



Conquest of the . . .
COEUR D'ALENES
SPOKANES &..
PALOUSES



By
C. B. F. Manning



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BREVET LIEUTENANT COLONEL EDWARD J. STEPTOE



COLONEL GEORGE WRIGHT

THE CONQUEST

OF THE

COEUR D'ALENES, SPOKANES AND PALOUSES



THE EXPEDITIONS OF COLONELS E. J. STEPTOE
AND GEORGE WRIGHT AGAINST THE
"NORTHERN INDIANS"
IN 1858

B. F. MANRING

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PREFACE

The expeditions of Colonels Steptoe and Wright into the country of the Coeur d'Alenes, Spokanes and Palouses were made without the blare of notoriety; they were not heralded by the press in startling headlines; nor were the minutiae of accompanying details flashed momentarily over convenient wires to an expectant nation. In obedience to orders laboriously conveyed to them, the commanders of these expeditions went forward to their duty. They went into a country to them unknown and pursued their courses under the direction of guides. On returning they bore the history of their achievements with them, save that which was impressed upon their adversaries. Excepting the few white men in charge of the Coeur d'Alene Mission, none of their race remained on the field of their operations to tell the coming settler of the things they did. And when in after years the settler arrived the physical evidences of combat had been almost obliterated.

Meager and unauthenticated details of the story gained circulation among the early pioneers and were by them rehearsed from memory to those who came after them.

This volume, the result of long research, was primarily suggested through a lingering love of

the pioneer days. The pleasures that were woven into the thin mesh of early day society and the occupations of those first citizens, as well as the hardships and privations which came into the country hand in hand with the pioneer himself, are matters that have frequently passed in review of the writer's memory. They are of a period which of itself constitutes an important epoch. From meditation upon these things has emanated the desire to place in the hands of the people the facts of the events which made it possible to settle and develop this great, rich section of country in unbroken peace—*of the time just beyond the real pioneer.*

In the preparation of the work, the writer acknowledges grateful appreciation of the assistance of Mrs. Nannie Steptoe Eldridge, Lynchburg, Va., sister of Colonel E. J. Steptoe; Brig.-Gen. David McM. Gregg (Lieutenant with Colonel Steptoe), Reading, Pa., who, besides offering valuable suggestions as to original sources of information, kindly gave the manuscript of the chapters covering Colonel Steptoe's expedition a critical reading; Mrs. Mae D. Taylor Clark, Cincinnati, Ohio, daughter of Captain O. H. P. Taylor; Mrs. Bronson and Miss Mary G. Hawks, Summit, N. J., cousins of Lieutenant Wm. Gaston; H. N. Fleming, Erie, Pa., son of Major (Lieutenant with Colonel Steptoe) Hugh B. Fleming; Hugh Lyon, Crider, Ky., son of Brig.-Gen. (Lieutenant with Colonel Wright) Hylan B. Lyon; Mrs. Edith Coventry, Henley-on-Thames, England, daughter of Colonel (Lieutenant with Colonel Wright) Lawrence Kip; Lieutenant Charles Braden, West Point, Secretary Association of Graduates, U. S.

M. A.; Captain John Mullan, Washington, D. C.; General (Lieutenant with Colonel Wright) Michael R. Morgan, Minneapolis, Minn.; Hon. Wesley L. Jones, U. S. Senator, State of Washington, through whose assistance he was enabled to procure a large part of the official documents consulted and which have been extensively quoted; John O'Neill, J. J. Rohn and Thomas Beall, survivors of the Steptoe-Wright campaign whom he has personally consulted. He has also been kindly permitted to quote from the Journal of The Military Service Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y., and has taken the liberty of quoting largely from Lieutenant Lawrence Kip's valuable journal, "Army Life on the Pacific," printed soon after Colonel Wright's expedition, copies of which are now extremely difficult to find.

The writer has not striven for literary distinction, but rather for the object of assembling the details of the consecutive events which total the history of the expeditions, and if that be approved he will feel that the task, which has been one of pleasure, will not have been in vain.

BENJAMIN F. MANRING.

Garfield, Wash.,

Aug. 1st, 1911.

THE CONQUEST OF THE COEUR D'ALENES, SPOKANES AND PALOUSES

I

TRADITION

IN the fall of 1878 the family of which the writer, then a boy of twelve years, was a member, arrived in the Palouse country, Washington Territory, and secured temporary quarters on the Palouse river where the town of Elberton has since been built. At that time it was the site of a sawmill owned and operated by the well-known and highly respected pioneer, G. D. Wilber.

One night during the winter that followed, in company with an older brother, we were driving the horses in from the hills to be stabled and fed. It was a most beautiful night. A full moon, high in the heavens, flooded the landscape with a mellow light of such transparency that one could almost have read common print in the open. The temperature stood at about fifteen above zero, and the winds, halted in their course, rested upon the land motionless and silent. A coating of snow about a foot in depth enveloped the country, and the accumulated frost clinging to the needles of the pine and to the twigs of the aspen glistened like tinsel drapings. The picturesque grandeur of the scene as it appeared at that hour of the night, duplicated

on countless other nights, is still vivid in memory. Objects could be plainly discerned at a great distance; the outlines of the hills, each of which sat among the whole like a block of masonry, presenting a symmetrical importance in which all shared, were clearly visible and our attention was constantly drawn to a large, conical shaped butte about five miles to the northwest of us, rising, treeless, far above its surrounding hills. Wrapped in wintry garb, its outlines were plainly graven against the rim of the blue sky, and in the whole vast stretch of unbroken prairie no peer stood out to greet it. This, we had learned, was called "Steptoe butte."

As we moved along in the lonesome silence that seemed to enwrap us—silent save for the crushing of the snow beneath the horses' feet, and the occasional long-drawn howl of a coyote prowling through the woods far up the river—we met one of the very few neighbors we then had, returning to his home from some errand, and gladly stopped for a chat with him. To ask him if he had ever been upon "Steptoe" occurred very naturally to us, and he told us of having once lost his way among the hills at its base and that in the hope of regaining his bearings he has ascended the side of the butte. Before succeeding in righting himself a heavy fog enveloped his position, rendering his situation even worse than before he came up from the foothills. Darkness came on before the fog was dissipated and he was compelled to spend the night there, not being able to locate the route to his destination until the following morning.

The narration of the story with its details interested us greatly and, believing there were other exciting incidents connected with Steptoe butte, we pressed him for information as to why it bore that name and elicited the following story, which, as it proved, embodied pretty accurately the common tradition of that day and for many years thereafter:

"Many years ago," said he, "before any white people settled in this part of the country, Colonel Steptoe, with a body of soldiers, came in here for the purpose of subduing the Indians, who were in a state of constant hostility. He met and engaged a large number of them in battle at a point some miles north of the butte and, being greatly outnumbered, was driven to its base and from thence fled to its summit, believing his command could better protect itself from that eminence. The Indians quickly surrounded the summit, creeping up the steep slopes as near to the soldiers as safety would permit, and for several days maintained a siege, during which a large number of their tribesmen were killed and many soldiers fell, among the latter being Colonel Steptoe, the commander.

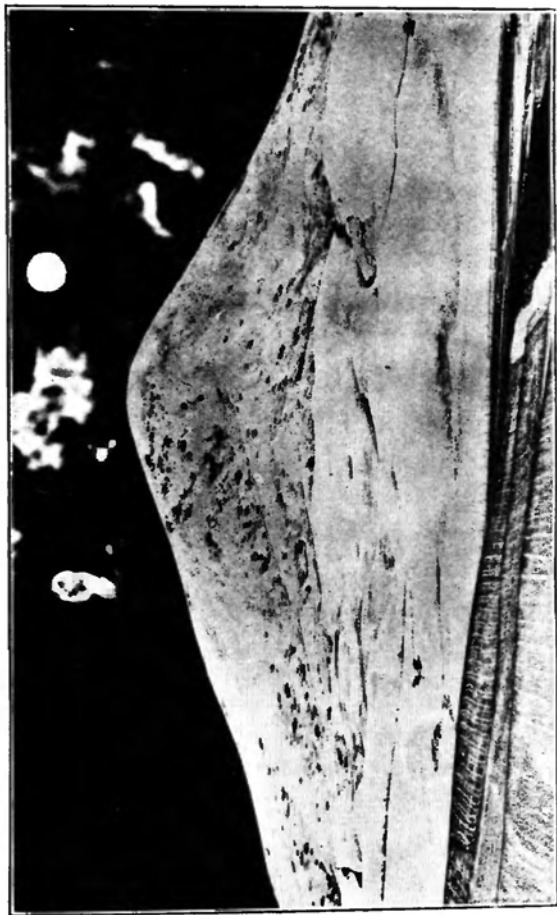
In the meantime a courier had made his way unobserved through the Indian lines, and making all possible haste to Walla Walla, informed Colonel Wright, who, with a strong force, set out at once to the rescue. Finding the ordnance he carried was a serious impediment to rapid marching, he buried and left a couple of cannon at Tukanon creek (hence, the then supposed origin of the name of the creek, "Two Cannon"). A series of forced

marches brought him to the scene of the siege; the Indians were dispersed and the remnant of Colonel Steptoe's command, almost famished, was rescued."

The graves of Colonel Steptoe and the men who fell with him, he said, were there upon the mountain, likewise the Colonel's flagstaff, planted upon the summit, was still standing.

That night, after the horses had been stabled and fed, while seated around the broad fireplace built in the side of the log house which we occupied, the story the neighbor had told us was repeated and was subjected to as severe examination as a half dozen interested boys and a girl could give it, with an occasional interpolation of information from the parental source. We longed to know more of the story and wondered if any authentic account of Colonel Steptoe's fight with the Indians had ever been printed—who was Colonel Steptoe, and what of the times that required him to go against savage Indians in a country beyond the van of the pioneers?

Coequal with the desire to read the true account of this affair was the desire to climb and inspect the butte; but, though we continued to live at no greater distance than ten miles from it, it was not the privilege of the writer to make its ascent until several years afterward. Then no graves could be discovered, though careful search was made for them. A pole was found, however, standing on the summit, supported at its base by a pile of loose rock, its length being about ten feet and its diameter at the larger end about five inches and at the



WINTER VIEW OF STEPTOE BUTTE

Known to Early Explorers as Pyramid Peak

smaller end about four inches. I had much difficulty in compromising this with a flagstaff, such as might be carried by a cavalryman. It had been used as a sort of register and bore, carved and penciled on its surface, initials, names and dates of scores of former visitors and upon which I found space to add my own name and the date of my first visit at the summit of Steptoe butte.

II

STEPTOE BUTTE

THE line of longitude 117 degrees and 8 minutes W. crosses the line of latitude 47 degrees and 2 minutes N. very near the summit of Steptoe butte. It is beautifully and symmetrically proportioned, being cone-like in shape; its north and east faces, however, fall away with greater abruptness than either the south or west elevations, the west being elongated by a ridge sloping from near its mid-side to the general level of its base. The steepness of the north and east sides is such as to render ascent from those directions laborious and difficult, even to the footman. The southern gradient is somewhat easier, while from the west the long sloping ridge forms a comparatively easy approach to the point where the ridge might be said to connect with the butte proper. A wagon road has been constructed from the west, which, after traversing the ridge, winds back and forth on the south face of the butte until it reaches the top.

The circumference of the butte at its base is about five miles; at its summit here is about a half acre of level ground from the edges of which the descent begins quite sharply. Its altitude is 3613 feet above sea level and it reaches, therefore, about

1200 feet above the level of the surrounding country.

The mountain is timberless and even devoid of shrubs except a few clumps of service and wild cherry on its northern slope. The upper portion is almost solid rock, consisting of a species of granite and common basalt; a ledge of the latter presenting a few feet of perpendicular wall faces eastward at the summit.

Ownership of the summit and a large part of the western slope was for some years held by Mr. James H. Davis, a pioneer, who became widely known under the pseudonym of "Cash-up" Davis. In 1888, Mr. Davis, who was a man of keen business propensities, conceived the idea of making a resort of the butte, and accordingly erected a large, two-story frame building upon its summit. The building was fitted with a number of rooms, as a hotel; a spacious auditorium was overlooked by a gallery; a wide balcony stretched along the south side at the second floor, and on the roof a deck was fixed upon which stood an observatory provided, during Davis' occupancy, with a large telescope.

Mr. Davis died in 1895, and his property on the butte fell into other hands and has, since then, been sadly neglected. The building is broken and dilapidated, the lower part being in use as a rendezvous for horses and cattle which wander up from the pasture lands on the lower slopes. The whole structure is made to serve as a visitors' register, and from the sills to the highest point of the dome, both inside and out, names are scratched, chiseled, carved and penciled until hardly a board can be

found in the weather-beaten old ruin which does not display the record of somebody's presence. Among the names so recorded may be found those of men and women from many walks of life and from various states and countries.

From the top of Steptoe butte one beholds a panorama that can hardly be excelled in grandeur from the summits of noted mountains of far greater proportions. The hills stretch away from its base in every direction like the billows of a stormy sea; here and there a long depression indicates the course of a hollow leading down to its confluence with a spring branch and that to its connection with a creek away in the distance. To the west, northwest and southwest, the vision meets the horizon over the continuous roll of hills; to the north, forty to sixty miles distant, is seen the sparsely wooded region of the Medical Lake country and the timbered hills along the Spokane river; to the northeast, beginning at about the same distance, are the mountains of the Coeur d'Alene, looming dark with timber and continuing in the distance until their glimmering blue blends with the hue of the skyline; extending along the east and southeast, the nearest point about eighteen miles away, are the spurs of the Bitter Root mountains, also covered with timber, and as the ridges and peaks increase in height as they approach the main range farther back, they may be seen well up toward the sources of the Palouse and St. Mary's rivers. To the south, beyond the Walla Walla valley, and over one hundred miles away, are the Blue mountains. Standing northeasterly and south-

westerly, the long, high ridge is distinctly outlined, dotted here and there even in midsummer with banks of snow. Nearer at hand one sees a number of towns: about one and a half miles from its base, to the southwest, is the little, new village which also bears the name of Steptoe; about twelve miles directly south, portions of Colfax, the county seat, are visible; about twenty miles to the southeast Palouse is seen; the outskirts of Garfield, ten miles away and a little south of east, are in view; Farmington, about eighteen miles distant and a little north of east, is in full sight, and so is Oakesdale, about six miles to the northeast; Tekoa, in the same direction, is in plain view about twenty-five miles distant; four or five miles to the northwest is the town of Thornton also in plain view; Rosalia, the town which bears the distinction of being at the battle field on which Colonel Steptoe's command was surrounded and where its last stand was made, like many other towns of the county, is hidden from view by intervening hills.

The Palouse river, flowing westward out of the Bitter Root mountains, may be traced in its windings from a point several miles east of the Washington line, almost across Whitman county, its course passing to the south of and within four miles of the butte. This stream, almost the entire length of its run in the State of Washington, follows a deep canyon which, for the greater part of the distance, either on one side or the other, has perpendicular walls of basalt rock. A fringe of pine timber follows its course.

While there are but few points where the walls

of the Snake river canyon may be distinguished, the hills sloping to it from beyond enable the observer to mark its location.

The whole country, spreading away from Steptoe butte in every direction fenced and farmed, the fields alternating with fallow ground and stubble or growing grain, and dotted with farm buildings and orchards, has much the appearance of a vast checker board, and at any season of the year constitutes a most beautiful scene.

About twenty miles to the southeast, standing a few miles out from the mountains, is a long ridge rising six or seven hundred feet above the general level, which bears the name of Kamiakin, the man who, perhaps more than any other of his race, was responsible for the hostility with which the Indians greeted Colonel Steptoe on his northern march, and for the acts of outlawry and murder which preceded that event.

Kamiakin was a Palouse Indian, the son of a chief. He married a woman of the Yakima tribe and was recognized as a chief among those people. In the treaty made between Governor Stevens and the Yakima, Palouse and other tribes, at Walla Walla, in 1855, by agreement Kamiakin was designated as the head chief of the several tribes thus confederated for the purpose of the treaty.

From the summit of Steptoe butte, one could, with a strong glass, have watched the advance of Colonel Steptoe's command; could have seen it every day; could have seen a part of the running fight and the long retreat; but the last desperate

stand would have been veiled by a projecting hill. Thus, while it bears a name bestowed upon it largely through mistake as to the identity of a battle field of historic importance, it bears it well, for it stood like a giant guide directing the course of the soldiers and gauging their proximity to the enemy's country; and when they had to flee, indicated to them also the progress of their retreat. Without doubt it became familiar sight to every man of that ill-fated expedition.

There are no means of determining when the name Steptoe was given to this mountain. So far as ascertained, the oldest settler now in the country can not recall its having any other name. At the time of Colonel Steptoe's expedition, however, it was known as Pyramid Peak. Captain John Mullan, who accompanied Colonel Wright's expedition, which followed that of Colonel Steptoe, as topographical engineer, made a map of the country and marked thereon the location of the butte under that name. During the summer of 1859 Captain Mullan, while engaged in the survey and construction of a military road from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Benton, also in making surveys with a view to the location of a Pacific railroad, on arriving at what is now Union flat, near where it empties into the Palouse, questioned as to whether he would better proceed to the south of the Pyramid Peak and thus by way of the "camas prairies near the headwaters of the Nedlwhuald" (Hangman creek, near De Smet mission) or whether to go north, keeping to the west of Spectre lake and crossing the "Spokane Plains" toward the St. Joe

river. To determine himself in the matter, he sent Theodore Kolecki, topographer, with two other men, up the Palouse to ascertain the feasibility of a route by that way. Kolecki's party followed the Palouse to a point ten and a half miles from Pyramid Peak, when they ascended to the plateau and made directly to the mountain, ascended to its summit and spent the night of July 8th, 1859, up there. His report, on returning, was such as to decide Captain Mullan to take the route leading to the west and north of Pyramid Peak as being the shortest and offering fewest obstructions, and so, on this first survey through this section, he crossed Snake river at the mouth of the "Toukanon," reached the Palouse at its juncture with Cow creek, followed the Palouse to the mouth of Rock creek, thence up Rock creek for some distance, then to the west of Rock lake and across the rocky country to its north in an easterly direction. On the 14th of July, he reached the "Lahtoo," or "Nedlwhuald," and of this he says: "We encamped this day on the banks of the Nedlwhuald, and at the same point where General Wright hung Qualtian, the noted Yakima chief, and several other Indians; from which fact the stream is known to many as Hangman's creek. Poor creatures! their doom, although in this instance a just one, is, nevertheless, pitiable; had the white man been to them more just, fate had proved less harsh." From here he proceeded to Poun lake (Chatcolet), bridged the narrow channel through which that body of water empties into the St. Joe river, followed up the left

bank of the river four miles, then crossed to the north side.

Along with the changing of the name of Pyramid Peak many of the original Indian names applied to the streams throughout this region were superseded by English names. It is quite probable that in each of these cases utter ignorance prevailed as to the original name. Thus, Union (Flat) creek was the "Smokle"; the South Palouse was "Sma-kodl"; Pine creek was "Ingossomen," though it seems to have been known to the Nez Perces as the "To-hoto-nimme"; Steptoe creek was "Skalassams"; Rock creek, which was considered as the north fork of the Palouse, was the "Ouraytayouse"; the "Aguasep," flowing from the northwest, formed a juncture with the "Ingossomen" near the northern end of Rock lake, and from this juncture to the lake the stream thus formed bore the somewhat onerous name "Sil-sil-cep-pow-vetsin"; and Rock lake was known as "Spectre" lake.

NOTE—Since the foregoing was written, the old building on the top of Steptoe butte burned down. The fire occurred at night, and as the flames leaped skyward a scene of grandeur was presented which attracted attention throughout the entire territory lying within the view of the butte.

III

1858

THE history of the United States presents some interesting features for the year 1858, the year in which the principal events recorded in this volume took place. The lines which a few years later marked the separation of the South from the North were being drawn and established with clearness. During this year the great Lincoln-Douglas debates were held. These discussions compassed the dominant political issues between the two sections of the country, and in them the attention of the entire nation was focused. Their results were widely diffused and far-reaching and attached to each of the participants his destiny in the presidential campaign which followed two years later.

The laying of the Atlantic cable was completed, connecting the two great continents, and marking the commencement of an era of international business and political progress which has attained to an incalculable degree of importance.

The discovery of gold at Pike's Peak generated a riot of excitement throughout the country second only to that which followed the discovery of 1849, in California, and resulted in the migration of thousands of fortune hunters into this new Rocky mountain district.

During that year almost the entire western and southwestern frontier, from the Gulf of Mexico to British Columbia, was infested with hostile Indians. No other year in the history of our Indian warfare has furnished a greater number of stirring events, and, indeed, the most vivid imagination of the novelist who writes of border adventure could hardly excel in deep and exciting interest the exploits of the soldier and citizen on the border. Accounts of combats single handed; of hair's-breadth escapes of express riders; the company of soldiers or emigrants ambushed; the larger command in relentless pursuit, with all of which, told with modest official formality, the war department records of that year abound.

Small commands of the army were stationed at numerous posts throughout the West designated as forts, each endeavoring to police its surrounding territory, and to acquire as complete information as possible on the status of the Indians' disposition and their movements. In the light of present day facilities for gathering and transmitting intelligence we cannot but marvel at the accuracy of the information these commands obtained concerning probable points of disturbance, and the rapidity with which such information was forwarded to headquarters.

Among the officers and men who were in service in the West during this year, are found the names of many who became noted figures on either the Northern or the Southern side in the great conflict which followed a few years later. These were times of final and invaluable training in the priva-

tions which aggregate the hardships of war; fitting the participants for those four years of masterly struggle between the states.

Of the Indian tribes mentioned in the reports to the war department as being on the war path, or actually encountered by United States troops during the year 1858, we find the following: In Florida, the Seminoles and Micasokies; in Texas and adjoining territories, the Kickapoos, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Wichitas and various branches of the Comanches; in New Mexico, the Navajos, Membrés, Gilas and Apaches; of the last named there were several branches; in Utah, the Utahs and scattering bands from contiguous territories; in Washington Territory, which then included a large part of what is now Idaho, and a part of Montana, the latter Territories not having yet been organized, the Yakimas, Spokanes, Palouses and Coeur d'Alenes. There were tribes in California and Oregon which, while not engaged in active hostilities, assumed an attitude so menacing that small parties of whites passing through their respective lands were deemed to risk grave danger. The greatest activity was in the southwest, particularly in New Mexico, yet practically every territory and the one state west of the Rocky mountains, as well as Texas and Florida, contributed its evidence as to the bitter protest of the savage against the approaching flood of civilization.

The year 1858 is distinguished also by reason of the trouble with the Mormons in Utah. During the previous year, incensed at the refusal of Congress to admit Utah into statehood, these people

destroyed the records of the United States court for that district and became generally so belligerent that it was found necessary to depose Governor Brigham Young, the head of the Mormon church as well as the territorial government, and Alfred Cumming was appointed in his stead. An armed force of twenty-five hundred men, designated officially as the Army of Utah, under command of Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, was sent into the Territory to quell the interference with the laws of the United States. Johnston met with armed resistance, incited by proclamation of Brigham Young, and on October 6th, 1857, in an attack made upon his troops he suffered the destruction of several of his supply trains and the loss of eight hundred oxen driven away by the Mormons. An army about three thousand strong was mustered by the Mormons and for a time the mountain passes leading to Salt Lake were fortified and garrisoned by this force. In the spring of 1858 it was planned by the war department, and the necessary steps were taken for carrying out the plan, to increase the Army of Utah to five thousand six hundred men; but placative propositions offered the Mormons by the Federal government having produced the desired effect, the reinforcements were not permitted to reach Colonel Johnston. During the latter part of the year the Mormons settled into a state of submission to United States authority, yet the Army of Utah was not withdrawn from that territory until May, 1860.

IV

CAUSES

LONG before the Indian buried his tomahawk and ceased to make war upon the white man, the government adopted the policy of inquiring into the causes of his grievances and in cases where such grievances could be conciliated without jeopardizing the interests of the government or of *bona fide* citizens, that step was usually attempted. In the investigation of these matters it was found that in some instances the difficulty grew out of some act of the government itself, interpreted by the Indians to be detrimental to their interests; in some, from the wanton encroachment of irresponsible citizens; and yet in others from the intrigues of men whose interests were inimical to those of the government, or of some nearby community; but the trouble was most often due to the Indians' fear of trespass upon their territory; of being deprived of land without due compensation, and, frequently, to his inappreciation or misunderstanding of the government's attitude toward him.

For several months prior to the opening of the spring of 1858, and during the early part of that spring, there were evident signs of irritation and unrest, among certain tribes of the northwest, which were portentous of evil results. Some of these tribes were strong in membership and their

relations to each other were such that defensive or aggressive alliances could be readily formed so that, if occasion arose, very serious resistance could be offered to any force of the army available for service in this section.

Much correspondence was had, therefore, between commandants of forts in the northwest and the general commanding the Department of the Pacific, with reference to the causes of this feeling on the part of the Indians.

Headquarters of the Department of the Pacific were then at San Francisco, and General Newman S. Clarke was in command. In June, 1857, General Clarke came to Washington Territory and, having learned of the restless attitude of the Indians east of the Cascades, made a personal investigation into the situation. He held a conference with Colonel J. W. Nesmith, at that time Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon and Washington Territories, at The Dalles, and, from the information considered, it was concluded that the causes were:

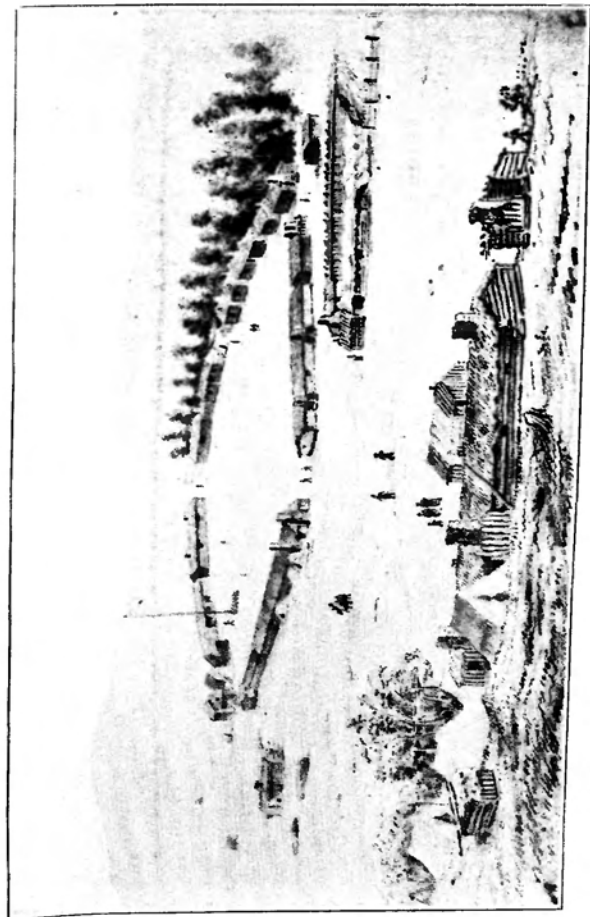
1st. The uneasiness felt among the Indians lest those who were implicated in the murder of Agent Bolan, committed eighteen months before, while Bolan was en route to the country of the Yakimas, should be seized or retaliation be made on the tribes, notwithstanding a sort of pacification made under Colonel George Wright.

2nd. The great objection entertained regarding the treaties made with Governor Stevens, and fears lest the government should enforce them. To these treaties the Indians objected both the want of

authority in the Indians who spoke for the tribes, and the conditions themselves.

During the year 1855 Governor Stevens made three separate treaties with the Indians who inhabited the country lying in and adjacent to the Columbia river basin, each covering a separate tribe, or confederation of tribes. The provisions of the treaties were similar except as to the boundaries of the lands ceded. The following is the treaty made with the tribes who were most pronounced in hostile sentiment, not including the Coeur d'Alenes and Spokanes:

"Articles of agreement and convention made and concluded at the treaty-ground, Camp Stevens, Walla Walla valley, this ninth day of June, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, by and between Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for the Territory of Washington, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned head chiefs, chiefs, head-men and delegates of the Yakima, Palouse, Pisquouse, Wenatshapan, Klikatat, Klinkuit, Kow-was-say-ee, Li-ay-was, Skin-pah, Wish-ham, Shyiks, Oche-chotes, Kah-milt-pah, and Se-ap-cat, confederated tribes and bands of Indians, occupying lands hereinafter bounded and described and lying in Washington Territory, who for the purpose of this treaty are to be considered as one nation, under the name of 'Yakima,' with Kamiakun as its head chief, on behalf of and acting for said tribes and bands, and being duly authorized thereto by them.



FORT WALLA WALLA IN 1857. FROM A PEN SKETCH OF THAT DATE

Article 1. The aforesaid confederated tribes and bands of Indians hereby cede, relinquish and convey to the United States all their right, title and interest in and to the lands and country occupied and claimed by them, and bounded and described as follows, to-wit:

Commencing at Mount Ranier, thence northerly along the main ridge of the Cascade Mountains to the point where the northern tributaries of Lake Che-lan and the southern tributaries of the Methow river have their rise; thence southeasterly on the divide between the waters of Lake Chelan and the Methow river to the Columbia river; thence, crossing the Columbia on a true east course, to a point whose longitude is one hundred and ninetenn (119) degrees and ten (10) minutes, which two latter lines separate the above confederated tribes and bands from the Oakinakane tribe of Indians; thence in a true south course to the forty-seventh (47th) parallel of latitude; thence east on said parallel to the main Palouse river, which two latter lines of boundary separate the above confederated tribes and bands from the Spokanes; thence down the Palouse river to its junction with the Moh-hah-nesh, or southern tributary of the same; thence in a southeasterly direction, to the Snake river, at the mouth of the Tucannon river, separating the above confederated tribes from the Nez Perce tribe of Indians; thence down the Snake river to its junction with the Columbia river; thence up the Columbia river to the 'White Banks' below the Priest's Rapids; thence westerly to a lake called 'La Lac'; thence southerly to a point on the Yakima river

called Toh-mah-luke; thence in a southwesterly direction, to the Columbia river, at the western extremity of the 'Big Island,' between the mouths of the Umatilla river and Butler creek; all which latter boundaries separate the above confederated tribes and bands from the Walla Walla, Cayuse, and Umatilla tribes and bands of Indians; thence down the Columbia river to midway between the mouths of White Salmon and Wind rivers; thence along the divide between said rivers to the main ridge of the Cascade Mountains; and thence along said ridge to the place of beginning.

Article 2. There is, however, reserved, from the lands above ceded for the use and occupation of the aforesaid confederated tribes and bands of Indians, the tract of land included within the following boundaries, to-wit: Commencing on the Yakima river, at the mouth of the Attah-nam river; thence westerly along said attah-nam river to the forks; thence along the southern tributary to the Cascade mountains; thence southerly along the main ridge of said mountains, passing south and east of Mount Adams, to the spur whence flows the waters of the Klickitat and Pisco rivers; thence down said spur to the divide between the waters of said rivers; thence along said divide to the divide separating the waters of the Satass river from those flowing into the Columbia river; thence along said divide to the main Yakima, eight miles below the mouth of the Satass river; and thence up the Yakima river to the place of beginning.

All which tract shall be set apart and, so far as necessary, surveyed and marked out, for the exclu-

sive use and benefit of said confederated tribes and bands of Indians, as an Indian reservation; nor shall any white man, excepting those in the employment of the Indian Department, be permitted to reside upon said reservation without permission of the tribe and the superintendent and agent. And the said confederated tribes and bands agree to remove to, and settle upon, the same, within one year after the ratification of this treaty. In the mean time it shall be lawful for them to reside upon any ground not in the actual claim and occupation of citizens of the United States; and upon any ground claimed or occupied, if with the permission of the owner or claimant.

Guaranteeing, however, the right to all citizens of the United States to enter upon and occupy as settlers any lands not actually occupied and cultivated by said Indians at this time, and not included in the reservation above named.

And provided, That any substantial improvements heretofore made by any Indian, such as fields enclosed and cultivated, and houses erected upon the lands hereby ceded, and which he may be compelled to abandon in consequence of this treaty, shall be valued under the direction of the President of the United States, and payment made therefor in money; or improvements of an equal value made for said Indian upon the reservation. And no Indian will be required to abandon the improvements aforesaid, now occupied by him, until their value in money, or improvements of an equal value shall be furnished him as aforesaid.

Article 3. And provided, That if necessary for

the public convenience, roads may be run through the said reservation; and on the other hand, the right of way, with free access from the same to the nearest public highway, is secured to them; as also the right, in common with citizens of the United States, to travel upon all public highways.

The exclusive right of taking fish in all the streams, where running through or bordering said reservation, is further secured to said confederated tribes and bands of Indians, as also the right of taking fish at all usual and accustomed places, in common with the citizens of the Territory, and of erecting temporary buildings for curing them; together with the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries, and pasturing their horses and cattle upon open and unclaimed land.

Article 4. In consideration of the above cession, the United States agree to pay to the said confederated tribes and bands of Indians, in addition to the goods and provisions distributed to them at the time of signing this treaty, the sum of two hundred thousand dollars, in the following manner, that is to say: Sixty thousand dollars, to be expended under the direction of the President of the United States, the first year after the ratification of this treaty, in providing for their removal to the reservation, breaking up and fencing farms, building houses for them, supplying them with provisions and a suitable outfit, and for such other objects as he may deem necessary, and the remainder in annuities as follows: For the first five years after the ratification of the treaty, ten thousand dollars each year, commencing September first,

1856; for the next five years eight thousand dollars each year; and for the next five years, four thousand dollars per year.

All which sums of money shall be applied to the use and benefit of said Indians, under the direction of the President of the United States, who may from time to time determine, at his discretion, upon what beneficial objects to expend the same for them. And the superintendent of Indian affairs, or other proper officer, shall each year inform the President of the wishes of the Indians in relation thereto.

Article 5. The United States further agree to establish at suitable points within said reservation, within one year after the ratification hereof, two schools, erecting the necessary buildings, keeping them in repair, and providing them with furniture, books, and stationery, one of which shall be an agricultural and industrial school, to be located at the agency, and to be free to the children of the said confederated tribes and bands of Indians, and to employ one superintendent of teaching and two teachers; to build two blacksmith's shops, to one of which shall be attached a tin-shop, and to the other a gunsmith's shop; one carpenter's shop, one wagon and plough maker's shop, and to keep the same in repair and furnished with the necessary tools; to employ one superintendent of farming and two farmers, two blacksmiths, one tinner, one gunsmith, one carpenter, one wagon and plough maker, for the instruction of the Indians in trades and to assist them in the same; to erect one saw-mill and one flouring-mill, keeping the same in repair and

furnished with the necessary tools and fixtures; to erect a hospital, keeping the same in repair and provided with the necessary medicines and furniture, and to employ a physician; and to erect, keep in repair, and provided with the necessary furniture, the building required for the accommodation of the said employees. The said buildings and establishments to be maintained and kept in repair as aforesaid, and the employees to be kept in service for the period of twenty years.

And in view of the fact that the head chief of the said confederated tribes and bands of Indians is expected, and will be called upon to perform many services of a public character, occupying much of his time, the United States further agree to pay to the said confederated tribes and bands of Indians five hundred dollars per year, for the term of twenty years after the ratification hereof, as a salary for such person as the said confederated tribes and bands of Indians may select to be their head chief, to build for him at a suitable point on the reservation a comfortable house, and properly furnish the same, and to plough and fence ten acres of land. The said salary to be paid to, and the said house to be occupied by, such head chief so long as he may continue to hold that office.

And it is distinctly understood and agreed that at the time of the conclusion of this treaty Kamaiakun is the duly elected and authorized head chief of the confederated tribes and bands aforesaid, styled the Yakima Nation, and is recognized as such by them and by the commissioners on the part of the United States holding this treaty; and all

the expenditures and expenses contemplated in this article of this treaty shall be defrayed by the United States, and shall not be deducted from the annuities agreed to be paid to the said confederated tribes and bands of Indians. Nor shall the cost of transporting the goods for the annuity payments be a charge upon the annuities, but shall be defrayed by the United States.

Article 6. The President may, from time to time, at his discretion, cause the whole or such portions of such reservations as he may think proper, to be surveyed into lots, and assign the same to such individuals or families of the said confederated tribes and bands of Indians as are willing to avail themselves of the privilege, and will locate on the same as a permanent home, on the same terms and subject to the same regulations as are provided in the sixth article of the treaty with the Omahas, so far as the same may be applicable.

Article 7. The annuities of the aforesaid confederated tribes and bands of Indians shall not be taken to pay the debts of individuals.

Article 8. The aforesaid confederated tribes and bands of Indians acknowledge their dependence upon the government of the United States, and promise to be friendly with all citizens thereof, and pledge themselves to commit no depredations upon the property of such citizens.

And should any one of more of them violate this pledge, and the fact be satisfactorily proved before the agent, the property taken shall be returned, or in default thereof, or if injured or destroyed, com-

pensation may be made by the government out of the annuities.

Nor will they make war upon any other tribe, except in self-defense, but will submit all matters of difference between them and other Indians to the Government of the United States or its agent for decision, and abide thereby. And if any of the said Indians commit depredations on any other Indians within the Territory of Washington or Oregon, the same rule shall prevail as that provided in this article in case of depredations against citizens. And the said confederated tribes and bands of Indians agree not to shelter or conceal offenders against the laws of the United States, but to deliver them up to the authorities for trial.

Article 9. The said confederated tribes and bands of Indians desire to exclude from their reservation the use of ardent spirits, and to prevent their people from drinking the same, and, therefore, it is provided that any Indian belonging to said confederated tribes and bands of Indians, who is guilty of bringing liquor into said reservation, or who drinks liquor, may have his or her annuities withheld from him or her for such time as the President may determine.

Article 10. *And provided,* That there is also reserved and set apart from the lands ceded by this treaty, for the use and benefit of the aforesaid confederated tribes and bands, a tract of land not exceeding in quantity one township of six miles square, situated at the forks of the Pisquouse or Wenatshapan river, and known as the "Wenatshapan Fishery," which said reservation shall be

surveyed and marked out whenever the President may direct, and be subject to the same provisions and restrictions as other Indian reservations.

Article 11. This treaty shall be obligatory upon the contracting parties as soon as the same shall be ratified by the President and Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof, the said Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for the Territory of Washington, and the undersigned head chief, chiefs, headmen, and delegates of the aforesaid confederated tribes and bands of Indians, have hereunto set their hands and seals, at the place and on the day and year hereinbefore written.

ISAAC I. STEVENS,

Governor and Superintendent. (L.S.)

Kamaiakun, his x mark.	(L.S.)
Skloom, his x mark.	(L.S.)
Owhi, his x mark.	(L.S.)
Te-cole-cun, his x mark.	(L.S.)
La-hoom, his x mark.	(L.S.)
Me-ni-nock, his x mark.	(L.S.)
Elit Palmer, his x mark.	(L.S.)
Wish-och-kmpits, his x mark.	(L.S.)
Koo-lat-toose, his x mark.	(L.S.)
Shee-ah-cotte, his x mark.	(L.S.)
Tuck-quille, his x mark.	(L.S.)
Ka-loo-as, his x mark.	(L.S.)
Scha-noo-a, his x mark.	(L.S.)
Sla-kish, his x mark.	(L.S.)

Signed and sealed in the presence of—
 James Doty, Secretary of treaties,
 Mic. Cles. Pandosy, O. M. T.,
 Wm. C. McKay,
 W. H. Tappan, sub Indian agent, W. T.
 C. Chirouse, O. M. T.,
 Patrick McKenzie, interpreter,
 A. D. Pamburn, interpreter,
 Joel Palmer, superintendent Indian affairs,
 O. T.,
 W. D. Biglow.”

This treaty had not yet been ratified by the President and Senate, and was not so ratified until March 8th, 1859, and was then not proclaimed until April 18th of that year.

Agreeing with Mr. Nesmith as to the impolicy of enforcing the unratified treaties at the hazard of a serious war, General Clarke determined, with the approval of the Superintendent, to remove distrust by letting the Indians know that the treaties were as yet non-effective, and issued instructions to the commanding officers to that end.

As to the murder of Agent Bolan, justice and the policy of the government alike demanded the surrender of the perpetrators, yet, being assured by commanding officers present at the conference held at The Dalles that, with reference to the pacification made by Colonel Wright, the impression had been made upon the Indians, intentionally or unintentionally, that hostilities were to cease, the past be forgiven, and their future treatment to depend on their future conduct, General Clarke “deter-

mined not to destroy the future influence of the government with these people by bad faith or the appearance of it, and instructed the officers so to inform them."

The steps thus taken by General Clarke were somewhat confused soon afterward by the actions of Mr. J. Ross Brown, representing the Indian bureau. It is very probable that Brown appeared upon the scene entirely without knowledge of the things which had transpired tending to establish amicable relations with the Indians. The following correspondence quite clearly sets forth the difficulty which he injected into the situation:

"Fort Walla Walla,

October 19, 1857.

Sir: It is my duty to inform the general that Mr. J. Ross Brown, acting, I believe, as an agent of the Indian bureau, did, in a recent conversation with 'Lawyer,' the Nez Percés' chief, assert that Governor Stevens' treaty of Walla Walla would *certainly* be ratified and enforced.

Mr. William Craig, who acted as interpreter on the occasion, gives me this information.

Considering that this statement is in direct opposition to what the Indians have been told by us, and to what as I believe nearly all of them desire, it seems to me in very bad taste, to say the least of it. Mr. Brown could not possibly have *known* that the treaty will be ratified, and even if he had, the proper time to enlighten the Indians on the subject is obviously after it shall have become a law of the land. He had no right to unsettle the

Indian minds on a point respecting which his convictions are probably no stronger than the opposite belief of many others in daily intercourse with them.

I will simply add that in my opinion any attempt to enforce that treaty will be followed by immediate hostilities with most of the tribes in this part of the country; for which reason it does appear to me greatly desirable that a new commission be appointed, and a new treaty made, thoroughly digested and accepted by both sides.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. J. STEPTOE,

Brevet Lieutenant Colonel U. S. A.,

Commanding Post.

Major W. W. Mackall,

Assistant Adjutant General U. S. A., San
Francisco."

The particular treaty referred to in the foregoing letter was made between Governor Stevens and the Nez Perces at Camp Stevens, Walla Walla Valley, the same place at which the treaty with the Yakima Nation was made, on June 11th, 1855, was ratified March 8th, 1859, and proclaimed April 29th, 1859. The terms of this treaty were identical with those of the Yakima treaty.

A copy of this letter was forwarded to Superintendent Nesmith, who replied as follows:

"Office Superintendent Indian Affairs,

Salem, Oregon, November 18, 1857.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant enclosing a copy of

Colonel Steptoe's letter of October 19th, in which he refers to a conversation had between Mr. J. Ross Brown and 'Lawyer,' chief of the Nez Perces.

In relation to the opinion entertained by Brigadier General Clarke, that I had not changed my policy relative to those Indians since our interview, I have to say that the general's conclusions on that subject are correct. I have on all occasions directed the agents who have communicated with those people to impress upon their minds the fact that the treaties negotiated with them were like all other treaties in a similar condition, void and inoperative, and must remain so until they receive the constitutional ratification of the *President and Senate*; and I further entertain the opinion that no officer of the government, including the President himself, can give those treaties validity or make them binding while they lack such ratification.

I knew that Mr. Brown had visited The Dalles, and had there some conversation with 'Lawyer.' The character of that conversation was never reported to me. If he stated that the 'treaties would *certainly* be ratified and enforced,' I can only say that he possessed knowledge upon that subject which has been withheld from myself. In order to explain to the general my views upon the subject of those treaties I herewith enclose you an extract from my annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, bearing date September 1, 1857.

I am, sir, respectfully, yours, &c., &c.,

J. W. NESMITH,

Superintendent Indian Affairs, O and W. T.
Major W. W. Mackall,
Assistant Adjutant General, San Francisco, Cal."

Extract from the annual report of Superintendent Nesmith, in relation to the ratification of treaties, dated September 1, 1857:

"The region of country east of the Cascade mountains is daily becoming of more importance to the whites by reason of the discovery of gold in its northern limits, and its being traversed by the great thoroughfares leading to the states. Our people are being continually brought into contact with its Indian occupants, which compose several numerous and warlike tribes. In order to maintain friendly relations with them, and prevent constant difficulties, requires the presence of several reliable agents.

The treaties negotiated with those interior tribes, never having been ratified, they are averse to the occupation of their country by white settlers, and every endeavor has been made to prevent intrusion upon their lands, until such time as the government shall decide upon the disposition to be made of the treaties. In order to relieve and quiet their apprehensions in relation to the occupation of their country by our people, I directed Agent Lansdale, on his trip to the Flathead country, to explain to them the failure of the government to comply with its promises by reason of the non-ratification of the treaties, and to assure them that their lands should not be taken from them without receiving a fair compensation; they were also informed that until these treaties were ratified they could expect nothing from the government in the shape of annuities or subsistence. I would recommend that steps be taken to throw open the Walla Walla valley to

settlement; it is an advanced point in the interior, which if occupied would protect and increase the facilities for an overland communication with the states. The Walla Walla is a rich valley, unsurpassed in its qualities as a grazing country, and a desirable locality for a white settlement. It has already been purchased by the treaties made by Governor Stevens and late Superintendent Palmer with the Cayuses and Nez Perces; as the treaties have never been ratified, the country is considered open to settlement. I understand that the Indians express some dissatisfaction at those treaties, which may render their modification necessary. The only portion of the country east of the Cascade mountains now occupied by our citizens is that in the immediate vicinity of The Dalles, on the south side of the Columbia river. This country belongs to the Indians who were parties to the treaty of June 25, 1855. They have been great sufferers by reason of the occupation of their country by the whites, and have never received any compensation; I would therefore earnestly recommend that the treaty entered into between those people and late Superintendent Palmer, on June 25, 1855, be immediately ratified and funds appropriated for its execution. The treaty referred to is liberal in its provisions; the Indians who are parties to it have exhibited good faith towards our government; they have been deprived of their lands, and the United States have received all the benefits of the treaty. I think that justice, as well as good policy, should induce the government to comply with their part of the contract. I

would also earnestly recommend that the treaties negotiated by Governor Stevens with the Indians in Washington Territory *west* of the Cascade mountains, be ratified as speedily as possible, as it will be difficult to restrain the Indians, who are parties to those treaties, much longer by mere promises."

V

CAUSES—CONTINUED

IN forwarding a copy of Colonel Steptoe's letter of October 19th to the head of the army, under date of November 4th, after detailing the instructions given the commanding officers respecting the uneasiness of the Indians, on the occasion of the conference at The Dalles, in June, General Clarke continued: "It is under these circumstances that Mr. J. Ross Brown makes (with what authority I know not) the declaration to the Indians that the treaties will *certainly* be ratified and enforced.

How the interests of the government must be injured by having agents so little in accord will be readily seen; my influence with them (the Indians) ceases entirely the moment they distrust either my disposition or ability to fulfil promises made. I hope that the government will have time to notify me of its determination in the matter in time to prevent mischief.

I believe the present treaties can only be enforced by war, and hope this will be avoided by a new commission."

Added to this lack of harmony in declarations made to the Indians by government representatives, was the conduct of citizens who desired to settle upon land which was known to be claimed by the Indians.

It will be understood that from time immemorial the nominal title to the whole of the northwest

had rested without molestation among the various Indian tribes therein and that at this time comparatively little of it had been formally relinquished to the government. Some settlements were undertaken on small foundations without this formality, but it is of final record that almost the entire area of these lands to which the white man may obtain title was ceded to the government by the aboriginal possessors.

General John E. Wool, who preceded General Clarke as commander of the Department of the Pacific, had ordered that settlements should not be permitted within the territory embraced in the treaties pending their ratification. General Clarke, on assuming command, and after the consultation with Mr. Nesmith, directed that these orders be continued in force with the view of preventing any encroachment by the whites during the existing state of the Indian mind and as a measure tending to allay the irritation among the latter and thereby ward off, so far as possible, open acts of hostility.

Some whites who attempted to settle on land in the Walla Walla country having been forbidden to do so, in compliance with these orders, had the matter laid before the Territorial legislature which was in session at Olympia during the winter of 1857-8. That body, in the belief that the circumstances warranted the step, passed and forwarded to Washington, D. C., the following resolutions:

“Joint resolutions, relative to citizens and settlers in Walla Walla county being driven from their homes and claims by the military authority of Washington Territory.

Whereas certain officers of the United States army, commanding in the county of Walla Walla, have unlawfully assumed to issue orders prohibiting citizens of this Territory from settling in certain portions thereof, and in accordance with said orders have driven citizens and settlers from their claims and homes acquired under the laws of the United States, to their great injury—

Therefore be it resolved by the legislative assembly of the Territory of Washington that, in our opinion, the said orders are without the authority of law, and that the acts done under said orders are a high handed outrage upon the rights and liberties of the American people.

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to give the proper authorities at Washington all necessary information on the subject of the outrageous usurpation of the military over the civil authority.

Resolved, That we believe the above usurpation to be the very worst form of martial law, proclaimed by tyrants not having feeling in common with us, nor interests identified with ours.

Resolved, That a copy of the above resolutions be forwarded to our delegate in Congress, and that he be requested to represent the matter to the proper department in Washington city, to the end that the evil be corrected.

Passed January 15, 1858.

J. S. VANCELEAVE,
Speaker House Representatives.
C. C. PAGETT,
President of the Council."

A copy of these resolutions, with their full force of uncomplimentary language, was forwarded to General Clarke by the war department and he was obliged to explain the causes which appeared to him to justify the measure which he had adopted.

The protest of the legislature seems not to have weighed sufficiently heavy against the reasons for the issuance of the order to warrant its rescission.

The attitude of Governor Stevens, who very probably had knowledge of the matter of the resolutions prior to their introduction in the legislature, and who otherwise bitterly opposed this order of the Department of the Pacific, was doubtless the result of his zeal to establish settlement throughout his Territory.

General Clarke regarded the matter from quite a different point of view. While it was his duty to protect the homes of citizens, it was quite essential that the citizens should not be trespassers. He did not conceive it to be the policy of the war department nor of the general government to sanction any acts of irregularity either on the part of the settlers or of any portion of the army. He was reminded, too, almost daily of the great difficulty of protecting settlements in the West which were being actually encroached upon by the Indians.

Again General Clarke was required to consider in some seriousness the attitude assumed toward the murderers of Agent Bolan. While the point raised proved to be of no consequence, being based upon misinformation, the correspondence in relation thereto serves to indicate the importance attached to the matter and is here given.

“Fort Simcoe, Washington Territory,

February 3, 1858.

Major: I learn from unauthentic sources, though entitled to belief, that Mr. R. H. Lansdale, recently appointed Indian agent for the Yakima tribes of Indians by the superintendent of Indian affairs in this Territory, is soon to arrive here with instructions to demand the surrender of the murderers of Agent Bolan.

As this proceeding will be inconsistent with the views of General Clarke, communicated to me in your letter of August 28, 1857, and department orders No. 87, of 1857, I deem it proper to report the matter to him, and to ask his instructions as to my own conduct, should I be officially called upon by Mr. Lansdale for assistance to enforce his demand.

I think it probable that the Indians will refuse to deliver up the murderers.

While thus seeking to learn General Clarke's wishes in respect to this matter, I deem it proper to say, if left uninformed as to them, I shall consider it my duty to decline acceding to Mr. Lansdale's requisition, on the ground that, in a matter in which the Department of War ought to be so well informed as on this, and in which such important consequences may be involved, it is reasonable to suppose that it would have communicated its wishes on the subject direct to the military authorities of the country, if it had intended or desired that they should be employed in the matter.

I beg leave to assure the general that I am ready and willing to undertake this service, but that I do not consider it the part of an officer of subordinate command in the army, in cases of doubtful policy, to commit acts on his own responsibility which may involve such heavy drains upon the public treasury, unless he should have no time or means for reference to the proper authorities.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. S. GARNETT,

Major 9th Infantry, Commanding Post.
Major W. W. Mackall,

Assistant Adjutant General, United States
Army, San Francisco, California."

"Headquarters Department of the Pacific,

San Francisco, California, February 22, 1858.

Major: Your letter of February 3 has been submitted to Brigadier General Clarke.

The general has since had a consultation with Mr. Nesmith, superintendent for both Territories, and finds that your information is not entirely accurate.

The superintendent had directed the agent to whom you refer to tell the Indians, on all proper occasions, that the murderers of Bolan would finally be obliged to surrender and submit themselves to trial.

He had given no instructions to demand the surrender, and as General Clarke has referred the question to the department, Mr. Nesmith is now

willing to let it rest until orders in the case are received from Washington.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. W. MACKALL,
Assistant Adjutant General.

Major R. S. Garnett,
9th Infantry U. S. A., Comd'g Fort Simcoe,
W. T."

"San Francisco, California,
February 24, 1858.

Sir: Since my arrival here I have seen a letter from Major Garnett, from which it is to be inferred that he is under the impression that you were authorized to make a positive demand upon the Yakimas for the surrender of the murderers of Bolan; by reference to your instructions from me you will perceive that such was not my intentions.

The whole question is now pending before the department at Washington, and I deem it improper to take any further action, or to communicate further with the Indians on the subject, until such time as positive instructions are received from the department on the subject. You will therefore allow the matter to remain as it is until otherwise directed.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. W. NESMITH,
Supt. Indian Affairs for Washington and Oregon Territories.

R. H. Lansdale, Esq.,
Indian Agent, Dalles, Oregon."

Copies of the foregoing letters were transmitted to army headquarters with the following:

"Headquarters Department of the Pacific,
San Francisco, California, February 25, 1858.

Sir: In my letter of November 4, 1857, I set forth to the Lieutenant General the difference existing between the line of policy I thought it necessary to adopt in relation to certain Indian criminals in Washington Territory and that considered just and proper by the superintendent of Indian affairs, J. W. Nesmith.

The enclosed copies of letters will show how the affair has been again urged on my attention, the state of the question now, and sufficiently explain why I urge on the government an early decision. Mr. Nesmith, though holding his first opinion as to the course proper to be pursued, has, with a laudable spirit, determined to suspend action until he or I can be instructed by the government.

I then ask the department to decide, and either direct the demand for these criminals or permit the Indians to know that the offenders may rest secure.

In the present restless state of these people I fear the demand of these criminals may turn the scale and bring on war, and suspense is scarcely less likely to prove injurious.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

N. S. CLARKE,

Colonel 6th Infantry, Brevet Brigadier General,
Commanding.

Lieut. Col. L. Thomas,

Assistant Adjutant General U. S. A.,

Headquarters of the Army, New York."

There was yet another influence at work tending to array the Indians against the government, namely, that of the Mormons.

Reports from various points in the jurisdiction of the Department of the Pacific indicated that efforts were being made by those people to discredit among the Indians the agreements and intentions of the government and its agents, and to secure their co-operation in carrying out those plans which the army of Utah, encamped about Salt Lake, was endeavoring to thwart. It appeared that not only the tribes of the northwest were being thus importuned, but likewise those of southern California and Nevada.

January 31, 1858, General John Garland, commanding the Department of New Mexico, wrote army headquarters with reference to the Mormon matter as follows: "In the early part of this month an Indian arrived at Fort Defiance from the Utah country, on a mission from the Utah Indians, charged with bringing about a peace between the Navajoes and Utahs. He said he was sent by the Indians who were only ten days from the Great Salt Lake City, and that the Mormons were instigating these different tribes to bury their animosities, with a view, doubtless, in case of necessity, of arraying themselves against our government. The messenger brought with him a certificate of baptism and membership in the church of Latter Day Saints.

There is reason to believe that the Utahs have been tampered with by direction of Brigham Young, whose object also is to extend his relations into the country of the Navajoes."

Further references to Mormon diplomacy in this matter are found in the following communications:

"Headquarters, Department of the Pacific,
San Francisco, California, January 1, 1858.

Sir: The following items, collated from unofficial but reliable sources, I have thought of sufficient interest to be communicated to the General-in-Chief.

A private letter from Captain Kirkham, of December 1, from Walla Walla, says: "We have recently received from our Indians news from Salt Lake; they report an engagement between our troops and the Mormons; the information comes through the Snakes, who are in direct communication with the Mormons.

The Snakes tell our Indians that they are well supplied with ammunition, and that they can get from the Mormons any quantity that they wish; and they further tell our Indians that the Mormons are anxious to supply them, to-wit: the Nez Perces, the Cayuses, and the Walla Wallas, with everything that they wish. I would not be surprised if the Mormon influence should extend to all the tribes in our neighborhood, and if they are determined to fight we may have trouble among the Indians on the coast again.

Extract from a letter of George Gibbs, of Washington Territory, of November 27:

'A very curious statement was recently made me by some of the Indians near Steilacoom. They said

that the Klikitats had told them that Choosuklee (Jesus Christ), had recently appeared on the other side of the mountains; that he was after a while coming here, when the whites would be sent out of the country, and all would be well for themselves. It needed only a little reflection to connect this second advent with the visit of Brigham Young to the Flathead and Nez Perces country.'

The reports from Southern California go to show that a like influence has been exerted over the tribes of that region. It is not to be doubted that the Mormons have cultivated friendship with the Indians, and it is scarcely doubtful that, in the recent exodus of the Mormons from San Bernardino, they have been accompanied by Indians. The Indians in this section of the State are represented as becoming more insolent, and though they have as yet committed no depredations, the fears of the inhabitants are to a great degree excited.

From Carson valley we have like reports of the ill effects on the Indians of Mormon influence.

If these things are true, and I credit them, temporary success on the part of the Mormons may be a signal for an Indian war extending along our whole frontier.

The troops in this department have been stationed with such strict attention to the absolute wants of the service, that but little, if any, reduction at any post could be made with safety to the inhabitants.

In Oregon and Washington Territories, east of the Cascade range, I consider it unsafe to remove a man for service elsewhere.

My intention as intimated in my letter of December 18, with reference to the relief companies for Yuma, will be carried out, and I will station a company permanently perhaps at San Bernardino, near Cajon Pass.

I recommend instant measures calculated to detach Indians from Mormon influence. As an initial step toward that end, I suggest that headmen or chiefs be invited to visit Washington. As an inducement they should receive presents to a generous extent. Such visits would disabuse them of any erroneous impressions they may have received relative to the power of the United States, by seeing for themselves how numerous and powerful our people are.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

N. S. CLARKE,

Colonel 6th Infantry,

Brevet Brigadier General, Commanding.

Lieutenant Colonel L. Thomas,

Assistant Adjutant General,

Headquarters Army, N. Y."

"Headquarters, Department of the Pacific,

San Francisco, California, January 12, 1858.

Sir: Brigadier General Clarke directs me to say that he desires you to recall your dragoons and horses as early as the state of the roads and the grass, or your supply of forage will permit.

He wishes your command to be in a state of full efficiency at the earliest possible day. Lieutenant Gregg, first dragoons, will be directed to join you with his company as soon as the order for the re-

turn of your detachment reaches Vancouver, and to guard your horses in the march.

The general wishes you to be deeply impressed with the importance of obtaining early and full information in relation to the Indian tribes in your vicinity, and south and east towards Fort Hall and the Salmon river.

Information from various sources and points on the frontier leads him to the conclusion that through the Mormons the Indians are being inclined to hostility, and that a conflict in Utah may be the signal for trouble on the frontier, and it is not improbable that the Mormons may move north.

He wishes you to be prepared in advance for either contingency. Full and prompt report of all information, and your opinion founded thereon, is desired.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. W. MACKALL,

Assistant Adjutant General.

Lieutenant Colonel E. J. Steptoe,

Major 9th Infantry, Commanding Fort Walla Walla, W. T."

"Fort Walla Walla, W. T., January 29, 1858.

Sir: I received by last mail your letter of the 12th instant. Measures were taken at once to insure the full efficiency of this command, whenever it may be required for active service. It is very difficult to determine, from any information I have now, how far the reports that have reached the general of a meditated outbreak on the part of the Indians in this direction ought to be relied upon.

That the expediency of availing themselves of this Mormon revolt to recover some real or imagined rights has been discussed amongst them I am quite sure, but doubt whether they have resolved to commit themselves to hostilities at present. If they should learn that the Mormons have obtained any marked advantage over the troops, or if the contest in Utah should be a protracted one, I would then seriously apprehend trouble with the surrounding tribes. Between this post and Fort Hall there are numerous families of Snake Indians, who are represented to be great friends of the Mormons, and to be well armed and provided with ammunition. I am inclined to think this is true, and that they have made some efforts to break up the friendly relations existing between the troops and Indians in the Walla Walla country, but that the latter are not disposed to involve themselves while the chances of success are so much against them. What has been said here applies more particularly to the Cayuse, Walla Walla and various petty tribes living on the Columbia river and its tributaries below. Respecting the northern Indians (Palouse, Yakima, and Spokane), there never has been a doubt on my mind that very slight encouragement would at any time suffice to revive their late hostile feelings. It is gratifying, however, to know that they are much under the influence of the Nez Percés, who are, for the most part, and have always been, strong in their friendship toward us. Upon the whole, I do not think, in view of the large force to be here soon, that we will have a difficulty with these Indians this year. If the troops have ordinary success in Utah,

the probability will be lessened, and still further if the Mormons shall be signally worsted. I have remonstrated earnestly with the chiefs against the interference of their people in the matter, and I am sure that several of the most influential are impressed with the conviction that such interference could not fail to be disastrous to them. Having no certain information as to the sentiments of the Indians (Snakes) between this and Fort Boise, I have long intended to ascertain the truth of the matter by sending out an expedition early this spring. My purpose now is to start three companies of dragoons over the route so soon as the absence of snow and height of new grass will justify the movement, and, if possible, to dispatch a reliable Indian immediately over the same route (perhaps further) to gain information in advance. It is only about 200 miles from here to Fort Boise, and not over 500 miles to the Salt Lake by the wagon road (probably fifty miles less by the trails). An old trapper living here, who spent many years about Fort Hall, and has often traveled the road, says that he can go with ease from this post to the Salt Lake and back in twenty days. A half-breed Indian from Salmon river came here three days since, and states that the Mormon settlement there removed some six weeks ago to the Salt Lake, sacrificing houses and improvements, as at San Bernardino. In my opinion, this is only significant as indicating further the stern resistance contemplated by the Mormons. I question much whether the idea of leaving Utah and emigrating to some other country is seriously entertained by them. But in either event the advantage

of arming and arraying against us all the Indians living on the principal routes to Utah cannot have escaped their attention, and it is more than probable that they have taken steps to effect that end.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. J. STEPTOE,

Brevet Lieutenant Colonel

Major W. W. Mackall, United States Army.

Assistant Adjutant General U. S. Army, San Francisco."

"Fort Simcoe, Washington Territory,

January 30, 1858.

Major: It seems proper that I should report, for the information of General Clarke, that the Indian chief "Skloom," brother of Kamiakin, has recently sent word to me, for the second time, that the Mormons, on one or two occasions since last summer, have sent emissaries among the Indians of this region to incite them to a union with the Mormons in hostility to the United States. He states that the chiefs repel those overtures from the Mormons, but that some of the young men seem disposed to countenance them. The Mormons make them large promises of arms, ammunition, cattle, &c.

For myself, I do not attach much importance to these machinations of the Mormons, unless our army in Utah should meet with some serious reverses.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. S. GARNETT,

Major 9th Infantry, Commanding Post.

Major W. W. Mackall,

Assistant Adjutant General, &c."

From Captain John Mullan's report on the construction of a military road from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Benton, the following paragraph is quoted:

"During this interval (between the spring of 1857 and the winter of 1857-8) the subject of overland communication had grown in importance, and from a subject of speculation and doubt had changed to one of every day reality. While the central section became the field for wagon-road operations under Colonel Lander, the overland mail carried weekly intelligence over thousands of miles of mountain and prairie by a more southern route. These facts gave the friends of a northern line a right to be heard in their modest applications to have a route opened through their own section. The character of the Mormon disturbances, occurring simultaneously, was such as to compel the government to look the subject of overland communication direct in the face. Here were foes, with Indian emissaries in every quarter, whose obedience to law the government had to enforce at the point of the bayonet, by an army so large that the question of supplying it was one of no small import."

That the Mormons should attempt to form alliances with the Indian tribes throughout the West would not be surprising; as a matter of fact it might have been and doubtless was expected by the government. The fact stands boldly out in history that the Mormons were, during the year 1857 and a part of the year 1858, in open hostility toward

the government; that they equipped an armed force and committed acts of actual warfare; therefore, regardless of the justice or injustice of their belligerent attitude, in view of their peculiar religious relations with the Indians, the ease of communicating with them and the necessity for additional strength to their own numbers, it must be conceded that a desire to align those warlike people against the government and in support of their own cause would have been to the Mormons quite in accord with effective diplomacy.

VI

STEPTOE MARCHES NORTH

FORT WALLA WALLA was built during the fall and winter of 1856, by Brevet Lieutenant Colonel E. J. Steptoe. With three companies of the Ninth Infantry he had arrived there late in the summer from the Nachez river in the upper Yakima country, with orders to erect the post. For many years prior to the establishment of this fort the Hudson's Bay Company had maintained a trading post on the Columbia, at the mouth of the Walla Walla river, which it designated as Fort Walla Walla. The rude structure around which the dignity of the title centered was composed largely of mud, and its identity is now almost entirely effaced. No United States force was ever domiciled there unless, perchance, it might have been while in transit temporary accommodations were obtained.

The force reported to be under Colonel Steptoe at the new fort on June 30th, 1857, was composed of four companies of the First Dragoons, part of the Third Artillery, part of the Fourth and part of the Ninth Infantry.

Not having provided a sufficient amount of hay at the fort, during the summer of 1857, with which to winter all the army stock, it was found necessary at the approach of winter to remove the dragoon

horses to Fort Vancouver, where provisions had been made for their care.

There would seem to be some incongruity in moving the horses away from Walla Walla in order to secure feed when grass grew in such luxuriant abundance in the valley; but doubtless the lack of facilities for harvesting it during that first year would account for the failure to provide the quantity necessary for the winter.

By reference to Major Mackall's letter of Jan. 12th, 1858, to Colonel Steptoe, it will be observed that the Colonel was directed to recall his dragoons and horses from Vancouver as early as the state of the roads and the grass or his supply of forage would permit. He was informed also, in the same letter, of the reasons which prompted General Clarke to communicate the order. Colonel Steptoe accordingly ordered the return of the horses in due season and, in the mean time, applied himself to the gathering of information concerning the temper of the Indians in his territory. On April 17th, he addressed the following letter to headquarters:

"Fort Walla Walla, April 17th, 1858.

Sir: There appears to be so much excitement amongst the Pelouse and Spokane Indians as to make an expedition to the north advisable, if not necessary; I shall accordingly start with three companies of dragoons in that direction as soon as possible after the arrival of Brevet Captain Taylor.

Some forty persons living at Colville recently petitioned for the presence of troops at that place, as they believed their lives and property to be in

danger from hostile Indians. I cannot tell at this distance whether they are needlessly alarmed, but shall visit Colville before returning.

Two white men are reported to have been killed recently near Pelouse river on their way to Colville. An Indian gave me today the names of the Pelouse Indians said to be implicated. I am inclined to think the roomer is correct, but will investigate the matter thoroughly during my trip.

A few nights ago a party of the same tribe made a foray into this valley and carried off horses and cattle belonging to various persons, both whites and Indians, and thirteen head of beef cattle, the property of the commissary department. It is my impression that they did not suppose these animals to be in our charge or they would not probably have taken them. However, it is very necessary to check this thieving, or of course worse trouble will grow out.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your
obedient servant,

E. J. STEPTOE.

Major W. W. Mackall,

Assistant Adjutant General U. S. A., San
Francisco."

The dragoons arrived with the horses at some time during the last of April. By that time the new grass was, if we may judge by later observations, in prime condition, so that the question of forage was simple and easy of solution. Colonel Steptoe again wrote headquarters as follows:

"Fort Walla Walla, W. T., May 2, 1858.

Major: Brevet Captain Taylor has arrived with the dragoon horses, all in fine condition. I have delayed proceeding to the north until some more definite information could be obtained of the state of things there. Whether the two white men were really killed, as was reported at the date of my last letter, I have not, however, been able to ascertain, but the most reliable Indian chiefs seem to believe so. It is my intention to leave here some day this week, probably on Thursday, with about 130 dragoons and a detachment of infantry for service with the howitzers, and to move directly where it is understood the hostile party is at present.

Lieutenant Harvie, who is at the Dalles to receive and bring up about 250 head of beef cattle, will be on the return in a few days. He has fifteen dragoons for an escort, but in the unsettled state of the country I fear the temptation to get possession of the cattle might be too strong with the Indians, and accordingly have written to Colonel Wright asking him to add a few men to the escort.

It is proper for me to say that there appears to be some probability of considerable disturbance among the neighboring tribes, but I hope to check it.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. J. STEPTOE,
Brevet Lieutenant Colonel, U. S. A.,
Commanding Post.

Major W. W. Mackall,
Assistant Adjutant General U. S. A., San
Francisco."

Lieutenant David McM. Gregg with H company, First dragoons, had arrived at Vancouver from Fort Tejon, near Los Angeles, California, in October, 1857, and when Captain Taylor was ordered to return to Walla Walla with the horses Gregg was directed to join him with his company.

On Thursday morning, the sixth of May, Colonel Steptoe started from Fort Walla Walla with Companies C, E, and H of the First dragoons (this branch of the army is now designated entirely under the name of cavalry) and twenty-five men from Company E, Ninth infantry, mounted. The force comprised one hundred fifty-two enlisted men and five company officers, making a total, including the Colonel himself, of one hundred fifty-eight men. There were also a few friendly Nez Perce Indians, the exact number cannot be ascertained, engaged to accompany the expedition as guides. Two mounted howitzers composed the equipment of ordnance.

Two of the dragoon companies were armed with musketoons, a short gun of the musket pattern, incapable of speeding a ball accurately beyond the average throwing distance of man. There were among the other companies some better arms. Many carried revolvers, and in H company there were ten Sharpe's carbines, a very effective weapon. There were none of the long muskets afterward so extensively used in the army.

The ammunition amounted to about forty rounds to the man, and here is presented the point which has involved some criticism and which called for special mention by the lieutenant general of the army.

The man who had charge of the packing has stated that in loading his pack train on the departure from the fort, it was found that the baggage designed for the expedition exceeded the carrying capacity and that in cutting down the amount a part of the ammunition probably inadvertently was eliminated.

It should be borne in mind that the ammunition, as well as the guns, used at that time, was made up quite differently from the ammunition and guns of the present. Brass cartridges, packed in convenient boxes, were not then used. If cartridges of any kind were used, they were, quite probably, such as were supplied for muskets during the civil war, large, cumbersome balls, around the ends of which were wrapped a light paper shell containing the powder, and the percussion caps which were of prime necessity for the discharge of arms of any kind then in common use.

Colonel Steptoe was, without doubt, apprised of the shortness of his supply of ammunition and knew to whom, if to any one, the fault should be attached; yet, in a very magnanimous spirit, he refrained, in his report of the expedition, from attributing blame to any one; choosing rather to assume the full responsibility for any deficiency in preparation which may have contributed to his failure.

There is also small doubt that had he gone out with the intention of engaging in a general campaign with the Indians, instead of with a mere possibility in view of fighting the Palouses, he would have given the matter of ammunition more careful attention. Nevertheless, it must be re-

corded that the light supply proved to be a thing of grievous consideration.

The commissioned company officers were Captain C. S. Winder, in command of the detachment of Company E, Ninth infantry, which had charge of the howitzers; Captain O. H. P. Taylor, of Company C, in charge of the three companies of First dragoons; Lieutenant William Gaston, Company E, and Lieutenant David McM. Gregg, Company H, First dragoons. Lieutenant James Wheeler, Jr., was also attached to Company C. Two other commissioned officers accompanied the command, namely, Lieutenant H. B. Fleming, acting assistant quartermaster and acting commissary of subsistence, and Assistant Surgeon J. F. Randolph.

Remaining at Walla Walla were Company B and a part of Company E, Ninth infantry, a few artillerymen, and one company of the First Dragoons, under command of Captain F. T. Dent.

Colonel Steptoe took a northeasterly direction from Walla Walla and, after several days' marching, reached Snake river at the mouth of the Alpowa creek, a point then known as Red Wolf's crossing.

Some writers of recent years, assuming that Fort Colville was the sole objective point at which the expedition was directed, have essayed to criticize the Colonel for bearing thus off a direct route and leading his command into the country of the Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes. A direct route from Walla Walla to Colville would cross Snake river nearly fifty miles west of the Red Wolf's crossing

and would run some thirty miles west of the point where the Indians were encountered. But, while it was his intention to go to Colville before returning, to investigate the condition depicted in the petition of the forty miners, it was also an important part of his plan to meet the Palouses and demand of them some fitting satisfaction for the murder of the two men near the Palouse river and for depredations committed upon the settlers around Walla Walla. In the event of the refusal of these people to make satisfactory amends, then it was his intention to administer to them such punishment as would be necessary to bring them into peaceable subjection.

He entertained some desire, also, of having a conference with the Spokanes with the view of disabusing their minds as to any sinister design upon the part of the government, and to warn them against the machinations of persons who persisted in spreading evil report among them: reports tending to show that the government was faithless in its dealings with the Indians generally. The latter mission, however, was not deemed of vital importance to the expedition.

Reports had reached Colonel Steptoe that the Palouses were gathered in force near Red Wolf's crossing, and going thus directly to that point he took the most direct route to reach the people whom he desired to meet. Whether this report was a part of a conspiracy among a few Nez Perces to decoy the soldiers into the country of the Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes, as some assert it was, can not be established to a degree of certainty. The evidence tending to prove the existence of such con-

spiracy is by no means conclusive. The reasoning adduced in support of the claim lacks in harmony also, one theory being that the Nez Perces wished to see the Spokanes, between whom and the former tribe there existed some enmity, defeated; while another is that they desired to compass the destruction of the command by leading it against an enemy of far greater numerical strength. Some allusion to the treachery of the Nez Perces is found in the letter of Father Joset in succeeding pages.

It was known, too, that Chief Timothy, of the Nez Perces, who dwelt at the mouth of the Alpowa, on the left bank of Snake river, possessed a line of canoes which would insure reasonable safety in transporting the packs, ordnance and munitions to the north side. There being no other point known to have ample equipment of floating craft, this fact alone would, doubtless, have been an impelling factor in the selection of Red Wolf's crossing.

Timothy assisted Colonel Steptoe in crossing the river. Of this task Major Trimble, now of Berkeley, California, says: "It was an interesting sight. The Indians seemed perfectly at home in the water. Their dark bodies, glistening like copper, would glide gracefully among the horses. Some of them swam the horses while others ferried the men and supplies across in their canoes."

It has been said that Timothy also accompanied the command thence on its northward march and return, and from some sources he has been given much credit for valuable services he was supposed to have rendered in piloting the command through

the circle of savages drawn about the hopeless position from which it retreated on the night succeeding the fateful day of the fight, and guiding it back to Snake river. The writer would be pleased to ascribe to Chief Timothy the full meed of praise thus accorded him; his kindly disposition toward the whites generally, during his long life, as well as the aid rendered Colonel Steptoe, merits the gratitude of every one who has an interest in this section of country, or in its history. The officers who wrote of the affair, however, failed to mention him as having taken any part therein. Lieutenant (afterward General) Gregg has no recollection of his presence with the expedition, and Colonel Steptoe made no mention of him beyond the fact of his having assisted at the crossing of Snake river both on his going north and on his return. It would certainly seem that such distinguished services as that of piloting the command from its position of extreme peril should at least be rewarded with official mention. The conclusion is unavoidable, therefore, that he did not accompany the command in any recognized capacity.

The Palouses encamped near Red Wolf's crossing, on learning that Steptoe was moving toward that point, fled northward.

Having crossed the river, the command followed the trail leading out of the deep crevice through which it winds, by way of Skalassams creek, the mouth of which is about two and a half miles below the mouth of the Alpowa. This creek is now known as Steptoe creek, from its having witnessed the passing of Steptoe's expedition, and Steptoe

canyon, a defile of some note, encloses a part of its length. From its source to its mouth is about four and a half miles.

Before the advent of the settler into the Palouse country, Indian trails traversed it in various directions. From the banks of Snake river trails followed up the courses of the principal creeks putting in from either side until the table land could be conveniently reached. From the north these trails radiated toward the Snake river crossings most generally used. There were several whose deeply beaten tracks indicated long and constant usage, crossing the country north and south, converging at the north toward the several tribal headquarters. The largest of these trails was called the Lapwai trail, also the Colville trail. From the early settlers it is learned that the Lapwai trail connected with the Colville trail at Hangman creek somewhere near the site of the town of Latah, the trail from Lapwai to Colville being continuous. Numerous minor trails branched off, or merged into this large trail, some, apparently for the purpose of connecting with other trans-country highways in order to shorten the distance to certain points, while others led off to some water resort, or into the hunting grounds, or to the camas flats. The Lapwai trail, crossing the Clearwater river at its mouth, followed near the line which now marks the Idaho-Washington boundary, toward the north; passing around the western base of the Tahuna hills, over the sites of the city of Moscow and the village of Viola and thus for many miles keeping near the mountains and traversing the rolling foot-hills.

Just before descending into the valley of the Palouse river, it arose over a high ridge, the western end of which is enlarged into a peak much higher and the eastern connecting with a spur of the mountain range. The Palouse river, here known as the Mo-ho-lis-sah in the days of Indian sovereignty, was crossed at the point where Ewing's bridge spanned it many years after the events of the year 1858. From the Palouse river it led on northward, through the beautiful Cedar creek vale known as La Dow flat, which lies just east of the butte bearing also the name of La Dow, crossed Silver creek near its source and reached Pine creek through the pass between Queener's butte and the mountains. Bearing thence northwesterly, the trail led around the western end of the long spur which, projecting out from the mountains, forms a sheltering storm-brake for the De Smet mission, the present headquarters of the Coeur d'Alene tribe. Near where Farmington stands a branch trail put out, crossing this spur and entering the mountains beyond and thus reached the camas flats on the Santa Anne. After passing around the end of the spur and in a few miles further, the main trail reached the Nedl Whuald, or Hangman creek, and followed it toward its juncture with the Spokane. At a convenient point, soon after intersecting Hangman creek, a branch trail led off toward Coeur d'Alene lake, running near the site on which Tekoa is built. Also on the western side of the mountain spur which terminates just north of Tekoa, a trail put out northeasterly through the Rock creek country toward the St. Joe river and Coeur d'Alene lake.

In 1859, C. Sohon, an engineer attached to Captain John Mullan's party, included a part of the Lapwai-Colville trail in a side trip undertaken under Mullan's direction, for the purpose of ascertaining the feasibility of a route for a military wagon road following up Union Flat creek and from thence over the hills toward the spurs of the Bitter Root mountains, by the Tahuna hills, thence northward, reaching and following the foot-slopes of these spurs. Of the latter part of the route taken, Mr. Sohon says:

"Leaving the Ta-hu-nah hills we passed over a rolling prairie country in the general direction N. 30 deg. W., magnetic, for five miles, when we crossed a ridge five hundred feet high, and steep; in eight miles from Ta-hu-nah we crossed a small creek called Ki-ah-ne-mah; four miles more we ascended a ridge nine hundred feet high, and, in one and a half miles, descended to the valley of the Palouse river proper, here called the Mo-ho-lis-sah. The valley is here three-tenths of a mile wide, and timbered with pine. The river is thirty feet wide, two feet deep, with sandy bottom; its general course is west. At the distance of seven miles further we encamped on a creek where the water stood in pools; here the grass was good and wood abundant. The weather was exceedingly warm during the day (June 19th), and severe upon our animals that were not in the best condition. Our march this day was nineteen miles.

On June 20th we started at sunrise; it was clear and pleasant, thermometer being at 50 deg. Fahrenheit. The road continued over rolling prairie,

when, in four and a half miles, it crossed the Ingosomen creek (Pine creek); in two miles further another small creek; thence ascending, in one and a half miles, a ridge of six hundred feet, descends, and, in four miles, the Nedl-whuald, or camas prairie of the Coeur d'Alenes—distance from last camp, twelve miles. The prairie is about one mile wide and bordered by mountain spurs with pine forests."

With the exception of a few short stretches, over mountainous country, these old trails have all been obliterated by the hand of agriculture. It would now be extremely difficult to trace them with absolute accuracy throughout their entire length. Even the Lapwai-Colville trail, which was composed of a series of parallel paths, worn knee deep to a horse, and in many places covering a width of fifty feet, is lost in the grain fields and meadows and can be discerned only where it traversed the mountain side or upon ground unfit for the plow.

Local interest would be enhanced to some degree if the trail pursued by the expedition could be accurately defined, mile by mile, but such a task is now beyond the ability of man to accomplish. In the reports of Colonel Steptoe himself is found the only reference to the route followed after leaving Snake river. This reference is brief, but with an understanding of the trails running north and south near the spurs of the Bitter Root mountains, which could be conveniently and economically reached from Red Wolf's crossing, one can not be in doubt as to which was taken. The Colonel wrote: "The enemy fled toward the north and I followed leisurely on the road to Colville."



CHIEF TIMOTHY

From a photo taken in Washington, D. C., in 1868 and now owned by
Thomas Williams, a Nez Perce Indian

VII

STILL NORTHWARD

NUMEROUS indications of the recent presence of Indians were observed as the expedition proceeded north from Snake river. Evidently a considerable number of Palouses had gathered in the vicinity of Red Wolf's crossing and, being fully aware of their own guilty conduct and of the punishment justly due them, they fled to the Coeur d'Alenes and Spokanes to incite among those tribes, if possible, a spirit of hostility toward the soldiers in the hope of thus being aided by their counsel and numerical strength.

After marching eight days, Steptoe reached the Palouse river and on Friday morning, the 14th, when about to resume the march, some Indians appeared and informed him that the Spokanes would resist his entrance into their country. Although entertaining the belief, as expressed in his letter to Major Mackall of January 29th, 1858, that there existed among the Spokanes and other northern tribes such a state of feeling that but slight encouragement would suffice to engender hostility, he did not believe there had transpired any events of recent origin which might be considered of sufficient account to induce them to interpose hostile opposition to his advance through their country. The information created general surprise among

the officers. The Spokanes had heretofore been regarded as preserving a friendly attitude toward the whites; no depredations had been charged against them, and an officer of the expedition writing of this occurrence said: "When we left Walla Walla no one thought of having an encounter either with them or any other Indians on the march." However, the report was received with so much doubt as to its reliability that it was not deemed advisable to halt for the purpose of ascertaining the state of the country on ahead, but the command pursued its course in the usual manner.

Evidently, at some point reached soon after the crossing of Pine creek a northwesterly direction was taken, leading away from the mountains and following the general direction of the creek.

After a march of some fifteen miles Pine creek was again approached and encampment made near its banks on Saturday night, May 15th.

Along the entire route from Snake river Indian "signs" had been abundant. Small parties of Indians had been seen at a distance and a few had entered the lines bent upon conversing with the officers and men. Reports of the command in detail, its progress, equipment, numbers and manner of discipline flew northward almost with the wind. The Indians had ample time in which to assemble their warriors and to their headquarters was furnished as complete information regarding the approaching force as commanders could desire.

This Saturday night passed with the usual quietness which had characterized the encampments since leaving Walla Walla. The sentries walked

their beats undisturbed and observed nothing that indicated the near proximity of an enemy. When the reveille brought the sleeping camp to life again the soldiers assembled in high spirits—as men who look forward with eagerness to the coming of the events of the new day which is to add a common share to an interesting life. The dragoon horses, having fed to their satisfaction on the nutritious bunch grass, displayed good fettle and were impatient of restraint.

Having accomplished the routine of the morning, the soldiers were in the saddle and leaving camp when it was reported that the Spokanes had assembled in their advance and were in hostile array, ready to fight. This report, like that received at the Palouse river, was received with considerable discredit and, though the column was formed in better order to repel an attack, should one be made, and extra vigilance was directed, the march was continued. Nothing was observed tending to confirm the report or to indicate that any force of Indians was lurking in the vicinity until about 11 o'clock, when there appeared suddenly from among the hills about a thousand braves (the number was variously estimated at six hundred to twelve hundred) the majority of whom were arrayed in war costume and all were splendidly mounted. Their demeanor admitted no doubt as to their attitude although there was no apparent inclination to attack the troops at once. When at a distance of about one hundred yards Colonel Steptoe ordered his column halted, and indicated his willingness to hear what his interceptors wished

to say. Several of the Spokanes came forward and informed the Colonel that they had been told he was come into their country for the purpose of annihilating them and that, if such was his mission, they were ready to fight. Steptoe replied that he had not sought them, and that he had not come into their country to fight them, but was merely passing through on his way to Colville, at which place he had learned some trouble existed between the whites and the Indians and that it was his purpose to bring about a better understanding, and more friendly relations among them there. This reply seemed to produce a measure of satisfaction among the Indians, yet in further protest against his advance he was informed that he would not be permitted to cross the Spokane river.

The parley was continued at some length when Steptoe became convinced of the futility of any further effort toward arriving at an amicable understanding. It was apparent that no argument or statement that might be made on his part could allay the excitement manifest among the main body of the Indians and which seemed to be reflected back to those engaged in the conference.

In view of this situation the Colonel dismissed the council, and turning to his officers told them they would have to fight.

The ground occupied by the command at this time offered but poor opportunity for a successful stand, therefore the men were at once placed in order to move to a better position, and word was quietly passed along the lines to be in readiness,

but that the enemy should take the initiative in the engagement by firing the first gun.

The troops moved slowly forward, all alert and fully expecting to be precipitated into a fight at any moment. The whole seething horde of Indians surged along the right flank maintaining a distance of about one hundred yards. Opportunity was thus offered the soldiers to observe the action and spirit of their superb mounts, all of which were cayuses, a small, wiry horse capable of great endurance, the common variety bred by the tribes of the northwest. It was also noted that most of the Indians were armed with rifles; being plainly better equipped in this respect than were the soldiers.

Steptoe pushed forward until about to approach a gulch which his road entered when he saw that, should he continue, his troops would, when well into the defile, be at a very great disadvantage in case of an attack, and from the actions of the Indians he believed them to be planning for such a trap. Therefore, turning toward the west, he marched about a mile amid a din of taunts and jeers from the enemy whose excitement now rapidly increased, and reaching a small lake (afterward designated by Captain Mullan as Lake Williamson), decided to encamp. The command was halted, yet the order to dismount was withheld; no risk could be ventured in thus breaking the vigilance which had been maintained in the march since the redskins intruded their company upon it, nor could the defensive order in which the companies were formed be dissolved.

Immediately upon halting, another powwow was inaugurated, or rather the talk which was had earlier in the day continued. During this talk the Indians sought further to justify their own hostile demonstrations upon the manner of Steptoe's appearing in their country. They asked why, if he was bent on a peaceful mission, he should carry two howitzers with him. And, if he was going to Colville, why he had come so far east of a direct course from Walla Walla.

It appeared at once that no good would result from this conference, yet under the most trying circumstances it was prolonged. The Indians not actually engaged in the formal "talk" continued throughout to taunt the soldiers in the most insulting manner, both by word and gesture. Not only did they reiterate the declaration that Steptoe should not cross the Spokane river, but they threatened also to seize the canoes along Snake river (called the Nez Perce river by these Indians) and thereby prevent him from recrossing, virtually penning him up in their own land.

As the afternoon advanced some of the hostiles informed the soldiers that, this being Sunday, they would not defile the day by fighting, but would give them battle on the morrow.

For three hours the men were kept in their saddles and compelled to endure without protest these demonstrations, not daring to dismount. At the setting of the sun the Indians drew away toward the east and before darkness came on not one could be seen. Encampment was made and the disposition of the command determined for the night.

The horses were picketed on the most convenient ground, a stronger line of sentries than usual was placed on guard, the companies so arranged in camp that resistance could be most speedily organized in case of an attack during the night, and each man not on duty slept upon his gun.

VIII

BATTLE OF TOHOTONIMME

THE portentous events of the day now fully impressed Colonel Steptoe with the danger that would be incurred by pressing his advance farther toward Colville and he determined, therefore, to retrace his steps toward Snake river. For potent reasons he desired to accomplish the return without a clash with the Indians. His light supply of ammunition and the overwhelming, well-armed force opposed to him augured much against risking an engagement. And, besides this, he had entertained no thought of projecting his command offensively into the country of the Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes in violation of their avowed friendly relations, it having been the boast of these tribes that their hands were unstained by the white man's blood. The reasons for withdrawing peaceably from the country were, therefore, no less cogent than the necessity for retiring without a conflict.

After having reached the conclusion that the exigency of the situation demanded the retracing of the trail from Snake river, it was decided to send an express to Walla Walla bearing intelligence of the menacing conditions with which the command had met and the probable difficulty that now confronted it, and asking that reinforcements be sent



CAPTAIN O. H. P. TAYLOR

to the crossing of Snake river. To bear this message one of the friendly Nez Perces was selected and at about twilight he was properly equipped and started, with orders to make his way to the fort with all possible speed.

Scant hope was entertained that the messenger would be able to reach Walla Walla. The entire distance to Snake river was through the land of Indians unfriendly to his tribe, and should he succeed in passing those who infested the immediate vicinity there was still great danger of his being run down before reaching the river.

In pursuance of the decision to return, the camp was aroused early on the morning of the 17th. The night had not brought to the soldiers their usual rest, and before the sun had kissed the hilltops they were again in the saddle and on the march. To reach the trail which had been followed on the previous day, a straight course was taken, forming a hypotenuse to the angle made in reaching the camping ground.

The column was formed in the following order: Company H, dragoons, under Lieutenant Gregg, in advance, followed by Company C of the dragoons under Captain Taylor; then came Captain Winder with the twenty-five men of Company E, Ninth infantry, and with them the howitzers; then the packs, and lastly, Lieutenant Gaston's Company E of the dragoons. The dragoon companies were separated from each other about a thousand yards.

Soon after getting under way Indians were seen on distant hills, and not long after this they began to gather near the rear of the column. Their

gathering was not characterized by the extravagant demonstrations of the day before, but there was evident excitement among them.

About this time Father Joset, a priest who had been laboring among the Coeur d'Alenes for several years and who was now in charge of the Coeur d'Alene mission, rode up to the rear at a gallop. He had come in hot haste from the mission, 90 miles away, at the request of Chief Vincent. He made inquiry for Colonel Steptoe and on being directed to him hastened to his presence, receiving from the Colonel a very kindly greeting. With no unnecessary delay, he informed Steptoe of a sentiment which had been growing among the Indians for some months, tending to opposition to the advance of any force of soldiers to the north of the Nez Perce river, and that he feared an attack upon his force was now imminent. He also enquired of the Colonel as to the truth of the report which had come to him that a Palouse had stated to the Colonel, that the priest had arrived with ammunition for the Coeur d'Alenes and had urged them to fall upon the soldiers. Steptoe informed him that he had heard such a report. The Father deprecated the matter very much and told the Colonel briefly of having started to Walla Walla in April to inform him of the unfriendly spirit that was brewing among these Indians, but that Chief Vincent, fearing some treachery to his party on the part of the Nez Percés or Palouses which might involve grave tribal difficulty, besought him to not make the trip. Steptoe advised him as to his intentions in coming through this part of the country

and expressed his astonishment at the hostile attitude of the Indians. Feeling that there might still be a last hope of averting a conflict, Father Joset asked Steptoe if he would not again talk with the chiefs. Steptoe replied that his pack horses were too badly frightened to stop; upon which the Father told him that it would not be necessary to stop, but that the talk could be had while moving along. Steptoe informed him that in that case he would be glad to see them.

Hastening away to the ranks of the Indians, Father Joset was able to find only the Coeur d'Alene chief, Vincent, with whom he returned. Colonel Steptoe explained to Vincent that inasmuch as he would not be able to cross the Spokane river without the use of boats, which he could not now procure, and seeing that the presence of the troops was so offensive to the Coeur d'Alenes and Spokanes, which tribes he had counted as being friendly to the whites, he had decided to return to Walla Walla and for the present to defer the trip to Colville.

While the conversation was being held, one of the Nez Perce scouts who stood by accused Vincent of talking with a "forked tongue," saying to him also, "Proud man, why do you not fire?" and immediately struck him across the shoulders with his whip almost felling the chief from his horse. The scout also accused a Coeur d'Alene who accompanied Vincent of having wished to fire on a soldier. What design the Nez Perce had in such conduct, or whether his accusations were feigned, is not known. There are those who are inclined to

the belief that it was all in pursuance of a plan entered into by the Nez Percés to bring about a conflict between Colonel Steptoe's force and these Indians. The scout was ordered to desist, however, and Vincent, who was satisfied with the Colonel's remarks, was about to so express himself when his uncle, coming up hurriedly, informed him that the Palouses were about to open fire and he departed at once.

The troops were under the same orders with regard to opening the engagement that they were during the previous day. These orders were that no conflict should be initiated by any portion of the command, and that no reply should be made to any firing from the Indians, should they choose to attack, until the safety of the command or of any individual members should be in peril.

At 8 o'clock the Indians had gathered in large numbers and were hanging about the rear of the column. Just as the advance had crossed a small stream and was heading toward higher ground, fire was opened upon the rear. The firing was directed toward Gaston's company, but being at too great a distance, no effect was produced, and in strict obedience to orders the company, in silence, moved steadily on. Swinging back and forth across the rear a portion of the Indians continued to fire in an irregular manner, until becoming emboldened by the refusal of the troops to respond, they stretched away along the flank toward the head of the column. The resounding crash of their arms increased in volume and rapidity until in twenty minutes from the first shot the firing became con-

tinuous. By reason of the distance thus far maintained the attack was as yet void of casualties, but all hope of avoiding a fight had now vanished, and every one knew that in a very brief time the whole command must be thrown into a general engagement. The great importance of taking advantage of the ground as they pushed along, and of being keenly alert to the movements of the foe, were things of lively consideration among the officers.

The matter of taking possession of the favorable positions rapidly developed into active contention. The Indians were not lacking in appreciation of the advantages of the hill-tops and ridges, and whenever it was seen that the troops, or any company of them, were headed toward those favorable locations, large numbers of Indians hurried on to forestall the movement, and if possible keep the soldiers in the gulches and in the low ground. It thus became frequently necessary for some part of the command to charge the Indians in order to clear the way.

For full two miles over the broken and uneven country the troops pressed forward under such conditions. Gaston's horse, wounded, had gone down under him, and a ball had grazed his hand. The battle spirit among the Indians grew in intensity and the vigor and boldness of their assaults displayed more of the savage passion.

Seeing that a large body of the Indians was making for a hill some distance in advance, and on the right, near which he must pass and from which a close fire could be poured upon the head of the column, Steptoe ordered Lieutenant Gregg to in-

tercept it. Moving quickly forward, the Lieutenant soon found that he must race for the position. The race, though close, was won by the dragoons, and on seeing themselves outdistanced in their attempt to reach this vantage point, the Indians moved around it and took possession of another hill which from its situation commanded the former. Gregg determined to take this position also, and leaving a few men to hold the hill which he now occupied, he deployed the remainder of the company so as to engage a broad front and charged the Indians, who gave way as he approached, but kept up a steady fire on the troops. On reaching the top of this hill the dragoons found that to hold it would require all their attention. The Indians ceased to fall back as soon as the soldiers halted and from their ranks the firing was continued with energy.

The engagement had now become general. The entire command was under fire from an enemy who outnumbered it seven to one. The din of battle was continuous and mingled with it was the wild war whoop of the savages, intended to strike terror to the hearts of the assailed and to cheer on their own forces. The pack train required constant activity on the part of those who had it in charge to keep it within the lines. The horses, seized with terror, made desperate attempts to break away and flee to safety.

Already Captain Taylor and Lieutenant Gaston had charged the foe, not once only, but again and again. The tactics employed by the Indians were not unlike those frequently used by the coyote when

chased by the hound—fleeing as long as the hound pursues, but turning to follow upon his heels and harass his footsteps as he returns. Thus did the Indians fall back as they were charged and when the soldiers turned to go forward again, bearing toward the line of march, they quickly recovered and swarmed after them. The men were, as far as possible, restrained from firing, except while charging, and fought almost entirely by short charges.

The companies were yet separated from each other by some hundreds of yards, and were following the line of march irregularly.

At 11 o'clock Captain Winder, with the infantry and the howitzers, succeeded in reaching Lieutenant Gregg, who still held the hill from whence he had driven the Indians. Colonel Steptoe himself accompanied Winder in this movement. The howitzers were brought into action, and though the actual damage inflicted upon the Indians by them was hardly noticeable, yet it was plain that their use infused them with fear. Taylor and Gaston were still far away and at some distance from each other. Both moved toward the position occupied by Gregg. The Indians, seeing that it was the intention of these companies to join the force on the hill, determined to prevent the juncture if possible and strengthening their numbers in that part of the field pressed the combat at closer range and with greater energy. These movements were watched attentively by the men on the hill who were, for the moment, less actively engaged. As Gaston's company came on, a large detachment of Indians moved hurriedly in front of it, and between it and

Gregg's position, so that, with the body of Indians in its rear, the company was between two fires and therefore in a very critical situation. Gaston at once comprehended the full import of this move, and immediately turning his attention from the force in his rear determined to charge that now massed in his front and endeavor to clear his way toward the eminence crowned by the companies of Gregg and Winder. It was a moment of tense interest to the men on the hill. All eyes there were riveted on the ominous scene. Gregg prepared to charge the rear of the Indians between him and Gaston when the latter should charge their front and watched intently for the first signs among Gaston's men indicating that the order to charge had been given. When he saw them taking firmer hold upon their reins, squaring themselves in their saddles and grasping their weapons in readiness, he led his own men to the charge at a gallop. As Gaston's men dashed forward the Indians, stretched across their front, bent upon carrying out their purpose in cutting them off, poured into them a scathing fire. Even after discovering that they were between the fires of the charging companies they fought desperately, as if to wipe out the one before the impact of the other should compel their attention or force them aside.

The Indians were extended in close formation across and at a right angle to the line on which Gaston and Gregg approached each other; a position hazarded only under the most promising circumstances in civilized warfare, yet in this instance it might easily have been the strategical move of a



CHIEF GARRY, SPOKANE.

wise commander. They were compelled to give way before the charging forces and the two companies met. Twelve dead Indians were counted upon the ground at the point of meeting, and many others were seen to be wounded; among the latter, as it was afterward learned, were Jacques and Zachariah, the former a highly respected Indian among his tribe, and the latter a brother-in-law of Chief Vincent. Both were Coeur d'Alenes and both had counseled against the fight. Each was mortally wounded and died soon after. Chief Victor of the Coeur d'Alenes was also slain in this angle.

The Indians who had attempted to cut off Gaston's company quickly returned to the attack, and those in his rear crowded closer. For a time the two companies continued to fight from the point where they met and then moved toward the hill from which Gregg had charged, and while so doing were subjected to a fierce fire on both flanks and rear.

Captain Taylor had, in the mean time, led his company across the space which had intervened between it and this hill, which had during these operations been held by Captain Winder. The splendid bravery of Captain Taylor, leading his men in the short charges which were so frequently necessary to his progress, cheering and complimenting them as they reformed to push on, served as an inspiration to all.

When the dragoons reached the hill the several sections of the command were together for the first time since the beginning of the march in the early morning. For three hours they had been actively

engaged, and part of them had been under fire since 8 o'clock. During the whole time they had sought to continue moving toward the south, bearing southeasterly, and to do this it was very often necessary for portions of the command, in addition to the continuous defense enjoined upon them, to assume the aggressive and dislodge the enemy from positions taken squarely in their front.

Several men had been wounded, but at this hour it appears that only one had been lost. A number of the animals had been killed and many injured.

The pack train was held with the greatest difficulty and part of the force was handicapped through the necessity for its defense.

A new difficulty was also pressing upon the troopers: the need of water. The course of the Ingossomen (called in the report of the battle the "To-hoto-nim-me"), winding among the hills, was in plain view to the south and west. Colonel Step-toe determined to push toward it and reformed his men for that purpose, being fully aware of the desperate work which was sure to attend the movement.

The Indians were exhibiting greater fury. The loss of the warriors who had fallen at the hands of Gregg's and Gaston's men had served to enrage them and they were impatient for revenge. Their numbers were increasing and small companies could be seen on the surrounding hills signaling to distant comrades.

To the soldiers, the supreme test was yet to come. At this time not a moment of relaxation could be obtained. Each officer and every man

facing the enemy, was required to give his full attention to the duties in hand. Therefore, in forming to move forward toward the water, great care had to be exercised by the officers in order that no vulnerable point might be presented to their antagonists. As the execution of the order began there were unmistakable signs that the Indians were seeking a favorable opening for a successful dash upon the troops.

Colonel Steptoe directed Captain Taylor and Lieutenant Gaston to dispose their companies so as to protect the flanks, positions which every soldier knew would be attended with extreme danger, as the defenders of either flank would be required to meet the repeated onslaughts of the enemy and be immediately under fire so long as the command should continue to move in that order. Yet, without hesitation the companies moved promptly to their respective positions, facing, with their gallant leaders, the frenzied, yelling horde of savages. To Gregg and Winder was assigned the difficult task of defending the rear and of moving forward the pack train.

The officers cautioned their men against wasting their ammunition and exhorted them to make the best possible accounting of the small supply with which each was furnished.

A little before 12 o'clock, the order to move forward was given and as the soldiers started down the long slope pandemonium broke loose anew among the Indians. Large bodies of them swayed in toward the flanks, and others circled the front, riding rapidly and each firing from the neck of his

horse, according to the custom of the Indian warrior. The aim of the soldiers protecting the flanks, at such close range, was uncomfortably accurate, and the Indians in those quarters hesitated to close in with them. Owing to the imminent danger of being cut off from the main body, neither of the flanking companies dared to charge far onto the enemy's ground, though in order to relieve the pressure short charges were of frequent necessity. Progress was slow; each officer endeavored to gauge his advance at such a rate as to keep the whole body intact. If any point was delayed by heavy engagement, the other divisions of the force held their positions until the resistance was overcome and all could proceed. Captain Winder and Lieutenant Gregg found but few opportunities to assist either flank. The fire of the enemy, coming from almost every direction, raked the whole command constantly.

About 12 o'clock, E company, being desperately attacked at very close quarters and being unable to continue forward without great danger of serious results, undertook to again force the enemy back. In the midst of this charge, Lieutenant Gaston received a mortal wound in the body and fell, dying as he had expressed a hope that he might, when, during the last year, ill health had overtaken him and he feared the approach of that feeble condition which would incapacitate him for the duties of his chosen profession.

The Indians, as usual, were compelled to give way before this charge and the company resumed its position. Soon after this, elated over their suc-

cess in slaying a chief of the soldiers and designing to demoralize his company, the Indians on this flank formed after the semblance of military order, in strong force, and charged formally. Gaston's men, who had since the early morning borne the brunt of the fight, and who had responded gallantly to every call that had been made upon them, now lost heart under the strain of insistent, never-ceasing, and constantly shifting attack from overwhelming numbers. They felt keenly, too, the loss of their leader, whose voice and example had been thus far a source of inspiration to them. And now, when this line of savages came on like the heavy surf beating toward the beach, rending the air with its blood-curdling war whoop, they gave way and fell back upon Winder and Gregg. The latter quickly swung his men into position to meet the charge, and Colonel Steptoe rode among the men of Company E and endeavored to encourage them, but failed to rally them sufficiently to present their full strength at this critical moment. Gregg's men met and stopped the Indians, and drove them back again though they contested the ground with unusual stubbornness.

During the brief period covered by this desperate onset, necessitating as it did a hurried change in the order of defense, thereby detracting from the strength of the guard about the pack train, some loss of animals and packs was sustained.

Whenever opportunity permitted their being unlimbered the howitzers boomed away at the swiftly moving foe. On account of the flank and rear guards intervening their action was limited to such

opportunities as were presented in the arc enclosing the front. The Indians made no decided attempt to mass any considerable force against the advance, probably for the reason that they were uncertain of the destructive power of the cannon; but their operations in that quarter were, for the greater part, conducted after the manner of the "circle fighting" frequently employed by the Indians of the plains.

Slowly, inch by inch, the column fought its way onward through the ceaseless efforts of the enemy to overcome it or to so shatter its formation that it might be wiped out in detail. After a half hour a distance of only a half mile had been covered. Water was not yet reached, but it could be seen that the stream was not far away. Company C was now warmly engaged at close quarters, but with usual courage was standing its ground unwaveringly. Men from other companies came to its assistance. At about 12:30 p. m. Captain Taylor, whose figure was always prominent among his men, a conspicuous target for the enemy, while fighting with his accustomed bravery, was shot from his horse. On seeing him fall, the Indians at once rushed the troops in the hope of securing his body. Several men dismounted and hastened to the fallen Captain and for a time the defense of his body entailed the most desperate fighting. Private R. P. Kerse, of Company E, with a few others, placed themselves in front of the body and fought the Indians hand to hand, clubbing their guns. Private Victor C. DeMoy, of Company C, a man who had received his training in arms in the army of France, stood with them, swinging his gun barrel as he

would a saber until receiving a severe wound he was unable longer to use his gun with effective force; yet, struck with the splendid opportunity for the use of his favorite weapon, he cried out, "My God, for a saber!" While this desperate struggle was in progress about the spot where Taylor fell, Francis Poisell, of H company, with the assistance of others, succeeded, under heavy fire, in bearing the wounded Captain to a safer position. Lieutenant James Wheeler, Jr., at once assumed the command of the company.

The Indians, never given to facing firm resistance on open ground at great length, soon shifted their force from this point and relieved the soldiers thus engaged. The wounded were all brought in and as soon as it was possible were attended by Surgeon Randolph.

Colonel Steptoe, now fully convinced of the great peril in continuing the advance under such conditions, the ground over which he must necessarily pass so frequently offering advantage to the enemy, who need not attack him upon those portions which offered the advantage to himself, decided to select a favorable field and make a stand. Accordingly, turning to the left from the direction he had been pursuing, he made his way to the summit of a nearby hill and there halted. The hill was rather the point of a long ridge whose terminus dropped off to the creek in a steep incline. The ground chosen for the stand was higher than the connecting portion of the ridge, and a line drawn directly over it, from base to base of the hill, would be about three-eighths of a mile in length. The posi-

tion was quickly surrounded and the soldiers completely shut in. They dismounted and "picketed the horses close together in the center of the flat inclined summit." The men were hastily posted in a circle around the crest and were required to lie flat upon the ground, in which position they were pretty well hidden from the enemy by the rank growth of grass.

The wounded were placed in the most secluded spot to be found back from the surrounding cordon of troops.

Captain Taylor had been shot through the neck and the wound was of such evident severity that from the first it was plainly seen that he could survive but a short time. The skill of Surgeon Randolph could not avail, and soon after reaching the summit of the hill, the comrades who stood by the brave officer were compelled to witness the closing of his useful and devoted career.

While the Indians now had the command completely surrounded, they marshaled the greater part of their force on the south. At this point the hill sloped rather abruptly and not far from its base ran the coveted stream. Lying flat upon the ground, just back of the angle at the brow of the hill, the soldiers in this quarter were in less danger from the bullets of the Indians than were those in some other parts of the field. In order to have reached a point of better view and more accurate range from the south, the Indians would have been compelled to approach to within a few yards of where the soldiers lay and, in doing so, would have exposed themselves at too close range to the men



LIEUTENANT WILLIAM GASTON

who peered through the grass for their coming. A continuous shower of bullets and arrows was poured over this point by the savages, doubtless with the intention of preventing any further movement of the besieged in that direction.

The Indians engaged in fighting abandoned their horses soon after surrounding the troops and crept around the hillside, crouched in favorable indentations in the earth, and wormed their way through the grass at the more exposed points. In their eagerness to get close enough to the men to pick them off, many of them resorted to the old trick of tying grass about their heads, thinking to approach, snakelike, without attracting attention; but this proved to be a rather precarious scheme. The bunch of grass coming along the ground, no matter how much cautious attention its wearer might give to its movement, or how well it blended with the standing grass, was generally observed and the crawling brave made to test the value of his deceptive headgear in retrograde movement, or to suffer severe penalty for his ill-timed zeal.

The yelling of the exultant savages continued without cessation except among those who attempted by stealth to gain closer ground.

The little band of men were momentarily impressed with the extreme peril of their situation. The strenuous work of the day, following a restless night which had been preceded by a day of trying physical and nervous tension, began to tell upon them. To the fatigue of body was added the suffering from extreme thirst. The vigilance could not be abandoned, though it required an effort on

the part of the soldier to maintain the alertness so highly necessary. Amid the whistling of balls and the whir of arrows arose the agonizing cries of the wounded and dying.

The officers crawled from point to point on hands and knees seeking to encourage the men and exhorting them to be careful in the expenditure of the few rounds of ammunition yet remaining. Now and then along the line a man was able to scrape a shallow trench for himself, thereby adding somewhat to his vantage.

Early in the afternoon the Indians made ready to hurl themselves upon the soldiers. The evidence of their preparations was unmistakable. Much gesticulation and signaling, coupled with loud shouting among those who attempted to exercise authority, gave the first warning. Those who were still mounted galloped closer in. The yelling became, if possible, more hideous and ere long it seemed that every savage throat was strained in the general endeavor to enthuse the host for the contact. At that stage which seemed to be the climax of the excitement, those on foot nearest the besieged sprang forward, half crouching, to lead the onslaught, but all were stopped after going a few paces. Those farther toward the rear hesitated until the ardor befitting the task to which they had set themselves had waned. Gradually the whole line again fell away and settled into the tactics first employed.

Not long after this, similar preparations among the Indians denoted that they again contemplated carrying the hill by storm, and again they failed at the moment of putting forward in the charge.

Many of the men fired without regard to the conservation of their ammunition, though apparent effect was produced by those guns which were capable of accuracy at the distance to which the hostiles approached, and they were seen to carry off many who fell, either killed or wounded.

At one point on the line where a large number of Indians concentrated and displayed marked persistency in pressing the attack, they were met by Sergeant Ball of Company H of the dragoons, and a few men who were holding that point on the circle, who stood their ground with such determination and fought with such coolness and telling effect that after losing some of their number the Indians lost courage and fell back out of reach of the deadly aim of the few men and soon the congestion in that quarter was dissipated.

While these demonstrations on the part of the enemy forced the men on the hill to the conclusion that if the fight should be resolved into a hand-to-hand grapple the termination which all now believed to be inevitable would quickly follow, the friendly Nez Perces engaged, at intervals, in communicating across the line with the Coeur d'Alenes and Spokanes.

Father Joset, writing of the fight soon after its occurrence, and from information obtained solely from the hostile Indians engaged, related that the Coeur d'Alenes said the Nez Perces cried to them from the midst of the troops: "Courage! You have already killed two chiefs." (Meaning, doubtless, Captain Taylor and Lieutenant Gaston.) This action, if not based upon a treacherous design

conceived before joining the expedition, was very probably an effort of diplomacy on the part of the Nez Perces, at this critical period when it seemed that certain doom awaited all, having for an object the conveyance of their friendly intentions with some show of assistance so that when the final coup should be made, and the captives, if any, disposed of, they would have some chance among the Coeur d'Alenes for their lives.

As the long afternoon began to wane the Indians became less active and the firing from their lines abated noticeably. Counseling was going on among them. The war whoop which had been so prominent a feature of the Indian discipline died away. The setting sun saw Colonel Steptoe's men not so hard pressed as earlier in the evening. Though the cracking of the Indian rifles was still heard, they were at longer range and the soldiers' peril therefrom correspondingly lessened. Yet the situation offered to the troops but the slightest ground for hope.

Just before nightfall loud calls were heard proceeding from among the Indians. These the Nez Perces interpreted to be commands from the chiefs to cease fighting and to wait until the morrow, when the battle would be renewed. Soon the firing ceased; flashes from the guns no longer disturbed the gathering darkness nor marked the location of the foe. The light of Indian campfires gleamed from the banks of the creek at some distance from the scene of the afternoon's work and signal fires sprang up on many of the surrounding hills. On the hill occupied by Steptoe all became quiet save

for the moans of the wounded and the low-toned commands of the officers. The suffering among the men on account of thirst grew in severity and their tired condition was a matter of grave concern for the prospective night.

In order to forestall any circumstance which might further weaken the efficiency of his force, and to preserve every man in the best possible mental condition for any further test he might be required to meet, Colonel Steptoe ordered that all the liquor carried by the commissary be destroyed.

Some fear was felt that the enemy in drawing off designed to return to the attack, stealthily, under cover of the darkness. When it was ascertained that no approach was thus being made and that the Indians were not lurking dangerously near, the men were called in from their positions and a small party detailed to form a skirmish line.

Investigation disclosed that the ammunition was almost exhausted; that no more than three rounds remained to each man.

IX

THE COUNCIL

CAPTAIN WINDER, next in command to Colonel Steptoe, Lieutenant Gregg, now senior dragoon officer, and Surgeon Randolph, having come together, fell to discussing their situation. They entertained no doubt as to the intention of the Indians to renew the attack, either during the night or on the following morning. Nearly destitute of ammunition, the command could hardly withstand a single onset. They were outnumbered five or six to one and should a determined assault be made upon them and the ammunition become entirely spent the survivors would be helpless to prevent being slain on the spot, or captured and subjected to whatever manner of torture and death might suit the will of their savage captors. Being entirely surrounded, escape seemed almost as hopeless. While the Indians had receded from their positions of the afternoon, they nevertheless occupied points which must be passed in any attempt to get away. Yet the three officers felt that an effort to escape should be made, and that it should be attempted during the night.

Captain Winder and Lieutenant Gregg approached Colonel Steptoe and informed him of their deliberations. The Colonel had turned the whole matter over in his own mind and was of the

opinion that there remained no other course for them but to stay and die like brave men. He reminded them that no point of safety lay north of Snake river, and if it were possible to pass through the line of savages by whom they were surrounded the retreat would have to be continued at high speed over the long trail to the crossing. Regard for the wounded would necessarily impede the flight and the weight of each of the howitzers was greater than any animal in the command was capable of carrying so far and so long. That the Indians would pursue them should they succeed in passing through their lines he thought was inevitable, and in case of the final expenditure of their ammunition in a running fight their fate would be scarcely less certain than if they remained in their present position, and the probability of the troops being captured singly or in small numbers and finally subjected to the torture and death usually imposed by the savage would be more to fear.

The two officers turned away from their Colonel and busied themselves with the duties that lay before them.

Lieutenant Gregg could not liberate his mind from the impression that an effort to escape should be made and continued to weigh the possibility of a successful dash past the Indians and of finally reaching safety with a part of the command, at least. Seeking Captain Winder, whom he found to still entertain the same view of the situation, the two went again to Colonel Steptoe and urged that it would be better to attempt to get away though only a small part or even none of the command suc-

ceeded, than to remain where they were with the almost certain knowledge that with the rising of the morrow's sun a general massacre of the troops would take place and not one be left to tell the story of the fight.

The gallant Colonel pondered the situation: His desire above all else was to save his men, yet he could not believe that the Indians would now under any circumstances permit a man to escape. Had he not started to return peaceably, and had he not suffered the Indians to fire upon him at some length before engaging in the combat? What reason, then, could be deduced, after the blood of the Indian slain had stained the hills, to warrant any hope that the soldiers would not be pursued most relentlessly and cut down somewhere on the long trail to Snake river?

The howitzers would have to be abandoned and such necessity the Colonel would feel keenly. Having spent several years in the artillery service, his training prompted him to guard jealously any implements at his command and to regard the loss of any to the enemy as a matter of much seriousness to a commanding officer. But that could be given no weight in this case, as the howitzers would only serve as an impediment to rapid movement and entail additional danger to any effort to save the command.

After thus discussing the circumstances at this conference in his usual candid manner, Colonel Steptoe agreed that the movement should be undertaken. A general consultation was then had among the officers and all agreed that an attempt to escape

would offer some possibility, at least, as against the utter hopelessness presented in the alternative of remaining.

Steptoe directed Lieutenant Gregg, now commanding the three companies of dragoons, to proceed with the necessary preliminary arrangements and to prepare the order in which the troops should move from the hill. Gregg set immediately about the task assigned him. It was desired first of all to ascertain whether any Indians were still lying on the south, the direction to be followed to recover the trail, in sufficient force to check the movement at its beginning. Accordingly, a small party was detailed to reconnoiter in that direction. With the greatest caution the party passed over the ground which had marked the operations of the Indians in that quarter during the day, finding it abandoned, and reached the creek. No sign of the foe could be discerned as, with ready gun, they crept along its bank, frequently halting and bending the ear to assay the sounds borne to them through the darkness. The investigations led the party at some distance and included both sides of the creek.

On the report of the reconnoissance the active work of preparing to leave the field was begun. All those who had fallen on or near the hill, whose bodies could be reached, were buried in graves hastily dug and the two howitzers were dismounted and cached nearby. Arrangements for transporting and caring for the wounded were of serious consideration. Fifteen men were found to be wounded, two of whom, Private Victor C. DeMoy

and Sergeant William C. Williams, it was believed could not long survive. Six others were severely wounded, and seven there were who had received slight injuries. The long ride could not but sorely aggravate the distress already keenly felt by those who were severely hurt; possibly some would be able to endure the ordeal but a short way, yet it was decided that none should be left. There was no thought of invoking the unwritten law known to Indian fighters of that day, which forbade leaving a wounded comrade to fall alive into the hands of the Indians. Those who were suffering too much to sit their horses safely without assistance were carefully lashed in their saddles and each placed under the care of a comrade.

Lieutenant Gregg, in preparing the order of the retreat, directed Lieutenant Wheeler to take the advance with Company C, Taylor's company, and the wounded; Captain Winder's infantry company, mounted, was to move with Wheeler, while he himself with the two other companies would take the rear and be the last to leave the field.

About thirty horses of the command had been shot and in providing suitable mounts it was found necessary to use some of the pack mules. These fell to the infantry. The light gray and the white animals were blanketed in order to render them less conspicuous in the darkness. All the animals not actually required, together with those which had been wounded, were left picketed on the hill. To take them away would encumber the movement, and their presence on the field would prob-

ably serve to delude the Indians into the belief that the soldiers were still there.

After burying the dead the horses were led over the ground so as to conceal the graves by a general breaking of the sod around them. The spot where the howitzers were buried was treated in a similar manner. The packs and supplies of provision, which had all been removed from the pack animals, were left where they were stacked.

At about 10 o'clock, Colonel Steptoe with Wheeler's company of dragoons and Winder's infantry company moved from the hill. Lieutenant Gregg was then engaged in collecting the skirmishers, who were lying in the grass at their posts, some of whom, it was found, had fallen asleep from exhaustion. So quietly did the first division move from the field that Gregg, absorbed in the care of his task, had not noticed their departure when Surgeon Randolph came to him and asked why he did not start, stating that Wheeler and Winder had gone some time before. With no unnecessary delay the two remaining companies then prepared to leave. Quietness was enjoined on all. Loose accoutrements liable to swing noisily against saddle or boots were carefully adjusted. Orders passed along the line in subdued tones. They moved down into the narrow valley of the To-hoto-nimme and rode silently away into the night. From the field left behind there came no sign of life save the occasional whinneying of a tethered horse whose companion bore a trooper away to safety.

X

THE RETREAT

LIEUTENANT GREGG reached the trail and following it soon overtook the advance companies, which had moved under some restraint, expecting him to join them, and the whole command proceeded rapidly onward. Specter-like, they galloped over high ridges, presenting a chain of fleeting figures that loomed strangely on the starlit horizon. Sinking again into deep hollows fashioned among the hills by the Great Architect, they formed a mass of darkness more dense than the gloom through which they moved.

It was a hard ride, fatiguing alike to horse and rider. The unscathed soldier fought with his exhaustion to keep himself awake and alert. The wounded struggled with the pangs of his hurt to maintain his fortitude.

But few miles had been covered when the gallant Victor C. DeMoy, deeply wounded, was compelled to give up the flight and lie down by the wayside. He still had several charges in his revolver and declared that if overhauled by Indians all but the last should be used in his defense, while that one would suffice to end his own life. He was never seen by white man again.

Late in the night Sergeant William C. Williams, of Gaston's company, who had distinguished him-

self during the action by his cool bravery, and had been hard hit in the thigh, reached the limit of his endurance and could go no farther. He, too, was laid by the trail.*

The dawn of the morning of the 18th found the retreating column at the Palouse river. After crossing to the southern side a short halt was made to allow the men to readjust their saddles, many having become so loose at the girth as to threaten injury to the horses through continuous shifting. A report was here spread that the Indians had been seen in the rear. Observations made from high points reached soon after and over which the trail

* Several stories concerning the fate of Williams have gained circulation. One is, that he and a wounded soldier by the name of Sneckster, both riding one horse, after much difficulty reached Snake river and there falling into the hands of hostile Indians they were told their liberty would be granted them if they could swim the river. This they attempted to do, but after entering the water they were fired upon by the Indians and Williams was killed. Sneckster succeeded in reaching the opposite shore, swimming the river with a broken arm. This story has never been given much credit and the writer is unable to verify it.

It is improbable that Williams, suffering too intensely to ride further and dropping out of the column during the first night of the retreat, twelve to fifteen hours' ride from Snake river, could yet have reached the river with a wounded comrade, who, too, must have abandoned the flight on account of his suffering, at a farther point than that at which the command crossed; and that Sneckster could still have reached the fort with the return of the command to answer to roll call on the 23rd, for on that date Colonel Steptoe forwarded a report of killed, wounded and missing and the only man reported to be missing was Sergeant Ball, while Sneckster was reported severely wounded.

John O'Neil, a survivor of the expedition with whom the writer was acquainted, stated that while engaged with a surveying party, running the northwest boundary, a few years later, it was related to them by Indians that Williams had been found on the trail by a party of Coeur d'Alenes. He was very ill and begged the Indians to shoot him and thus end his suffering. That they declined to do, but an old squaw of the party nursed him until he died. From the account given by the Indians it was presumed that he died from what is now termed blood poisoning.

Colonel Stentoe fully believed that both De Moy and Williams expired soon after being left and so reported them. Notwithstanding this, Colonel Wright hung a Palouse for the murder of Williams at Snake river as above described.

passed failed to confirm the report; yet the broken contour of the country might admit of the hostiles approaching very near without being discovered. Lieutenant Gregg, whose companies occupied the rear, determined, therefore, to run no risk of being overtaken without preparation for his adversary and threw out a skirmish line. This wise precaution proved to be unnecessary for no Indians were seen and the anxiety caused by the report gradually subsided.

The column hurried on, galloping over favorable stretches and diminishing the speed for steeper ground. Had the movement been less vigorous, jarring less the physique of the riders, many would have slept in their saddles, or in their drowsy condition would have dropped out of the ranks.

About 10 o'clock on the evening of the 18th this weary band clattered down the long canyon through which the trail wound its way to Snake river. Some apprehension was experienced as they approached the river as to the possible reception that might await them at the crossing, but their fears were allayed when on reaching the bank of the turbulent stream they discovered only about a score of Nez Perce lodges whose occupants appeared in some confusion as the troops drew near.

It was not deemed advisable to undertake the crossing of the river that night. A heavy current characterizes its flow here as it does almost throughout its entire course in Washington, and the spring freshet from the melting snow in the mountains had filled its banks to a high stage. The exhausted, travel-worn soldiers were in no condition to at-

tempt to breast it in the darkness. The command prepared to spend the remainder of the night on the north bank. The Nez Perce women in the camp found there attended to the wounded men, and a number of the Indians, under Timothy's orders, clambered to the tops of the steep hills on either side of the canyon overlooking the trail by which the river was reached and there stood guard till daybreak. The horses were turned upon the grass and then, with scant covering, consisting for the most part of saddle blankets only, with their guns by their sides, the soldiers slept. The necessity for alertness of the faculties was no longer imperative. It mattered not that their couch was solid earth, for having taxed their endurance to the utmost, they were glad of the opportunity to lie down anywhere, possessed with a most gratifying sense of relief that the long, distressing ride was over—a ride from the effects of which their commander never recovered.

The sun was well up over the eastern hills on the morning of the 19th when the men were aroused from their slumber. Many of the Nez Perce men, wrapped in their robes, were stalking silently about the camp. The women were busy about smoking camp-fires.

Stiff and sore from the ordeal of the previous day, the men performed their customary morning duties, leaving out, however, some of the niceties of discipline with which the post soldier is required to comply.

The Nez Percés prepared a meal for the half-famished men, which, though somewhat abridged

as to the menu, being chiefly boiled salmon, was ample and was gratefully received.

Immediately after disposing of the breakfast, preparations for crossing the river were begun. The horses, also plainly evincing the effects of their extraordinary day's work, were placed in charge of a company of Indians for swimming to the opposite shore. Other Indians manned the canoes with which the men were transported to the southern bank, several trips being necessary to complete the task.

The forenoon was far spent when the final trip was made and the last of the command set over the river. The troops began at once to prepare for moving on and while this work was in progress Captain F. T. Dent, with a part of the force which had been left at Walla Walla, came up. The faithful Nez Perce had borne the message with which he had been entrusted on the evening of the 16th safely to the fort, and on receiving the intelligence of Colonel Steptoe's situation, Captain Dent hastily prepared to march a part of his force to Snake river. By forced marches he had succeeded in reaching the river, traversing a distance almost as great as that covered by Steptoe's troops on their retreat from the scene of the battle, only about twelve or thirteen hours later than the arrival of the latter.

The Indian messenger must have crossed the river some miles west of Red Wolf's crossing, thereby shortening his route. The Indians found at the crossing had seen nothing of him.

When it is understood that Colonel Steptoe



CHIEF LAWYER

From a photo in the possession of Rev. E. J. Conner, a Nez Perce Indian

traveled seventy to eighty miles in reaching Snake river from the north, and that Captain Dent had to cover about the same distance in his route from Walla Walla, and the route pursued by the Indian must have been, assuming that he took a course practically straight, near one hundred and twenty-five miles in length, one may well wonder at the rapidity of the movements which brought about this meeting of the two detachments.

The arrival of Captain Dent was hailed with gladness by Steptoe's weary troops, for he brought an abundance of rations, without which much suffering from the pangs of hunger would have characterized the journey to Walla Walla. Not only was he provided with rations for the men, but a supply of forage for the animals was also carried and proved to be a boon to those overworked creatures.

No time was taken for further rest of men or animals, though when under way the column moved deliberately, gauging its advance to suit the convenience of the wounded. There was now no danger of pursuit from the Indians north of Snake river, and the necessity of an early report of the engagement, and the conditions met with, now embodied solely the reasons for haste.

On the evening of the 20th, soon after the column had halted for the night, and while the animals were being picketed, a large company of horsemen were observed approaching rapidly. Through the fog of dust put in motion by their steeds they were seen, as they drew near, to be Indians, but their intentions could not be determined

and Colonel Steptoe began at once to make ready for defense in case they proved to be hostiles. Seeing these preparations, the Indians displayed an American flag as a token of their friendly disposition. They were Nez Perces and as they approached a few of their head men, one of whom was Chief Lawyer, came forward for a talk. The chief had heard, either from a messenger or through the Indian system of signaling, of Colonel Steptoe's defeat and had hurried to offer to him the services of the warriors whom he led. He proposed that the two forces return and punish the Coeur d'Alenes and Spokanes, expressing the belief that they would be easily successful.

The offer was most generous, worthy, in its setting, of a place in the annals of knighthood, yet, withal, an offer which Colonel Steptoe could not at that time entertain. His command was in no condition to enter at once into an aggressive campaign and he explained to the chief that it was now necessary for him to return with his soldiers to Walla Walla. He expressed his appreciation of the generous tender of assistance and his regret that he could not at that time go back to administer proper punishment to his enemies.

Seeing thus the futility of his proposal, Lawyer and his band passed on toward Snake river.

On Saturday, the 22nd of May, Steptoe arrived at Fort Walla Walla. As his troopers marched into the grounds there was that demeanor about them which forbade any loud acclamations of greeting that may have been framed on the lips of those who had remained at the fort and were there

to greet them. It was not the homecoming of victors. The absence of the pack train and the howitzers, the bandaged wounds in evidence in the line, the officers missing from the staff of the commander, effectually dispelled the desire to cheer.

When the returned soldiers were again domiciled in their quarters, knots of men were gathered here and there, in the buildings and around the grounds, where the experiences of the expedition with all their said details were related by those who had taken part to those whose task it had been to remain behind. But the saddest duty performed by any was that which fell to the lot of the officer who detailed to the wife and children of Captain Taylor the circumstances surrounding that officer's tragic death. But little over a fortnight before, the Captain had taken leave of his family and as the column marched away he turned in his saddle to wave a silent farewell in answer to the mute adieus that were signaled him by the loved ones who gazed after the receding soldiers.

The wife of a soldier may school herself to know the great element of peril that constantly confronts man in the performance of the duties of actual war, but she cannot still the abiding hope that, through it all, he who goes out from her side may pass unharmed and return to her in safety.

Thus was the unfortunate expedition ended. The setting of the battle of To-hoto-nim-me furnishes much on which one may ponder. Neither the Coeur d'Alenes nor the Spokanes at that time had a tribal head which could compel obedience to its mandates. Each tribe had several chiefs, mem-

bers of a sort of royal strain among them, and each chief exercised what authority he could without much regard to his fellow chiefs. Before the beginning of the fight there was, as it afterward appeared, a conflict of opinion among the head men of those two tribes as to whether they should make an attack. The Palouses, for reasons heretofore mentioned, were strongly in favor of fighting, and being too weak in numbers to offer successful battle alone, were determined to force the Coeur d'Alenes and Spokanes into the conflict, and there can be no doubt but that it was through their persistent efforts that the balance of sentiment among those tribes was finally tilted toward active hostility, though it required a day and a night in the presence of the troops to bring it about. In their anxiety for the fray the Palouses began the attack.

Chief Vincent, a man of good parts, at that time held the highest place among the Coeur d'Alenes, but no chief, within the knowledge of the white man, was ever able to wield absolute control over the tribe until Seltice became its leader.

Had Colonel Steptoe and his officers decided to remain on the surrounded hill, the fate of the command would have embodied to a large degree the elements of a massacre, notably distinguished in this respect from the fight on the Little Big Horn many years afterward in which General Custer's command went down. In the latter event the Indians were sought and attacked and the battle which ensued might be said to have been a fight to the finish.

In a letter written by Father Joset to Father



LIEUTENANT DAVID McM. GREGG

Hoecken, who resided among the Flathead Indians, under date of May 24th, only a few days after the fight, and at a time when, in the absence of any news of the troops he feared they had all been slain at the "Nez Perces river" (Snake river), after describing the events of that day, he said: "At midnight the Indians rushed on the camp but found it deserted." This letter, evidently written in French, was translated by Father Hoecken and a copy of the translation forwarded to Dr. Garland Hurt, agent for the Ute Indians, at Spanish Fork, Utah, and by him handed to Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, commanding the "Army of Utah," who forwarded it to Army Headquarters. By this it will be observed that Steptoe had been gone from the hill but about two hours when the Indians charged his deserted position intent upon the annihilation of his command.

Such an event could have been expected; it would not have been a surprise had it occurred the previous night while the troops were lying at Lake Williamson.

Some of the events in the history of our country seem to bear the imprint of especial providential care, not alone in respect to the actors in the events, but in the widespread influences and results which have hinged upon them. Whether or not the hand of God may be seen in the delivery of the command either for itself or as the starting point for the things that have been accomplished through succeeding years in the land that bore witness to its trials, the escape of Colonel Steptoe from an army of savages sufficiently numerous to overwhelm his

own force, and who possessed every advantage which the situation could offer, with no force that could attempt a rescue within a hundred miles, has not a parallel in the history of American Indian warfare.

XI

COLONEL STEPTOE'S REPORT

ON the day succeeding the return to Walla Walla, Colonel Steptoe dispatched the following report of the expedition to headquarters of the Department of the Pacific at San Francisco:

“Fort Walla Walla, May 23, 1858.

Major: On the 2nd instant I informed you of my intention to move northward with a part of my command. Accordingly, on the 6th I left here with C, E, and H, First dragoons, and E, Ninth infantry; in all, five company officers and one hundred and fifty-two enlisted men. Hearing that the hostile Pelouses were near Al-pon-on-we, in the Nez Perces' land, I moved to that point, and was ferried across Snake river by Timothy, a Nez Perces chief. The enemy fled towards the north, and I followed leisurely on the road to Colville. On Sunday morning, the 16th, when near the Tohoto-nim-me in the Spokane country, we found ourselves suddenly in the presence of ten or twelve hundred Indians of various tribes—Spokanes, Pelouses, Coeur d'Alenes, Yakimas, and some others—all armed, painted, and defiant. I moved slowly on until just about to enter a ravine that wound along the bases of several hills, which were all

crowned by the excited savages. Perceiving that it was their purpose to attack us in this dangerous place, I turned aside and encamped, the whole wild, frenzied mass moving parallel to us, and, by yells, taunts, and menaces, apparently trying to drive us to some initiatory act of violence. Towards night a number of chiefs rode up to talk with me, and inquired what were our motives to this intrusion upon them. I answered that we were passing on to Colville, and had no hostile intentions toward the Spokanes, who had always been our friends, nor towards any other tribes who were friendly; that my chief aim in coming so far was to see the Indians and the white people at Colville, and, by friendly discussion with both, endeavor to strengthen their good feelings for each other. They expressed themselves satisfied, but would not consent to let me have canoes, without which it would be impossible to cross the Spokane river. I concluded, for this reason, to retrace my steps at once, and the next morning (17th) turned back towards this post. We had not marched three miles when the Indians, who had gathered on the hills adjoining the line of march, began an attack upon the rear guard, and immediately the fight became general. We labored under the great disadvantage of having to defend the pack-train while in motion and in a rolling country peculiarly favorable to the Indian mode of warfare. We had only a small quantity of ammunition, but, in their excitement, the soldiers could not be restrained from firing it in the wildest manner. They did, however, under the leading of their respective com-



SURGEON JOHN F. RANDOLPH

manders, sustain well the reputation of the army for some hours, charging the enemy repeatedly with gallantry and success. The difficult and dangerous duty of flanking the column was assigned to Brevet Captain Taylor and Lieutenant Gaston, to both of whom it proved fatal. The latter fell about twelve o'clock, and the enemy soon after charging formally upon his company, it fell back in confusion and could not be rallied. About a half hour after this Captain Taylor was brought in mortally wounded, upon which I immediately took possession of a convenient height and halted. The fight continued here with unabated activity, the Indians occupying neighboring heights and working themselves along to pick off our men. The wounded increased in number continually. Twice the enemy gave unmistakable evidence of a design to carry our position by assault, and their number and desperate courage caused me to fear the most serious consequences to us from such an attempt on their part. It was manifest that the loss of their officers and comrades began to tell upon the spirit of the soldiers; that they were becoming discouraged, and not to be relied upon with confidence. Some of them were recruits but recently joined; two of the companies had muskets, which were utterly worthless in our present condition; and, what was most alarming, only two or three rounds of cartridges remained to some of the men, and but few to any of them. It was plain that the enemy would give the troops no rest during the night, and they would be still further disqualified for stout resistance on the morrow, while the number of ene-

mies would certainly be increased. I determined, for these reasons, to make a forced march to Snake river, about eighty-five miles distant, and secure the canoes in advance of the Indians, who had already threatened to do the same by us. After consulting with the officers, all of whom urged me to the step as the only means in their opinion of securing the safety of the command, I concluded to abandon every thing that might impede our march. Accordingly we set out about ten o'clock in perfectly good order, leaving the disabled animals and such as were not in condition to travel so far and so fast, and, with deep pain I have to add, the two howitzers. The necessity for this last measure will give you, as well as many words, a conception of the strait to which we believed ourselves to be reduced. Not an officer of the command doubted that we would be overwhelmed with the first rush of the enemy upon our position in the morning; to retreat further by day, with our wounded men and property, was out of the question; to retreat slowly by night equally so, as we could not then be in condition to fight all next day; it was therefore necessary to relieve ourselves of all incumbrances and to fly. We had no horses able to carry the guns over 80 miles without resting, and if the enemy should attack us *en route*, as, from their ferocity, we certainly expected they would, not a soldier could be spared for any other duty than skirmishing. For these reasons, which I own candidly seemed to me more cogent at the time than they do now, I resolved to bury the howitzers. What distresses me is that no *attempt* was made to bring them off; and

all I can add is that if this was an error of judgment it was committed after the calmest discussion of the matter, in which, I believe, every officer agreed with me.

Enclosed is a list of the killed and wounded. The enemy acknowledge a loss of 9 killed and 40 or 50 wounded, many of them mortally. It is known to us that this is an underestimate, for one of the officers informs me that on a single spot where Lieutenants Gregg and Gaston met in a joint charge twelve dead Indians were counted. Many others were seen to fall.

I cannot do justice, in this communication, to the conduct of the officers throughout the affair. The gallant bearing of each and all was accompanied by an admirable coolness and sound judgment. To the skill and promptness of Assistant Surgeon Randolph the wounded are deeply indebted.

Be pleased to excuse the hasty appearance of this letter; I am anxious to get it off and have not time to have it transcribed.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant, E. J. STEPTOE,

Brevet Lieutenant Colonel United States Army.
Major W. W. Mackall,

Assistant Adjutant General U. S. A., San Francisco."

In due course this report reached the Lieutenant General of the armies of the United States, who transmitted it to the Secretary of War after inscribing upon it the following endorsement:

"This is a candid report of a disastrous affair. The small supply of ammunition is surprising and unaccounted for. It seems that Brevet Brigadier General Clarke has ordered up all the disposable troops in California, and probably will further reinforce Steptoe's district by detachments of the Fourth and Ninth infantry; and, on the 29th ultimo, I gave instructions for sending the Sixth or Seventh regiment of infantry from Salt Lake valley across the Pacific and via Walla Walla, if practicable, in preference to any route south of that.

Respectfully submitted to the Secretary of War.
WINFIELD SCOTT.

July 15, 1858."

Accompanying the foregoing report was the following:

*"Report of the killed, wounded and missing in the
battle at To-hoto-nim-me,
May 17, 1858.*

Company C, First Dragoons.

Killed—Brevet Captain O. H. Taylor, Private Alfred Barnes.

Mortally wounded—Private Victor Charles De Moy.

Severely wounded—Privates James Lynch and Henry Montreville.

Slightly wounded—Farrier Elijah R. Birch.

Company E, First Dragoons.

Killed—Second Lieutenant William Gaston.

Mortally wounded—First Sergeant William C. Williams.

Severely wounded—James Kelly, William D. Micon, and Hariet Sneckster.

Slightly wounded—James Healy, Maurice Henly, Charles Hughes, and John Mitchell.

Company H, First Dragoons.

Killed—Privates Charles H. Harnish and James Crozet.

Missing—First Sergeant Edward Ball. *

Company E, Ninth Infantry.

Severely wounded—Private Ormond W. Hammond.

Slightly wounded—Privates John Klay and Gotleib Berger."

The same date on which the report of the expedition went forward Colonel Steptoe indited the two succeeding letters.

"Fort Walla Walla, May 23, 1858.

Major: I take the liberty to recommend as the very first step in prosecuting the war with the north-

* It is said that Sergeant Ball assisted the commissary in carrying out the orders to destroy the liquor in the evening at the close of the battle, and being overcome by the effects of the spirituous ration, made his way through the darkness to the creek, where, under cover of the brush, he stretched himself in slumber. He was awakened by the chill air of the early morning and after advising himself that no other representative of the command remained about the field, he put off in pursuit of his fleeing comrades, reaching the fort some time after their arrival. He was a man of sterling qualities as a fighter and possessed great powers of endurance. He was especially commended for his courage by Colonel Steptoe. Participating in Colonel Wright's campaign, he did valiant service, for which he was also specially mentioned in official report. He rose in the service to the rank of Major.

ern tribes, the establishment of a post on Snake river, near the mouth of the Pelouse—a temporary work, from which the garrison can fall back to this point upon the approach of winter. The road to Colville crosses there, but the great advantage of having such an advanced post will be in thus obtaining a sure ferry. I had vast difficulty in getting the dragoon horses over Snake river, which is everywhere wide, deep, and strong, and without the assistance of Timothy's Nez Perces it would have been utterly impossible for us to cross, either going or returning. Besides this, the Pelouse tribe ought to be the first one struck at, as it is the most hostile, and was guilty, a few weeks since, of murdering two white men on the Colville road.

A few companies of infantry could construct a kind of entrenchment there in a few days, which one company could easily defend, and at the same time guard the ferry-boat. There is absolutely no other way of crossing the stream with certainty.

I hope the general will send us as strong a force as possible, and with all the despatch possible. The tribes around this post are watching eagerly to see what they can gain by joining the hostile party. One of my keenest regrets growing out of the late affair is the consciousness that our defeat must, until something is done to check it, encourage the wavering to active hostilities.

All the companies here are now busily drilling as skirmishers, in which branch of instruction the dragoons, although very gallant, showed themselves not at all proficient the other day, and they will soon be ready to take the field again; but I

hope the force here will not, for manifest reasons, be reduced before the arrival of other troops from below.

There is a band of Nez Percés, perhaps fifty or seventy-five, at present here, who took their arms as soon as they heard of my difficulty, but met me on my return. Their services can easily be secured, I think, if the general desires it, and no doubt they would be valuable auxiliaries—if in no other way, certainly as instructors to our soldiers in the mode of Indian warfare.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. J. STEPTOE,

Brevet Lieut. Colonel U. S. Army, Commanding Post.

Major W. W. Mackall,

Assistant Adjutant General U. S. A., San Francisco."

"Fort Walla Walla, May 23, 1858.

Major: I received by last mail the order to furnish Lieutenant Mullan an escort of one officer and sixty-five soldiers.

Of course the present state of our relations with the northern tribes will make it impossible for Lieutenant Mullan to proceed with his survey.

In this connexion I may inform you that the fight with my command only committed the Indians to hostilities a little earlier, and probably under more fortunate circumstances for us. A few minutes before the attack upon us, Father Joseph (Joset), the priest at Coeur d'Alene mission, joined me and stated to me that most of the excite-

ment among the tribes was due to mischievous reports that the government intended to seize their lands, in proof of which they were invited to observe whether a party would not soon be surveying a road through it. He added that the Coeur d'Alenes, Spokanes and Flatheads had bound themselves to massacre any party that should attempt to make a survey. I do not doubt in the least the truth of this statement, and make no question that Lieutenant Mullan's party has been saved from destruction by late occurrences.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. J. STEPTOE,

Brevet Lieutenant Colonel U. S. A., Commanding Post.

Major W. W. Mackall,

Assistant Adjutant General U. S. A., San Francisco."

With reference to Lieutenant John Mullan's party, mentioned in this letter, as well as in that succeeding: The government had decided upon establishing a military road from old Fort Walla Walla (Wallula), on the Columbia river, to Fort Benton, on the Missouri river. By reason of his well-known skill, and his knowledge of the mountain section through which it was intended the road should pass, and the experience gained during the previous four years while assisting Isaac I. Stevens in searching out a route for a Pacific railroad from Minnesota to the Pacific coast, Mullan was chosen for this task. The road was to be located with a view, also, to its utility as a railroad route.

This intrepid engineer and explorer arrived at Fort Dalles on the 15th of May, 1858, at which point he had been instructed to prepare his outfit. General Clarke had been directed to furnish him with an escort of sixty-five men, and it had been arranged that the escort should join him at Walla Walla. He lost no time in organizing his company of surveyors and road builders at The Dalles, and starting on his way, bridging the streams and smoothing down a track as he journeyed up the Columbia river.

From his report of the construction of that great highway which has since been known as the "Mullan route," and which was for many years the pathway of emigrants and miners, the following is quoted:

"I had not proceeded further than the Five-Mile creek when the news reached me of the lamentable defeat of Colonel Steptoe on the Spokane plains, a point directly in the route of my intended location. The news, though much exaggerated, as is usual on the frontier, was such as to cause me to halt at this point till I could confer by letter with Colonel Steptoe regarding the strength of the Indians in the field and the prospect of my being furnished with an escort from Fort Walla Walla, where he then commanded. To construct the wagon road while the Indians were in a state of open hostility was out of the question, but it was necessary for me to possess authentic facts before I could either move forward or break up the expedition. During the interval I occupied my men in building the bridges

now over the Five-Mile and Ten-Mile creeks, and in otherwise improving the wagon road from The Dalles to the Des Chutes. On the 30th of May a reply was received from Colonel Steptoe, from which I judged it impracticable to prosecute the work this season. I therefore returned to The Dalles and disbanded my expedition, with the exception of Mr. Kolecki, my topographer, Mr. Sohon, my guide, and the men necessary to take care of my stock, reporting the facts immediately to the war department.

On learning of Colonel Steptoe's defeat, General Clarke immediately determined upon retaliatory measures, and, with this view, promptly ordered to the field a well-appointed and well-equipped command, under Colonel George Wright, Ninth infantry.

I had no disposition to remain idle during the summer, but, on the contrary, was anxious to become personally cognizant of such topographical facts as would give me a correct idea of the western section of the country through which our road would pass. I therefore addressed a communication to General Clarke, and offered the services of myself and party to join any command going into the field, stating that, having instruments and material, we were in a condition to collect and prepare any topographical facts and features that the march might develop. I would here state that the region lying between the Spokane and Snake rivers was only known to me through the reports and maps of others; and to say, *a priori*, where the line should or should not be located was no easy mat-

ter. General Clarke accepting the services offered him, I was assigned to duty on Colonel Wright's staff, as topographical officer, and, with my party, accompanied him against the Indians who had defeated Colonel Steptoe."

In this the daring, restless activity of the man is modestly indicated. On reaching Fort Walla Walla with Wright's force, Mullan was placed in command of the Nez Perces allies who served in the campaign and who, as shown by the official reports, rendered valiant and valuable services, notwithstanding their discipline occasionally lacked somewhat in conformity to the full requirements of the tactics.

In his capacity as topographical officer he executed maps showing the plans of the various engagements, routes, etc., and drew a map showing the Steptoe battle-field, as reproduced in this volume.

It is noteworthy that the pass through the Rocky mountains, discovered by Mullan while seeking a route for the military road, was afterward followed by the Northern Pacific railroad.

The construction of this military road, which required four years, 1858 to 1862, under the most difficult conditions, was a feat of engineering which has seldom been excelled in western highway building. Sections of the old road are still in use.

"Headquarters Fort Dalles, O. T.,

May 26, 1858.

Sir: By the next steamer you will doubtless re-

ceive the report of Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Steptoe, recounting the unfortunate termination of his northern expedition. That all the Indians in that section of country have combined for a general war there is not a shadow of doubt. They are numerous, active, and perfectly acquainted with the topography of the country; hence a large body of troops will be necessary if, as I presume, it is designed to bring those Indians under subjection, and signally chastise them for their unwarranted attack upon Colonel Steptoe.

It is my opinion that one thousand troops should be sent into that country, thus enabling the commander to pursue the enemy in two or three columns.

The posts east of the Cascades are small, and I do not think it will be prudent at this moment to reduce them, as there is much agitation among the friendly Indians in consequence of this affair of Colonel Steptoe's; and south of us, distant seventy miles, there is a large body of Indians on the 'Warm Spring' reservation; they are now perfectly friendly, but should they be tampered with by the hostiles and no military force at hand to overcome them, it is difficult to say what their course would be.

The steamboat which was built to run on the upper Columbia unfortunately went over the Cascades; this is a serious detriment to us, as well as to the owners; were she now running above the Des Chutes her services would be of the greatest importance. The supplies at Walla Walla at this moment are very limited; in fact a few days since

they were almost destitute of flour; however, a supply is now on the way to that place.

I think that we may now look forward to a protracted war, and it behooves us to prosecute it systematically, with an ample supply of the *personnel* and *material*, to guard against a possibility of failure.

Should the difficulties with the Mormons have been terminated (as is rumored) probably a force could be drawn from that country to aid in the coming struggle.

Lieutenant Mullan with his party will remain near here until he hears from Colonel Steptoe, but there is no probability that he will be able to construct the road this year; in fact, it is said that this proposed opening a road through the Indian country was a primary cause of the attack on Colonel Steptoe, and had Lieutenant Mullan preceded Colonel Steptoe his whole party would have been sacrificed.

I have temporarily suspended the order for Lieutenant Hughes to proceed to Fort Walla Walla, as I presume that the design of the general in sending a subaltern there was to enable the commander of the post to furnish the escort to Lieutenant Mullan. Should the party advance Lieutenant Hughes will proceed with it.

Very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

G. WRIGHT,

Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.

Major W. W. Mackall,

Assistant Adjutant General,

Headquarters Department of the Pacific,
San Francisco, Cal."

"Fort Walla Walla, May 29, 1858.

Major: Since my return to this post the Indians in this vicinity who began to show much restlessness have become quiet again. Reports were busily circulated amongst them that my command had been utterly destroyed, and many of them were disposed to take advantage of our supposed condition.

I ought to advise you that, from the best information to be obtained, about half of the Spokanes, Coeur d'Alenes, and probably of the Flatheads, nearly all of the Pelouses, a portion of the Yakimas, and I think a small number of Nez Perces, with scattered families of various petty tribes, have been for some time, and are now, hostile.

It is impossible to say what force they can bring together, but of course they cannot keep together long a force of any size.

A good strong column of three or four hundred infantry, with two or three companies of mounted men, would be able to beat them, I think, under all circumstances, or else to disperse them thoroughly, which would have nearly the same effect. It is unfortunate that such a column cannot be sent out before the season for gathering roots has passed.

There is much doubt on my mind where the Indians obtained their ammunition, of which they had abundance. Some persons believe that the Coeur d'Alene priest furnished it, but I do not credit that; my impression is that it was obtained either from the Colville traders or the Mormons. The priest, in conversation with me, alluded to the report so injurious to his reputation, and added

that it was a charge too monstrous for him to notice it in a formal way.

Of one thing the general may be assured, and that is that the tribes through whose lands the proposed road to Fort Benton will run are resolved to prevent it, and before even a survey can be made they will have to be chastised.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. J. STEPTOE,

Brevet Lieutenant Colonel, U. S. A., Commanding Post.

Major W. W. Mackall,

Assistant Adjutant General U. S. A., San Francisco."

Father Joset, the Catholic priest in charge of the Coeur d'Alene mission, was very active in his efforts to prevent the people among whom he labored from joining in any acts of hostility toward Colonel Steptoe. In endeavoring to reach the scene of the conflict before the beginning of trouble, he performed a long, fatiguing journey on horseback, arriving, however, after the tares of war had been well sown, and too late to be of potent service in the cause of peace; yet, regardless of the hostile determination apparent among the Indians, he never ceased his labors of pacification until the air had become vibrant with the actual din of battle. His is, without doubt, the most authentic account of the battle ever compiled from information obtained solely from the Indians' point of view. The beginning of the conflict, as will be seen, came

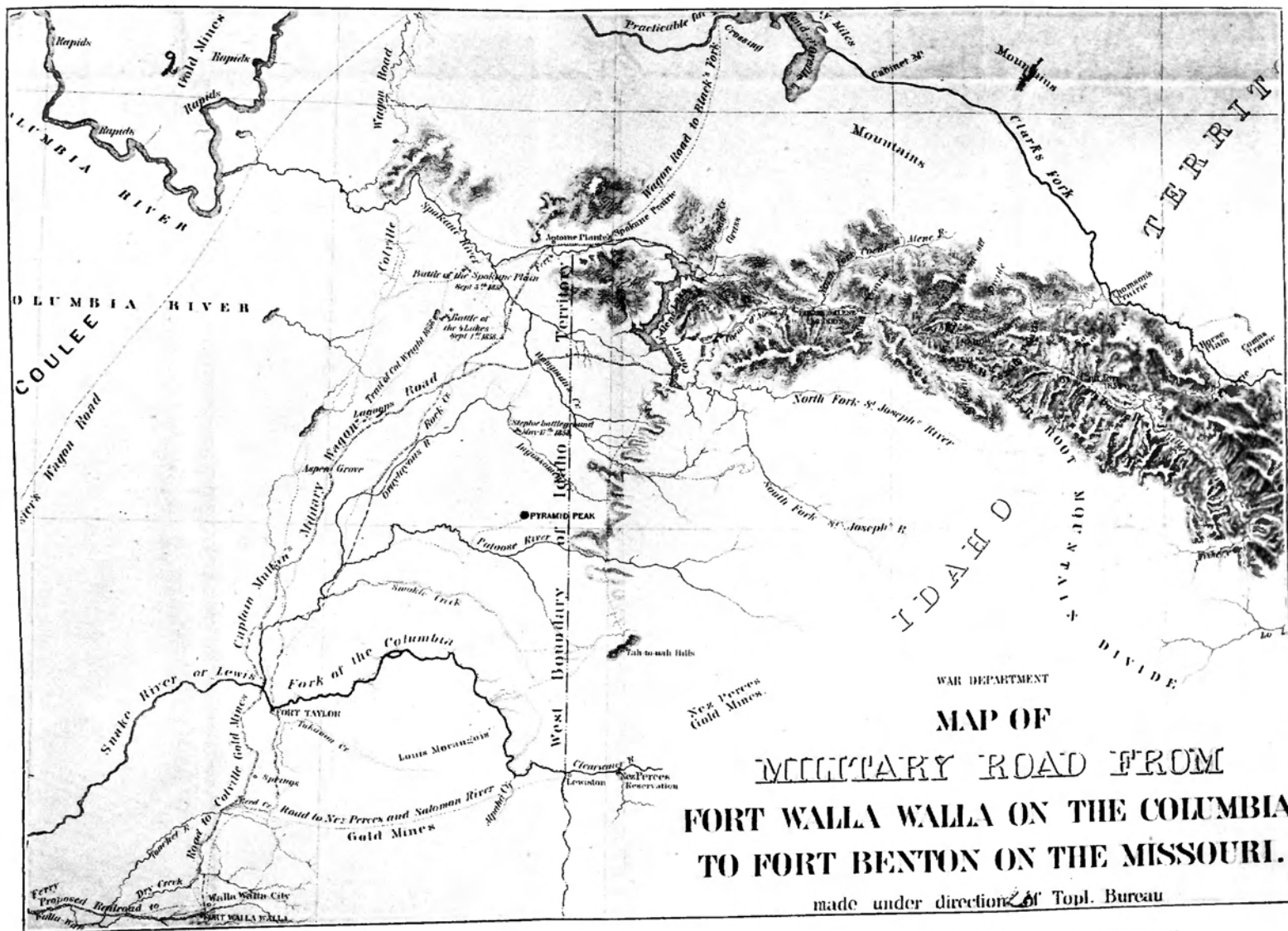
under his own observation. Not many days after the fight he proceeded to Vancouver, and at the solicitation of Father Congiato, his superior, committed to writing this account:

"Vancouver, June 27, 1858.

My Reverend Father: I am going to try and satisfy the demand that you have made of me for a detailed relation of the events of the unfortunate 17th of May, and of the causes which have brought such sad results.

Do not think, my reverend father, that I am beknowing to all the affairs of the savages, there is a great deal wanting; they come to us about the affairs of their conscience, but as to the rest they consult us but little.

I asked one day of Michel the question if a plot was brewing among the Indians? Do you think that there would be any one in it who would warn the missionary? No one, he replied. This was to tell me implicitly that he himself would not inform me of it. However, the half-breeds should know it, added I, much less still than the father. After the battle, Bonaventure, one of the best young men in the nation, who was not in the fight, and who, as I will tell later, has aided us a great deal in saving the lives of the Americans who were at the mission at the time of the battle, Bonaventure said to me, do you think that if we thought to kill the Americans we would come to tell you so? You appear also to think that we can do almost anything with the Indians. Far from it. Even among the Coeur d'Alenes there is a certain num-



SECTION OF MAP MADE UNDER THE DIRECTION OF CAPT. JOHN MULLAN FROM DATA COLLECTED BY HIM DURING THE YEARS 1858 TO 1862

ber that we never see, that I do not know in any manner. The majority mistrust me when I come to speak in favor of the Americans. Those who were present at the assembly called by Governor Stevens, in the Spokane prairie, will not have forgotten how much the Indians insisted the troops should not pass the river Nez Perces. I have heard the Indians insinuate several times that they had no objections to the Americans passing through their country in small numbers, but much to their passing in force, as if to make laws. Last winter Michel still said to me: 'Father, if the soldiers exhibit themselves in the country (of the mountains) the Indians will become furious.' I had heard rumors that a detachment would come to Colville; it was only rumor, and having to go down in the spring—having also written to you to that effect, I intended to go to inform Colonel Steptoe of this disposition of the Indians. Toward the beginning of April it was learned that an American had been assassinated by a Nez Perce. Immediately rumor commences to circulate that the troops were preparing to cross the Nez Perces to obtain vengeance for this crime. Toward the end of April, at the time of my departure, the chief Pierre Prulin told me 'not to go now, to wait some weeks to see what turn affairs are going to take.' I am too hurried, I replied to him; I cannot wait, and as the parents of the young men whom I have chosen appear troubled, I will choose other companions and country. Arrived at the Gomache prairie I met the express of the great chief Vincente; this told me to return, his people

thought there was too much danger at that moment. I replied that I was going to wait three days, to give the chief time to find me himself; that if he did not come, I would continue my route. I said to myself if Vincente believes really in the greatness of the danger, however bad or however long the road may be, he will not fail to come. In the meantime, I saw several Nez Percés. Their conversation was generally against the Americans; one of them said in my presence, we will not be able to bring the Coeur d'Alenes to take part with us against the Americans. The priest is the cause; it is for this that we wish to kill the priest.

Vincent marched day and night to find me; below are in substance the reasons he instanced to make me return. 'Of the danger on the part of the Americans,' I well know that there is none; neither is there any danger for your person on the part of the Indians. You would be able, however, to come back on foot, but we are not on good terms with the Pelouses and the Nez Percés; they are after us without cessation to determine us in the war against the Americans. We are so fatigued with their underhand dealings that I do not know if we will not come to break entirely with them. Their spies cover the country in every sense. When the young men go for the horses they will kill them secretly, and start the report that they have been killed by the Americans; then there will not be any means to restrain our people. We hear the chief of the soldiers spoken of only by the Nez Percés, and it is all against us and to excite our young people. I have great desire to go

to see him. It was agreed that when I should go down I would take him to see the colonel; it is then I learned a part of the rumors which were spreading over the country. A white man had said, 'Poor Indians, you are finished now; the soldiers are preparing to cross the river to destroy you; then another five hundred soldiers will go to establish themselves at Colville; then five hundred others will rejoin them; then others and others until they find themselves the strongest; then they will chase the Indians from the country.' Still another white man had seen five hundred soldiers encamped upon the Pelouse preparing themselves to cross the river. All the above passed three weeks before the last events. Among other things, he said to me: 'If the troops are coming to pass the river, I am sure the Nez Percés are going to direct them upon us.' I did not then pay much attention to this statement, but later I saw that he had not been deceived in his predictions, as difficult as it is for a white to penetrate an Indian, just so difficult is it for one Indian to escape another. To return to the mission: I was not without anxiety about what might happen in case the troops should come into the country. I was almost sure of the dispositions of the chiefs and of a majority of the nation; but I knew also a part of the youths are hot headed, not easy to be governed in a first moment of irritation; also that Kenuokin (Kamiakin) might make a great many proselytes. I had not forgotten the infernal maxim of Voltaire, '*mutons toujours, il en restera quelque lieu,*' was true, and that there ought to remain something in the hearts of our people of the thou-

sand and one stories of this horrible Indian. I do not know, however, yet that he repeated without cessation to the Indians: the father is white like the Americans; they have but one heart; they treated the young Coeur d'Alenes like women, like prairie wolves, who only know how to make a noise.

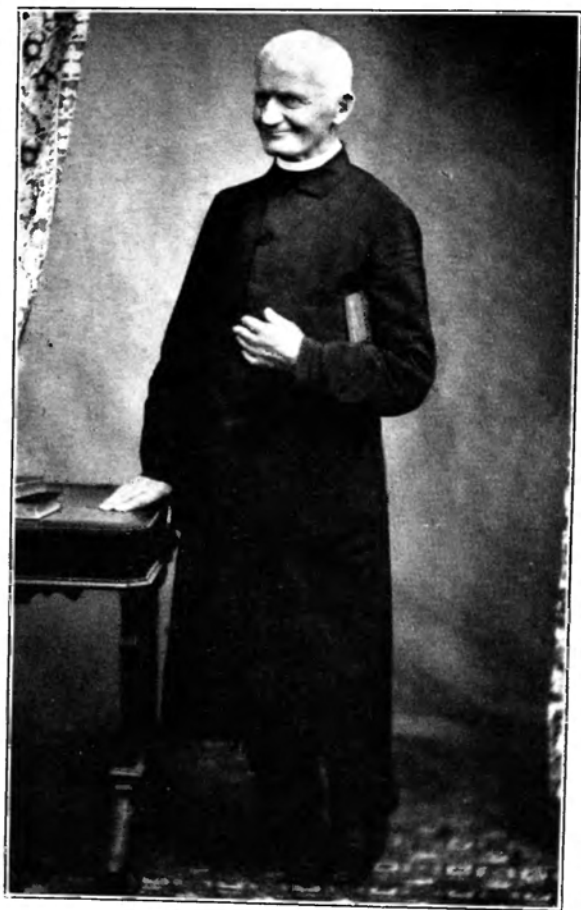
On the 15th of May I received another express from Vincent. The troops had passed the Nez Perces; they had said to the Coeur d'Alenes that it was for them the soldiers wished; he desired me to go to aid him in preventing a conflict; he told me to be quick, the troops were near; I set out in an instant; I had enough trouble to stop these young men who were working at the mission, it was an excitement that you could scarcely imagine. The good old Pierre Vincent not only refused to conduct me in his canoe to the lake, but bluntly refused to loan me his canoe; never before was I in such a situation. The distance from the mission to Vincent's camp was, I think, about ninety miles; as the water was very high I could only arrive on the evening of the 16th. Vincent told me he had been kept very busy to retain his young men; that he had been at first to the chief of the soldiers and had asked him if he had come to fight the Coeur d'Alenes, that upon his negative reply he had said 'Well, go on,' but to his great displeasure he had camped in his neighborhood (about six miles); that then he had made his people retire, still a blood-thirsty Pelouse was endeavoring to excite them; later other Indians confirmed to me the same report; they were Vincent and the Spokans' chief,

who prevented the fight on the 15th instant. The chiefs of the different tribes and a quantity of other Indians collected around me. I spoke to them to persuade them to peace. I told them that they did not know with what intention the chief of the soldiers was coming, that the next day they should bring me a horse, and that they might accompany me till in sight of the camp of the soldiers; that I would then go alone to find the officers in command, and would make them to know then what was now doubtful; they appeared well satisfied. I said still to Vincent to see that no person took the advance. The same evening they came from the camp of the Pelouse to announce that one of the slaves of the soldiers (it is thus that they call the Indians who accompany the troops) had just arrived. The chief of the soldiers would have said, according to him, 'You Coeur d'Alenes, you are well-to-do; your lands, your women are ours.' I told the Coeur d'Alenes not to believe it, that no officer ever spoke in that way; tomorrow I will ask the chief of the soldiers if he has said that. The next morning I saw the Spokane's Tshequysekene 'Priest.' Said he to me, 'Yesterday evening I was with the chief of the soldiers, when a Pelouse came to tell him that the priest has just arrived; he has brought some powder to the Coeur d'Alenes to encourage them to kill the soldiers;' then turning round toward the Coeur d'Alenes, 'Do you see now the deceit of this people?' Said I, they go and slander us before the soldiers, and slander the soldiers here. When they had brought me a horse, I went to the camp of the soldiers; they were far off.

I set out in their direction to join them. I saw Colonel Steptoe; made him acquainted with the disposition of the Indians, the mistrust the presence of the troops would inspire, and how I had been kept from going to inform him in the spring. He told me that, having heard by letter from Colville that the whites had had some difficulty with the Indians, he had at first resolved to go there with a few men, to talk with the whites and Indians, and to try and make them agree, but having learned that the Pelouses were badly disposed, he had determined to take a stronger escort; that, had he known the Spokans and Coeur d'Alenes dreaded the presence of the armed force, he would not have come without having notified them; that he was much surprised the evening before to see the Indians; that they had always talked peaceably to him, then to come to meet him with such hostile demonstration, he had well thought they would come to blows; that he was happy to return without spilling blood. I asked him if he did not desire to see the chiefs; upon his reply that his dragoon horses were too much frightened to stop long, I observed to him that they could talk in marching; he then said he would take pleasure in seeing them. I went to seek them. I could only find Vincent; him I conducted to the colonel; he was fully satisfied with him. One of the Indians who accompanied the troops gave Vincent a blow over the shoulders with his whip, saying to him, 'Proud man, why do you not fire?' Then accused one of the Coeur d'Alenes who had followed Vincent of having wished to fire upon a soldier. Vincent was

replying to the colonel, when his uncle come to seek him, saying the Pelouses were about commencing to fire. I warned the colonel of it, and then went with Vincent to try and restrain the Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes; when we had made them acquainted with the disposition of the colonel, they appeared well satisfied. Victor, one of the braves, who has since died of his wounds, said we have nothing more to do here, we will each one go to his home. Jean Pierre, the chief, supported the proposition of Victor; then Malkapsi became furious. I did not at the time know why. I found out later that he wished all to go to the camp of Vincent to talk over their affairs. Malkapsi slapped Jean Pierre, and struck Victor with the handle of his whip. I seized the infuriated man; a few words sufficed to calm him. I set out then with a few chiefs to announce at the camp that all was tranquil; a half hour or an hour afterwards what was my surprise to learn that they were fighting. I had well indeed to ask for a horse; there was in the camp only old men and women; it was about 3 o'clock when they brought me a heavy wagon horse. I set out, however, with the hope of getting there by night, when I was met by an Indian, who told me it was useless to fatigue myself, the Indians are enraged at the death of their people, they will listen to no one, whereupon I returned to my tent, the dagger in my heart. The following is the cause of this unhappy conflict as it has been related to me: The parents of Malkapsi, irritated and ashamed of his passion, said to him: 'What do you do? You maltreat your own people!

If you wish to fight, behold your enemies,' (pointing to the troops); then saying, 'Oh, well, let us go and die,' they ran toward the troops; I do not think there was more than a dozen of them. The affair did not become serious until Jacques, an excellent Indian, well beloved, and Zacharia, brother-in-law of the great chief Vincent, had been killed; then the fury of the Indians knew no bounds. The next day I asked those that I saw, 'What provocation have you received from the troops?' 'None,' said they. 'Then you are only murderers, the authors of the death of your own people.' 'This is true; the fault can in no way be attributed to the soldiers; Malkapsi is the cause of all the evil.' But they were not all so well disposed. When I asked others what the soldiers had done to them, they replied to me: 'And what have we done to them, that they should come thus to seek us? If they were going to Colville,' said they, 'why do they not take the road, no one of us would then think of molesting them. Why do they go to cross the Nez Perce so high up? Why direct themselves in the interior of our country, removing themselves further from Colville? Why direct themselves, then, upon the place, where we were peaceably occupied in digging our roots? Is it us who have been to seek the soldiers, or the soldiers who have come to fall upon us with their cannon?' Thus, although they avow that they fired first, they pretend that the first act of hostility came from the troops. I asked them if they had taken scalps. They told me no, with the exception of a small piece that had been taken by a half fool. I asked



FATHER JOET

them, also, if they had interred the dead. They replied that the women had buried them, but that the Pelouses had opened the graves which were at the encampment. It is then, also, that the Inidans told me: We see now that the father did not deceive us when he told us that the soldiers wished peace. We forced them to fight; we fired a long time upon them before they answered our fire. As to the actual disposition of the Indians (Coeur d'Alenes), I think they can be recapitulated as follows: 1st, Regret for what has happened; all protesting that there was nothing premeditated; seeing that all the chiefs and the nation in general were decided upon peace; it was an incident that brought to life the anger of the older men. 2nd, Disposition to render up what they have taken from the troops, in order to have peace. 3rd, If peace is refused them, determination to fight to the last. I knew, from Colonel Steptoe, that his guide had told him that he was conducting him to Colville by the nearest road. Now that the guide mistook himself so grossly is absurd to suppose. It appears necessary to conclude that in conducting the troops straight upon the camp of the Indians, he had design. It cannot be supposed that he ignored the irritation that the presence of the troops would produce upon the Indians; and as for the rest, the intriguing of this guide is well known. I see no other way to explain his conduct than to say he laid a snare for the Coeur d'Alenes, whom he wished to humiliate, and that seeing afterwards the troops fall in the ditch that he had dug for others, he has done everything possible to draw them from it.

The Coeur d'Alenes say, also, that it was cried to them from the midst of the troops: 'Courage! you have already killed two chiefs;' that one of the Nez Perces who followed the troops, came back to say to his people: 'It is not the Coeur d'Alenes, but, indeed, the soldiers who killed the two Nez Perces, because they said that they wished to save themselves on the side of the Indians.' Neither the Coeur d'Alenes, nor the Spokanes, nor the Chaudries, the Pend d'Oreilles, and the Petes Plattes had spilt white blood; they pride themselves for it. If the war commence now, it is probable it will terminate only by the extermination of these tribes, for their country is so difficult of access that it will be impossible to terminate it in a year or two, and almost equally impossible that it continue without all these tribes, including the Pieds Noirs, taking part in it. When Governor Stevens was to see the Pieds Noirs to make a treaty with them, they said to our Indians: Until now we have quarreled about one cow, but now we are surprised by a third; we will unite ourselves against him; if the Americans attack you, I will aid you; if they attack me you will aid me. The war will cost thousands of lives, and all for an affair unpremeditated, and for which the Indians feel much regret. You will easily believe me, my reverend father, when I tell you I would purchase back with my life this unhappy event; not on my own account; I have been, and will be, much slandered; but what are the judgments of man to me, when God is my witness that I have done everything in my power to preserve peace? Your

reverence knows very well that we have always threatened our Indians to quit them if they exhibit themselves hostile against the whites. They expect to see themselves abandoned; I have told them positively we will go. To quit them, actually would be to deliver them to the deceit of Kanuokin, and to light, I think, a universal war throughout the whole country. What pains me is to see the ruin of so many good Indians. What breaks my heart, is to see Colonel Steptoe, the zealous protector of Indians, exposed to the blame which ordinarily attaches itself to bad success; however, in the eyes of reflecting men, who know his situation, his retreat will do him infinite honor. It is not, I think, the first officer you will meet who could have drawn himself out from so bad a situation, surrounded by an army of ferocious beasts, hungry after their prey; of Indians sufficiently numerous to relieve each other, and who had always the means of procuring fresh horses. It appeared impossible that the troops could escape. Besides, the plan of the Indians was not to give them any rest until they had crossed the Nez Perce; the Spokanes were to be there early on the morning of the eighteenth to relieve the Coeur d'Alenes. In a position so critical, the colonel deceived the vigilance of his enemies, and throwing them his provisions, as an inducement to delay, he defeated their plan. He foresaw, without doubt, that the Indians on the one hand had let him take the advance, and on the other tempted by the booty abandoned the pursuit; so that if the troops have escaped, they owe it to the sagacity of the colonel.

At the mission they were on the point of having a tragedy. Four Americans had arrived there with some half-breeds and Canadians. After my departure to go to see the Colonel from Colville, they went to the Flathead country. On the evening of the 18th the news reached them of the battle, and of the death of Jacque, Zacary and Victor. Immediately the women commenced to cry that it was necessary to avenge their deaths. Our two brothers got wind of what was passing. Whilst brother McGeon harangued them at his best to try and bring them back to humane sentiments, the good old Francois ran with all his might around the marsh, through water and brushes to their encampment, to inform them of the danger. They immediately hid themselves. The next day, the nineteenth, one of them came back to the encampment, saying he would as soon die by the hands of the Indians as by starvation in the woods. The half-breeds saved him by saying he was not an American, but a Dane. The Indians were now ashamed of their conduct. Adrian, who had been one of the most ardent, showed himself afterwards one of the most faithful; he came to warn us when there was any new danger. The Indians told the half-breeds to go and seek the Americans, who were miserable in the woods. One of the Indians opposed it. He since declared to me that his anger was not yet allayed, and that he was afraid of being carried away by his passion to commit some bad deed. In fact, the Americans who came in in the evening were very near being killed. Adrian having warned us that his life was in danger, we

made him come to our house. They are all in safety now. No person has aided us in saving them more than the Indian Bonaventure. When I had set out, he had gone to accompany them to Clark's river, showing them a new road, the ordinary road being still impracticable.

*Je suis avec respect, mon reverend pere, votre
tres humble serviteur,*

P. JOSET, S. J."

XII

PRELIMINARIES

THE events of Colonel Wright's expedition against the Indians who opposed the advance of Colonel Steptoe are set forth in detail and at length in his own reports and letters. These appear in full in the following pages with the interjection of such information from other sources as the author deems expedient for the purpose of rendering the narrative complete. Preceding the reports of the expedition is also the pertinent correspondence leading up thereto. Because of the exactness and completeness of detail which characterize these reports, written from the field, as they were, during the progress of the campaign, their value as historical matter could hardly be improved upon; therefore no apology is offered for their appearance in this volume.

In order to be in closer touch with operations which were decided to be necessary for the subjugation of the northern Indians, General Clarke, after receiving full intelligence of Colonel Steptoe's defeat, proceeded to Vancouver, Washington Territory. In the meantime it had come to his knowledge that the Hudson Bay Company's pack train at Colville, consisting of some two hundred horses, was about to start for Fort Hope to bring in the year's supplies, and that it was intended to

bring also about two thousand pounds of powder with a proportionate quantity of ball. It had previously been the custom of the company's agent at Fort Colville to barter ammunition to the Indians, thereby securing peltry not only in the immediate trade, but equipping the Indians for further exploitation among the fur-bearing animals of the region. In like manner arms were also bartered, and, afterward, many of the guns captured from the Indians by Colonel Wright's force proved to be of English manufacture.

General Clarke had learned also, from Dr. Perkins, who was at Colville for a short time after Colonel Steptoe's engagement, that a Coeur d'Alene chief (supposed to have been Seltice), with eight or ten of his tribesmen, had arrived at Colville mounted upon American horses and having in their possession a number of mules which they were offering for sale. These Indians were much elated over their success, declaring that the soldiers were women and that they could whip any number of them that might be brought into their country. One of them exultingly waved the sword of Lieutenant Gaston in Perkins' face, while Captain Taylor's saddle, still bearing the stains of his blood, was strode by another.

General Clarke at once took these matters up with James A. Graham, chief trader of the Hudson Bay Company at Vancouver, and called his attention to the breach of national comity which the furnishing of ammunition to the hostile Indians would constitute—the company being composed of British subjects, operating in United States terri-

tory under an agreement—and also of the light in which the purchasing of chattels taken unlawfully from the army might be held.

Graham immediately instructed George Blenkinsop, the company's agent at Colville, to deliver to the proper authority all horses, mules and goods purchased from the Indians, which had been the property of the United States, and to make no more such purchases, and to suspend the trade in ammunition at Colville until the prohibition imposed on account of the present hostile state of the Indians should be removed. He directed also that any ammunition designed to be brought in from Fort Hope or elsewhere, be stored at Thompson's river in care of the company's agent at that point.

Father Congiato advised General Clarke of the repentant attitude of some of the leading Coeur d'Alenes, as explained to him by Father Joset, and appeared quite anxious that further shedding of blood might, if possible, be avoided. Father Congiato was willing to return to the Indians with Father Joset and with the latter put forth his best endeavors to bring about a pacification. General Clarke instructed the priests to say to the chiefs that if they desired peace, they must come to him, bring the things they had taken from the soldiers, give up those members of their tribe who were guilty of inciting the attack on Colonel Steptoe, drive from their midst members of other tribes and bands who insisted on war with the soldiers, permit them to hide among their tribe no more, and to offer no further molestation to citizens or



CAPTAIN JOHN MULLAN

soldiers passing peacefully through their country; that when they did this they could have peace.

The two priests journeyed to the Coeur d'Alenes, where they attempted to carry out the mission assigned them. They labored diligently, using all the powers of persuasion and diplomacy at their command, but without success. The following letters, each from a chief engaged in the fight with Steptoe, were forwarded to General Clarke by Father Congiato. In these letters are represented the sentiments with which the priests contended and which were afterward abandoned by the Indians through the terms of their complete subjection to Colonel Wright.

"The practice of the Indians is different from what you think; when they want to make peace, when they want to cease hostilities, they bury the dead and talk and live again on good terms. They don't speak of more blood. I speak sincerely. I, Saulotken, let us finish the war; my language shall not be twofold; no, I speak from the heart. If you disapprove my words you may despise them. I speak the truth; I, Indian; I don't want to fight you. You are at liberty to kill me, but I will not deliver my neighbors. If it should be my practice, I would do according to it, and deliver them. But that's a practice of your own. Those Indians who are yet at peace, are biting me with their words, and cause me to get angry. Should they hold their peace, my heart would already be good again. On account of the gold, may be there shall be no end of hostility. If you want peace, let peace be made

with all Indians. When you know my words, if you say well, that's finished. I will be glad to, but my land I shall not give up. Until now, I was used to go to war against the Blackfeet and the Crows; but now I won't move from my country.

SAULOTKEN.

P. S.—One of my people went of his own accord to Walla Walla; Omatchen is his name. I would like to know what he told you."

"I feel unwilling to give you up my three brothers, for I think though we fought, I won't begin to make peace. I want you to begin if you want to make peace; come in my country. I don't believe there is difference between us two in the hostilities; if you want to deceive me, we won't have peace; if you don't want to deceive me, I will see you. If I see you, I will be glad. I desire to see you; when I see you, I don't think it will be difficult to make peace, to avoid more bloodshed. You killed three of my relations; it weighs heavy on my heart; I don't like you to speak any more of the things you have abandoned. It was by the deceit of other Indians that I have lost my relatives, and that you lost some of your people. Though you think that I am poor, I do not think so. If you want to have peace, peace must be made with all the Indians of the country. It is not for your goods' sake that I came to hostilities. As long as I live I don't want you to take possession of my country. I don't believe the words you sent me, but I don't set great value on the goods you have

abandoned. If you come further than the place where we fought, then I will disbelieve you.

My heart is made anew bad, for the news I receive. Tell your friends the Lager's band (Nez Perces) to be quiet; if you come with a good mind, let none of them be along. I want to have a good talk with the soldiers, but I can't when they are along; I don't want to hear any more of their lies. Your soldiers, you have good chiefs; we have some too; I hope that on both sides they will be unwilling of more bloodshed, and that things will come to a good understanding. I have no mind to deceive you. When I shall hear you, I will tell you the truth, and throw away my bow and gun. Only when you come here, and you see me in want, you will be kind to me, and let me have means to kill my game. I wish to hear of you as soon as possible.

MELKAPSI."

"You, General Clarke, you are my friend. I am very much sorry for the battle which took place. I think that you have fought for nothing. The blood of your soldiers and of the Indians has been spilled. If there should have been a just cause of fighting, I would not regret it; though there should be killed on both sides, I would not be much sorry for it. Now, I am at a loss what to think of it, for you say, you white people, this is my country; you, American and English, claim the land, and the Indians, each on his side of the line you have drawn. Then you make a useless war with Indians; you cause trouble to the whites living hereabout, and you have nothing to gain from this

war. Now I hear that somebody—you, perhaps, General Clarke—want to make peace. I would be very glad no enmity should be left. I, Indian, am unacquainted with your ways, as you with mine. When you meet me, you Americans, you are ignorant of the uses of the Indians. When you meet me, we walk friendly; we shake hands. Two years after you met me, you American, I heard words from white people, whence I concluded you wanted to kill me for my land. I did not believe it. Every year I heard the same. Now you arrived, you my friend, you, Stevens, in Whiteman valley (Walla Walla); you called the Indians to that place. I went there to listen to what should be said. You had a speech—you, my friend Stevens, to the Indians. You spoke for the land of the Indians. You told them all what you should pay them for their land. I was much pleased when I heard how much you offered: annual money, houses, schools, blacksmiths, farms, &c. And then you said, all the Cayuses, Walla Walla, and Spokanes should emigrate to Laver's (Lawyer's) country; and from Colville and below all Indians should go and stay to Camayaken's country; and by saying so you broke the hearts of all the Indians; and, hearing that, I thought that you missed it. Should you have given the Indians time to think on it, and to tell you what portion of their land they wanted to give, it would have been right. Then the Indians got mad, and began to kill you whites. I was very sorry all the time. Then you began to war against the Indians. When you began this war, all the upper country was very quiet.

Then every year we heard something from the lower Indians. I told the people hereabout not to listen to such talk. The governor will come up; you will hear from his own mouth; then believe it. Now this spring I heard of the coming of Colonel Steptoe. I did my best to persuade my people not to shoot him. He goes to Colville, I said, to speak to the whites and to the Indians. We will go there and listen to what he shall say. They would not listen to me, but the boys shot at him; I was very sorry. When the fight was over, I was thinking all the time to make peace until I was told that Colonel Steptoe had said, 'I won't make peace now with the Coeur d'Alenes and Spokanes. I will first shoot them, (he said) and then, when they shall be very sorry, I will grant them peace.' Hearing that, I thought it was useless for me to try to make peace; and when I hear now what you say, what you write here to the Indians, there is one word which you won't do. Until now you never came to an understanding with these Indians to let them know your laws. You ask some to be delivered up. Poor Indians can't come to that. But withdraw this one word, and sure you will make peace. Then, calling a meeting of the chiefs, you will let them know your law, and the law being known, all those who shall continue to misbehave, red and white, may be hung. The Indians will have no objection to that.

I am very sorry the war has begun. Like the fire in a dry prairie, it will spread all over this country, until now so peaceful. I hear already from different parts rumors of other Indians ready to

take in. Make peace, and then American soldiers may go about; we won't care. That's my own private opinion. Peace being made, it won't be difficult to come to a good understanding with these Indians. You, General Clarke, if you think proper to withdraw this word, peace will be easy.

Please answer us, for we want it.

GARRY."

On receipt of Father Congiato's communication, with which the foregoing statements from the Indian chiefs were enclosed, General Clarke replied:

"Headquarters Department of the Pacific,

Fort Vancouver, W. T., August 19, 1858.

Reverend Sir: Your letter of August 3 reached me last evening, (18th). I find therein with more regret than surprise the failure of your efforts, kindly made, to avert war and the ruin of the people among whom you have been long laboring.

I knew the conditions I imposed would be hard in the opinion of the Indians; they were nevertheless called for by the case, and less cannot be demanded or received.

I found it necessary to ask the Hudson's Bay Company to suspend all trade with the Indians in powder and ball; they have promptly complied, and issued orders to that end; and also for the restoration of such public property as they have purchased from the Indians. Will you be so kind as to let this be known among the Indians. If it has no other good effect, it may prevent them from

becoming hostile to the company, seeing they, in this, act on compulsion, not advice.

I must beg you to prevent the missions placed among the hostiles from giving them any ammunition until the return of peace.

The information you communicate of the peaceful and friendly disposition of the Flatheads and Pend Oreilles is cheering and most acceptable.

With sincere thanks, sir, for the efforts you have made in the cause of humanity, and an earnest wish that your visit to the Flatheads may confirm them in their present disposition, that your own mission may be successful, and your return in safety and health, I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

N. S. CLARKE,

Colonel 6th Infantry,

Brevet Brigadier General, Commanding.

Rev. N. Congiato, S. J., or Rev. J. Joset, S. J.,
Coeur d'Alene Mission, Washington Territory."

In pursuance of orders from General Clarke, Colonel Wright mustered all the force that could be spared from Fort Dalles and on July 7th started for Fort Walla Walla. A large supply of rations and other army equipment was carried, part of which it was intended to store nearer the country upon which the expedition was to enter. By reason of the supply train, thus extensive, and the warm weather which prevailed at that time, the progress of the march was slow, twelve and one-half days being required to cover the distance between the two forts.

While Wright's force was encamped at Willow

Creek, a point about half way between The Dalles and Walla Walla, Colonel Steptoe, Captain Kirkham and Lieutenant Davidson, with an escort of fifteen dragoons, passed on the way to Walla Walla. Colonel Steptoe was returning from a trip to headquarters at Vancouver; Captain Kirkham was to attend Colonel Wright's expedition as assistant quartermaster, and Lieutenant Davidson had been ordered to take command of Lieutenant Gaston's company, which was still at Walla Walla.

One of the important objects which it was desired to have accomplished before Colonel Wright should start upon the campaign was that of entering into a treaty of peace and alliance with the strong and friendly disposed Nez Perces. Colonel Steptoe was entrusted by General Clarke with the duty of conducting the negotiations with this tribe, but apprehending from certain remarks he had heard from the Nez Perces that they supposed him to entertain different views from those held by Colonel Wright, and knowing, too, that any negotiations had with other tribes, or any portion of the Nez Perces met in the field during the campaign, would be had under the direction of Colonel Wright, Colonel Steptoe suggested the advisability of placing the matter of this treaty also in the hands of Colonel Wright. Accordingly, after calling together the principal men of the tribe, so far as they could be reached, Wright succeeded in having executed the following:

"TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN
THE UNITED STATES AND THE
NEZ PERCES TRIBE.

Article 1. It is agreed that there shall be perpetual peace between the United States and the Nez Perces tribe.

Article 2. In the event of war between the United States and any other people whatever, the Nez Perces agree to aid the United States with men to the extent of their ability.

Article 3. In the event of war between the Nez Perces and any other tribe the United States agree to aid the Nez Perces with troops.

Article 4. When the Nez Perces take part with the United States in war they shall be furnished with such arms, ammunition, provisions, &c., as may be necessary.

Article 5. When the United States take part with the Nez Perces in war, they (the United States) will not require the Nez Perces to furnish anything to the troops unless paid for at a fair price.

Article 6. Should any misunderstanding arise hereafter between the troops and the Nez Perces, it shall be settled by their respective chiefs in friendly council.

Headquarters United States Troops,

Camp in the Walla Walla valley, August 6,
1858.

Alayana.

Hates-e-mah-li-kan, his x mark.

Te-pe-lat-tee-me-nay, his x mark.

Tosepl, his x mark.
 Tkotee, his x mark.
 Quie-Quie-Nee-Mat, his x mark.
 Hat-hat-hishe-e-sat, his x mark.
 Three Feathers, his x mark.
 Speaking Eagle, his x mark.
 Wat-hat-tie-mat-hat-nat, his x mark.
 Ne-he-list-hat-kol-so-men, his x mark.
 He-ne-mat-ah-tu-ne-pan, his x mark.
 Ick-he-hat-ite-e-mee-ham, his x mark.
 We-ast-kat-shuck, his x mark.
 Captain John, his x mark.
 Sim-le-huste, his x mark.
 Kosh-le-nuck-hat, his x mark.
 Took-ta-le-mat-ham, his x mark.
 Alat-lat-lim-e-tah-kan, his x mark.
 Nuste-nuke-ne-wat-ne-han, his x mark.
 Wat-tah-ye-hat-hi-at-kim, his x mark.
 Ko-lay-i-at-kim, his x mark.
 Ko-yo-at-mat-ah-ham-skin, his x mark.
 Yu-me-ite-e-pihe, his x mark.
 Te-te-hu-nat, his x mark.
 Richard, his x mark.
 It-mut-last-te-ne-mat, his x mark.
 Hin-net-mat-lust-la-wute, his x mark.
 Ki-ye-ki-at-nast, his x mark.
 Timothy, his x mark.
 Mit-lat-ekin, his x mark.
 Nat-lat-nat-lat-how-list, his x mark.
 Jesse, his x mark.
 Te-pe-li-at-hat-tie-me-pat, his x mark.
 Wapt-last-tee-mat-hee-nat, his x mark.
 Wat-hie-lat-stork-e-mat-hie, his x mark.

Mat-lee-mat-lee-slat-stee-e-ne-mat, his x mark.

Itse-ee-hae-hat-wuttre, his x mark.

G. WRIGHT,

Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.

Witnesses :

I. F. Hammond, Assistant Surgeon United States Army.

Jas. A. Hardie, Captain 3rd Artillery.

G. B. Dandy, 2nd Lieutenant 3rd Artillery.

John Mullan, 1st Lieutenant 2nd Artillery.

J. Howard, 2nd Lieutenant 3rd Artillery.

P. A. Owen, 1st Lieutenant 9th Infantry,
Acting Assistant Adjutant General.

Headquarters Department of Pacific.

Fort Vancouver, August 13, 1858.

Approved.

N. S. CLARKE,

Colonel 6th Infantry, Brevet Brigadier General, Commanding."

In 1877, nineteen years after the signing of this treaty, the first article therein was broken. During the summer of that year a large body of Nez Percés, under the leadership of Chief Joseph, waged bitter warfare against the whites, during the course of which a number of settlers were murdered and many of the regulars and volunteers were slain. A great many of the principal men and others of the tribe, however, refused to join in the hostilities. Among the latter were the little old Chief Timothy, Chief Lawyer, and others who signed the treaty.

The pursuit of the hostile Nez Perces by General Howard, who then commanded at Vancouver, the skillful retreat of Joseph, who in his movements displayed no small degree of genius, compelling the admiration of those versed in military tactics, his surrender to General Miles, near the Missouri river, in eastern Montana, after a flight of nearly six hundred miles, are all matters of history.

Chief Timothy was proud of his own record of friendly relationship with the whites, and his counsel to his people was ever to preserve a spirit of good feeling between the two races. He possessed an old flint-lock gun which, he said, was given to his father by the explorers, Lewis and Clark, and which he valued highly as an heirloom. He himself remembered the visit of the explorers, and in his declining years loved to recount the events which clustered around the coming and going of the first party of federal officials that ever traveled across the continent.

Colonel Wright did not accompany the column from The Dalles to Walla Walla, the command for that movement probably having been given to Captain Erasmus D. Keys of the Third artillery. The colonel, with a suitable escort, reached Walla Walla a few days after the arrival of the force.

Immediately after the arrival all arms of the command were put through rigorous drills which were continued daily by way of preparing for the exigencies of the northward movement. The Third artillery companies, with the exception of Major Wyse's company, drilled twice a day at light in-

infantry tactics. Major Wyse practiced his company in the regular artillery drill, using mules for the mounted battery instead of horses, as had theretofore been the custom.

Some unusual interest was observable among the Indians who came and went around Walla Walla, and the reports which came to the fort through the friendly Nez Percés indicated that the war cloud was fast thickening in the north.

Having decided that everything pertaining to his command was in readiness for the march, Colonel Wright on the 3rd of August issued the following orders:

"ORDERS NO. 3.

Headquarters, Camp Near Fort Walla Walla,
Washington Territory, August 3, 1858.

I. The artillery battalion and one company of dragoons, under command of Captain Keys, will march on the 7th instant.

II. The supply train will be sent forward with Captain Keys, and returned from Snake river, escorted by the dragoon company.

III. Assistant Surgeon Hammond will march with Captain Keys, and Assistant Surgeon Randolph with the 9th infantry.

IV. First Lieutenant Mullan, acting topographical engineer, will accompany Captain Keys.

Before marching, Captain Keys will receive written instructions from the colonel commanding.

By order of Colonel Wright.

P. A. OWEN,

First Lieutenant 9th Infantry, A. A. A. G."

In accordance with these orders, Captain Keys started from Walla Walla on the morning of the 7th. His command consisted of one company of dragoons and six companies of artillery with two twelve-pounder howitzers and two six-pounder guns. He carried also, on pack mules and in wagons, thirty thousand rations. His destination was the mouth of the Tucanon, on Snake river, about sixty miles distant from Walla Walla.

During the night following the departure of Captain Keys, a party of Indians drove off thirty-six head of beef cattle belonging to the post. On the discovery of this theft, early in the morning, Lieutenant Gregg with his company of dragoons was ordered in pursuit of the Indians. At the same time an express was started after Captain Keys with orders directing that officer to send Lieutenant Davidson with his company of dragoons also after the marauders.

Davidson scouted over the country for thirty miles, discovering no sign of the Indians, and having reached a part of the country with which his guides were unfamiliar, he returned, arriving at camp late at night. Gregg was but little more fortunate in results. He struck the trail of the thieves leading in the direction of Snake river, and after following it until late in the day, he caught sight of the Indians as they were crossing to the opposite side of the river. His force was not strong enough to venture over, however, and he returned to the fort.

After encountering many difficulties, Captain Keys reached a point on the Tucanon about a mile

from Snake river on August 10th. The Indians had burned the grass over a part of the way, and the march was pursued through clouds of dust. Much of the route traveled during the last two days was through a rough country, requiring the services of a party of men as pioneers in constructing a road. As it was, two of the wagons were overturned, but the damage reported on account of the misfortune was very slight.

Soon after arriving at the camping ground on the Tucanon, Captain Keys sent Lieutenant Mullan with a detachment of dragoons to look out a road to the river. Mullan proceeded down the Tucanon to its mouth and then followed down Snake river to a point opposite the mouth of the Palouse. On returning to camp he reported that a road would have to be cut through the brush along the Tucanon. On the morning of the 11th, Lieutenants Morgan and Kip were detailed with a party of sixty men to cut out the road. As a precaution, pickets were stationed at the mouth of the creek. During the forenoon some Indians came across the river on a scouting trip. After having had some talk with the pickets, they returned to the opposite bank of the river, from whence they began firing. At the same time a party of mounted Indians joined them. Their fire was ineffective and a well-directed volley from the pickets caused the horsemen to wheel and skurry away and also scattered the party which had just crossed the river.

On this same day an incident occurred in which the intrepid Lieutenant John Mullan exhibited the rare mettle with which he was possessed. The inci-

dent is thus recorded by Lieutenant Kip: "Captain Keys, with a detachment of dragoons, having gone to Snake river to select a site for the fort, while there captured two Indians, who were left under the charge of a sergeant and three men. They had not marched, however, a hundred yards, when the Indians broke from them and sprang into the river. The party fired at them without effect, as they were concealed by the growth of willows on the banks, which is dense and impenetrable, when Lieutenant Mullan dashed into the river to his waist, to secure one of whom he caught sight. The Indian was an exceedingly athletic savage, the sight of whose proportions would have tempered most persons' valor with discretion. But my gallant friend is not one to calculate odds in beginning a fight. The Indian dived as the lieutenant fired at him, and came up with some heavy stones, which, hurled at his antagonist, bruised him severely. He then seized Lieutenant Mullan's pistol, which had got thoroughly wet, and the struggle commenced in good earnest, grappling each other, now under water, now above. It might have fared badly with my spirited companion, but the Indian, stepping into a hole, got beyond his depth and was obliged to relinquish his hold, when he made off and escaped to the other side."

The road was finished about 3 o'clock in the afternoon and the command was moved down to and encamped on the river.

Without delay, the erection of a fort was begun. The site selected was at the mouth of the Tucanon. High bluffs stood back and on either side of it



CHIEF JOSEPH IN WAR FEATHERS

about eight hundred yards apart, each commanding the fort. One of the bluffs measured a height of 260 feet and the other 310 feet. It was freely admitted that the location of the fort at this particular place was not in accord with scientific warfare, and that should it be attacked by a civilized enemy the garrison would soon be routed. The builders felt assured, however, that the fort would be ample security against the Indian methods of attack.

The spot upon which the fortress was constructed was found to be an old Indian burying ground and graves were discovered on every hand.

On the 13th a Catholic priest arrived from the Coeur d'Alene Mission on his way to Walla Walla with letters from Father Congiato to General Clarke. From him it was learned that the Coeur d'Alenes had assumed an attitude of defiance, and that should a war be opened by the whites, they had determined to make of it a war of extermination. This report was not needed, however, to convince the soldiers that there would be fighting whenever they should reach the strategic grounds of the Indians. Frequently redskins fired upon the pickets or small numbers of the soldiers from the opposite side of the river, usually after nightfall, and during the day small parties were occasionally seen moving among the hills to the north.

One night, about 9 o'clock, an Indian was heard shouting loudly to the soldiers from across the river. Captain Keys, accompanied by an interpreter and the officer of the day, proceeded at once to the river bank to ascertain what he wanted. On being called to by the interpreter, a Nez Perce, the Indian on

the other side cursed him soundly as a traitor. As he finished his maledictions a comrade who stood by him fired at the interpreter. The fire was immediately returned by four sentinels who were on duty near by, and though the Indians were quieted the darkness prevented the soldiers from seeing whether any serious damage was inflicted.

Fearing an attack was contemplated by the Indians, the companies were ordered out and for an hour remained under arms. No further demonstration being made on the part of the foe, the soldiers were dismissed with orders to sleep on their arms.

While the work of building the fort was in progress, several Indians were taken as prisoners, some of whom had come within the lines evidently for the purpose of spying. Clearly reports of the movements of the soldiers were being heralded throughout the domain of the hostile tribes, and when the force should cross the river it would be deemed to have "passed the Rubicon" and become a prey to the savages.

On the return of Lieutenant Davidson to Walla Walla with the supply train, as directed in Orders No. 3, Colonel Wright, being in readiness, moved forward with but brief delay. While yet at Walla Walla he issued the following orders for the government of the command throughout the coming campaign.

"ORDERS NO. 5.

Headquarters Expedition Against Northern
Indians,

Camp Near Fort Walla Walla, W. T.,
August 14, 1858.

- I. The residue of the troops for the northern

expedition will march from Fort Walla Walla tomorrow, and unite with the advance at the Snake river.

II. Marching from Snake river, the order will be as follows:

1. The dragoons.
2. The mountain howitzer company.
3. The battalion of artillery serving as infantry.
4. The rifle battalion of 9th infantry.
5. Pack train of corps and headquarters.
6. One company of infantry as rear guard.
7. General trains of quartermaster and commissary.

III. The mounted troops will not precede the howitzer company more than four hundred yards, and on approaching canons or defiles where dragoons cannot operate on the flanks, they will be halted and the rifles advanced.

IV. No firearms of any description will be discharged, either on the march or in camp, except in the line of duty, without the special authority of the commanding officer.

V. No person except the employes of the staff departments and officers' servants will be allowed to accompany the troops or to encamp with them without the written authority of the commanding officer.

VI. Habitually the guard will consist of one company, and mount at retreat.

VII. It is announced for general information that a body of friendly Nez Percés Indians have been engaged to serve with the troops. These In-

dians have been equipped in soldiers' clothing in order to distinguish them from the hostiles. Company commanders will caution their men particularly in regard to these friendly Indians.

VIII. Whether in camp or on the march, the companies will parade with arms; at retreat and reveille roll calls the arms and ammunition will be inspected. The men will habitually wear and sleep in their belts.

By order of Colonel Wright.

P. A. OWEN,

First Lieutenant 9th Infantry, A. A. A. G."

General Clarke was informed of Wright's intentions, his condition and his apprehensions, thus:

"Headquarters Expedition Against Northern
Indians,

Camp Near Fort Walla Walla, W. T.,

August 14, 1858.

Sir: I march hence tomorrow against the hostile Indians beyond the Snake river. I have a body of troops, both officers and men, in the highest order, and on whom I feel that I can rely with perfect confidence; yet, with all these circumstances in my favor, I am greatly apprehensive that the results of the campaign may fall short of what is expected by the general and by the country. From all that I can learn, we must not expect the enemy to meet us in a pitched battle; although haughty, insolent, and boastful now, when I approach he will resort to a guerilla warfare, he will lay waste the country with fire, and endeavor by every means in his power to

embarrass and cripple our operations. The season is too late for troops to operate in that country, the small streams and ponds are dried up, and the grass can easily be burnt. I have had several conversations with persons well acquainted with that country, and with the Indians. They say that the Indians will suffer us to advance, probably as far as the Spokane, without firing the grass; that they will then burn the entire country in our rear. I have no doubt such may be their policy, and if they can accomplish it, serious consequences may follow. With all these difficulties before me, I shall advance into their country, and, if possible, chastise them severely; and should they burn all the grass in my rear, we can live on our animals, and if they die, we can take our provisions on our backs and march.

I have no doubt that we shall have some hardships to undergo; but I shall advance cautiously and prudently, and try to do all that can be done at this season of the year, without sacrificing the means of prosecuting the war another season, should it be necessary.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WRIGHT,

Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.

Major W. W. Mackall,

Assistant Adjutant General,

Headquarters of the Pacific, Fort Vancouver,
W. T."

"ORDERS No. 6.

Headquarters Expedition Against Northern
Indians,

Camp on Snake River, at Mouth of the
Tucanon, August 19, 1858.

I. The field work erected at this place will be
called "Fort Taylor." *

II. Captain Keys, commanding the battalion of
the 3rd artillery, will designate a garrison for Fort
Taylor, of one company, or at least sixty-five rank
and file, exclusive of officers. The two six-pounders
will be mounted in Fort Taylor. The two moun-
tain howitzers, with ammunition, &c., complete for
field service, will be turned over to an officer to be
designated by Captain Keys.

III. Assistant Surgeon Brown is assigned to
duty with the garrison of Fort Taylor.

IV. The troops of all arms will be held in
readiness to cross the river as soon as the fort is
completed.

By order of Colonel Wright.

P. A. OWEN,

First Lieutenant 9th Infantry, A. A. A. G."

"Headquarters Expedition Against Northern
Indians,

Camp on Snake River, at Mouth of Tu-
Canon, August 19, 1858.

Sir: I reached this point yesterday, and Cap-
tain Kirkham, with the pack train and residue of

* Named in honor of Captain Taylor, who fell in Colonel Steptoe's
engagement with the Northern Indians.

the supplies, arrived this morning. The field work at this place is progressing rapidly, and will be ready for occupancy within four days. On my march from Fort Walla Walla the weather was intensely hot, and the dust suffocating; the footmen suffered severely. The grass, for the greater portion of the way from the Touche, has been destroyed by fire, but at this point, and for miles up the Tu Canon, we have an abundance of grass, wood, and water. Fort Taylor is on the left bank of the Snake river, which is about two hundred and seventy-five yards wide. I apprehend no serious difficulty in making the passage; our artillery can cover the landing should there be any attempt made to oppose us. From the best information that can be obtained, the Indians are in considerable force, both on the Pelouse and some five days' march further north. What their designs are I cannot say. The friendly Indians say that they will fight, but I am inclined to the opinion that they will retire as we advance, and burn all the grass. For several days past a large portion of the country to the north of us has been enveloped in flames. Possibly we may find sufficient grass left to subsist our animals. Should it prove otherwise, it would be worse than madness to plunge into that barren waste, the inevitable result of which must be the sacrifice of men and animals. I hope that our anticipations may not be realized. It will be mortifying, after all our preparations, to fail in accomplishing the objects of the expedition; but we cannot contend against the elements. We have a lake of fire before us, but no human effort will be spared

to overcome all obstacles. I hope to march from the Snake river on the 25th.

The communication for Mr. Blankenship, at Fort Colville, will be forwarded by the earliest opportunity.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WRIGHT,

Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.

Major W. W. Mackall,

Asst. Adjt. Gen., Headquarters Department
of the Pacific, Fort Vancouver, W. T."

On the night of the 21st of August a severe wind storm struck the camp. The air was so laden with sand and dust that it was difficult to see two feet ahead. The tents were leveled to the ground, and the boughs with which many of them had been covered as a protection to their occupants against the beating rays of the sun, were sent rolling and tumbling up the narrow valley. The wind storm was succeeded by a pouring rain which continued with greater or less severity during the 22nd, 23rd and 24th, and prevented the force from crossing the river. At 5 o'clock on the morning of the 25th, however, the rain having ceased and the sky become clear, the crossing of the river was begun. The artillery was the first to cross, followed by the supplies and the infantry, and by night everything had been safely landed on the right bank, except the dragoons and a part of the quartermaster's train. These were crossed on the morning of the 26th. The horses and mules swam the swift current of

the river, the Nez Perces swimming after and driving them. This performance on the part of Indians and animals was productive of great amusement among the soldiers.

XIII

MEASURING STRENGTH WITH THE NORTHERN INDIANS

HAVING crossed the river and being now properly in the land of the enemy, a final inspection of the different branches of the command and equipment was made before moving forward.

Ominous signs had for several days appeared in the north. Smoke arising at various points during the day and the illuminated horizon at night indicated that the grass was being burned over a broad front, plainly denoting also that Indian scouting parties were vigilantly covering every nook and corner of that vast region. But few doubted that somewhere beyond that fire line the hostiles were preparing to the last minutiae of detail for battle. Their numbers, comprising a federation of various tribes, small and great, could only be conjectured; but approximating their force by the number which confronted Colonel Steptoe, it was presumed that Colonel Wright would be compelled to measure strength with a band five or six times as numerous as his own command. And, save for the fact that the enemy carried no artillery, the strength of his arms could not be ascertained beyond that displayed

in the engagement with Colonel Steptoe's command.

With these conditions before him, yet with an eye only to the performance of his duty as a soldier, Colonel Wright headed his column directly toward the point where it was reported the enemy awaited him.

Lieutenant Kip recorded in his journal under date of August 28th: "What the programme of the campaign is, none of us know. We suppose, indeed, that our commander can have no definite plan, as we are entering a country almost entirely unknown to us, but we will have to be guided by circumstances. An Indian war is a chapter of accidents. The camp talk is, that we have stores for only forty days, during which time we must find and beat the enemy."

On the afternoon of August 30th, two men died from eating poisonous roots. It is worthy of note that this proved to be the only loss of life sustained by the command during the entire expedition.

The camp reached on the afternoon of August 30th was near the east end of the body of water since known as Sprague lake, or Colville lake, probably near the site of the town of Sprague. This was called "Camp Pedrigal," and was the scene of the first skirmish had with the Indians, of which mention is made in Colonel Wright's report of August 31st. It is located about thirty miles west and about three miles north of the Steptoe battle field.

"Headquarters Expedition Against Northern
Indians,

Camp at the 'Four Lakes,' W. T., 121
miles north of Walla Walla,

August 31, 1858.

Sir: A severe storm prevented my crossing the Snake river on the 23d and 24th, but on the 25th and 26th I made the passage with my entire command, without loss or accident, and encamped on the right bank of the river with five hundred and seventy regulars, thirty friendly Nez Perces, one hundred employees, and eight hundred animals of all kinds, with subsistence for thirty-eight days. I left Brevet Major Wyse, with his Company D, 3d artillery, to occupy Fort Taylor, protect the stores and boats, and keep open our line of communication.

Marching from Snake river on the morning of the 27th, our route lay over a very broken country for a distance of fourteen miles, where we struck the Pelouse river, and encamped on its right bank. Resuming our march on the 28th, I halted, after a march of six miles and a quarter, at a point where the trail divides—that to the left leading to Colville direct, and that to the right more to the eastward. After consulting guides, and examining our maps and itineraries, I determined to march on the trail to the right; accordingly, on the 29th, we advanced; the country presented a forbidding aspect; extensive burnt districts were traversed, but at the distance of twenty miles I found a very good encampment, with sufficient grass, wood, and water. Up to this time we had *seen* no hostile Indians, al-

though Lieutenant Mullan, my engineer officer, with our eagle-eyed allies, the Nez Percés, had been constantly in advance, and on either flank; *signs*, however, had been discovered, and I knew that our approach was known to the hostiles.

Advancing on the morning of the 30th, occasionally a few of the enemy were seen on the hill-tops on our right flank, increasing during the day, and moving parallel with our line of march, but too remote and too few in number to justify pursuit. After marching eighteen miles I encamped, and about 5 p. m. the Indians approached our pickets, and a sharp firing commenced. I immediately moved out with a portion of my command, and the Indians fled; I pursued them for four miles over a very broken country, and then returned to camp at sunset. All was quiet during the night, and at 6 this morning we were again on the march. Soon the Indians were seen in small parties at the distance of two or three miles on the hills, and moving as yesterday, with their numbers gradually increasing, and occasionally approaching a little nearer, but I did not deem them worthy of notice, only taking the precaution to halt frequently and close up our baggage and supply trains as compactly as possible. Our march this day was ten miles longer than we anticipated, and for a long distance without water; and, at two miles from this camp, the Indians made a strong demonstration on our supply train, but were handsomely dispersed and driven off by the rear guards, and infantry deployed on either flank.

My men and animals require rest; I shall re-

main here tomorrow; I have a good camp, with an abundance of wood, water, and grass.

The Indians, in considerable numbers, have been assembled on a high hill, about three miles distant, ever since we encamped, about 4 p. m., until now, 7 p. m., when they have retired. I shall look after them tomorrow, after my men have had a night's rest.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WRIGHT,

Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.

Major W. W. Mackall,

Asst. Adjt. Gen., Headquarters Department
of the Pacific, Fort Vancouver, W. T."

"Headquarters Expedition Against Northern
Indians,

Camp at the 'Four Lakes,' W. T., Lat.

47 Deg. 32 Min. N., Long. 117 Deg.

39 Min., September 2, 1858.

Sir: I have the honor to submit the following report of the battle of the 'Four Lakes,' fought and won by the troops under my command on the 1st instant. Our enemies were the Spokane, Coeur d'Alenes and Pelouse Indians.

Early on the morning of the 1st I observed the Indians collecting on the summit of a high hill, about two miles distant, and I immediately ordered the troops under arms, with a view of driving the enemy from his position, and making a reconnaissance of the country in advance. At half-past 9 a. m. I marched from my camp with two squadrons of the 1st dragoons, commanded by Brevet Major

W. N. Grier; four companies of the 3d artillery, armed with rifle muskets, commanded by Captain E. D. Keys; and the rifle battalion of two companies of the 9th infantry, commanded by Captain F. T. Dent; also one mountain howitzer, under command of Lieutenant J. L. White, 3d artillery; and thirty friendly Nez Perces Indian allies, under command of Lieutenant John Mullan, 2d artillery. I left in camp all the equipage and supplies, strongly guarded by Company 'M,' 3d artillery, commanded by Lieutenants H. G. Gibson and G. B. Dandy; one mountain howitzer, manned; and, in addition, a guard of fifty-four men, under Lieutenant H. B. Lyon; the whole commanded by Captain J. A. Hardie, the field officer of the day.

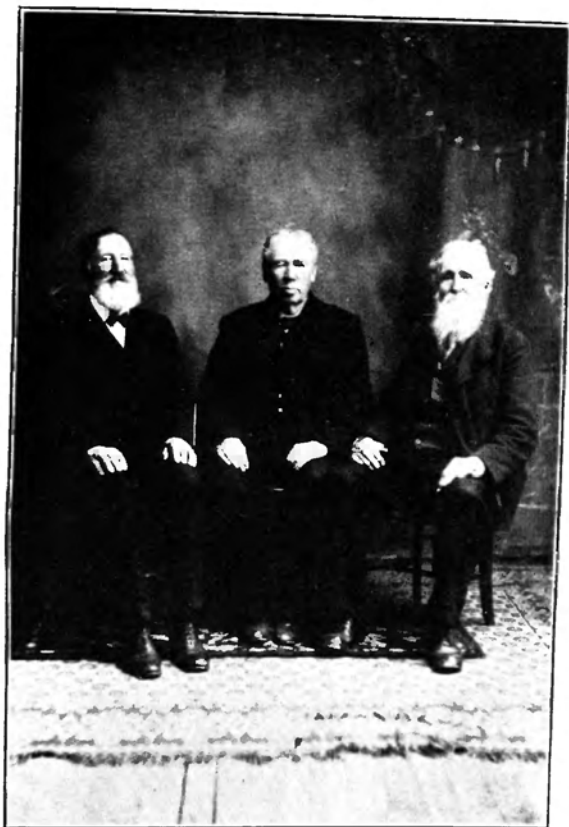
I ordered Brevet Major Grier to advance to the north and east around the base of the hill occupied by the Indians, with a view to intercept their retreat when driven from the summit by the foot troops. I marched with the artillery and rifle battalion and Nez Perces to the right of the hill, in order to gain a position where the ascent was more easy, and also to push the Indians in the direction of the dragoons. Arriving within six hundred yards of the Indians, I ordered Captain Keys to advance a company of his battalion, deployed, and drive the Indians from the hill. This service was gallantly accomplished by Captain Ord and Lieutenant Morgan with Company 'K,' 3d artillery, in co-operation with the 2d squadron of dragoons under Lieutenant Davidson; the Indians were driven to the foot of the hill, and there rallied under cover of ravines, trees and bushes.

On reaching the crest of the hill I saw at once that the Indians were determined to measure their strength with us, showing no disposition to avoid a combat, and firmly maintaining their position at the base of the hill, keeping up a constant fire upon the two squadrons of dragoons, who were awaiting the arrival of the foot troops. In front of us lay a vast plain, with some four or five hundred mounted warriors, rushing to and fro, wild with excitement, and apparently eager for the fray; to the right, at the foot of the hill, in the pine forest, the Indians were also seen in large numbers.

With all I have described, in plain view, a tyro in the art of war could not have hesitated a moment as to his plan of battle.

Captain Keyes, with two companies of his battalion, commanded by Lieutenants Ransom and Ihrie, with Lieutenant Howard, was ordered to deploy along the crest of the hills, in rear of the dragoons, and facing the plain. The rifle battalion, under Captain Dent, composed of two companies of the 9th infantry, under Captain Winder and Lieutenant Fleming, was ordered to move to the right, and deploy in front of the pine forest; and the howitzers, under Lieutenant White, supported by a company of artillery under Lieutenant Tyler, was advanced to a lower plateau, in order to gain a position where it could be fired with effect.

In five minutes the troops were deployed; I ordered the advance; Captain Keyes moved steadily down the long slope, passed the dragoons, and opened up a sharp, well-directed fire, which drove the Indians to the plains and pine forest; at the



J. J. ROHN MICHAEL KENNEY THOS. BEALL

The two latter are survivors of Steptoe's expedition and all participated in the expedition of Colonel Wright

same time Captain Dent, with the rifle battalion, Lieutenant White, with the howitzer, and Lieutenant Tyler, with his company, were hotly engaged with the Indians in the pine forest, constantly increasing by fugitives from the left.

Captain Keyes continued to advance, the Indians retiring slowly; Major Grier, with both squadrons, quietly leading his horses in rear. At a signal, they mount, they rush with lightning speed through the intervals of skirmishes, and charge the Indians on the plains, overwhelm them entirely, kill many, defeat and disperse them all; and in a few minutes not a hostile Indian was to be seen on the plain. While this scene was enacting, Dent, Winder, and Fleming, with the rifle battalion, and Tyler and White, with Company 'A' and the howitzer, had pushed rapidly forward and driven the Indians out of the forest beyond view.

After the charge of the dragoons, and pursuit for over a mile on the hills, they were halted, their horses being completely exhausted; and the foot troops again passed them about a thousand yards, but finding only a few Indians in front of us, on remote hill-tops, I would not pursue them with my tired soldiers. A couple of shots from the howitzer sent them out of sight. The battle was won; I sounded the recall, assembled the troops, and returned to our camp at 2 p. m.

It affords me the highest gratification to report that we did not lose a man, either killed or wounded, during the action—attributable, I doubt not, in a great measure, to the fact that our long-

range rifles can reach the enemy where he cannot reach us.

The enemy lost some eighteen or twenty men killed, and many wounded.

I take great pleasure in commending to the department the coolness and gallantry displayed by every officer and soldier engaged in this battle.

1. Brevet Major Grier conducted his squadron with great skill, and at the decisive moment, after Captain Keyes had driven the Indians to the plain, made the most brilliant, gallant, and successful charge I have ever beheld. The major commends particularly the coolness and gallantry of Lieutenants Davidson, Pender, and Gregg, each in command of a troop, for the handsome and skillful manner in which they brought their men into and conducted them through the fight. The major also speaks in the highest terms of Assistant Surgeon Randolph, who was with the second squadron during the action, exhibiting great coolness and courage, and ever ready to attend to his professional duties. Major Grier also reports the following named men of his squadrons as having been mentioned by their company commander for distinguished conduct:

'C' Troop, First Dragoons—First Sergeant James A. Hall, Sergeants Bernard Horton and Patrick Byrne, Bugler Robert A. Magan, and Privates James Kearney and Michael Mearda.

'E' Troop, First Dragoons—First Sergeant C. Goetz, Sergeant J. F. Maguire, and Privates J. G. Trimble, J. Buckley, William Ramage, and F. W. Smith.

'H' Troop, First Dragoons—First Sergeant E. Ball, Sergeant M. M. Walker, and Bugler Jacob Muller.

'I' Troop, First Dragoons—First Sergeant William H. Ingerton and Sergeant William Dean.

Lieutenant Davidson reports of First Sergeant E. Ball: 'I saw him charge upon some Indians, unhorse one of them, dismount himself and kill him.'

2. Captain E. D. Keyes, commanding the 3rd artillery, brought his battalion into action with great skill, and, after deploying, made a gallant and successful charge in advance of the dragoons, driving the Indians from the hill-sides far into the plain; and again, after the dragoon charge, Captain Keyes pushed vigorously forward in pursuit as long as an enemy was to be seen. Captain Keyes reports the gallantry of the officers and men of his battalion as admirable, and so uniform among the officers that he cannot attempt to discriminate; the position of some of the officers, however, brought their conduct under the special notice of the captain, and in that connexion he mentions Lieutenants Tyler, White, and Ihrle. The captain also says: 'The *activity* and *intelligence* displayed by Lieutenant Kip, adjutant of the battalion, in transmitting my orders to all parts of the line, was most commendable.'

3. Captain F. T. Dent, commanding the rifles, composed of two companies, 'B' and 'E,' Ninth infantry, with Captain Winder and Lieutenant Fleming, brought his battalion into action with great spirit; and after deploying on the hill, in

front of the pine forest, dashed gallantly forward, and, sweeping through the woods, drove the Indians before him, and came out on the plain, forming the right wing of the whole line of foot troops. Captain Dent speaks in high terms of Captain Winder and Lieutenant Fleming, and the men of both companies, for the intelligent and fearless manner in which they behaved throughout the battle, and further says, 'I feel I have a right to be proud of my battalion.'

4. Lieutenant John Mullan, Second artillery, topographical engineer, and commanding the friendly Nez Perces Indians, moved gallantly forward in advance, and to the right of the foot troops, in the early part of the action, giving and receiving from the enemy a volley as he skirted the brush to the east of the main hill. Lieutenant Mullan speaks in glowing terms of the conduct of the Nez Perces throughout the action: at one time charging the enemy lurking in the brush and timber on the Spokane plain, driving him out and pursuing him beyond view; and again a small party under the chief Hutes-e-mah-li-kan and Captain John met and engaged the enemy that were endeavoring to attack our rear, recapturing a horse left by an officer while moving over the rocks and ravines. Lieutenant Mullan expresses his approbation of the good conduct generally of this band of friendly Nez Perces, and mentions *Hutes-e-mah-li-kan*, *Captain John*, *Edward*, and *We-ash-kot* as worthy of special notice for their bravery.

5. It affords me additional pleasure to present to the department the gentlemen on my staff: 1st

Lieutenant P. A. Owen, 9th infantry, acting assistant adjutant general; 1st Lieutenant John Mullan, 2d artillery, engineer officer; Captain R. W. Kirkham, assistant quartermaster, and Assistant Surgeon J. F. Hammond, chief of the medical department.

These gentlemen were with me on the field, cool and collected, ever ready to convey my orders to every part of the line, or to attend to their professional duties as circumstances might require. Their good conduct and gallantry commend them to the department. Enclosed herewith is a topographical sketch of the battle-field, prepared by Lieutenant Mullan, illustrating the tactical part of this report. *

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WRIGHT,

Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.

Major W. W. Mackall,

Assistant Adjutant General,

Headquarters Department of the Pacific,
Fort Vancouver, W. T."

Lieutenant Kip describes the battle-field more minutely than does Colonel Wright. He also throws some interesting light on the bearing and spirit manifested by both the troops and the Indians at the beginning and during the early part of the engagement. From his journal entry, under date of September 1st, the following is quoted:

* No copy of this sketch can now be found.

"After advancing about a mile and a half, we reached the hill and prepared to dislodge the enemy from it. Major Grier, with the dragoons, marched to the left, while the party of our Nez Percés, under the direction of Lieutenant Mullan, wound round the hill and ascended at the right. The main column came next, with Colonel Wright and staff at its head, followed by Captain Keyes, commanding the artillery, the Third artillery, the rifles, and the howitzer battery.

As soon as the dragoons reached the top of the hill, they dismounted—one-half holding the horses and the others acting as skirmishers. After exchanging a volley with the Indians, they drove them off the hill and held it until the foot soldiers arrived. On our way up, Colonel Wright received a message from Major Grier, stating that the Indians were collected in large numbers (about five hundred, it was thought), at the foot of the hill, apparently prepared to fight. Colonel Wright immediately advanced the battalion rapidly forward, ordering Captain Ord's company to the left to be deployed as skirmishers.

My place, as adjutant of the artillery battalion, was, of course, with Captain Keyes. We rode to the top of the hill, when the whole scene lay before us like a splendid panorama. Below us lay 'four lakes'—a large one at the foot of the barren hill on which we were, and just beyond it three smaller ones, surrounded by rugged rocks, and almost entirely fringed with pines. Between these lakes, and beyond them to the northwest, stretched out a plain for miles, terminated by bare grassy hills, one suc-

ceeding another as far as the eye could reach. In the far distance was dimly seen a line of mountains covered with the black pine.

On the plain below us we saw the enemy. Every spot seemed alive with the wild warriors we had come so far to meet. They were in the pines on the edge of the lakes, in the ravines and gullies, on the opposite hillsides, and swarming over the plain. They seemed to cover the country for some two miles. Mounted on their fleet, hardy horses, the crowd swayed back and forth, brandishing their weapons, shouting their war cries, and keeping up a song of defiance. Most of them were armed with Hudson Bay muskets, while others had bows and arrows and long lances. They were in all the bravery of their war array, gaudily painted and decorated with their wild trappings. Their plumes fluttered above them, while below skins and trinkets and all kinds of fantastic embellishments flaunted in the sunshine. Their horses, too, were arrayed in the most glaring finery. Some were even painted, and with colors to form the greatest contrast, the white being smeared with crimson in fantastic figures, and the dark colored streaked with white clay. Beads and fringes of gaudy colors were hanging from their bridles, while the plumes of eagles' feathers, interwoven with the mane and tail, fluttered as the breeze swept over them, and completed their wild and fantastic appearance.

'By heavens! it was a glorious sight to see
The gay array of their wild chivalry.'

* * * * *

As the line advanced, first we saw one Indian reel in his saddle and fall—then, two or three—then, half a dozen. Then some horses would dash madly forward, showing that the balls were telling upon them. The instant, however, that the 'braves' fell, they were seized by their companions and dragged to the rear, to be borne off. We saw one Indian leading off a horse with two of his dead companions tied on it.

But in a few minutes, as the line drew near, the fire became too heavy, and the whole array broke and fled toward the plain. This was the chance for which the dragoons had been impatiently waiting. As the line advanced, they had followed on behind it, leading their horses. Now the order was given to mount, and they rode through the company intervals to the front. In an instant was heard the voice of Major Grier ringing over the plain, as he shouted, 'Charge the rascals!' and on the dragoons went at headlong speed. Taylor's and Gaston's companies were there, burning for revenge, and soon they were on them. We saw the flash of their sabers as they cut them down. Lieutenant Davidson shot one warrior from his saddle as they charged up, and Lieutenant Gregg clove the skull of another. Yells and shrieks and uplifted hands were of no avail, as they rode over them. A number were left dead upon the ground, when once more the crowd broke and dashed forward to the hills. It was a race for life, as the flying warriors streamed out of the glens and ravines and over the open plain, and took refuge in the clumps of woods or on the rising ground."



LIEUTENANT H. B. FLEMING

The point of latitudinal and longitudinal intersection noted at the beginning of Colonel Wright's report of the battle of Four Lakes, by way of locating his camping ground, places him to the south of and very near Medical lake. It is probable, therefore, that Medical lake was one of those among which the fight occurred and from which was deducted the name of its official designation.

Two very important lessons resulted immediately from the battle of Four Lakes: First, the ease with which the Indians were successively dislodged and finally routed, without the loss, or even the scathing of a single man, imbued the troops with the fullest confidence in their ability to master the foe, of whose strength and prowess they had heard so much. Second, the manner of attack employed by the troops, irresistible and unusual to the Indians, as it was, impressed the latter with an appreciation of the skill and daring of the soldiers which lessened their self-confidence probably in a much greater degree than the success attained heightened that of the troops.

For three days Colonel Wright lingered at Four Lakes, resting men and animals, and, on the morning of the fourth day after the battle, he moved ahead into the country that still swarmed with Indians.

An evident discrepancy will be noted in the report of the battle of Spokane plains. In the first paragraph the date of the battle is stated to have been on the 5th, while in the second paragraph he appears to have left his camp on the 6th. From Lieutenant Kip's journal, which places the fight on

September 5th, as well as the date line and first paragraph of the Colonel's report, the "6th" is proven to be erroneous.

"Headquarters Expedition Against Northern Indians,

Camp on Spokane River, Washington Territory, 1½ miles below the Falls,
September 6, 1858.

Sir: I have the honor to submit the following report of the battle of the 'Spokane plains,' fought by the troops under my command on the 5th instant. Our enemies were the Spokanes, Coeur d'Alenes, Pelouses, and Pen d'Oreilles, numbering from five to seven hundred warriors.

Leaving my camp at the 'Four Lakes' at 6½ a. m. on the 6th, our route lay along the margin of a lake for about three miles, and thence for two miles over a broken country, thinly scattered with pines; when emerging onto the open prairie, the hostile Indians were discovered about three miles to our right, and in advance, moving rapidly along the skirt of the woods, apparently with the view of intercepting our line of march before we could reach the timber. After halting and closing up our long pack train, I moved forward, and soon found that the Indians were setting fire to the grass at various points in front and on my right flank. Captain Keyes was now directed to advance three of his companies, deployed as skirmishers, to the front and right; this order was promptly obeyed, and Captain Ord, with Company 'K,' Lieutenant Gibson, with Company 'M,' were thrown forward. At

the same time Captain Hardie, Company 'G,' 3d artillery, was deployed to the left, and howitzers, under Lieutenant White, supported by Company 'E,' 9th infantry, under Captain Winder, were advanced to the line of skirmishers. The firing now became brisk on both sides—the Indians attacking us in front and on both flanks. The fires on the prairie nearly enveloped us, and were rapidly approaching our troops and the pack train. Not a moment was to be lost. I ordered the advance. The skirmishers, the howitzers, and 1st squadron of dragoons, under Brevet Major Grier, dashed gallantly through the roaring flames, and the Indians were driven to seek shelter in the forest and rocks. As soon as a suitable position could be obtained, the howitzers, under White, opened fire with shells; the Indians were again routed from their cover, closely pursued by our skirmishers, and followed by Grier with his squadron leading. At this time our pack train was concentrated as much as possible, and guarded by Captain Dent, 9th infantry, with his Company 'B,' Lieutenant Davidson, 1st dragoons, with his Company 'E,' and Lieutenant Ihrie, 3d artillery, with his Company 'B,' advancing; the trail bore off to the right, which threw Ord and Tyler, with their skirmishers, to the left. A heavy body of Indians had concentrated on our left, when our whole line moved quickly forward, and the firing became general throughout the front, occupied by Ord, Hardie, and Tyler, and the howitzers, under White, supported by Winder, with Gregg's troop of dragoons following in the rear, waiting for a favorable opportunity to make a

dash. At the same time Gibson, with Company 'M,' 3d artillery, drove the Indians on the right front. An open prairie here intervening, Major Grier passed the skirmishers with his own and Lieutenant Pender's troops and charged the Indians, killing two and wounding three. Our whole line and train advanced steadily, driving the Indians over rocks and through ravines. Our point of direction having been changed to the right, Captain Ord found himself alone with his company on the extreme left of the skirmishers, and opposed by a large number of the enemy; they were gallantly charged by Captain Ord, and driven successively from three high table rocks where they had taken refuge. Captain Ord pursued the Indians, until, approaching the train, he occupied the left flank. In this movement, Captain Ord was assisted by Captain Winder and Lieutenants Gibson and White, who followed into the woods after him.

Moving forward toward the Spokane river, the Indians still in front, Lieutenants Ihrie and Howard, with Company 'B,' 3d artillery, were thrown out on the right flank, and instantly cleared the way; and after a continuous fight for seven hours, over a distance of fourteen miles, we encamped on the banks of the Spokane; the troops, exhausted by a long and fatiguing march of twenty-five miles, without ——— and for two-thirds of the distance under fire. The battle was won, two chiefs and two brothers of Chief Garey killed, besides many of lesser note either killed or wounded. A kind Providence again protected us, although at many times the balls flew thick and fast through our

ranks, yet, strange to say, we had but one man slightly wounded.

Again it affords me the highest pleasure to bear witness to the zeal, energy, perseverance and gallantry displayed by the officers and men during this protracted battle.

1. Brevet Major W. N. Grier, commanding a squadron of the 1st dragoons, composed of his own company and that of Lieutenant Pender, made a gallant charge at the right moment, killing two and wounding three of the enemy. The major speaks in the highest terms of the gallantry of Lieutenant Pender, commanding Company 'C.' Lieutenant Davidson, with Company 'E,' was rear guard to the general train, and that duty was well performed. Lieutenant Gregg, with Company 'H,' was posted in the rear of the howitzers with a view of making a dash at the enemy; but the ground was so broken that dragoons could not operate effectively.

2. Captain E. D. Keyes, 3d artillery, commanding battalion, persevering, energetic, and gallant throughout the whole day; although his troops extended over a mile, yet the captain was always in the right place at the right time. Captain Keyes reports the following companies and officers as particularly distinguished:

Company K, Captain F. O. C. Ord and Lieutenant M. R. Morgam.

Company G, Captain J. A. Hardie and Lieutenant Ransom.

Company M, Lieutenants Gibson and Dandy.

Company A, Lieutenants Tyler and Lyon.

The howitzer battery, under Lieutenant White, with a detachment of 20 men belonging to Company D, 3d artillery, behaved most gallantly throughout the action; light shells were thrown into the midst of the enemy during the fight, and with good effect.

The conduct of Lieutenant Kip, adjutant of the battalion, is noted by Captain Keyes as having been excellent throughout the day.

3. The rifle battalion, Companies B and E, 9th infantry, under Captain F. T. Dent.

Captain Dent, with his company, was on the rear guard to protect the pack train; this duty was handsomely performed, and the train moved along unharmed by the enemy or the fires.

Captain Winder was detached, with Lieutenant Fleming and Company E, to support the howitzer battery. This service was admirably performed, bravely advancing with the howitzers, and pouring in a fire with their rifles, wherever an opportunity offered, until the close of the battle.

4. The friendly Nez Percés were employed chiefly as spies and guides, and, toward the close of the action, in guarding the pack train and animals; as usual, they behaved well.

During the battle a chief was killed, and on his body was found the pistol worn by the lamented Gaston, who fell in the affair with Lieutenant Colonel Steptoe, in May last.

Again I have the pleasure of presenting to the department the gentlemen of my staff:

1st Lieutenant P. A. Owen, adjutant 9th infantry, and acting assistant adjutant general.

1st Lieutenant J. Mullan, 2d artillery, engineer officer, and commanding friendly Indians.

Captain R. W. Kirkham, assistant quartermaster.

Assistant Surgeon J. F. Hammond, United States army.

Assistant Surgeon J. F. Randolph, United States army.

These gentlemen were all on the field, cool, energetic and brave, whether conveying my orders to distant points of the line or attending to their professional duties. A memoir and topographical sketch of the field, by Lieutenant Mullan, acting engineer officer, is herewith enclosed.

Very respectfully,

G. WRIGHT,

Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.

Major W. W. Mackall,

Asst. Adj. Gen., Headquarters, Department of the Pacific, Fort Vancouver, Washington Territory."

During this fight, as it was afterward learned, Chief Kamiaken was severely wounded. A limb torn from a tree near which he was standing, by a bursting shell, struck him on the head.

Lieutenant Wm. D. Pender had at one instance in the fight a very interesting experience. While charging the Indians with Troop C, at close quarters, he dashed up to the side of a warrior whom he intended to engage, when the lock of his pistol

refused to work. Not having time to draw his saber, the Indian actively preparing to receive him, he grappled his adversary and threw him from his horse where he was dispatched by a trooper who came up behind.

XIV

RETRIBUTION

“HEADQUARTERS Expedition Against
Northern Indians,
Camp on the Spokane River, W. T.,
16 miles above the ‘Falls,’
September 9, 1858.

Sir: I remained during the 6th at my camp, three miles below the falls, as my troops required rest after the long march and battle of the previous day. No hostile demonstrations were made by the enemy during the day; they approached the opposite bank of the river in very small parties and intimated a desire to talk, but no direct communication was held with them, as the distance was too great and the river deep and rapid.

Early on the morning of the 7th I advanced along the left bank of the Spokane, and soon the Indians were seen on the opposite side, and a talk began with our friendly Nez Perces and interpreters. They said that they wanted to come and see me with the chief Garey, who was near by. I told them to meet me at the ford, two miles above the falls.

I halted at the ford and encamped; soon after Garry crossed over and came to me; he said that he had always been opposed to fighting, but that the young men and many of the chiefs were against him, and he could not control them. I then told him to go back and say to all Indians and chiefs,

'I have met you in two bloody battles; you have been badly whipped; you have lost several chiefs and many warriors killed or wounded. I have not lost a man or animal; I have a large force, and you Spokanes, Coeur d'Alenes, Pelouses, and Pen d'Oreilles may unite, and I can defeat you as badly as before. I did not come into this country to ask you to make peace; I came here to fight. Now, when you are tired of the war, and ask for peace, I will tell you what you must do: You must come to me with your arms, with your women and children, and everything you have, and lay them at my feet; you must put your faith in me and trust to my mercy. If you do this, I shall then dictate the terms upon which I will grant you peace. If you do not do this, war will be made on you this year and next, and until your nation shall be exterminated.'

I told Garry that he could go and say to all the Indians that he might fall in with what I had said, and also to say that if they did as I demanded no life should be taken. Garey promised to join me the following (yesterday) morning on the march.

After my interview with Garey, the chief Polotkin, with nine warriors, approached and desired an interview. I received them. I found this chief was the writer of one of the three letters sent to you by Congiato; that he had been conspicuous in the affair with Colonel Steptoe, and was the leader in the battles of the 1st and 5th instant with us; they had left their rifles on the opposite bank. I desired the chief and warriors to sit still while two of his men were sent over to bring me the rifles. I then told this chief that I desired him to remain

with me, with one of his men whom we recognized as having been lately at Walla Walla with Father Ravelle, and who was strongly suspected of having been engaged in the murder of the two miners in April last. I told the chief that I wished him to send his other men, and bring in all of them, with their arms and families. I marched at sunrise on the morning of the 8th, and at the distance of nine miles discovered a cloud of dust in the mountains to the front and right, and evidently a great commotion in that quarter. I closed up the train and left it guarded by a troop of horse and two companies of foot, and I then ordered Major Grier to push rapidly forward with three companies of dragoons, and I followed with the foot troops. The distance proved greater than was expected; deep ravines intervening between us and the mountains, but the dragoons and Nez Percés under Lieutenant Mullan were soon seen passing over the first hills. The Indians were driving off their stock, and had gone so far into the mountains that our horsemen had to dismount, and, after a smart skirmish, succeeded in capturing at least eight hundred horses; and when the foot troops had passed over the first mountain, the captured animals were seen approaching under charge of Lieutenant Davidson, with his men on foot, and the Nez Percés. The troops were then re-formed and moved to this camp, I having previously sent an express to the pack train to advance along the river. After encamping last evening I investigated the case of the Indian prisoner suspected of having been engaged in the murder of the two miners; the fact of his

guilt was established beyond doubt, and he was hung at sunset.

After sunset last evening I sent two companies of foot and a troop of horse three miles up the river to capture a herd of cattle, but they were so wild that it was found impossible to drive them in; another attempt was made this morning, but they could not be obtained.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEO. WRIGHT,

Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.

Major W. W. Mackall,

Assist. Adjut. Gen., Headquarters Department
of the Pacific, Fort Vancouver, W. T."

At daybreak on the morning of the 9th, three companies of dragoons were sent out to destroy some Indian lodges and storehouses that had been discovered in the vicinity. They reported the burning of seven, some of which were well filled, while from others the storage appeared to have been recently removed. It was subsequently learned from the priests at the Coeur d'Alene Mission that one of the storehouses destroyed contained the carriage of one of the howitzers buried by Colonel Steptoe on the battle-field of Tohotonimme.

"Headquarters Expedition Against Northern
Indians,

Camp on the Spokane River, W. T., 16
miles above the 'Falls,'

September 10, 1858.

Sir: I have this morning received a dispatch

from Father Joset, at the Coeur d'Alene Mission. He says that the hostiles are *down* and suing for peace; that there was great rejoicing amongst the friendly Indians when they heard of our two victories over the hostiles; had we been defeated, all those who did not join the hostiles would have been sacrificed.

I have just sent off Father Joset's messenger. I said to the father that he could say to those who had not been engaged in this war that they had nothing to fear—that they should remain quiet with their women and children around them; to say to all Indians, whether Coeur d'Alenes or belonging to other tribes, who have taken part in this unhappy war, that if they were sincere and truly desire a lasting peace, they must all come to me with their guns, with their *families*, and all they have, and trust entirely to my mercy; that I will promise only that no life shall be taken for acts committed during the war. I will then tell them what I do require before I grant them peace. As I reported in my communication of yesterday the capture of 800 horses on the 8th instant, I have now to add that this large band of horses composed the entire wealth of the Pelouse chief Til-co-ax. This man has ever been hostile; for the last two years he has been constantly sending his young men into the Walla Walla valley, and stealing horses and cattle from the settlers and from the government. He boldly acknowledged these facts when he met Colonel Steptoe, in May last. Retributive justice has now overtaken him; the blow has been severe but well merited. I found myself embar-

passed with these 800 horses. I could not hazard the experiment of moving with such a number of animals (many of them very wild) along with my large train; should a stampede take place, we might not only lose our captured animals, but many of our own. Under those circumstances, I determined to kill them all, save a few for service in the quartermaster's department and to replace broken-down animals. I deeply regretted killing these poor creatures, but a dire necessity drove me to it. This work of slaughter has been going on since 10 o'clock of yesterday, and will not be completed before this evening, and I shall march for the Coeur d'Alene Mission tomorrow.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WRIGHT,

Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.

Major W. W. Mackall,

Assistant Adjutant General,

Headquarters Department of the Pacific,
Fort Vancouver, W. T."

Referring further to Lieutenant Kip's journal, also to the Journal of the Military Service Institution: On the morning of the 9th, Colonel Wright convened a board of officers to determine what should be done with the captured horses. It was decided that one hundred and thirty should be selected for use of the command and the remainder shot. Each of the officers was allowed to select a pony for himself, but with the understanding that if it did not prove satisfactory it was to be shot.

Two companies were ordered out to perform

the duty of shooting the horses. A corral was first made, into which they were all driven. Then they were lassoed, one by one, and dragged out and dispatched by a single shot, without waste of ammunition, the colts being knocked on the head. This method was continued throughout the 9th, and at the close of the day about two hundred and seventy animals had been killed. During the night following the camp was continually disturbed by the distressing cries of mares whose young had been thus slain.

The process adopted on the 9th for killing the horses being deemed too slow, on the following day volleys were fired into the frightened, huddled mass by companies drawn up for the purpose, until all were put to death.

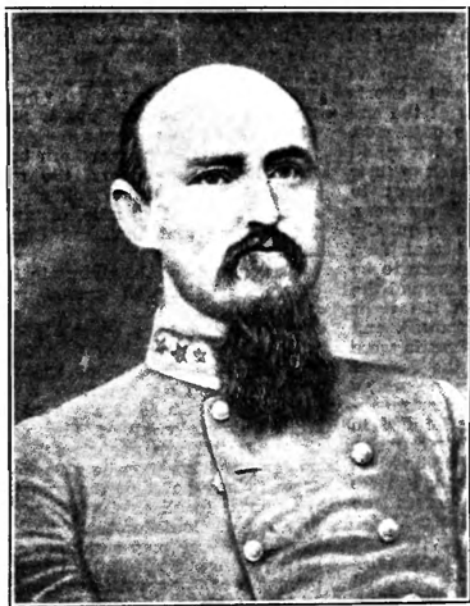
At this date, 1911, over fifty years after that occurrence, the place is still marked by the bleaching bones of the innocent animals whose lives were sacrificed to appease the stern demands of warfare. The visitor at Spokane Bridge, Washington, may, at any time, have the spot pointed out to him.

The horses reserved for the command proved to be too refractory for safe utility, and it was not long ere they were nearly all disposed of. The persistent efforts of some of the officers, however, to bring those selected by themselves into subjection, furnished a great deal of amusement to the troops, besides a sore accumulation of bruises to the officers, and resulted, generally, in a sentence of execution being pronounced upon the hapless cayuse.

One lieutenant who had selected a specially handsome pony, undertook to break it without the

assistance of more experienced horsemen. For a day or two it submitted to the saddle in a philosophical sort of way without any extraordinary show of rebellion, but one day as the column pursued the even tenor of its way, true to the disposition of its kind, the animal suddenly shot out of the line and began bucking. The lieutenant made shift to retain his position in the saddle, but was soon thrown, striking the ground with great force. The pony then made off to water. After being caught and brought back it was again mounted by the lieutenant, and again it went to bucking. This time the lieutenant took advantage of the first favorable opportunity and slid off. He then asked if any man in his company would volunteer to ride it and in response one man stepped forward. In a short time after mounting, he, too, was thrown, and the officer was unable to induce any others to volunteer for the performance. The cayuse was therefore ordered to the rear, where it suffered the fate of so many of its fellows.

With Lieutenant Mullan's Nez Perces there was an Indian known as "Cutmouth John," so called from a conspicuous scar extending from his mouth, which had been caused, apparently, by a knife cut. He was generally regarded as being somewhat "cultus," though his cunning maneuvers were often amusing. No other in Mullan's force secured more scalps than he, and no one perhaps was entitled to fewer. He persisted in spending a great deal of his time hanging around the officers and had elicited a promise from the lieutenant of the cow-boy propensities that if the pony selected



BRIGADIER-GENERAL HYMAN B. LYON
In Confederate Uniform

proved to be unsuitable it should be turned over to him. Coming upon the scene soon after the pony had been shot, he straightway reminded the officer of his promise. The latter could only plead that he had forgotten the circumstance, but, to assuage the wounded feelings of "Cutmouth," in lieu of the pony he offered him a shirt which was extra among his wardrobe. Being in far greater need of apparel than of a pony, the substitute was entirely satisfactory to the Machiavellian brave.

"Headquarters Expedition Against Northern
Indians,

Camp at the Coeur d'Alene Mission, W.
T., September 15, 1858.

Sir: I marched from my camp on the Spokane river, 16 miles above the falls, on the morning of the 11th instant; after fording the river, our line of march was pursued along its right bank for fourteen miles, when I struck the Coeur d'Alene lake and encamped. Resuming our march on the 12th, we soon lost view of the lake on our right and struck into the mountains, with a forest on either hand, and a trail which admitted only the passage of a single man or animal at a time. After marching twelve miles I found a small prairie, with a fine running stream of water, and encamped.

Marching early on the 13th, we found the trail infinitely worse than that of the previous day; passing through a dense forest, with an impenetrable undergrowth of bushes on both sides, and an almost continuous obstruction from fallen trees, our progress was necessarily slow, having to halt frequently

and cut away the logs before our animals could pass over. The column and pack train could only move in single file, and extended from six to eight miles, but it was perfectly safe, the front and rear were strongly guarded, and nature had fortified either flank. No communication could be had with the head of the column and its rear, and thus we followed this lonely trail for nineteen miles to this place. The rear of the pack train with the guards did not reach here until 10 o'clock at night. I found the Indians here in much alarm as to the fate which awaited them, but happily they are now all quieted. Father Joset has been extremely zealous and persevering in bringing in the hostiles. They are terribly frightened, but last evening and today they are coming in quite freely with the women and children, and turning over to the quartermaster such horses, mules, &c., as they have belonging to the United States.

The hostile Spokanes have many of them gone beyond the mountains and will not return this winter. The Pelouses with their chiefs, Kamiaken and Til-co-ax, are not far off, but it is doubtful whether they will voluntarily come in. If they do not, I shall pursue them as soon as I can settle with the Coeur d'Alenes.

The chastisement which these Indians have received has been severe but well merited, and absolutely necessary to impress them with our power. For the last eighty miles our route has been marked by slaughter and devastation; 900 horses and a large number of cattle have been killed or appropriated to our own use; many horses, with large quantities of wheat and oats, also many caches of

vegetables, kamas, and dried berries, have been destroyed. A blow has been struck which they will never forget.

I hope to march from this place on the 18th or 19th in the direction of Colonel Steptoe's battleground, having in view to intercept, if possible, the Pelouses, and also to hold a meeting with several bands of the Spokanes, if they can be collected.

The troops are in fine health and spirits. I have provisions which, by economy and a slight reduction of the ration, will last until the 5th of October. We shall soon feel the want of bootees very sensibly. The days are warm, but ice a quarter of an inch thick is made every night.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WRIGHT,

Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.

Major W. W. Mackall,

Assistant Adjutant General,

Headquarters Department of Pacific,

Fort Vancouver, W. T."

"Headquarters Expedition Against Northern
Indians,

Camp 35 miles S. W. of Coeur d'Alenes
Mission, W. T., Sept. 21, 1858.

Sir: I have the honor to submit a *resume* of operations since my communication (No. 17) of the 15th instant.

On the 17th instant the entire Coeur d'Alenes nation having assembled at my camp near the mission, I called them together in council. I then stated to them the cause of my making war upon them. I made my demands specifically: 1st, that

they should surrender to me the men who commenced the attack on Lieutenant Colonel Steptoe, contrary to the orders of their chiefs; 2nd, that they should deliver up to me all public or private property in their possession, whether that abandoned by Lieutenant Colonel Steptoe, or received from any other source; 3rd, that they should allow all white persons to travel at all times through their country unmolested; 4th, that as security for their future good behavior, they should deliver to me *one* chief and *four* men with their families, as hostages, to be taken to Fort Walla Walla.

After a brief consultation, they announced their determination to comply with all my demands in every particular, in sincerity and good faith.

All the Coeur d'Alenes nation, with the exception of some six or eight, were present at the council; and as an evidence that they had previously determined to make peace on any terms, they brought with them their families, and all the property they had belonging to the government or to individuals, ready and willing to submit to such terms as I should dictate.

The chiefs and head men came forward and signed the preliminary articles of a treaty of peace and friendship, and in the course of the day fulfilled, as far as practicable, my demands by delivering up horses, mules and camp equipage.

The chiefs and head men expressed great grief and apparently sincere repentance for their misconduct, which had involved them in a war with the United States. I have never witnessed such a unanimity of feeling nor such manifestations of joy as was expressed by the whole Coeur d'Alenes nation,

men, women and children, at the conclusion of the treaty. *They know us, they have felt our power,* and I have full faith that henceforth the Coeur d'Alenes will be our staunch friends.

I marched from the Coeur d'Alenes Mission on the morning of the 18th, having with me the prisoners, hostages, and many other Coeur d'Alenes, as guides, &c. Our route lay down the right bank of the Coeur d'Alenes river for thirteen miles, where I encamped at a point where the river has to be ferried. I occupied most of the 19th in crossing the troops, animals, and stores, assisted by the Indians with their canoes.

Leaving camp on the 20th, we pursued our march still in the mountains, and the trail obstructed by fallen trees, until we struck the St. Joseph's river at thirteen miles and encamped. Again we found a river which could not be forded, and our two boats with the Indian canoes were instantly called into requisition. By sunset the general supply train was crossed, and recommencing at daylight this morning, by 12 o'clock m. the rear of the column was ready to move.

I shall march tomorrow for the vicinity of Lieutenant Colonel Steptoe's battle-ground to obtain the abandoned howitzers, and in the expectation of meeting the Spokanes and Pelouses.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WRIGHT,

Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.

Major W. W. Mackall,

Assistant Adjutant General,

Headquarters Department of the Pacific,

Fort Vancouver, W. T."

*"Preliminary Articles of a Treaty of Peace and
Friendship Between the United States and
the Coeur d'Alene Indians.*

Article 1. Hostilities between the United States and the Coeur d'Alene Indians shall cease from and after this date, September 17, 1858.

Article 2. The chiefs and headmen of the Coeur d'Alene Indians, for and in behalf of the whole nation, agree and promise to surrender to the United States all property in their possession belonging either to the government or to individuals, whether said property was captured or abandoned by the troops of the United States.

Article 3. The chiefs and headmen of the Coeur d'Alene nation agree to surrender to the United States the men who commenced the battle with Lieutenant Colonel Steptoe, contrary to the orders of their chiefs, and also to give at least one chief and four men, with their families, to the officer in command of the troops as hostages for their future good conduct.

Article 4. The chiefs and headmen of the Coeur d'Alene nation promise that all white persons shall travel through their country unmolested, and that no Indians hostile to the United States shall be allowed within the limits of their country.

Article 5. The officer in command of the United States troops, for and in behalf of the government, promise that if the foregoing conditions are fully complied with no war shall be made upon the Coeur d'Alene nation; and further, that the men who are to be surrendered, whether those who com-

menced the fight with Lieutenant Colonel Steptoe or as hostages for the future good conduct of the Coeur d'Alene nation, shall in no wise be injured, and shall, within one year from the date hereof, be restored to their nation.

Article 6. It is agreed by both of the aforesaid contacting parties that when the foregoing articles shall have been fully complied with, a permanent treaty of peace and friendship shall be made.

Article 7. It is agreed by the chiefs and headmen of the Coeur d'Alene nation that this treaty of peace and friendship shall extend also to include the Nez Perces nation of Indians.

Done at the headquarters of the expedition against northern Indians, at the Coeur d'Alene Mission, Washington Territory, this 17th day of September, 1858.

G. WRIGHT,
Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.

Mil-kap-si, his x mark.

Sal-tize, his x mark.

Vincent, his x mark.

Joseph, his x mark.

Jean Pierre, his x mark.

Pierre Pauline, his x mark.

Louis Margeni, his x mark.

Cypronani, his x mark.

Augustin, his x mark.

Paul, his x mark.

Bonaventure, his x mark.

Cassimere, his x mark.

Bernard, his x mark.

Anthony, his x mark.
 Leo, his x mark.
 Patricia, his x mark.
 Pierre, his x mark.
 Jean Pierre, his x mark.

Witnesses:

E. D. Keyes, Captain 3d Artillery.
 W. N. Grier, Brevet Major United States Army.
 R. W. Kirkham, Captain and Assistant Quartermaster.
 F. F. Dent, Captain 9th Infantry.
 C. S. Winder, Captain 9th Infantry.
 J. F. Hammond, Assistant Surgeon United States Army.
 Jas. A. Hardie, Captain 3d Artillery.
 H. G. Gibson, 1st Lieutenant 3d Artillery.
 R. O. Tyler, 1st Lieutenant 3d Artillery.
 Jno. F. Randolph, Assistant Surgeon United States Army.
 H. B. Davidson, 1st Lieutenant 1st Dragoons.
 W. D. Pender, 2d Lieutenant 1st Dragoons."

The provisions of this treaty were, on the part of the Indians, religiously complied with. From the date of its execution to the present, peace between the Coeur d'Alenes and the whites has remained unbroken. Neither have they engaged in war with other tribes. There is a story, familiar to those who have had long acquaintance with the Coeur d'Alenes, and believed to be well founded, that in the days of the Sioux wars an envoy from that tribe came over the mountains to induce the Coeur



CHIEF SELTICE, COEUR D'ALENE

d'Alenes to join in a general uprising, but that Chief Seltice, after hearing his proposal, ordered him to be conducted to the reservation line and from there started in no gentle manner toward the land from whence he had come.

During Chief Joseph's war, in 1877, early in August the report was spread among the settlers throughout the Palouse country that the hostile Nez Perces were headed northward and would soon sweep over the territory lying on the eastern side, near the mountains. Many of the settlers, becoming alarmed, abandoned their farms and hastened to Colfax, the county seat, for safety. During their absence some of the farms near the Coeur d'Alene reservation were protected from the depredations of the large numbers of range horses and cattle that roamed at will through the country, by Indians under direction of Seltice.

The older Coeur d'Alenes, those who were, or could have been participants in the council held with Colonel Wright, were, with few exceptions, honorable in their dealings. Mr. H. C. Harlow, an early settler still living near Farmington, Washington, was for many years engaged in business in that town, which was, until the advent of the O. R. & N. railroad, the nearest and principal trading point for the Coeur d'Alenes. During that time Mr. Harlow had extensive business relations with the Indians, much of which was carried in open accounts, and his losses, he says, on account of their dishonesty were very slight. He asserts, also, that many of them with whom he came in almost daily contact were possessed of such qualities of mind

and heart as to render their acquaintance desirable and their friendship valuable.

On the Fourth of July, 1891, Chief Seltice was induced to deliver an oration for the celebration then held at Farmington. It was the good fortune of the writer to hear the chief's effort; and though it was delivered in his mother tongue, and could be understood by those only who were familiar with the Indian language, his deep, well-modulated voice, his striking gestures and his dignified bearing were models of the orator's art and impelled the highest admiration.

XV

THE SPOKANES IN COUNCIL. OWHI AND QUALCHIEN.

“HEADQUARTERS Expedition Against
Northern Indians,
Camp on the Ned-whauld River, W.
T., Lat. 47 Deg., 24 Min. N.,
September 24, 1858.

Sir: I have the honor to submit a continuation of the history of my operations since the 21st, the date of my last communication (No. 18).

Marching from my camp on the morning of the 22d, at the distance of three miles we emerged from the woods onto the open prairie, and after pursuing a west-southwest course for eighteen miles over a rolling country thinly studded with pines we reached this place and encamped.

Before reaching here I was advised that the whole Spokane nation were at hand, with all their chiefs, headmen, and warriors, ready and willing to submit to such terms as I should dictate.

Yesterday at 10 o'clock a. m. I assembled the Indians in council, and after enumerating the crimes they had committed, I made the same demands upon them which had been made upon the Coeur d'Alenes.

Speeches were made by the principal chiefs. They acknowledged their crimes, and expressed

great sorrow for what they had done, and thankfulness for the mercy extended to them. They stated that they were all ready to sign the treaty and comply in good faith with all its stipulations.

The chiefs Garey, Polothin, and Mil-kap-si were present; the first two are Spokanes, the last is a Coeur d'Alenes. It will be recollected that each of those men wrote a letter to the general in August last. That of Mil-kap-si was particularly significant, haughty, and defiant in tone, and willing to make peace if *we* desired it, but unwilling to take the initiative. This man was not present when the treaty was made with the Coeur d'Alenes. Now he comes in and humbly asks for peace, and that he may be allowed to sign the treaty. I granted his request, but I took occasion before the whole council to remind him of his letter to General Clarke, and to say to him that *we* had not asked for peace.

Amongst this assemblage of Spokane Indians were representatives from the Calespelles and some other small bands, who stated that they had not engaged personally in the war, but that some of their young men had been in the fights. I did not make any special treaty with them, but told them that they might consider themselves on the same footing as the Spokanes, so long as they refrained from war and conformed to the articles of the Spokane treaty.

The entire Spokane nation, chiefs, headmen, and warriors, expressed great joy that peace was restored, and promised, before the Great Spirit, to remain our true friends forevermore. They have suffered, they have *felt* us in battle, and I have faith that they will keep their word.

Enclosed herewith are copies of the treaties made with the Coeur d'Alenes and Spokanes.

I cannot close this communication without expressing my thanks to Father Joset, the superior of the Coeur d'Alene mission, for his zealous and unwearied exertions in bringing all these Indians to an understanding of their true position. For ten days and nights the father has toiled incessantly, and only left us this morning after witnessing the fruition of all his labors.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WRIGHT,
Colonel 9th Infantry.

Major W. W. Mackall,
Assistant Adjutant General,
Headquarters Department of the Pacific,
Fort Vancouver, W. T."

*"Preliminary Articles of a Treaty of Peace and
Friendship Between the United States and the
Spokane Nation of Indians.*

Article 1. Hostilities shall cease between the United States and the Spokane nation of Indians from and after this date.

Article 2. The chiefs and headmen of the Spokane Indians, for and in behalf of the whole nation, promise to deliver up to the United States all property in their possession belonging either to the government or to individual white persons.

Article 3. The chiefs and headmen of the Spokane Indians, for and in behalf of the whole nation, promise and agree to deliver to the officers in com-

mand of the United States troops the men who commenced the attack upon Lieutenant Colonel Steptoe, contrary to the orders of their chiefs, and further to deliver as aforesaid at least *one* chief and *four men* with their families as hostages for their future good conduct.

Article 4. The chiefs and headmen of the Spokane nation of Indians promise, for and in behalf of the whole tribe, that all white persons shall at all times and places pass through their country unmolested, and further, that no Indians hostile to the United States shall be allowed to pass through or remain in their country.

Article 5. The foregoing conditions being fully complied with by the Spokane nation, the officer in command of the United States troops promises that no war shall be made upon the Spokanes, and further, that the men delivered up, whether as prisoners or hostages, shall in no wise be injured, and shall, within the period of one year, be restored to their nation.

Article 6. It is agreed by both of the aforesaid parties that this treaty shall also extend to and include the Nez Perces nation of Indians.

Done at the headquarters of the expedition against the northern Indians at camp on the Ned-Whauld (or Lahtoo), Washington Territory, this twenty-third of September, eighteen hundred and fifty-eight.

G. WRIGHT,
Colonel 9th Infantry,
Commanding United States Troops.

Pohlatkin.
Spokan Garry.
Skul-hull, his x mark.
Moist-turm, his x mark.
Ski-ki-ah-men, his x mark.
She-luh-ki-its-ze, his x mark.
Mol-mol-e-muh, his x mark.
Ki-ah-mene, his x mark.
Hoh-hoh-mee, his x mark.
Huse-tesh-him-hiah, his x mark.
Nul-shil-she-hil-sote, his x mark.
Che-lah-him-sko, his x mark.
Huit-sute-tah, his x mark.
Keh-ko, his x mark.
Qualt-til-tose-sum, or Big Star, his x mark.
Chey-yal-kote, his x mark.
Quoi-quoi-yow, his x mark.
In-sko-me-nay, his x mark.
Its-che-mon-nee, his x mark.
It-tem-mee-koh (son of Pohlatkin), his x mark.
Schil-cha-hun, his x mark.
Meh-mah-icht-such, his x mark.
Be-noit, his x mark.
So-yar-ole-kim, his x mark.
Se-may-koh-lee, his x mark.
Sil-so-tee-chee, his x mark.
See-chee-nie, his x mark.
Ko-lim-chin, his x mark.
Ho-ho-mish, his x mark.
Ski-ime, his x mark.
Se-ra-min-home, his x mark.
We-yil-sho, his x mark.
Che-nee-yah, his x mark.

Sko-moh-it-kan, his x mark.
 Quoit-quoit-il-nee, his x mark.
 Pe-daltze, his x mark.

Witnesses:

E. D. Keyes, Captain 3d Artillery.
 Wm. N. Grier, Brevet Major United States
 Army.
 J. F. Hammond, Assistant Surgeon United
 States Army.
 R. W. Kirkham, Captain, Assistant Quarter-
 master.
 F. F. Dent, Captain 9th Infantry.
 Charles S. Winder, Captain 9th Infantry.
 James A. Hardie, Captain 3d Artillery.
 A. B. Fleming, 1st Lieutenant 9th Infantry.
 Jno. F. Randolph, Assistant Surgeon United
 States Army.
 R. O. Tyler, 1st Lieutenant 3d Artillery.
 H. B. Lyon, 2d Lieutenant 3d Artillery.
 Lawrence Kip, 2d Lieutenant 3d Artillery.
 J. Howard, 2d Lieutenant 3d Artillery."

The foregoing treaty, together with that made on the 17th with the Coeur d'Alenes, was forwarded to Army Headquarters, endorsed by General Clarke as follows:

"The 5th article in each of these treaties is disapproved, in so far as it accepts a conditional surrender of those Indians guilty of commencing the attack on the troops.

An unconditional surrender was demanded by

me before the troops were sent into the field; less should not have been accepted afterwards.

A surrender of the guilty conditioned on their immunity from punishment is futile.

It is now too late to repair the error; the prisoners are but hostages and as such will be kept as long as it may be proper to do so.

The agreement to admit troops and citizens to pass through the country had better have been a demand than a part of the treaty, but this matters not much, as we have the substance.

N. S. CLARKE,
Colonel 6th Infantry,
Brevet Brigadier General Commanding."

"Headquarters Expedition Against Northern
Indians,

Camp on the Ned-Whauld (Lahtoo)
River, W. T., September 24, 1858.

Sir: At sunset last evening the Yakima chief Ow-hi presented himself before me. He came from the lower Spokane river, and told me that he had left his son, Qual-chew, at that place.

I had some dealings with this chief, Ow-hi, when I was on my Yakima campaign in 1856. He came to me when I was encamped on the Nah-chess river, and expressed great anxiety for peace, and promised to bring in all his people at the end of seven days. He did not keep his word, but fled over the mountains. I pursued him and he left the country. I have never seen him from that time until last evening. In all this time he has been considered as semi-hostile, and no reliance could be placed on him.

This man Qual-chew, spoken of above, is the son of Ow-hi. His history, for three years past, is too well known to need recapitulation. He has been actively engaged in all the murders, robberies, and attacks upon the white people since 1855, both east and west of the Cascade mountains. He was with the party who attacked the miners on the Wenatche river in June last, and was severely wounded; but recovering rapidly he has since been committing assaults on our people whenever an opportunity offered. Under these circumstances, I was very desirous of getting Qual-chew in my power. I seized Ow-hi and put him in irons. I then sent a messenger for Qual-chew desiring his presence forthwith, with notice that if he did not come I would hang Ow-hi. Qual-chew came to me at 9 o'clock this morning, and at 9¼ a. m. he was hung.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WRIGHT,

Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.

Major W. W. Mackall,

Assistant Adjutant General,

Headquarters Department of the Pacific,

Fort Vancouver, W. T."

On reaching the Ned-Whauld (Latah or Hangman creek) it was observed that the chiefs and many warriors of the Spokanes had already pitched their lodges there, and were accompanied by Father Joset. On the previous day the great chief Kamia-ken, who, though a Palouse, had acquired the leadership of the Yakimas, and Tilkohitz, the Palouse chief who, it was said, owned the band of horses

captured and killed by Colonel Wright on the Spokane river, were there, but as the evening came on they grew apprehensive as to the treatment that might be accorded them by Colonel Wright and departed.

Colonel Wright immediately sent Chiefs Garry and Big Star out to find Kamiaken with instructions to tell him to come in and surrender himself and he should not be harmed; but that if he did not do so, the Colonel would pursue him until he captured him and then put him to death.

The council was convened with one hundred and seven chiefs and warriors present. Besides the Spokanes, there were present representatives from the Pend Oreilles, Colvilles, Calispells, Iles des Pierres, and other smaller tribes.

While the council was in session, Garry and Big Star returned and reported that, after searching without success through the entire night, they came, at daybreak, upon Kamiaken and Schroom, his brother, on the north side of the Spokane river. The chief could not be persuaded to return, however, for he feared that, even though Wright would not hang him on the spot, he would carry him captive to Walla Walla and, perhaps, confine him about the fort indefinitely.

Having no taste for the experience of being run down by Colonel Wright, Kamiaken, with a small following, soon hied away into the fastnesses of the Rocky mountains.

The hanging of Qualchien (as spelled by Kip) was an event which produced much comment among the officers and men. The summary manner in

which he was ordered to his execution, after having come voluntarily into the camp of his enemy seeking the presence of the commanding officer, was a proceeding unusual and has since been strongly characterized as such by some of the participants in the expedition. If these diverse opinions are well grounded, the event may be regarded as being the only flaw in the brilliancy of an Indian campaign that, in skill of direction and precision of execution, has scarce an equal.

In the light of legal justice, Qualchien doubtless deserved the fate that was meted out to him. He was believed to have been guilty of the murder of at least nine white men, at various times, and was charged with complicity in the murder of Indian Agent Bolen prior to the outbreak of 1856.

Chiefs Owhi and Qualchien were, as has been previously stated, respectively father and son, and were Yakimas. Owhi was a brother-in-law of Kamiaken and was equally noted as the latter for his ability in council and his power as a chief.

The known careers of Owhi and Qualchien had been marked with crime, particularly that of Qualchien, though Owhi, more diplomatic in practice, had perhaps but few less offenses to his credit. Each, if permitted to remain at large, in unrestrained freedom to come and go at will among the various tribes, would, by his malicious influence, continually menace the peace which it was hoped to establish. Colonel Wright was therefore particularly anxious to secure them.

But few of the officers or men of the command had ever seen Qualchien. In fact none of the offi-

cers had ever met him personally. Captain Keyes had faced him in battle on White river, Puget Sound district, on March 1st, 1856, but at no closer range than pistol shot. Owhi was better known, many of the officers having met him. He participated in the Walla Walla council held by Governor Stevens in 1855, at which Lieutenant Kip was present.

Qualchien had married the handsome daughter of Saulotkin,* the Spokane chief, and had thus obtained a position of some importance with that tribe.

Owhi came into camp for the purpose, as he stated, of making peace. He was immediately recognized, and was accorded a rather stern reception by Colonel Wright, who talked with him through the medium of the priest as an interpreter. After calling to his mind the episode which occurred on the Naches river, in 1856, Wright asked: "Where is Qualchien?" to which Owhi replied, "At the mouth of the Spokane river." The Colonel then said to the priest, "Tell Owhi that I will send a message to Qualchien. Tell him he, too, shall send a message, and if Qualchien does not join me before I cross the Snake river, in four days, I will hang Owhi."

"When this communication was made known to him," says Kip, "he appeared to lose all power over himself. He sank on the ground, and the perspira-

* Colonel Wright in his reports gives this name as "Polothin" and it is signed to the treaty as "Polatkin." Father Joset, who had an extended and intimate acquaintance with these Indians, and who assisted Father Congiato in securing the letter to General Clarke, had the name of the chief signed as in the text, Saulotkin.

tion came out on him in large drops. He took out a book of prayers, and in much confusion turned over the leaves for a moment, looking at the pictures apparently without knowing what he was doing, and handed it to the priest who was standing by him."

He was then ordered to be put in irons and placed under the care of a guard. When the messenger departed in quest of Qualchien, Owhi made known to the guard that he did not think his son would come in.

At about nine o'clock on the following morning, a small party of Indians was seen emerging from the mouth of a near-by canyon. The party consisted of two braves and a fine-looking squaw, the three riding abreast, and a small hunchback following a little way in their rear. The two braves were decked out in bright scarlet and presented a dashing air. Each carried a rifle and one, who was easily marked as the leader of the party, carried, hanging at his belt, an ornamented tomahawk and a pistol.

The squaw, whose striking comeliness was remarked by all, was richly attired; two ornamented scarfs rested over her right shoulder, the flowing ends passing under her right arm. A lance, the long staff of which was completely wound with various colored beads and ribbon, and from the end of which depended two long tippets of beaver, rested across her saddle in front. Her features were such that by some she was thought to be a half-blood.

Without the slightest exhibition of fear or embarrassment, the party rode directly to Colonel

Wright's tent, in front of which Captain Keyes, Lieutenant Lyon, and a few others were standing. The leader asked in chinook: * "Ca mitlite mica hyas tyee?" (Where does you chief live?) Keyes stepped to the tent and holding aside the opening, said: "Colonel, we have distinguished visitors here." Wright came out and began talking in chinook with the Indian, who in the meantime had ridden nearer his tent, and, to his surprise, soon learned that he was none other than Qualchien.

At the Colonel's invitation Qualchien dismounted. It was now observed that he possessed a fine physique; broad and deep of chest and muscular of limb, with small hands and feet. For a few moments the two stood talking, Qualchien with his rifle standing on the ground by his side.

While they were thus engaged, Wright, turning aside, called an orderly and gave him orders to carry to the officer of the guard directing that a detachment of soldiers be sent him at once.

During the talk, Wright mentioned Owhi in a manner to indicate that he also was present. This information startled Qualchien and in his surprise he asked excitedly, "Cah?" (where?). The Colonel replied, "Owhi mitlite yawa," (Owhi is there), pointing to where he was detained. Plainly bewildered by the intelligence that his father was being held a captive, Qualchien repeated, like one partially dazed, "Owhi mitlite yawa!" "Owhi mitlite

* The "chinook" language is a mixture of Indian and a sort of jargon evolved by the Hudson Bay Company, to be used as a common language for the purpose of carrying on its trade with the various Indian tribes.

yawa!" Evidently it was beginning to dawn upon him that, whatever might have been his intentions in visiting the chief of the soldiers, he had voluntarily fastened upon himself the irons of captivity. The officers standing near eyed the Indian closely, fearing that he might attempt to use some of his weapons, and were ready to spring upon and disarm him at the first suspicious move.

The detachment of soldiers now arrived, under command of Captain James A. Hardie, officer of the guard. The Colonel requested of Qualchien his arms, and, though it was expected that he would offer resistance, he promptly complied with the request. He had, for that date in the history of guns, a very fine pistol, which was found to be fully loaded and capped. He carried also an ample supply of ammunition.

After surrendering his arms, the Colonel directed him to go with the guard, which he did very reluctantly, requiring to be pulled along by his arms.

On witnessing this turn of affairs, the squaw, who proved to be the wife of Qualchien, the daughter of Saulotkin, in a frenzy of chagrin dexterously twirled her decorated lance over her head, and uttering a shrill cry drove it into the ground, where she left it and rode away.

Immediately after the guard had started away with the prisoner, Wright penciled a note to Captain Hardie directing him to hang Qualchien at once. By the time the order was placed in Hardie's hands he had reached the guard-tent, and, his orders brooking no delay, he made known to Qualchien, before the latter could enter the tent, that he

was now to be put to death. The Indian was so completely overcome by this pronouncement of his sentence that he was unable to stand, and prostrated himself upon the ground, from which position he could not be induced or forced to rise. Bewailing his condition, he cursed Kamiaken, and thus led those who heard him to suspect that he considered Kamiaken in some way responsible for his present predicament. Being convinced that he could not be prevailed upon to rise of his own volition, the soldiers, after a severe struggle, for he was a man of great strength and activity notwithstanding the fact that he had an unhealed wound in the lower part of his body, bound his hands and six of them raised him from the ground and carried him in their arms to a leaning tree that stood but a short distance away.

Here the struggle was renewed. Though he was bound, he countered their efforts to place the noose about his neck so skilfully that they were finally compelled to press him down upon the ground. All the while he had been imploring them most piteously not to hang him. To General Lyon, in later years, is attributed the declaration that "No more mournful sounds were ever heard than those made by Qualchien in begging for his life." Over and over he repeated, "Copet, six! Copet, six! Wake mameluse nica! Nica potlatch hiyu chickamen, hiyu cuitan, spouse mica wake mameluse nica! Hiyu siwash sulex!" Which is, in English: "Stop, friends! Stop, friends! Don't kill me! I will give you a lot of money and many horses, if you will not kill me! Many Indians will be angry!"

The rope was thrown over a large limb and a number of soldiers, seizing the loose end, soon finished the unpleasant duty by drawing the chief up, out of the arms of their comrades, until he swung in mid-air.

Two miners, engaged in the quartermaster's department, who had been with a party attacked by Qualchien near the Columbia river, a few months before, assisted the soldiers in pulling the rope.

When Owhi came into camp, on the evening of the 23rd, he wore a coat which was recognized by an employe of the quartermaster's department as having belonged to a miner who was murdered during the spring of that year.

From the moment when Qualchien called at the tent of the commander, to the time of his hanging, was no longer than fifteen minutes.

On the following day rumor gained circulation, from some source, that Qualchien had a large sum of money concealed about him. Probably the report was developed from his offer to give money for the sparing of his life. The possibility that it might be true appealed to the commanding officer with such force that, in order to prevent anything of value from falling into the hands of the Indians, an order was issued to have the body disinterred and searched. After careful examination, nothing of value was found upon it and it was again consigned to the grave.

The story of Qualchien's visit to Colonel Wright must be left incomplete. His mission was not ascertained. The messenger set out to find him did not see him, and therefore he did not appear in response

to the invitation the messenger bore. He doubtless knew of the council appointed for this place, and it might have been his intention to attend that, yet the council was already a matter of history. From his conduct some evidence was deducted which led to the suspicion that he acted as a spy for Kamiaken. Some believed that he had seen the detachment on its way to the Steptoe battle-field, and supposing the whole command had departed, came, out of curiosity, to inspect what he thought to be a deserted camp. Others attributed his appearance to the wily machination of the little hunchback, who plainly exhibited a degree of satisfaction at the chief's discomfiture. Qualchien himself, either because of his disinclination or of his lack of opportunity to do so, did not make his errand known.

No report is made by Colonel Wright concerning the final disposition of Owhi. It is therefore fitting, at this time, in connection with the event just narrated, to anticipate the incidents of the succeeding few days in following his course.

Owhi, closely guarded, was taken with the command; it being intended to hold him at Walla Walla to await the orders of the department. On the 2nd of October, Colonel Wright recrossed Snake river and on the afternoon of the 3rd took up his march toward Walla Walla, and encamped that night on the Tukanon creek about two miles from Fort Taylor. The lieutenants had for several days been given turns as officers of the day, and on this day Lieutenant Michael R. Morgan had been assigned that duty. In that capacity he had charge of Owhi. On the march the two were mounted,

while the guard of three or four soldiers was afoot. Morgan's pistol hung at his left side. The Indian, riding at his right, could not see the weapon. They had fallen some short distance in the rear of the command when they arrived at the Tukanon. The footmen stepped a few paces above the ford to where a fallen tree spanned the creek, for convenient crossing. Owhi fell a little behind the officer, evidently to see if he was armed. Not being able to see the pistol, he determined that this was his opportunity to escape, and moving forward he suddenly struck the lieutenant several hard blows across the face with his whip and then dashed across the creek. As soon as Morgan could recover from his astonishment, he drew his pistol and spurring his horse into the creek, gave chase. Fearing lest the Indian should escape and thereby involve his own official standing, and angered also because of the lashing received in his face, he spurred his horse on as best he could in an endeavor to close up with the fleeing prisoner; but being a "government" horse, the animal was proverbially slow. The lieutenant therefore undertook to stop the Indian with his pistol and in the fusillade which he conducted succeeded in lodging three bullets in his body. Owhi was then headed into a sort of cul-de-sac, of natural formation, from which he could not escape without passing through the command. Finding himself thus hemmed, the old warrior, sorely wounded, turned and faced his pursuer in dogged silence. Morgan had emptied his pistol in the chase and now addressed himself to the task of keeping Owhi penned up until assist-

ance could arrive, or until he could again prepare himself for action. The pistol shots were heard by the troops on ahead, and a number of dragoons came rushing back. In their lead was Sergeant Edward Ball. He approached on the opposite side of the chief from where Morgan stood. Morgan ordered him to shoot the Indian, and at the report of his gun, Owhi, who had been sitting his horse in perfect silence, fell to the ground mortally wounded, the sergeant's bullet having entered his head. He lingered until sunset, when his spirit took its way to the happy hunting ground.

In some contrast were the deaths of Owhi and his son Qualchien. The former died without a murmur, while the pleadings of the latter were so loud that Owhi, in disgust, disowned him, saying that he was the son of Kamiaken, probably meaning that he had been following the advice of Kamiaken.

Lieutenant Mullan's Nez Perces proceeded to appropriate everything of any value that was found on the body of Owhi. His handsome saddle, profusely decorated with brass nails, was taken by Lieutenant Morgan, who afterward gave it to Surgeon Barnes, at Fort Vancouver. Barnes became surgeon-general of the army in the war of the rebellion, and attended President Lincoln at the time of his assassination.

Lieutenant Morgan reported the unfortunate affair to Colonel Wright and an ante-mortem examination of the chief's body fully substantiated the details of the report.

XVI

THE LONELY BATTLE-FIELD

RECKONING WITH THE PALOUSES AND WALLA WALLAS

"H EADQUARTERS Expedition Against
Northern Indians,
Camp on the Ned-whauld (Lahtoo)
River, W. T.,

September 25, 1858.

Sir: Yesterday I sent Brevet Major Grier with three troops of dragoons to Colonel Steptoe's battle-ground, twelve miles south of this place. The major has this moment returned, bringing with him the remains of Captain Taylor and Lieutenant Gaston, who fell in the battle, and also the two howitzers abandoned by the troops when they retreated.

I shall march tomorrow morning for the Palouse river.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WRIGHT,

Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.

Major W. W. Mackall,

Assistant Adjutant General,

Headquarters Department of the Pacific,
Fort Vancouver, W. T."

The direction from the site of the camp on the Nedwhauld to the battle-field of Tohotonimme is, rather, southwesterly, instead of directly south.

A few of the Nez Perces accompanied the detachment as guides, and traveling as direct a route as possible across the intervening stretch of hills, the battle-ground was reached about noon.

What a contrast the scene presented to that which was enacted there but a little over four months before! To the officers and men who now returned to review the ground for the first time since they rode away in the darkness of that May night, it was like an intrusion into sepulchral solitude. That those hills and vales once vibrated with the booming of cannon and the ceaseless crashing of musket and rifle, the deep rumble of charging squadrons, and the wild, fierce yells of a legion of victorious and expectant savages, all seemed like a hideous nightmare as compared with the eternal silence that now prevailed. Day after day since the echoes of the din and turmoil of that 17th of May had ceased, those slopes and glens had known no sounds more harsh than the soft rustling of the grass as it waved in the breeze, or the whispering of the quivering leaves of the aspen that grew along the creek; and the stillness at night had been broken no more roughly than by the howl of the coyote, as he patrolled the lonely prairie and occasionally emitted a challenge to his rival or indulged his exultation over some discovery which contributed to his necessities.

Soon it became apparent that Major Grier's mission would be readily accomplished, and during the afternoon Lieutenant Mullan sent a Nez Perce to

Colonel Wright with a message advising him of the entire success which had attended the party.

Lieutenant Gregg and Dr. Randolph rode over the field with the other officers and pointed out to them the location of the various events which had so completely filled the day: where the first attack was made, the ground over which the troops marched under fire in silence, where Gregg raced with the foe for a position of vantage, where the desperate attempt was made to surround Gaston's company, the hill on which the companies were gathered and re-formed to fight their way onward, where charge after charge was made, where Gaston and Taylor fell, and where the command was finally surrounded.

Lieutenant Mullan took account of the location, including the route to the point farthest north reached by Colonel Steptoe, and the return. The map made by him indicates that Steptoe, when he turned back, sought to follow the trail by which he had come, or to reach the Lapwai-Colville road lying to the eastward from which he had departed by a branch trail on the Saturday preceding the meeting with the Indians.

In searching for the bones of those who fell too far away to be reached for burial before the command set out on its flight, the troops were dismounted and formed at the point from whence the last half mile of the moving fight was begun, in a long row, shoulder to shoulder, and but a few feet apart. In this way they moved along the ground over which the fight raged, each soldier scanning the space in his front. Thus they discovered and



COLONEL LAWRENCE KIP
Author of "Army Life on the Pacific"

gathered up the remains. Those of Gaston lay near where he fell. The greatest number was found at the foot of the hill where Taylor received his mortal wound and where the troops were forced to abandon their course toward the creek and turn aside to the top of the hill in quest of more favorable ground for defense. A survivor of Colonel Wright's expedition, who assisted in the search for the dead, recently identified this spot as being very near where the Rosalia public school building stands.

The bodies of Captain Taylor and others who were buried on the hill were disinterred, and the howitzers were found unmolested where they had been cached.

That night Major Grier's soldiers slept on the battle-field, near the banks of the creek toward which Steptoe's thirsty, hard-pressed troops fought with such desperation. On the morrow, bearing their sad emblems of the horrors of war, they wended their way back over the hills to the Nighthauld; but before they departed (again quoting Kip): "One thing more remained to be done. Among the articles left on the ground was a pair of shafts belonging to one of the guns. These were taken and fashioned into a rude cross, which was set up in the midst of the battle-field, to remind all future travelers of the sad event of which this had been the scene. And then, after depositing around it all that could be gathered up from the relics scattered over the hillsides and wherever the fight was waged, they left the field in solemn silence.

Poor Gaston! My parting with him was at West

Point, when full of life and spirits and bright anticipations of his future career. My last recollection of him is in his grey cadet uniform. I never saw him after, until I thus stood by his remains today. He was every inch a soldier. * * * He had a soldier's death, and will have a soldier's burial and grave—

'The fresh turf, and not the feverish bed.' "

The camp on the Nedwhauld was broken on the morning of September 26th, and the command marched westward, to the north of Steptoe's battleground, and in the evening camped on what was thought to be the Silsilceppowvetsin, having made that day about fifteen miles.

On the following morning the camp was early astir, and the troops were on the march between six and seven o'clock. A hard rain beginning in the morning continued throughout the day and it was exceedingly cold. The soldiers suffered a great deal, yet, with the prospect of soon seeing friends and comfortable quarters, they faced the storm cheerfully. The distance covered this day was only about ten miles, and was in a southerly direction.

On the 28th the march was begun at six o'clock. The route was along the west side of Spectre (Rock) lake, and striking the Ouraytayouse (Rock creek) that stream was followed where its direction and the ground were practicable. The day was cold, and in the afternoon was rainy. After traveling about twenty-five miles, encampment was made on the Ouraytayouse about two miles from its juncture with the Palouse.

Frequently along the whole distance traveled since leaving the Nedwhauld, deserted Indian camps were seen. Evidently some of these Indians had been of the scouting parties, watching for the approach of soldiers toward the north, and when the fighting along the Spokane was imminent, they had assembled there to assist their tribesmen.

The grass along the route had nearly all been burned over, thus rendering the matter of forage for the horses a thing of serious concern.

On the 29th, the creek on which the camp had been pitched the previous night was followed to its mouth, and then down the Palouse the march was continued for fifteen miles, when camp was again made. The site of this camp seemed to be an Indian battle-ground. Arrow heads were found scattered about in profusion, and parts and pieces of Indian weapons were strewn over the ground. From this encampment Colonel Wright forwarded the following reports:

“Headquarters Expedition Against Northern
Indians,

Camp on the Pelouse River, W. T.,
September 30, 1858.

Sir: My last dispatch to department headquarters (No. 21) was dated on the 25th instant. On the evening of that day many of the Pelouse Indians began to gather in my camp. They represented themselves as having been in both battles, and when Kamiakin fled over the mountains they seceded from his party, and were now anxious for peace. I seized fifteen men, and after a careful in-

vestigation of their cases I found that they had left their own country and waged war against the forces of the United States, and one of them had killed a sergeant of Colonel Steptoe's command, who was crossing the Snake river. I had promised those Indians severe treatment if found with the hostiles, and accordingly *six* of the most notorious were hung on the spot. The others were ironed for the march.

I left my camp on the Ned-whauld (Lahtoo) on the morning of the 26th, and after a march of four cold, rainy days reached this place last evening.

On the 27th I was met by the Pelouse chief, *Slow-i-archy*. This chief has always lived at the mouth of the Pelouse, and has numerous testimonials of good character, and has not been engaged in hostilities. He has about twenty-five men, besides women and children, probably one hundred in all. He told me that some of his young men had, contrary to his advice, engaged in the war, but that they were all now assembled and begging for peace. *Slow-i-archy* had five men with him, and he dispatched two of them the same day he met me high up the Pelouse to bring in the Indians from that quarter, whom he represented as being desirous of meeting me.

After I encamped last evening *Slow-i-archy* went down the river about two miles and brought up all his people, men, women and children, with all the property they had, and early this morning a large band of Pelouses, numbering about one hundred, men, women and children, came in from the upper Pelouses. These comprise pretty much all the Pe-

houses left in the country. A few have fled with Kamiakin, who is represented as having gone over the mountains and crossed Clark's fork.

I shall have a talk with these Indians today, and I will then communicate to you the result.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WRIGHT,

Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.

Major W. W. Mackall,

Asst. Adjt. Gen., Headq'rs Dept. of the Pacific,
Fort Vancouver, W. T."

"Headquarters Expedition Against Northern
Indians,

Camp on the Pelouse River, W. T.,

September 30, 1858.

Sir: I have this moment finished with the Pelouses. After calling them together in council, I addressed them in severe language, enumerating their murders, thefts, and war against the United States troops. I then demanded the murderers of the two miners in April last. One man was brought out and hung forthwith. Two of the men who stole the cattle from Walla Walla valley were hung at my camp on the Nedwhauld, and one of them was killed in the battle of the 'Four Lakes.' All the property they had belonging to the government was restored. I then brought out my Indian prisoners, and found three of them were either Walla-Wallas or Yakimas. They were hung on the spot. One of the murderers of the miners had been hung on the Spokane.

I then demanded of these Indians one chief and

four men, with their families, to take to Fort Walla Walla as hostages for their future good behavior. They were presented and accepted.

I told these Indians that I would not now make any written treaty of peace with them, but if they performed all I required that next spring a treaty should be made with them.

I said to them that white people should travel through their country unmolested; that they should apprehend and deliver up every man of their nation who had been guilty of murder or robbery. All this they promised me.

I warned them that if I ever had to come into this country again on a hostile expedition no man should be spared; I would annihilate the whole nation.

I have treated these Indians severely, but they justly deserved it all. They will remember it.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WRIGHT,

Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.

Major W. W. Mackall,

Asst. Adjt. Gen., Headq'rs Dept. of the Pacific,
Fort Vancouver, W. T."

The lecture administered by Colonel Wright, through his interpreter, to the assembled Palouses was couched in the following highly complimentary and delectable terms, according to Kip's journal:

"Tell them they are a set of rascals, and deserve to be hung; that if I should hang them all, I should not do wrong. Tell them I have made a written treaty with the Coeur d'Alenes and the Spokanes,

but I will not make a written treaty with them; and if I catch one of them on the other side of Snake river, I will hang him. Tell them they shall not go into the Coeur d'Alene country, nor into the Spokane country, nor shall they allow the Walla Walla Indians to come into their country. If they behave themselves and do all that I direct them, I will make a written treaty with them next spring. If I do, there will be no more war between us. If they do not submit to these terms, I will make war on them; and if I come here again to war, I will hang them all, men, women, and children."

Immediately upon the decision to execute the murderer and the three other Indians, they were turned over to the guard, and while the council continued, they were bound and marched to a tree several hundred yards away, where they were hung.

With but few exceptions the Indians who were executed on this expedition met their fate with stoical courage. Lieutenant Mullan's vehicle, to which was attached his odometer, served as a handy platform for the grewsome operations. A few even went so far in exhibiting their complete indifference to death as to leap from the vehicle, after the noose had been adjusted about their necks, without awaiting the convenience of their executioners.

"Headquarters Expedition Against Northern
Indians,

Camp on the Pelouse River, W. T.,
September 30, 1858.

Sir: The war is closed. Peace is restored with

the Spokanes, Coeur d'Alenes and Pelouses. After a vigorous campaign the Indians have been entirely subdued, and were most happy to accept such terms of peace as I might dictate.

Results.

1. Two battles fought by the troops under my command, against the combined forces of the Spokanes, Coeur d'Alenes, and Pelouses, in both of which the Indians were signally defeated, with a severe loss of chiefs and warriors, either killed or wounded.

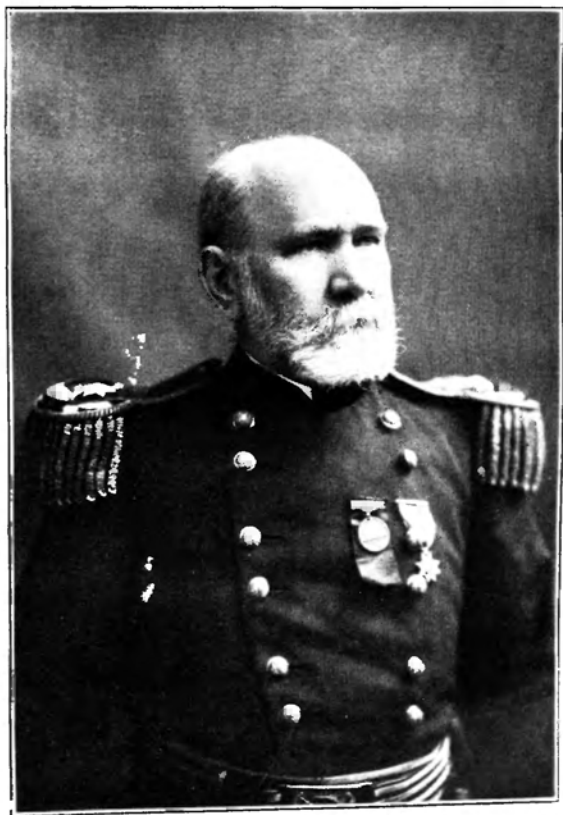
2. The capture of one thousand horses, and a large number of cattle from the hostile Indians, all of which were either killed or appropriated to the service of the United States.

3. Many barns filled with wheat or oats, also several fields of grain, with numerous *caches* of vegetables, dried berries, and *kamas*, all destroyed, or used by the troops.

4. The Yakima chief, Ow-hi, in irons, and the notorious war chief Qualchen, hung. The murderers of the miners, the cattle stealers, &c. (in all, eleven Indians), all hung.

5. The Spokanes, Coeur d'Alenes and Pelouses entirely subdued, and sue most abjectly for peace on any terms.

6. Treaties made with the above named nations; they have restored all property which was in their possession, belonging either to the United States or to individuals; they have promised that all white people shall travel through their country unmolested, and that no hostile Indians shall be allowed to pass through or remain among them.



GENERAL MICHAEL R. MORGAN

7. The delivery to the officer in command of the United States troops of the Indians who commenced the battle with Lieutenant Colonel Steptoe contrary to the orders of their chiefs.

8. The delivery to the officer in command of the United States troops of *one* chief and *four* men, with their *families*, from each of the above named tribes, to be taken to Fort Walla Walla, and held as hostages for the future good conduct of their respective nations.

9. The recovery of the two mounted howitzers abandoned by the troops under Lieutenant Colonel Steptoe.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. WRIGHT,

Colonel 9th Infantry, Commanding.

Major W. W. Mackall,

Assistant Adjutant General,

Headquarters Department of the Pacific,

Fort Vancouver, W. T."

On the morning of October 1st, Captain Keyes with the artillery battalion, one company of cavalry, the commissary and quartermaster's trains, and the Indians and hostages under charge of Lieutenant Fleming, left the remainder of the command at the encampment on the Palouse, and proceeded to Snake river, where they arrived at noon, and crossed over to Fort Taylor.

On the morning of the 2nd, Lieutenants Mullan and Owen took their leave, Mullan going to report at headquarters, at Fort Vancouver, in connection with the military road survey from Fort Walla

Walla to Fort Benton, to which duty he had been previously assigned, but had been compelled by the hostility of the Indians on his route, those from whose conquering he had just returned, to abandon until a more favorable season. Lieutenant Owen going to Fort Dalles to re-assume his duties as Adjutant of the 9th infantry.

At noon on the 2nd, Colonel Wright with the main force arrived at the river. On his appearance a salute was fired from the guns of Fort Taylor, in his honor.

Orders previously received had directed that the force should remain at Fort Taylor, but early on the morning of the 3rd an express arrived with countermanding orders requiring it to proceed to Vancouver instead. Therefore, to the discomfiture of the weary soldiers who had looked forward to a season of relaxation at Fort Taylor, during the afternoon of the 3rd the camp was again broken. Major Wyse, with Fort Taylor's garrison, joined also in the march and thus the fort was abandoned forever. It was left in care of Slowiarchy, the old Palouse chief. Grange City, a station on the O.-W. R. & N. railroad, now occupies its site.

At noon on the 5th they arrived at Walla Walla, having been gone sixty marching days, and were most cordially received. The column reached the fort in the following formation, says Kip:

"The four companies of dragoons came first; then our thirty Nez Perces allies; then the hostages, drawn up in two ranks, under the command of Lieutenant Fleming; then the two rifle com-

panies; then Major Wyse's company and battery of six-pounders; then the howitzer battery, under Lieutenant White; and, lastly, the artillery battalion. By far the most conspicuous and *distingue* looking person in the command was Cutmouth John. He rode generally by the side of the Nez Perces, dressed in a red blanket, his head surmounted by a large skin cap, and holding in his hand a long pole, from the end of which dangled a scalp he had taken in the battle of the 'Four Lakes.'

The Inspector General, Colonel Mansfield, had arrived a few days before, and it was determined that he should exercise the duties of his office on the spot. As soon, therefore, as we reached the parade ground, the column halted, the ranks opened, and Colonel Mansfield, with Colonel Wright and his staff, made a thorough inspection. There was nothing about the command, of the pomp and circumstance of glorious war.' During two months no one had slept under a roof, and all were begrimed with mud and rain and dust. The artillery and infantry wore blue flannel shirts drawn over their uniforms and belted at the waist; the dragoons had a similar dress of grey flannel. The officers had adopted the same, with slouched hats. The only marks of their rank were the shoulder straps sewed on the flannel. Yet all this was showing the reality of service. If there was little display of uniforms, the arms were in perfect order, and we believe the troops had never been in a higher state of discipline, or a more efficient condition for action. At all events, Colonel Mans-

field expressed himself highly gratified with the result of his inspection.

October 6th—This morning notice was received from Colonel Wright that all the officers should meet at Colonel Steptoe's quarters to pay their respects to the Inspector General. We met there at twelve o'clock, when a handsome collation was provided, and a couple of hours spent in pleasant intercourse.

October 7th—Today we turned to more solemn duties. At ten o'clock took place the burial of Captain Taylor, Lieutenant Gaston, and the remains of the men which had been found on Colonel Steptoe's battle-ground. It was from this post they had marched forth, and here they were to be laid to their rest. They were of course buried with military honors, the ceremony being invested with all the pageantry which was possible, to show respect to the memory of our gallant comrades. All the officers, thirty-nine in number, and the troops at the post, amounting to eight hundred (reinforcements having arrived since our departure), were present and took part in the ceremonies. The horses of the dead, draped in black, having on them the officers' swords and boots, were led behind the coffins. The remains were taken about half a mile from the post, and there interred. Three volleys were fired over them, and we left them where day after day the notes of the bugle will be borne over their graves, while we cherish their memories as those who laid down their young lives in the battle-field for their country."

The remains of Captain Taylor and Lieutenant Gaston were, three years afterward, disinterred and conveyed to the Cadets' Cemetery at West Point, where they now rest, and over their graves flowers of affectionate remembrance are still strewn by surviving comrades and fellow graduates of the National Military Academy.

Embodied in a letter received by the writer from General David McM. Gregg, since the commencement of this volume, is a very fitting finale to the record in hand of these two officers, as well as to the men who fell with them:

"It is very gratifying to know that the patriotic people of Washington propose to honor the memory of the gallant soldiers who fell in the fierce combat that was fought fifty years ago, not far from which, I am told, is a beautiful city, Spokane. On my visits to West Point I do not fail to go to the Cadets' Cemetery, where repose the remains of so many distinguished soldiers, and standing by the graves of Captain Taylor and Lieutenant Gaston there is brought to memory the thrilling events of that fateful 17th of May, 1858."

Although Colonel Wright reported the closing of the war and the results of the campaign from his last encampment on the Palouse, there was yet other work to be done.

On the 9th of October the Walla Wallas were called into council. Petty depredations had been charged to these Indians through a period of several years, and no doubt was entertained that some

of the murders committed in the region should be accredited to their account. Their habitations were scattered over a wide range, and their nomadic disposition led them frequently back and forth among the neighboring tribes. It was strongly suspected, too, that some of them had participated in the recent operations at the north.

On their coming together, Colonel Wright administered to them a "talk" in the usual crisp and forceful language lately employed on like occasions, after which he requested all those who had been engaged in the recent battles to stand up. Thirty-five immediately arose, and out of this number he selected four of the most notorious, among them being one Wyecat, whose reputation savored particularly of murder and rapine, and turned them over to the guard, by whom they were hung without delay.

The artillery battalion under Captain Keyes left Walla Walla on the 9th of October, and, after a march of eight days, arrived at The Dalles on the 17th. From The Dalles the battalion descended the Columbia by boat, reaching Vancouver on the evening of the 18th.

The full force of dragoons was retained at Walla Walla until detachments were required for service at other points in the jurisdiction of the Department of the Pacific. Colonel Wright himself proceeded immediately to Vancouver.

Colonel Wright's command had been composed of detachments assembled from various posts in the Department of the Pacific, from San Francisco and near-by interior posts, to Fort Tejon and the

Colorado. Many of the officers and men were soon dispersed to their various stations; some to meet again in the exactions of a war far more fierce, under opposing colors.

“Headquarters Department of the Pacific,
Fort Vancouver, W. T., October 7, 1858.

Brevet Brigadier General Clarke tenders to Colonel Wright and Major Garnett, 9th infantry, his thanks for the zeal, energy, and skill displayed by them in leading the troops against hostile Indians. Also to the troops for their bravery and intrepidity in action against the Indians.

By command of Brigadier General Clarke.

W. W. MACKALL,
Assistant Adjutant General.”

BIOGRAPHICAL

COLONEL EDWARD J. STEPTOE

THE available records of the Steptoe family go back to the year 1697, when Anthony and John Steptoe, brothers, located in Lancaster county, Virginia. From one of these was descended Colonel James Steptoe of "Hominy Hall," on the Lower Potomac.

Colonel James Steptoe arose in military rank from the militia of his colony, and his career in the profession of arms began with his appointment as captain of "a company of horse" in 1734, from which position he was promoted to the office of colonel. He was twice married, and there were born to him six children. One of his daughters, Elizabeth, became the wife of Samuel Washington, only full brother of General George Washington. To them was born George Steptoe Washington, who became an officer in the army, and one of the five nephews mentioned in the will of General Washington as his executors. He married the beautiful Lucy Payne, sister of the renowned Dolly Madison. Colonel James Steptoe's second wife, a widow, Mrs. Aylett, had two daughters at the time of their marriage, and one of these married the Hon. Richard Henry Lee.

James Steptoe, one of the sons of Colonel James Steptoe, was clerk of Bedford county, Virginia, for

fifty-four years, and was, as might well be supposed, a man of sterling character. It is said of him that he had his slaves taught various trades in order that they might be able to support themselves, and as they thus became efficient gave them their freedom.

While driving along the road to Bedford one day, his attention was attracted by a crowd of citizens gathered around a residence. He ordered his coachman to stop and go over and ascertain the cause. On returning the coachman reported: "Massa, de sheriff 's selling ole Missus Caffree out." The old clerk promptly got out of his coach, went over to where the assemblage was gathered, bought all the goods the sheriff offered for sale, and then presented them to Mrs. Caffree.

Elizabeth, one of the daughters of County Clerk James Steptoe, married Charles Johnston. Soon after the Revolution Mr. Johnston was sent to Ohio on government business. At that time various Indian tribes along his route were in a state of hostility and as he neared Sandusky he fell into the hands of a party of them. Prior to this he seems to have acquired some skill in the art of cooking, and now applying himself to the task he so appealed to the appetites of his captors by the excellent quality of his "pancakes" that they postponed his execution from day to day until a year had rolled by. His death was then decided upon and he was bound to a stake to be burned. Just as the faggots were being lighted, an old Frenchman called Dr. Shuget drove up in a pedler's cart, and after some parley induced the Indians to spare the

life of Johnston in exchange for a few goods. The Frenchman took Johnston back to Virginia, and later he was sent on official business to Paris. It so happened that he sailed on the same vessel that carried General Lafayette back to France after the latter's first return to the United States to visit General Washington. On the voyage he entertained the distinguished French soldier and his staff with the narrative of his captivity among the Indians.

Among the descendants of Colonel James Steptoe, we find Doctor William Steptoe, also of Bedford county, but who for many years resided at New London, Campbell county, Virginia. Besides the attainment of eminence in his profession, Dr. Steptoe exerted a wide influence over public affairs, and while it is not recorded that he was ever accorded political preferment, it is known that he was in close touch with the official administration of his state. His wife was a sister of Hon. John Thompson Brown, member of Congress from Virginia.

Edward Jevnor Steptoe, son of Dr. William Steptoe, was born in Bedford county, Virginia, in 1816. Going back again among the ancestors of this boy, it is of interest to note that Elizabeth Eskridge, daughter of Colonel George Eskridge, was one of his great-grandmothers. Col. George Eskridge was the guardian of Mary Ball, the mother of George Washington. The "father of his country" was named for Colonel Eskridge.

Edward Steptoe's boyhood was no more eventful than that of other Virginia boys who learned the precepts of Christian religion and good citizenship in homes where such things were revered and

taught. At the age of seventeen he graduated from Chapel Hill university, North Carolina, and immediately thereafter, through the influence of his uncle, Hon. John Thompson Brown, he received an appointment to a cadetship at the U. S. Military Academy at West Point. From that institution he graduated in 1837, standing No. 34 in a class of fifty, and of the graduates from the founding of the Academy he was No. 924. Among the members of his graduating class were Braxton Bragg, Jubal A. Early, John Sedgwick, John C. Pemberton, Joseph Hooker, and many others who in after years climbed high on the ladder of fame.

Soon after finishing his course at West Point he was assigned to duty in the army. In the early forties he was in the service in Florida against the Indians as a Lieutenant. His letters to his father during that period indicate that his duties required constant activity, although he was not often engaged with the hostiles.

When the war with Mexico broke out Lieutenant Steptoe, commanding a company of artillery, was early to the front. The force to which his company was attached was taken from New Orleans to Tampico by boat. At Tampico it was for some time detained. While transporting his company by water along the coast during the preliminary movements for the siege of Vera Cruz he was shipwrecked. His men had much difficulty in reaching safety, and as it was two were lost.

He participated in the siege of Vera Cruz, and was assigned the task of guarding a certain pass leading out of the city to prevent ingress or egress.

At one time during the siege he was ordered to take a couple of his guns and demolish a barricade that had been reared by the enemy some distance out from the city. Under a heavy fire he advanced and planted his guns within thirty yards of the barricade, when eight or ten charges of canister sufficed to disperse its defenders to other cover. In this movement he suffered the loss of only one man.

"Steptoe's Battery" became well known during the war, and shared in the honor of General Taylor's daring and marvelous campaign.

Lieutenant Steptoe was promoted for gallantry in the battle of Cero Gordo, and again for his conduct at the battle of Chapultepec. When the war was ended he bore the title, "Brevet Lieutenant Colonel."

While serving in that war under one of the future Presidents of the United States he formed an intimate friendship with another—General Franklin Pierce.

After the close of the Mexican war, Colonel Steptoe was stationed for a time at Old Point Comfort, Virginia. His service there, near the home of his parents and other members of the family, all of whom he regarded with the most tender affection, was perhaps the most pleasant period of his twenty-four years of army life. The greater part of his military service was on the frontier, and in places where social pleasures were unknown.

Late in 1854 Colonel Steptoe's command was ordered to the Pacific coast, and on reaching Salt Lake, Utah, he encamped about that city for some months during the fore part of 1855. The trouble

with the Mormons was at that time demanding attention, and the administration of affairs in the territory by Brigham Young, who had been appointed governor by President Fillmore, was receiving some critical consideration in Congress. President Pierce appointed Colonel Steptoe as governor to succeed Brigham Young and his appointment was duly confirmed by the Senate. Owing to the peculiar conditions existing in Utah, the governorship of that territory was considered one of the most important appointments in the hands of the President, yet the appointment of Colonel Steptoe received the highest commendation from the press and the people generally who were familiar with the requirements of the office.

The appointment was entirely unsolicited by Colonel Steptoe, and though it was tendered to him in a most generous and flattering way, yet through his love for the profession of arms, and in view of the prospects of advancement in the army which now seemed to beckon him on, he was prompted to decline its acceptance.

Early in the spring of 1856 Colonel Steptoe reached Vancouver, Washington Territory, with his command, and prepared to go into the Yakima country, where it was reported that trouble with the Yakima Indians was brewing. On the 28th of April, with about two hundred men, he set out from Vancouver, up the Columbia river by boat. Arriving at the Cascades he found a band of hostile Indians awaiting him, on the Washington side of the river. The troops landed under a brisk fire and after a sharp fight drove the Indians from their

position, taking a large amount of supplies and capturing many animals. In his official report of this engagement Colonel Steptoe made especial mention of the gallant conduct of 2nd Lieutenant Philip H. Sheridan, of the Fourth infantry.

Steptoe spent the greater part of the summer in the vicinity of the Yakimas, his permanent encampment being on the Nachez river. Occasionally portions of his command had light brushes with the Indians, but suffered no serious results.

One day, while in camp on the Nachez, an amusing incident occurred: A small party of Indians was discovered skulking near the camp under cover of a clump of brush. Aside from spying out the situation about the grounds, they were evidently intent upon stealing whatever they might be able to lay their hands upon. One of the officers secured as large a mirror as could be found in the camp and stationing himself in the sunlight cast the reflection of the mirror into their hiding place. The Indians became panic-stricken and fled in much disorder, and the reflection following them up hastened their efforts at retreat.

In the latter part of the summer Colonel Steptoe was directed to proceed to Walla Walla, and there to construct a post. During the fall of that year he erected the first barracks and buildings of Fort Walla Walla. Concerning its location he wrote his sister, Miss Nannie Steptoe, under date of October 27th, 1856, as follows: "Do you know where this place is? Look up the Columbia river on the map till you see its tributary, the Walla Walla, and on this latter 'The Mission.' About

five miles above the last place I am erecting a Post. The Walla Walla river flows through a valley surrounded by hills & mountains. This valley being so shut in has a very fine climate, is very fertile and is intersected by streams everywhere. I find much to interest and amuse me. What with supervising the work, shooting grouse & catching trout, the time moves not unpleasantly along. My command embraces some 14 or 15 officers and five companies of troops. One want we feel much, and that is female society; but one officer is married & his family is absent."

Colonel Steptoe commanded at Fort Walla Walla until after the return of Colonel Wright's expedition in 1858. His health having failed, he was granted a furlough early in 1859 and returned to his old home in Virginia. It had been his intention on obtaining his furlough to visit Europe before returning again to active duty, believing that travel abroad would benefit his health. Absorbed in the congenial society of family and old friends after arriving in Virginia, the departure for Europe was postponed. In 1860 he married Miss Mary R. Claytor. Still intent on regaining his health, he went to Cuba and with his wife remained there through the winter of 1860-'61. On his return to Lynchburg, in the spring of 1861, he suffered a stroke of paralysis. He had previously had some symptoms of the trouble. Dr. Randolph, surgeon of the Steptoe expedition, and a warm friend of Colonel Steptoe, wrote Dr. William Steptoe that the Colonel had in 1857, while returning to Walla Walla from a trip to Vancouver, shown pro-

nounced symptoms of palsy of the right side which so affected him that it was necessary to assist him in mounting his horse or in entering his carriage. From that, however, he seemed to have recovered entirely and appeared to be in excellent health until after the long and arduous ride which followed the escape of his command from the "Northern Indians."

In the fall of 1861 Dr. William Steptoe had the Colonel taken to Philadelphia for treatment, and he remained in that city for some months. From Philadelphia he went to Canada, but was never able to recover his wonted vigor.

The war between the states was a matter which distressed Colonel Steptoe sorely. He was loth to break his fealty to his native state, which cast its fortunes decidedly with the South, yet he regretted profoundly the imminent prospect of the dismemberment of the Union. It was his belief that the circumstances which brought on the war were due in a large measure to ill-advised statesmanship on both sides. He remained loyal to the government, and retained his position in the army until a realization of the hopeless condition of his health was forced upon him.

At the outbreak of the war the press of Virginia speculated a great deal as to what position Colonel Steptoe and other prominent army officers would take. When the *Enquirer* announced him with a list of those who had taken their stand with the North, some of the Virginia editors refused to believe the announcement true.

Despairing of recovery from his affliction, he de-



MRS NANNIE STEPTOE ELDRIDGE

Sister of Colonel E. J. Steptoe and only survivor of the family of
Dr. William Steptoe. Now residing at Lynchburg, Va.

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT PIERCE TO
COLONEL STEPTOE

Washington
January 6, 1855

My dear Colonel

I received your
long and interesting letter dated
at Salt Lake City and need
not say that the receiving
which you were able to give
of your own and our views
upon the subject in relation to the
community among whom you
are sojourning for the winter
afforded me great satisfaction
I received a letter from Chief
Justice Kennedy by the same

mail which brought your
in which he says expressly that
if the Office of Governor of Utah
were tendered to you it would
be accepted. There was however
in his letter nothing to indicate
whether that opinion was or not
expressed upon the supposition
that you could hold the civil
office and at the same time
retain your rank in the Army.
Notwithstanding this uncertainty
I decided to send your nomination
to the Senate and it was unanimously
confirmed. Your eminent qualifications
for civil as well as military
service I found were conclusions
and appreciation much more
generally than I had anticipated.

My estimate upon character
you know before, but you cannot
quite be gratified by the manner
in which the appointment has
been secured by long gaps and
the Council - I enclose herewith
Sunday, slips, which I apprehend
illustrate the true of the public
press - By the terms of the law
appointing the Territory Gov.
Governor commissions continues
in force until his successor shall
be qualified and enter upon the
discharge of his official duties. Instances
can be cited in which officers of
the Army have been appointed
Governors of Territory and have
acted in the civil capacity
without relinquishing their

Military rank! but the
prevailing opinion now is
not against the constitutionality,
such a course is certainly against
its expediency. Your acceptance
then of the Librarian's ship will
involve the resignation of your
position in the Army. While sybolic
desires to secure your eminent
qualities in this civil station, I
regard you with too much
interest and affection to ask
you to make a sacrifice, so expensive
in the matter. You must judge
for yourself and make known
your conclusion as early as
practicable. I fear that mail
communication between the States
and Salt Lake is at present
entirely cut off and hence is

uncertain when your com-
mission will be sent
with this may reach you.

Should you decline the
appointments with Judge
Kearney, accept the place.
Write me fully.

Your friend,
J. B. Thompson

1. Dr Edward S. Phelps
Salt Lake
Presbytery Utah.

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terminated to return to Virginia and there spend his remaining days in the quietness of his home. That he might return without molestation, he resigned his commission in the army. His last days were spent in Lynchburg, where he died on April 16th, 1865—a day on which the nation stood at the bier of its assassinated President. His only child, a daughter, preceded him in death about one year. His widow survived him about ten years. His age at the time of his death was forty-nine years.

Colonel Steptoe was a man of most excellent character; simple and unostentatious in his habits; genial in spirit, yet firm and strict in his adherence to principles of purity and morality in life. He joined the Episcopal church in 1851 and continued thereafter a consistent member. He enjoyed the confidence, love, and esteem of his fellow officers in the army to a degree seldom accorded any man in his position. His expedition into the Palouse country has in late years had a few critics; and yet the writer, after searching contemporaneous publications and writings concerning him and that event for several years, has been unable to discover the least expression of censure either from the press of that period or from his fellow officers in the field.

His body lies in the cemetery at Lynchburg, and over his grave is erected a monument upon which is this inscription:

Sacred be this Monument to the Memory of

EDWARD J. STEPTOE,

Late Lieut. Colonel in the Army of the United States, who was born in Bedford County, Va., 1816 & died 1865.

A soldier by avocation and profession, he was *sans peur et sans reproche*. A grateful Government testified its sense of the value of his services by advancing him through various gradations to the elevated rank he held in its military service, ere he had reached the high noon of existence; crowning all with the graceful tender, through an Executive who had been his companion in arms, in a foreign land, of exalted civil position, which he declined.

Religion and Patriotism were beautifully blended in the character of him who sleeps beneath, for he was not less a soldier of Christ than of his country. Like the Captain of his salvation, he was "made perfect through suffering" and hath now entered into the joy of his Lord.

CAPTAIN O. H. P. TAYLOR.

OLIVER HAZARD PERRY TAYLOR was the youngest son of Commodore William Vigneron Taylor of the United States navy. He was born at Newport, Rhode Island, September 14th, 1825.

He entered the Military Academy at West Point July 1st, 1842, before he had reached the age of seventeen, and graduated July 1st, 1846. On the day of his graduation he was appointed Brevet 2nd Lieutenant, First dragoons, but did not enter immediately upon his duties. The company to which he was assigned was serving in New Mexico against hostile Indians, and it was there he joined it on October 25th, following his graduation.

On January 29th, 1847, he engaged the Indians in battle at Embudo, New Mexico, and fought them again on February 4th, the same year, at Pueblo de Taos. For gallant and meritorious conduct in these engagements he was breveted 1st Lieutenant.

Crossing the border, into Mexico, he participated in the battle of Santa Cruz de Rosales, March 16, 1847. For bravery and skill displayed in this action he was promoted to the rank of Captain.

He was engaged in a number of slight skirmishes with Indians during the next few years, and

on July 26th, 1850, was in combat with them at the headwaters of the Canadian, or Red river, in which he bore a distinguished part.

His service in New Mexico required him to be often in the field, and the headquarters of the command to which he was attached were frequently moved. During his stay there he traversed a large portion of that territory.

In December, 1851, he went east on leave. Resuming his duties in August, he was until September 15th at Carlisle Barracks, Pa. He rejoined his regiment, in New Mexico, January 31st, 1852. In June of that year the regiment was ordered to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where Taylor remained until July 1st, 1854, when he was granted leave on account of sickness. He was absent from the army and at his home until August 1st, 1855. From that date until July, 1856, he was engaged in the recruiting service. Rejoining his regiment July 26th, 1856, just as it was on the eve of departing for the Pacific coast, he arrived in due time at Fort Lane, Oregon. Soon after that, his company was transferred to Fort Yamhill, Oregon, and in June, 1857, with his company he was ordered to join the command of Colonel Steptoe at Fort Walla Walla. September 29th, 1857, he departed on leave of absence for the winter. Returning to duty, accompanied by his wife and children, in the following spring, when the rumblings of discontent among the Indians east of the Cascades were arresting the serious attention of the head of the Department of the Pacific, he arrived at Vancouver early in April. By order from Colonel Steptoe, on proceeding to

Walla Walla, he took back with him the dragoon horses which had been sent to Vancouver for the winter, being assisted in this task by Company H, First dragoons, under Lieut. Gregg. He arrived at Walla Walla April 24th. Two weeks later he started northward on his last march, and met his death at the hands of the Coeur d'Alenes, Spokanes and Palouses at the battle of Tohotonimme, May 17th, 1858.

In general orders reported to the Secretary of War, which were through the President placed in the hands of Congress, the Adjutant General of the army said: "This unequal contest, which did not result in our favor, nevertheless furnished many instances of personal bravery and heroism which must not be lost. It was, moreover, marked by the loss of the tried, gallant and distinguished Brevet Captain O. H. P. Taylor, and that most gallant and promising young officer, 2nd Lieut. Wm. Gaston, both of the 1st dragoons."

On August 8th, 1853, Captain Taylor married Miss Kate Deweese of Marysville, Kentucky. Two children were born to them, a son and a daughter. The daughter, Mrs. Mae D. Taylor Clark, now resides at Cincinnati, Ohio.

LIEUTENANT WILLIAM GASTON.

WILLIAM GASTON was born at Newburn, North Carolina, April 5th, 1834. He was the oldest of a family of three children of Alexander and Eliza W. Gaston. Alexander Gaston was a man who exercised marked local influence and was of some political prominence in his state. Among the public duties committed to him was that of representing Hyde county in the State Convention of 1835. Judge William Gaston, father of Alexander Gaston, served as a judge of the Supreme Court of North Carolina. He was also for several years a member of Congress from that state.

The Gaston family is an old one in the United States, and several of its members participated in the war for independence. The descendants of the old families are now widely scattered throughout the Union.

The family of Alexander and Eliza Gaston, however, is now extinct. Their children were William, Hugh, and Susan. Hugh, the second son, was born in 1836. Early in the war between the states he entered the Confederate army and became a Captain. He was mortally wounded at the battle of Antietam, or Sharpsburg, and died on October 11th, 1862.

Susan Gaston married Robert D. Baelieff, and at here death left no descendants.

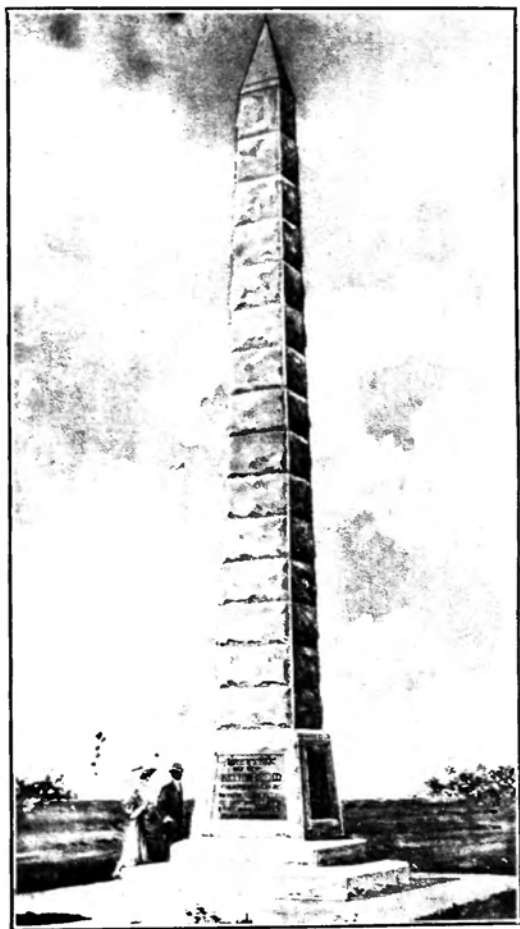
Alexander Gaston, by another marriage, had a daughter named Eliza; a half-sister, therefore, to William, Hugh and Susan. Eliza married S. S. Kirkland and has one son, John Gaston Kirkland, whose home is at Tampa, Florida.

William Gaston graduated from the Military Academy at West Point in 1856, at the age of twenty-two. General Hylan B. Lyon, who afterward, as a lieutenant with Colonel Wright, assisted in avenging his death, was one of his classmates. On his graduation he was assigned to duty in the West among the hostile Indians as 2nd Lieutenant. His bravery, sound judgment and skill soon commended him to the special notice of his superiors, and the prospect of his advancement to exalted rank in the army was most promising. He was esteemed alike by officers and men for his agreeable companionship. Though his health failed him during the last year of his life, he clung cheerfully to his command and flinched at no duty that fell to his lot. At the time of his death he had just reached the age of twenty-four years—but little past his youth.

The Weekly Oregonian of May 29th, 1858, in commenting on the battle of Tohotonimme, meager news of which had but just reached it, had this to say: "Among the killed were Capt. O. H. P. Taylor and Lieut. Wm. Gaston, two as gallant officers as ever fell upon the battle-field.

In 1861 the remains of these two officers were by their fellow officers transferred from Walla Walla to the Cadets' Cemetery at West Point, where side

by side they now repose. A modest slab with simple inscription marked their final resting place. Through a feeling of gratitude on the part of relatives toward the officers who placed it there, the slab was never changed; and although a handsome monument has been erected in recent years the original slab is sacredly preserved.



Design of Memorial Monument to be erected at Rosalia by the D. A. R.
on the ground where Colonel Steptoe's command was surrounded



