gets into the mountains the prospector would find a small stream coming down the side of a mountain. Part way up the mountain he would find where a wide streak of white rock crossed the bed of the small stream. From the rock, the Indian told, he and other Indians had gotten yellow metal by burning the rock in a fire, and from the metal they made rings and bracelets. Among the prospectors of 1860 were Joe Crawford and Tommy Glenn. It is told that many prospectors have been able to make day's wages by washing in the beds of streams.

Montesano is not an Indian name.

"The original name of Bellingham was Whatcom, or properly, 'What-coom,' Indian word of the Lummi tongue for 'rumbling,' named after the rumbling of waterfalls of Whatcom Creek," says William McCluskey of the Lummi reservation.

"Squalicum Creek, or 'Nu-Qual-le-hum,' is 'water containing dog salmon.'

"Bellingham Bay has no particular name, being that the waters are divided according to the names given along the shores.

"South Bellingham was formerly known as Fairhaven, the Indian name of that place is 'Nus-sis-sul-luch-hum,' or 'water that frequently discovers small articles.'

"Chuckanut, or 'Nu-chuck-nuch,' 'proper wide bay with narrow entrance.'

"Kulshan, any long or slim object being 'short at the end.'

"Lummi, or 'Nu-lum-me,' 'capable of being repelled.'

"Range of mountains are usually named according to the name of the band or tribe of Indians adjacent to such mountains.

"As to Olympics, a good portion is termed as the Clallam Mountains, ranging from Clallam, or Clallam Bay, to about the entrance of Hood Canal. Mountains adjacent to the canal are termed as the Tu-wan-noh Mountains.

"Straits of Juan de Fuca are portioned as that of Bellingham Bay.

"Whidby Island greater extent of said island is termed Skagit possession up as far as Holmes Harbor, and from there to the south end is of the Snohomish possession.

"Lummi Reservation Indian residents are 464; enrolled are 517.

"Lummi Indians were very often in war with foreign tribes. The last battle known at this reservation was about the year 1821. The assailants were of the northern tribes of British Columbia, known as the Yok-ul-ta band. At this battle the Lummies had proved victorious, not having lost or injured a single person. On the offensive many lives were lost, and the number of those who



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might have escaped and reached their homes to tell of their defeat was never known.

"Some time later, after firearms were more in use, the Lummys had sent a message with three blank bullets to be given to the Yok-ul-ta as an engagement for another fight. In reply the Yok-ul-ta returned the bullets, saying they never again would attempt to fight the Lummys as they were very much like the bees. The last (fifth) annual Lummi picnic, month of June each year, at Gooseberry Point, this reservation, is in honor of the last battle on the grounds of Gooseberry Point."

The words "Skagit," "Nooksack" and "Skykomish" are the names of tribes living adjacent to or in the valley of the rivers bearing the respective names. The Skagits are divided into two classes, sometimes called the "Coupeville Skagits" and the "River Skagits"—by that is meant, (1) the Skagit Indians living adjacent to the delta of the Skagit River, and (2) the Skagit Indians living up the river proper. The first group contained several sub-tribes, such as the Kik-ih-ah-los (sometimes called Kikiallis), the Swinomish, Squinamish, etc. The second group contained several sub-tribes, such as the Nook-whah-chah-mish, Choh-bah-ah-bish, etc. The term "Skagit" has been used for so long a time that its origin and source are lost in the mists of antiquity—meaning unknown.

The term "Nooksack" is applied to the river and to the tribe living along its upper reaches, especially adjacent to the towns of Nooksack, Goshen, Everson, Lynden, Deming, etc. The word is more nearly "Nooh-sahk." The word "Sahk" in our tongue is applied to the edible portion of the common bracken, or "fern" (*Pteris aquilina* var. *lanuginosa*)—the common bracken that is such a pest to the farmer hereabouts. Our Indian people gathered this root, parched it, beat it to separate starchy contents from woody fibre and ground the amylaceous portion into a coarse meal. The "Nooh-sahk" people lived in a region where there was much of this material, hence the term "Nooh-sahk," or "people of the bracken root."

The term "Skykomish" is the name of a tribe living along the upper headwaters of the Snohomish River. The original Indian term was "Skay-Whahmpsh." Meaning unknown. In fact it is not usual for the Indian proper names of this vicinity to have a meaning—except in the case of descriptive terms or of nicknames.

"Squim" is up in the Clallam country west of Port Townsend. The Indians give a suggestion of a vowel sound between "s" and "q," which is probably the reason why some maps give the place variously as "Squim," "Sequim," "Seguin," etc. I do not know the meaning, but it is probably a Clallam word—the Clallams are under the jurisdiction of Cushman School (your neighbor at Tacoma).

I have heard the Indians refer to the great subterranean fire near Skagit Head on Whidby Island in primitive days, but I have never learned or acquired the name for the place or the phenomenon. If I can remember (through the 2,001 petty distractions of each day!) to make inquiry at proper sources I think I can easily ascertain the name though.

Have you our local Indian name for Snoqualmie Falls? You know the general belief, of course, that the falls never give up anything which they take. In our local tongue the root of the word to "take" is "Kwud"—thus "Kwud-ad"—"take it," "Kwud-aht-chee"—"take my hand" (the suffix "aht-chee" always refers

to the hands). The present participle of the verb is formed by prefixing "s" to it—"Skwud"—meaning present, continued and unceasing action, taking and continuing to take. A stretch of the imagination easily converts it into "The Ever-taking." This is exactly the idea that the white man has of it. The Indian expression of the thought, however, is far more beautiful, expressive, poetical and imaginative.

The following are some of the local aboriginal names used at Tulalip for various places about Puget Sound:

Priest Point, on Tulalip Reservation, at the mouth of the Snohomish River (one of the mouths), "Schüh-tlähks," "Stony Nose" (Chuh-tlah—rock; buck-sid—nose). The point is a rocky, bold promontory as seen from the Sound.

Syue', or Skī-you' Point, at the southeast entrance to Tulalip Bay. Skyue—dead body. The point was, in primitive times, the site of an Indian cemetery. Skyue Point—Dead Man's Point.

Sultan, Wash., a corruption of the Indian name (Tssül'-tūd) of a local Indian chief.

Hat Island, near Everett (marked Gedney Island on charts), Chüh-chüh-sül-lāy'. Meaning unknown.

Point Elliott, just south of Everett, Mukilteo. Meaning unknown.

Point Allen, the south end of Camano Island, Höy'-shīd. Meaning unknown.

Seattle, Tzēē-tzēē-läl'-itch, little portage. ᵀᶜᵉᵉᵀ ᵀᶜᵉᵉᵀ ᵀᶜᵉᵉᵀ ᵀᶜᵉᵉᵀ Tzēē-tzēē-läl'-itch (the diminutive form), little portage, referring to the short cut from bay to lake rather than the circuitous river route. Usually, though not always, both diminutive forms and plural forms are made by duplicating the first syllable of a word; if the quantity of the vowel of the duplicated syllable is short the new form is diminutive; if the quantity of the vowel of the duplicated syllable is long then the new form is a plural one, the long sound being virtually a circumflex.

Stanwood, Sül-gwähs', literally a strait or a slough.

Joe Hill's Bay (a bay on Camano Island near Stanwood), Söh-gwähbt'. Meaning unknown.

Cowlitz, Stl-pohbsh. Meaning unknown.

Marysville, Slup-puks, a crossing (from Quilcedah Creek to the Snohomish River), meaning primarily a low, sandy place.

Kwul-see-dah, or Quilceda, a little creek on Tulalip Reservation discharging into the slough near Marysville.

Sturgeon Creek (a creek discharging into the Kwul-see-dah on Tulalip Reservation, on the west side of Kwul-see-dah and near the latter's mouth), Düh-kwüh-ti'-äd-sid-düb, Sturgeon Creek. Kwuh-ti-ad-siddub, Sturgeon.

Holmes Harbor (Whidby Island), Äh-lüs-dühk', "go inside."

A point in Holmes Harbor, Buh-buh-bah-chud, testicles (the point is a double, rounded point).

A brook beyond Langley (on Whidby Island), Suhk-shay-shay-wah, woman's urine (the waters of the little stream are warm and highly colored). Shay-wah, woman's urine. Sswah, man's urine.

A point at the mouth of the Snohomish River opposite Priest Point, Hay-bohl-ub (about where Blackman's Mill stands). It was the name and site of an

ancient Indian village at the tip of the peninsula on which the City of Everett stands. Meaning unknown.

A point on Tulalip Reservation beach on Port Susan, Ah-kwahlk-haht. Meaning unknown.

The site of Tacoma, Shih-bah-lup, a dry place, as under a tree.

A sand spit at Skyu Point, Kway-kwilks, skate fish nose.

A bluff on Tulalip Reservation near Priest Point, Chee-al-koh. Meaning unknown.

Tulalip: Date, origin and original application to Tulalip Agency unknown, but used by the Indians themselves for years to describe any landlocked or almost landlocked bay (such as the bay at Tulalip). The correct Indian word really approximates Duh-hlay-lup rather than Tulalip (which is a white man's corruption of the Indian word). It is said that the same name was applied to a similarly landlocked (almost) bay on Hood's Canal (exact location now unknown).

Mukilteo: Date, origin and original application unknown. I have never met an Indian who could give me a meaning for the word Mukilteo, though I have made twenty-one years of inquiry and have lived among them that long.

Suiattle: One of the headwater streams of the Skagit River. Meaning unknown.

Pilchuck: This word is a combination of the two Chinook jargon words, pil (red) and chuck (water), Red Water. The origin of the name, when and by whom first applied, are not known. The word is evidently a descriptive combination.

Stillaguanish: This is the name of an Indian tribe tributary to Tulalip; a different spelling is given to the word in the treaty of Point Elliott or Mukilteo (12 Stats., 927). The word is really Stoh-luk-whahmpsh. Stoh-luk, river. The suffix, -whahmpsh or -ahmpsh, is used to indicate a people or tribe. The word means "river people."

Speebidah or "Subeebeda": This word is known to us locally at Tulalip as Speebidah or Sbee-bee-dah. The Indian word bee-dah means a child (common gender). Sbee-bee-dah is the diminutive form meaning "little child" or "little one." In our Indian tongue the sounds "P," "M" and "B" are identical and interchangeable; in the same manner "T," "N" and "D" are identical and interchangeable—the Indian had discovered this before Pitman had done so.

Sbee-bee-dah, "The Little One," is a natural needle or obelisk of hard, sandy formation standing on the face of a bluff on the Port Susan shore line of Tulalip Reservation two or three miles north and west of Tulalip. Wind and rain have washed and worn away softer portions of the bluff, leaving Sbee-bee-dah standing boldly out from the face of the bluff itself. When the word was first applied and by whom is not known. It has been used by the Indians themselves for years. The whites have acquired it from them as in the case of "Tulalip" from "Duh-hlay-lup."

Snohomish: This is the name of one of the dominant tribes of the Puget Sound region adjacent to Everett—the town, county, river and the life-saving tug Snohomish are all named for this tribe. The meaning of the word is unknown and no Indian has ever been able to give it to me. The genuine Indian word is Sdoh-doh-Hohbsh—the word "Snohomish" is the white man's corrup-

tion of it. I have a theory, a guess pure and simple, but no Indian has ever corroborated it. *Stohsh* or *Sdohbsh* is the Indian word for a man. Might not the word be the plural form signifying "The Men," "The Warriors," "The Braves," "The Fighters"? They dominated their confederation, you know.

Snoqualmie: This is the name of another dominant tribe of the Puget Sound region between Seattle and Everett, and east of them. The river and falls are named after this tribe. The word refers to the legend of the origin of the *Snoqualmie* people (they came from the moon). The genuine Indian word is *Sdohkwahlb-bhuh*, the word "*Snoqualmie*" being the white man's corruption. The treaty renders it "*Snoqualmoo*." *Sdohkwahlb*, the moon.

Kapowsin, shallow lake.

Ohop, water rushing out.

Squaxin, definition lost.

Wallochet, originally "*Swa-loo-chit*," a torn mound. Perhaps there were legends of earthquakes.

Skagit, wild cat.

Moclips, a turbulent creek.

Nooksack, meat of the fern root.

Tanwax, neck, or narrow valley.

AS TO THE NAME "OREGON"

Jonathan Carver, a native of Connecticut, spent the greater part of the years 1766-67 in the country around the headwaters of the Mississippi River and there heard the Indians tell of a great river to the westward known to them as the "Oregon, or the River of the West." Harvey Scott, in an article published some years ago in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, said that Carver was the first writer to mention the word "Oregon"; that it does not appear in any of the Spanish reports on the country; and he gave it as his opinion that Carver might have invented the word, or what is more likely, obtained it from the Indians who had met the Spanish explorers and had heard them speak of Aragon. Writers who pretend to see the origin of the word "*oregano*," meaning *marmoram*, and "*Orega*" as meaning that the natives possessed big ears, Scott said, engaged in "fruitless conjectures." Carver is the first man to use the word and is entitled to credit. Carver died in poverty in London in 1780.

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