

## BEN HOLLADAY RUNS INTO FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

Financial problems multiplied for Ben Holladay as roadbed and trackage work proceeded past Salem about \$800,000 had been spent on construction by January 1870 and much more would be needed to complete the road to Eugene City at the southern end of the Willamette Valley

## NEWSPAPERS IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

During [1860s] and 1870s many local newspapers were begun to advance the causes of both the Democrat and Republican Parties and to urge the adoption of women's suffrage and the prohibition of alcohol

## POPULATION GROWTH IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Between [1860] and 1870 Washington Territory's growth centered on Puget Sound population increased from 11,138 to 23,995 but even so, growth was slow due to the poor transportation system in Washington Territory blame was placed locally on the State of Oregon and most especially Portland since their businesses monopolized shipping

Federal Census showed the following populations:

- Walla Walla County: 5,300 and the city of Walla Walla: 1,394;
- Thurston County: 2,246 and Olympia: 1,203;
- King County: 2,120 and Seattle: 1,151;
- Pierce County: 1,409 and Steilacoom: 314;
- Jefferson County: 1,268 and Port Townsend: 593;
- Lewis County: 888;
- Kitsap 866; County and Port Gamble: 326;
- Pacific County 738;
- Stevens County 734

Value of both manufactured products increased dramatically:

- agricultural production doubled as more and more land was being farmed,
- more lumber mills were being built to turn out dressed lumber,
- new fisheries areas were opened as salmon canning developed,
- coal mining along Puget Sound became more productive

West of Cascades, farmers first had to cut down the trees growing on their land cabins and outbuildings were made from the logs land was cleared of stumps and gardens were planted

East of the Cascades the Inland Empire was slowly being settled farmers could begin plowing at once as the acreage was fertile rolling grassland lack of transportation hampered the development of agriculture most of the produce had to be consumed locally

but towns grew where they had access to the Columbia and Snake rivers  
gold and silver mining produced significant income in the Inland Empire

#### TRAVEL IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY IS STILL PRIMITIVE

Recalled a traveler of the 1870s: **“...but when I first wended my weary way in that direction [toward Olympia], I was forced to travel by canoe up rapid rivers, and by stage over heart-breaking corduroy roads, through mud several feet deep, and through trackless forests...”**<sup>1</sup>

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY ADDRESSES THE NEEDS OF THE MENTALLY ILL

Fort Steilacoom had served as a military post from [1849 to 1868]

when the federal government abandoned the \$200,000 post

In response to the efforts by Dorothea Dix to improve the care and treatment of the mentally ill

this property was purchased by Washington Territory for \$850

to be turned into a mental hospital -- January 15, 1870

#### IDAHO GOLD PROSPECTORS MOVE FREQUENTLY

Mining populations were very fluid

prominent Idaho pioneer Thomas C. Donaldson noted: **“The meaning of the phrase ‘transient population’ struck me forcibly one day in 1870 when the Loon Creek ‘strike’ was announced. Loon Creek was a point fifty miles northeast of Idaho City. An honest (?) miner had come into Boise one night with a ten-pound sack of nuggets which, he said, had been panned out of Loon Creek. ‘Ten dollars a day easy.’ said this honest miner, ‘plenty of ground, and they ain’t two people out there.’ He further stated that they had entered Boise from the east and the news had not reached Idaho City. Well ..., in an hour’s time Boise was bustle and confusion. New diggings at Loon Creek! Great news! Millions in it! Volunteers came forward who knew, so they said, every speck of dust out there. Before daylight came, one hundred men were riding out trailing northward.”**<sup>2</sup>

As each discovery occurred there was a stampede -- not for a mining claim alone

but also for the most favored town sites as well

However, when miners moved on to greener pastures

what had once been booming urban centers become ghost towns

whose deserted, wobbly, board sidewalks and empty buildings

were to be silent reminders of a once-bustling past

#### NEGOTIATIONS TO DEAL WITH BRITISH CLAIMS IN OREGON TERRITORY

International Commission was established to deal with claims of British subjects

who had lost their property in the former Oregon Territory

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<sup>1</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 223.

these property losses were settled with the U.S. government

Negotiations were ended -- 1870

British subjects were to receive \$450,000 for the loss of Hudson's Bay Company property  
other Brits received \$200,000 to resolve Puget Sound Agricultural Company property losses

## CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT XV GUARANTEES VOTING RIGHTS TO CITIZENS

Amendment XV to the Federal Constitution was passed by Congress

and approved by the required three-quarters of the states -- February 3, 1870

Citizens' voting rights "**shall not be denied by the states or the federal government on the basis of race, color or previous status of servitude**"

## DR. WILLIAM FRASER TOLMIE RETIRES

Dr. Tolmie ended his career as the Factor of Fort Nisqually to enter a life of farming -- 1870

he remained active for three more years until his death [1873]

## CONSTRUCTION BEGINS ON THE LAKE SUPERIOR AND MISSISSIPPI RAILROAD

Construction on the Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad Company (LS&M)

across the northern portion of the United State was undertaken on the shore of Lake Superior  
near Carlton, Minnesota at least in ceremony -- February 15, 1870

actual construction began at Thompson Junction, Minnesota about twenty miles west of Duluth

## PORT BLAKELY GROWS IN POPULATION AND PROFITS

Thanks to Captain William Renton's sawmill

Port Blakely had a population of fifty-nine Caucasians -- 1870

it was an immigrant town, with Canadians, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, French, Prussians,  
a Russian, a Belgian, and a Greek

Increased production brought attention to the Port Blakely mill

(steamer ferry service began between Seattle and Blakely Harbor [1872])

## LUMBER INDUSTRY EXPANDS

Washington Territory industries were extractive in nature

logging and lumbering; fishing and mining

funds and leadership to develop these resources often came from outside the region

Increases of out-of-state money allowed the industry to grow along almost all of Puget Sound

forty-two sawmills operated in Washington where timber was heaviest and easiest to ship -- 1870

these employed 474 men and cutting 128,176,000 board feet of dressed lumber per year  
much of the lumber was sold in California

but some was shipped to China, Australia, New Zealand, Mexico, and South America

## CHARLES WRIGHT BECOMES A MEMBER OF THE NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY BOARD

In his early career Charles Barstow Wright was a merchant and banker in Erie, Pennsylvania  
he became actively involved with the building of the Philadelphia and Erie Railroad  
and became general manager of the united railway companies serving the oil producing regions  
Charles Wright accumulated a fortune and became a member  
of the Northern Pacific Railway board of directors -- 1870  
he became a member of the board of directors and exerted considerable influence  
in the management of the Northern Pacific Railway  
Wright was soon placed at the head of the finance committee

## PUBLIC FOREST LAND IS FREE FOR THE TAKING

Federal land grants to the Northern Pacific Railway included odd numbered land sections  
along the Columbia River and northward through the Cowlitz Valley  
Northern Pacific Railway would thus have acquired two million acres of land  
growing timber worth \$100 million  
No federal law provided for the sale of public forest lands  
federal policy stressed only agricultural settlement thus timber was virtually free for the taking  
Timber thefts from railroad land drove down forest land values  
a federal investigation in 1870s concluded \$40 million in timber  
had been stolen from public lands along Puget Sound  
attorney Hazard Stevens (Isaac Steven's son) was hired by the Northern Pacific Railway  
he also was appointed Deputy U.S. Marshall to investigate thefts  
U.S. Marshall Stevens traveled the inland waters of Puget Sound  
where he confiscated rafts of logs suspected to have stolen from railroad land  
(two years later [1872], Hazard Stevens was dismissed by the Northern Pacific Railway  
for skimming a profit off the sale of timber)

## LOGGING CREWS WORK THE COASTAL FORESTS

Most of the work was done by hand -- trees were cut down with axes  
earliest logging operations simply felled trees into the rivers  
which flowed through the forest and floated the logs to the mill  
as more and more of the forests were cut into lumber  
transporting the logs to the sawmill became an increasingly difficult problem  
logs were laboriously rolled to streams  
to be carried down to mills with the spring run off

## WORKING CONDITIONS ARE VERY DIFFICULT AND DANGEROUS

Working conditions for early laborers in Washington were far from elegant  
seasonal jobs such as lumbering, mining, and fishing produced a large labor force of transients

usually they were unmarried and could easily move  
it was difficult for temporary employees to better their working conditions  
Laborers in lumber camps had an especially hard life because the work was extremely dangerous  
food was bad, camp beds often were full of lice and fleas  
when jobs were plentiful, loggers could move from camp to camp  
looking for better pay and working conditions  
only then were employers were forced to make some improvements to hold their laborers  
satisfactory working conditions thus dependent upon abundant job opportunities

## LUMBER CAMPS SERVED AS HOME FOR THE LOGGING CREW

Described by U.S. Revenue Cutter Captain Charles M. Scammon on a visit to the Northwest -- 1870

**“A camp (bunk house) is built ... about thirty feet long by eighteen wide, with a partition through the middle, which divides it into two rooms -- one for the cook and the other a sleeping apartment for the men. The latter is fitted up with bunks, similar to those on shipboard, and a space near the center of the room, raised just above the rough board floor, composed of a concrete of rock and earth, serves as a fireplace; a wooden chimney, flaring at the bottom and appearing as if suspended from the ridgepole conducts the smoke upward to wreath through the tree tops.**

**“The apartment is lighted by day by a window or two, and by night by a blazing fire, beside which the men, of almost every nation and caste, amuse themselves in reading, smoking and talking, and in playing their everlasting games of cards. The cook’s apartment is furnished with a huge stove and an ample table, the latter surrounded with seats or benches to accommodate the hungry company who thrice a day gather around the homely board.**

**“A small but convenient shanty is usually built for the boss, separate from the main camp, where he ensconces himself apart from the force under his charge. Then there is a ‘hovel,’ the sides of which are built of logs, and the roof covered with a species of long shingles called ‘shakes,’ where the oxen are housed and their provender [supply] of hay and grain is stored.<sup>3</sup>**

**“At the morning hour the day’s work begins. The cook turns out at four o’clock and has breakfast ready at twenty minutes before six. At about twenty minutes past five he walks to the door, puts a bullock’s horn to his mouth and blows repeated loud blasts to arouse the sleepers, who quickly wash and dress for their morning meal. At twenty minutes to six he gives one blast from his horn, when the whole crew sits down to breakfast, which consists of boiled corned beef, potatoes baked beans, hash, hot griddle cakes, biscuits, butter and coffee. About the same bill of fare is served for dinner [lunch] and supper.**

**“Shelter and subsistence for both man and beast having been provided, the whole encampment is speedily awake to the varied and laborious duties. First comes the boss, who takes the general superintendence of the whole establishment, selects and purchases the oxen for the teams, ‘keeps the**

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<sup>3</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 332.

men's time' and gives orders for their pay, and like a careful commanding officer especially looks after the cook to see that meals are properly prepared and served promptly at the appointed hours."<sup>4</sup>

"Next comes the teamster, whose only business is to drive the team and take care of it. Then comes the chopper, whose work is to chop down the trees. The fourth man is the 'hook-tender,' whose duties are to wait on the team and 'snipe the logs' [round off log ends to which drawing chains are attached]. Then there are two sawyers, who saw the trees, after being felled, into suitable lengths for logs. Two men called 'swampers' make the roads under the direction of the boss. Another called the 'skidder' skids the road; and two others called 'barkers' chip the bark from the logs on the 'riding side,' or when the sap runs, the bark is peeled off with a 'baking iron.' The cook, who is the most important man of the whole gang, cuts his own wood and attends to preparing and cooking the meals, which are always ready at the regular mealtime."<sup>5</sup>

#### LOGGING IS HARD AND DANGEROUS WORK

U.S. Revenue Cutter Captain Charles M. Scammon continued his account:

"The morning repast being over, each goes to work.... The mere felling of a tree, as generally understood by woodsmen, is but a simple matter of labor, but in the forests of Washington Territory it is quite a novel undertaking. The tree being extremely large at its base, with immense, outspreading roots, and frequently 'shaky,' or perhaps a little decayed at the butt, it is found to be a saving of labor to cut it sometimes as high up as fifteen feet from the ground."<sup>6</sup>

"To do this, the chopper makes a square notch into it, as high up as practicable, and inserts the end of his board -- which is about five feet long and eight or nine inches wide, furnished with an iron 'lip' at the end, which catches in the upper side of the notch in the tree, preventing it from slipping out when the man is standing on it; he then leaps upon the board, cuts another notch as high up as he can reach, strikes his ax into the trunk above his head, holding on to the helve with one hand, sticks his toes into the notch below, and then removes the board from it to the notch above; while half jumping and climbing, he mounts his board again."<sup>7</sup>

"If high enough up, he chips off the bark with his heavier ax and with his thin, sharp one cuts a broad scarf into the heart of the tree on the side he desires it to fall; then, chopping the other side till the tree is about to come down, he call out 'UnDER, unDER!' [rather than timber!] as a warning signal. A few more strokes with the keen ax and the leviathan of the forest begins to bow its towering top. When sure of its falling, the chopper flings his axes at a distance to the ground, quickly removed his board to the notch below; and... jumps to the ground, while the tree comes down with a creaking noise that is heard for miles distant.

"The two sawyers then mount the fallen tree, and the chief, with an eight-foot pole, measures off the length of each log, according as they will cut to the best advantage. Twenty-four foot lengths

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<sup>4</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 332.

<sup>5</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 322-333.

<sup>6</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 333.

<sup>7</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 333-334.

predominate.... Then come the swampers, who, under the direction of the boss, clear the roads, and the skidder with ax, mattock, crowbar and shovel, who prepares and places the skids. A tall, slender sapling is selected for the purpose, felled and cut into nine-foot lengths. These skids are placed across the road about seven feet apart, and with as much precision as the ties of a railroad; the bark is chipped off on the upper side after the skid is laid in order that the logs may glide glibly over the ribbed road, and when the skids become dry, they are moistened with oil.

“The logs having been duly prepared by the barkers, next comes the teamster with his team of eight oxen.... With a shout and a spur, the team all pull together, and the log is soon hauled to the ‘rolling tier’.... The road may wind along the side of a mountain, or down an abrupt declivity.... Sometimes ten or a dozen logs are coupled together by short chains. Their appearance when worming down the well-skidded, meandering trail is not unlike an immense, jointed serpent winding its way to the valley below.”<sup>8</sup>

#### SKIDROADS EXPAND THE AVAILABILITY OF TREES TO BE FELLED

Timber along the river banks became increasingly scarce

because of the distances logs had to be moved

sometimes ox teams had to drag logs over wooden “corduroy” skid roads

large wooden slabs laid like railroad ties except they were farther apart

skids were greased so that logs pulled by oxen would slide over them more easily

slow, powerful oxen soon were replaced by faster teams of mules

as the length of skidroads increased

mules, in turn, were replaced with steam-donkey engines

#### LOG BOOM RAFTS WERE FLOATED TO THE SAWMILL

Described by U.S. Revenue Cutter Captain Charles M. Scammon on a visit to the Northwest -- 1870

“Sufficient logs having been collected in the boom, which receives them from the bank, they are then made into a raft... for transportation to the mill.... From three to four hundred thousand feet of logs generally constitute a ‘round boom’, while in a ‘square’ or ‘heater’ there is usually not less than five hundred thousand feet.... All being in readiness, the tug boat comes and tows it to the mill.

“A steamer towing a boom of logs is an odd sight to the stranger, who sees the craft at a distance, puffing under a full head of steam, but appearing to make but little way though the water.

“...The rafts or booms cannot be towed more than two miles an hour without danger of breaking up and occasionally when there is a heavy breeze and an adverse tide, the Sound [can] become so rough that the raft does break up and all is lost, except the boom sticks, which are shackled together by the massive chains. Many millions of feet of lumber have been lost by the breaking up of these rafts, although under ordinary circumstances there is no difficulty in towing rafts in any part of the

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<sup>8</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 334.

**inlets and Sound. Once at the mill the logs are deposited in the boom adjoining, and the steamer returns to camp for another tow....”<sup>9</sup>**

#### STEAMPOWERED SAWMILLS INCREASE OUTPUT

Old-time sawmills demanded almost as much hand labor as logging using the oldest method of sawing lumber, one man stood in a pit under the log and another on top

both pulled a cross-cut saw up and down through the length of the log

U.S. Revenue Cutter Captain Charles M. Scammon described a Puget Sound steam-powered sawmill:

**“A slip runs from the upper floor of the main building to the water, where the logs are floated. A chain with dog hooks is fastened to the log, which is hauled up the slip by steam power into the mill. It is then rolled upon the ‘carriage,’ and a sawyer forwards it toward the immense circular saw, which quickly runs through it, cutting the slab from one side; and the carriage instantly runs back; the log is quickly turned by machinery on its flat side and is set in motion again, the saw ripping it into planks of a thickness required.... The massive planks in a body are transported again by machinery to the edging table, where they are sawed into boards.... From the edger the lumber is passed to another table, where whirls another saw, called the trimmer. Here the ends of each board or plank are clipped off squarely, which finishes it for market, and it is then run out of the mill to the wharf to be embarked on board ship.**

**“All mills are run by steam power, the fuel used being nothing but sawdust, almost half the quantity made by the saws is required for the furnaces. In order to get rid of the surplus dust, edgings, and the general debris, it is found necessary to burn them.... Strange as it may seem, these fires, once kindled, have been kept constantly going for years.... It will be readily seen that if no vessels are at the mill loading, the manufactured materials of all descriptions accumulate rapidly. Such instances happen occasionally, by reason of dense fogs or headwinds delaying the ships. The wharves creak under their bulky weight, and those interested look anxiously for the tardy vessels.”<sup>10</sup>**

#### LUMBER SAILING SHIPS ARE PLENTIFUL

As they were described by Captain Charles M. Scammon -- 1870

**“At last the white sails are seen through the trees, or the long-looked-for messenger bursts instantly upon their view from behind a bold headland and comes dashing up to the anchorage. Down go the sails, and down goes the anchor; lines are run to the buoys and to the shore; the vessel is hauled head-on to the wharf... and the work of loading commences.... Such carriers as the barks *North-West*, *Tidal Wave* and the brig *Deacon* have their deck loads piled so high when fully laden that instead of showing their symmetrical hulls, little else is seen but the huge piles of lumber and the vessel’s spars peering above them.... They set sail for domestic ports, ports on the Pacific and**

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<sup>9</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 335.

<sup>10</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 336.



**Atlantic coasts, or to Australia, England, France, China, the East Indies, South America, the Sandwich Islands [Hawaii], and various others in Oceanica....”<sup>11</sup>**

#### OLYMPIA DEVELOPS A CHINATOWN

Soon after the founding of the village of Olympia [1846] Chinese immigrants arrived they were looking for access to economic opportunities and a better life many found work as laborers who built bridges, pulled stumps and graded downtown streets others worked in lumber camps and harvested shellfish they helped build Washington railroads and assisted in the development of such industries as mining, railroads, fishing, retail commerce, educational institutions and artistic endeavors still others became cooks, house servants and operated hand laundries or cultivated vegetables and delivered them door to door

Olympia's earliest Chinatown was located ½-block from downtown -- 1870 on 4<sup>th</sup> Avenue between Columbia and Main (today's Capitol Way) core of Chinatown consisted of several structures that housed a hand laundry, two small stores and lodging for residents in addition, some businesses appeared around the intersection of State and Washington streets at about the same time

As Olympia's Chinatown emerged it became known as “Locke Town” because the residents were predominantly from the southern China villages of the Locke family most were males who relied on family associations to provide lodging, meals and social life In the span of a decade the Chinese population in Washington Territory grew from 234 --1870 to 3,000 a decade later (today more than 60,000 people of Chinese ancestry live in Washington)

#### DIKING PROJECT BEGINS IN SKAGIT COUNTY

Two men, Samuel Calhoun and Michael Sullivan, had some experience farming vast areas of mud flats and salt marshes dotted with densely wooded islands they started diking around their squatter's claims and were producing crops by 1870 diking process was incredibly hard work as a farmer would stake out his marsh-land claim and proceed to construct a dike around it using only a shovel and wheelbarrow since work was possible only at low tide, the work schedule for months on end would be set by the tide table and not by the sun

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR EDWARD S. SALOMON IS APPOINTED

Jewish German immigrant and former Union brigadier-general Edward S. Salomon replaced Territorial Governor Alvin Flanders

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<sup>11</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 337.

he was appointed Territorial Governor by Republican President Ulysses S. Grant -- March 4, 1870

Grant was aware of his worth, renowned ability and superior credentials for the high office  
Territorial Governor Salomon was caught up in the political scandals of the Grant administration  
however a local newspaper, the *Pacific Tribune*, praised his honesty and integrity  
(while commenting on his [1872] resignation)

#### YET ANOTHER STATEHOOD EFFORT IS ATTEMPTED

Washington Territory leaders called for another election in an effort to gain statehood  
this try met with small favor from the voters -- 1870

#### EASTERN WASHINGTON AND OREGON NEEDS A RAILROAD

Settlers of the Inland Empire had serious grievances against their inadequate transportation service  
potential to produce livestock on their plateau might be limitless, they thought  
if only transportation were developed  
open plains of Montana and Wyoming were crying for cattle and sheep  
at first the demand had been supplied by longhorns driven north from Texas  
but the Wyoming Cattlemen's Association looked with disfavor on the tick fever  
introduced by these cattle  
Oregon and Washington cattle were tick-free and they carried the genes of choice animals  
driven west by the early pioneers and thus were of better quality than the longhorns

#### BOND EFFORT TO FUND THE WALLA WALLA AND COLUMBIA RIVER RAILROAD FAILS

An effort by local businessmen and residents of Walla Walla to construct a railroad to Wallula  
located on the where the Walla Walla River enters the Columbia River  
ended with the failure on a bond to finance the construction project -- 1870  
However, Dr. Dprsey Syng Baker, a Walla Walla businessman and banker, was undaunted  
by the bond failure -- he bought many shares of the Walla Walla and Columbia River Railroad

#### BEN HOLLADAY CHANGES THE NAME OF THE OREGON CENTAL RAILROAD

Joseph Gaston's suit claiming the Oregon Central Railroad name was an inconvenience  
Holladay reincorporated his railroad -- unfortunately he applied the name  
Oregon and California Railroad to his new company -- March 16, 1870  
perhaps it was an insulting reminder to his partner Simon G. Elliot who first used the name  
of who was the victor and who was the vanquished  
Holladay then persuaded Congress, over Gaston's objections,  
that despite the earlier Oregon legislative ruling on the land grant all was as it should be  
Congress, too busy to care very much, accepted a compromise offered by  
Oregon Senator George Williams (who was or soon would be in Holladay's pocket)  
proposed that whichever railroad constructed the first twenty miles of track

should get the land grant

Holladay also convinced Congress to extend the time for completion of the Oregon railroad route  
Joseph Gaston's poverty-stricken West Siders seemed certain to lose  
therefore, they were granted a pacifier in the form of another land grant  
contingent on their building a branch line from Portland west to Astoria, Oregon

#### JOSEPH GASTON AND HIS WEST SIDERS WANT MORE THAN A PACIFIER

Gaston began flirting with California financier Collis Huntington's Central Pacific Railroad  
Huntington wanted a branch line from Nevada across southern Oregon into the Willamette Valley  
to head off anticipated competition from the Northern Pacific Railway  
or from a possible Union Pacific branch line crossing Utah to the Columbia River  
Joseph Gaston offered Huntington his West Side railroad as a link to the Pacific Northwest  
if the Central Pacific Railroad would finance him in the race to capture the land grant  
On the strength of the Central Pacific Railroad's support  
Gaston persuaded the construction firm of Reed and Company headed by  
Simeon Reed and John Ainsworth of the Oregon Steamship Navigation Company (OSN)  
to race Holladay in building those crucial twenty miles of road along the Willamette River

#### PORT OF KALAMA IS FOUNDED

Northern Pacific Railway construction in Washington Territory was non-existent  
to gain the promised federal land grant, twenty-five miles of track had to be constructed  
between Portland and Puget Sound before [July 2, 1871]  
General John W. Sprague, an agent for the Northern Pacific Railway, decided to survey  
a railroad route to Olympia, Washington Territory located at the southern tip of Puget Sound  
starting point for the survey to Olympia was selected near the mouth of the Kalama River  
a few miles south of where the Cowlitz River entered the Columbia River  
Port and town of Kalama on the north side of the Columbia River was located forty miles from Portland  
this became the location of the start of the Northern Pacific Railway's Pacific Division branch line  
to Puget Sound  
Kalama was selected because the depth of the Columbia River was about the same as at the mouth  
which allowed ships of equal weight into the area  
it was also thought that the location was reasonably convenient to the Willamette Valley  
and steamboat service on both the Willamette and Columbia rivers  
Kalama originated with a stake in the ground driven by General John W. Sprague -- March 1870  
from that point the surveyed line followed the Columbia River briefly and then the Cowlitz River  
before it turned almost straight north toward a yet unknown terminus on Puget Sound  
although Olympia, capital of Washington Territory was the most obvious choice  
(Grading of twenty-five miles of roadbed from Kalama on the Washington side of the Columbia River  
up the Cowlitz Valley northward toward Puget Sound was completed that year

## EDUCATION IS STILL OF LITTLE CONCERN IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

During the 1870s the growth of schools was slow  
youth were scant in numbers and scattered in location -- it was very difficult to organize schools  
population of young people in Washington was approximately 4,000  
but only 100 or so were school students

## DREAMER RELIGION EXPANDS BEYOND THE WANAPUM NATIVES

In the mid- and late-nineteenth century, the Indians' Dreamer religion spread rapidly  
to other tribes of the Columbian Plateau  
Smohalla, member of a small offshoot of Nez Perce, called for a rejection of white cultural influences  
his followers were to return to Native American traditions and lifestyles  
His teachings had a profound influence on the Wanapum and Nez Perce Indians  
Smohalla was first mentioned by Indians Superintendent A.B. Meacham -- 1870  
when he complained of the trouble a new faith was causing among Wanapum Indians  
on both ends of Priest Rapids on the Columbia River  
Smohalla converted a band of Nez Perce Indians under Old Joseph to his beliefs  
many other Nez Perce, however, chose to remain Christians and live on reservations  
divisions soon developed between the two Nez Perce groups  
federal agents in their relationship with natives consistently favored the Christians  
Smohalla was militant in his beliefs and demanded strict allegiance from his followers  
he exhorted his followers, eventually numbering about 2,000  
they must reject the intruders' culture, goods and religious teachings  
however, Smohalla remained non-violent  
although many of the hostile activities conducted by non-treaty Indians  
were attributed to the Dreamers

## SOME NEZ PERCE CONTINUE THEIR NOMADIC WAYS

Whites were growing increasingly annoyed with the attitude of a minority of Nez Perce  
several Free Bands of the tribe had declined to sign the [1863] treaty  
setting up the small reservation on the Clearwater River  
because they refused to sign they refused to be bound by it  
to the whites this was ridiculous -- the will of the majority should triumph  
Inevitably there were clashes  
when nomadic Nez Perce bands were away on hunting expeditions,  
settlers would tear down the Indians' fences and build a cabin on the site  
Indians moving their herds of horses were challenged for crossing squatters' land  
Nez Perce seldom retaliated against these outrages  
they knew they could not count on justice from white juries

nor did the Indians dare strike back outside the law,  
fearing that if they did troops would be sent against them  
they would lose what few rights they still had

Largest of the non-treaty bands was led by one of Rev. Henry Spalding's early converts, Old Joseph  
these sixty families claimed a million grassy acres in the beautiful Wallowa Valley  
Old Joseph had saved this lovely country for his people at the Lapwai Council [of 1863]  
when the whites tried, in Joseph's opinion, to repudiate their promises  
he angrily destroyed the New Testament Spalding had given him  
in place of the White man's religion he and his followers embraced the new Dreamer cult

#### MORE AND MORE SALMON CANNERIES ARE ESTABLISHED ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Salmon canneries sprang up all along the Columbia River and at the mouths of the coastal rivers  
led by the Hume brothers, George, William, Robert and Joseph, Frank M. Warren and John West  
who linked together fishermen and an expanding market for their canned salmon  
from the beginning of canning operations on the Columbia River [1866] until 1870  
Columbia River canneries packed an average of 60,000 cases  
of primarily Chinook salmon [forty-eight pounds per cases] per year)

#### NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY(NPRY) RECEIVES ITS LAND GRANT

Congress granted aid to the Northern Pacific Railway Company -- May 31, 1870  
this allowed the company to issue bonds for the construction of the road  
Financier Jay Cooke secured the Northern Pacific Railway Charter  
he got Congress to enlarge land grants to sixty miles on each side of the right-of-way

#### JAY COOKE IS APPOINTED TO SELL NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY BONDS

An accommodating Congress allowed the Northern Pacific Railway to change its Charter  
it was allowed to issue \$100 million worth of bonds  
financier Jay Cooke was from New York was named a "special agent"  
Cooke & Company agreed to sell Northern Pacific Railway bonds at 88¢ on the dollar  
with a yield of five percent  
Jay Cooke also supported the price of the government securities  
in the New York money market by "**pegging the market**" at a guaranteed price  
(this innovation quickly became a necessary part of all future public financing)  
Cooke & Company formed a pool and \$5 million in bonds were sold in thirty days  
it appeared the Northern Pacific Railway was beginning to move

#### JAY COOKE IS THE NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY'S DRIVING FINANCIAL FORCE

Jay Cooke threw himself into financing the Northern Pacific Railway  
he undertook the raising of \$100 million for construction of a transcontinental railroad -- 1870

he used Northern Pacific Railway land grants as a funding source  
Cooke & Company was to receive \$200 in railroad stock for each \$1,000 bond sold  
Jay Cooke pushed the public sale of railroad bonds  
an unprecedented advertising campaign to sell bonds swept the nation  
employing his creative imagination, he spent nearly a million dollars  
almost every newspaper in the country wrote stories of rich farmland along the railroad route  
Cooke used advertising, patriotism and personal solicitation by salesmen across the country  
to sell bonds worth more than \$500 million at par with a yield of 5 percent  
Cooke made every effort to obtain good will among influential politicians and journalists  
even United States Supreme Court Chief Justice Chase was talked into lending his name  
Cooke & Company established branches of bond selling businesses in Europe  
literature extolling extravagant promises regarding the region flooded this country and Europe  
so that soon the Northwest was being called "Cooke's Banana Belt"  
Jay Cooke's banks grew from one bank to three, in Philadelphia, New York and Washington, D.C.  
each with a separate group of partners  
wild, unreasonable waves of speculation followed  
even so, Cooke's imagination fell short of the task

#### OREGON AND CALIFORNIA RAILROAD WINS THE LAND GRANT IN OREGON

Ben Holladay's Oregon and California Railroad (the former East Side Central Oregon Railroad)  
was declared the winner of the federal land grant  
as determined by the Oregon legislature the Oregon and California Railroad  
was provided 3,867,120 acres of public land from the United States government  
sale of these lands were to provide money for construction of the narrow gauge line  
along the East side of the Willamette River Valley  
this promised land, however, did not provide immediate working capital  
Under the direction of Ben Holladay, construction was completed from Portland  
along Eastern bank of Willamette River followed the Elliott survey route  
through Oregon City to Salem, Oregon

#### BEN HOLLADAY ARGUES WITH HIS PARTNER SIMON G. ELLIOT

Ben Holladay's leadership of the Oregon and California Railroad left much to be desired  
he began arguing with his partner, Simon G. Elliot,  
Holladay removed Elliot from his position as Superintendent of Construction  
(next Elliot would need to be removed as an irritant)

#### CATTLE INDUSTRY IS IN SERIOUS TROUBLE IN THE COLUMBIA BASIN

With the passing of gold fever, cattlemen and sheepmen still arrived in Walla Walla -- 1870  
many miners took up cattle raising after the gold fields played out

free grass was plentiful on the open range  
dry climate of the Inland Empire also was favorable to sheep raising  
local Washington markets were saturated and overproduction was evident by 1870  
most overstocked area of all was the Columbia River basin  
Railroad land grants pushed the competition for the remaining grazing land  
situation facing cattle ranchers was seriously aggravated by an invasion  
of sheepmen and dirt farmers -- the open range began giving way to fenced-in operations  
Cattlemen and sheepmen fought incessant range wars  
it was noted the narrowed mouths of sheep allowed them to graze more thoroughly than cattle  
thus removing all of the foliage and destroying the propensity for grasses to reseed  
on several occasions organized rustlers boldly drove their take down Walla Walla's Main Street  
vigilante committeemen hanged several of these and other outlaws

#### SEATTLE COAL AND TRANSPORTATION COMPANY BEGINS OPERATION

Lake Washington Coal Company [1866] was reorganized and took over the Newcastle Mines -- 1870  
new owners, at great expense of money and labor, brought a shipment of coal to Seattle  
they asked the captain of the U.S. Revenue Cutter *Lincoln* to test it for quality  
*Lincoln* had been burning wood and low-grade peaty coal from California  
when the fireman shoveled the Newcastle coal beneath the boilers  
he was surprised by the unexpected intensity of the heat  
Seattle Coal and Transportation Company owners were very encouraged by these results  
they began to develop a new transportation route from the Newcastle mine to tide water  
they would barge coal across Lake Washington to Union Bay,  
transport it across the portage there by horse-drawn tramway,  
load the coal on barges to be taken to the south end of Lake Union  
and there used another tramway to the bunkers at Pike Street on the waterfront

#### NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY(NPRY) BEGINS CONSTRUCTION

Northern Pacific Railway Company executed its mortgage to secure bonds -- July 1, 1870  
Jay Cooke and J. Edgar Thurston were named as trustees  
Northern Pacific Railway began construction at two points -- 1870  
from St. Paul, Minnesota great strides were made from the East  
as railroad tracks stretched across Minnesota and into North Dakota  
114 miles of track was laid toward the west to Bismarck, North Dakota  
on the western end Jay Cooke decided the Columbia River would be followed to Portland, Oregon  
Portland was selected as the Northern Pacific Railway's Western terminal  
which kept that city in a predominate position in the Pacific Northwest

#### CHINESE LABORERS ARE HIRED TO BUILD WESTERN RAILROADS

After Chinese laborers had demonstrated their skill and stamina

by constructing the Central Pacific Railroad [1860s],

other railroad companies eagerly sought out Chinese laborers as well

Much of the construction on the railroads in the West was done by Chinese laborers

thousands upon thousands of Chinese were recruited to clear and grade land,

lay tracks and work on maintenance crews for California's Central Pacific Railroad

hiring of Chinese men to work on the railroad was typically done

through Chinese agents or contractors who recruited Chinese laborers and paid them

these labor contractors made money by providing the laborers with supplies and meals

Chinese railroad work gangs of thirty to forty laborers including a couple of cooks

and a bilingual boss who also served as their representative or spokesperson

typically worked under the supervision of a white boss or foreman

who, in addition to directing the work, confirmed the hours the gang worked

interesting enough, watchmen or time-takers were also employed by the railroad

to check on the white boss who might be susceptible to bribery by the Chinese

Influential American journalist Oswald Garrison Villard summed up the Chinese contribution

in testimony to the United States Congress as follows: **"I want to remind you of things that**

**Chinese labor did in opening up the western portion of this country. They stormed the forest**

**fastnesses, endured cold and heat and the risk of death at hand of hostile Indians to aid in the**

**opening up of our northwestern empire. I have a dispatch from the chief engineer of the Northern**

**Pacific telling how Chinese laborers went out into eight feet of snow with the temperature far below**

**zero to carry on the work when no American dared face the conditions."**<sup>12</sup>

After the Chinese demonstrated their skill and stamina by constructing the Central Pacific Railroad

other railroad companies eagerly sought out Chinese laborers as well

white settlers initially tolerated Chinese workers on the railroad and at times

they even applauded the arrival of shiploads of Chinese because they wanted a railroad

#### BEN HOLLADAY EXPANDS HIS FINANCIAL EMPIRE

Not only was Holladay busily laying Oregon and California Railroad tracks to Salem, Oregon

he also needed to redeem the old bonds issued by the Oregon Central (East Side) Railroad

to pay for Simon G. Elliot's early (and incomplete) construction work

in addition, Ben Holladay was building warehouses and a streetcar line in Portland

Holladay also purchased the Oregon City Portage on the Willamette River

#### HOLLADAY STOPS THE CENTRAL PACIFIC'S EFFORT TO REACH THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Joseph Gaston's effort to raise construction money by selling his West Side Oregon Central railroad

to California financier and Central Pacific Railroad owner Collis Huntington

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<sup>12</sup> Richard A. Greenwald, *Exploring American's Past: A Reader in Social, Political, and Cultural History, 1865-Present*, P. 36.



was an imaginative scheme that, however, came to no avail  
When a bill authorizing the Nevada branch the Central Pacific Railroad was introduced in Congress  
Holladay's senator, George Williams, crippled the proposal with such unworkable amendments  
that the Californians lost interest and withdrew their support  
with the Central Pacific Railroad out of the picture,  
Simeon Reed and John Ainsworth reneged on their construction contract  
this was a fatal blow to Joseph Gaston's scheme

## FIRST ASCENT OF MOUNT RAINIER

Hazard Stevens (son of Governor Isaac Stevens)

decided to climb Mount Tahoma (Rainier) -- Summer 1870

seventh highest peak in the United States

Stevens started assembling a team for the first recorded ascent of the mountain

recruiting a strapping unemployed miner, Philomon Beecher Van Trump

and an English landscape artist and Alpinist, Edward T. Coleman

All were sturdy outdoorsmen and experienced woodsmen

they set out by horse and buggy from Olympia

they carried American flag with thirteen stars rather than thirty-two

this flag was hurriedly made -- but women refused to work on Sunday

resulting in the loss of nineteen stars

On southern flank of Yelm Prairie, they persuaded farmer James Longmire to guide them

he led them over sixty circuitous miles of forest wilderness to Bear Prairie

all were exhausted from a week of rough tramping:

- they suffered from thirst, painful blisters, and trail bruises;
- they had frequently been lost and dunked in raging streams;
- they were on short rations because they could find no game as they had counted on
- they narrowly missed being crushed when a giant pine tree toppled on their camp

At Bear Prairie, they talked an Indian guide, Sluiskin, into conducting them to the summit

that night was spent at Sluiskin Falls

out of respect for the mountain (or fear) Indians had very seldom gone above the timberline

First day out from Bear Prairie the climbing party was deserted by English landscape artist Coleman

he threw his forty-pound pack, loaded with most of the food, over a cliff

before retreating to the base camp

Hazard Stevens continued, **"We camped, as the twilight fell upon us, in an aromatic grove of balsam firs. A grouse, the fruit of Sluiskin's rifle, broiled before the fire and impartially divided, gave a relish to the dry bread and coffee. After supper we reclined upon our blankets in front of the bright, blazing fire, well satisfied. The Indian, when starting from Bear Prairie, had evidently deemed our intention of ascending Tahoma too absurd to deserve notice... but his views had undergone a change with the day's march. The affair began to look serious to him, and now in**

Chinook, interspersed with a few words of broken English and many signs and gesticulations, he began a solemn exhortation and warning against our rash project.

**“Takhoma, he said, was an enchanted mountain, inhabited by an evil spirit who dwelt in a fiery lake on its summit. No human being could ascend it or even attempt its ascent and survive. At first, indeed, the way was easy. The broad snow fields, over which he had so often hunted the mountain goat, interposed no obstacle, but above them the rash adventurer would be compelled to climb up steep of loose, rolling rocks, which would turn beneath his feet and cast him headlong into the deep abyss below.”<sup>13</sup>**

During the next day the two white men set out alone on southern face of the mountain  
they faced the real challenge climbing through the snow fields and glaciers  
as the towering white peak confronted them

Hazard Stevens noted: **“Directly in front and apparently not over two miles distant -- although really twenty -- old Takhoma loomed up more gigantic than ever. We were far above the level of the lower snow line on Takhoma. The high peak upon which we clung seemed the central core or focus of all the mountains around, and on every side we looked down vertically thousands of feet, deep down into vast, terrible defiles, black and fir-clothed, which stretched away until lost in the distance and smoke.**

**“Between them, separating one from another, the mountain walls rose precipitously and terminated in bare, columnar peaks of black basaltic or volcanic rock as sharp as needles. It seemed incredible that any human foot could have followed out the course we came, as we looked back upon it.”<sup>14</sup>**

Climbing the mountain, Stevens reflected, **“We soon came to the foot of one of the long ridges, and ascending it, followed it for several miles through open woods until we emerged upon the enchanting emerald and flowery meads which clothe these upper regions.... A little to the left we beheld a beautiful lake.... It was at once evident that the lake was upon a summit or divide between the waters of the Nisqually and Cowlitz rivers....”<sup>15</sup>**

They carried no blankets and had run out of food

fortunately, the summit was riddled with ice caves hollowed out by escaping steam

they found a degree of shelter in one of the caves which miraculously saved their lives

Stevens' narration continued, **“The next morning we moved two miles farther up the ridge and made camp in the last clump of trees, quite within the limit of perpetual snow. Thence, with snow spikes upon our feet and Alpine staff in hand, we went up the snow fields to reconnoiter the best line of ascent. We spent four hours, walking fast, in reaching the foot of the steep, abrupt part of the mountain. After carefully scanning the southern approaches, we decided to ascend on the morrow by a steep, rocky ridge that seemed to lead up to a snowy crown.**

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<sup>13</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 324-325

<sup>14</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 323.

<sup>15</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 324.

**“Before daylight the next morning, Wednesday, August 17, 1870, we were up and had breakfasted, and at six o’clock we started to ascend Tahoma. Besides our Alpine staffs and creepers, we carried a long rope, an ice ax, a brass plate inscribed with our names, our flags, a large canteen and some luncheon.... Being satisfied from our late reconnaissance that we could reach the summit and return on the same day, we left behind our coats and blankets.”<sup>16</sup>**

Stevens recalled, **“In three hours of fast walking we reached the highest point of the preceding day’s trip and commenced the ascent by the steep, rocky ridge... reaching up to the snowy dome. We found it to be a very narrow, steep irregular backbone, composed of crumbling basaltic conglomerate, the top only being solid rock, while the sides were composed of loose broken rocks and debris. Up this ridge, keeping upon the spine when possible, and sometimes forced to pick our way over the loose and broken rocks at the sides, around columnar masses which we could not directly climb over, we toiled for five hundred yards, ascending at an angle of nearly forty-five degrees.”<sup>17</sup>**

Hazard Stevens noted, **“The junction of rock and ice afforded our only line of ascent. It was an almost perpendicular gutter, but here our ice ax came into play, and by cutting steps in the ice and availing ourselves of every crevice or projecting point of the rock, we slowly worked our way up two hundred yards higher. Falling stones were continually coming down, Mr. Van Trump was hit by a small one, and another struck his staff from his hands. Abandoning the rock, then, at the earliest practical point, we ascended directly up the ice, cutting steps for a short distance, until we reached ice so corrugated as to afford a foothold.”<sup>18</sup>**

Stevens reflected, **“Ascending diagonally towards the left, we continued our course. The snow was hard and firm under foot... intersected by a number of crevasses which we crossed at narrow places without difficulty. About half way up the slope we encountered one from eight to twenty feet wide and of profound depth. The most beautiful vivid emerald-green color seemed to fill the abyss. ...Throwing a bight of the rope around a protecting pinnacle on the upper side, we climbed up, hand over hand, and thus effected a crossing.**

**“We were now obliged to travel slowly, with frequent rests. In that rare atmosphere, after taking seventy or eighty steps, our breath would be gone, our muscles grew tired and strained, and we experienced all the sensations of extreme fatigue. An instant’s pause, however, was sufficient to recover strength and breath, and we would start again. The wind, which we had not felt while climbing the steepest part of the mountain, now again blew furiously, and we began to suffer from the cold.”<sup>19</sup>**

Triumphantly, Hazard Stevens stated, **“The wind blew so violently that we were obliged to brace ourselves with our Alpine staffs and use great caution to guard against being swept off the ridge. We threw ourselves behind the pinnacles or into the cracks every seventy steps, for rest and shelter against the bitter, piercing wind.**

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<sup>16</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 326.

<sup>17</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 326-327.

<sup>18</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 327-328.

<sup>19</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 328.

**“Hastening forward in this way along the dizzy, narrow and precarious ridge, we reached at length the highest point. Sheltered behind a pinnacle of ice we rested a moment, took our flags and fastened them upon the Alpine staffs, and then, standing erect in the furious blast, waved them in triumph with three cheers.”<sup>20</sup>**

They reached the summit at 14,410 feet -- August 17, 1870

almost immediately they began the return to Olympia where they were received as heroes

#### JOSEPH GASTON’S WEST SIDE OREGON CENTRAL RAILROAD COLLAPSES

In the face of defeat at the hands of financier Ben Holladay, Joseph Gaston’s Oregon Central Railroad formally waived all claims to the federal land grant -- July-August 1870

“West Siders” had not constructed any part of their proposed railroad

#### BEN HOLLADAY TAKES OVER JOSEPH GASTON’S “WEST SIDE” RAILROAD

Joseph Gaston’s “West Side” Oregon Central Railroad company faced utter humiliation

there was nothing left for Joseph Gaston to do but surrender to Ben Holladay -- August 1870

“West Siders” sold everything they had including the charter for the railroad to Astoria

Gaston, the once exuberant West Side leader, took a job from the victor as a traffic agent

#### BEN HOLLADAY RUNS INTO FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

Sadly, the 3.8 million acres of federal public lands did not provide immediate working capital  
financial problems multiplied as Holladay’s financial empire expanded

Holladay, following the business practices of the day, established a dummy San Francisco corporation  
he conveyed the rights to the huge land grant to the European and Oregon Land Company

which promised to pay for the land [by 1889] at the rate of \$1.25 an acre as Congress specified

by selling real estate contracts to settlers and investors, if any, at \$2.50 per acre

on the strength of the land company’s promise, Holladay’s recklessly sold more railroad bonds  
using his San Francisco syndicate

to raise cash in a hurry, millions of dollars’ worth of bonds was issued in Europe

primarily to Prussian (German) investors who purchased the bonds

at sixty to seventy-five per cent of par value

Ben Holladay floated bonds worth over \$10.5 million to Prussian investors alone

never mind that in the land grant act Congress specified

land could only be sold to settlers in 160-acre increments

Bold as the entire scheme was, Ben Holladay’s race with time was a losing one

law suits and counter law suits dashed the careers of several politicians both local and national

and provided ample time to float the necessary bonds in Europe

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<sup>20</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 329.

## ELIZABETH (LIZZY) ORDWAY IS AN EDUCATIONAL LEADER

Teacher Lizzy Ordway returned to Seattle --1870

from her previous teaching positions in Coupeville, Port Madison, Port Gamble and Port Blakely

Miss Ordway opened the first building constructed by the Seattle school district

a two-story wood framed school fronting Third Avenue between Madison and Spring streets

Lizzy was hired as the only teacher at what was known as Central School

Seattle School District Number 1 opened -- August 1870

on the first day of school she rang the bell in the belfry -- she could not believe her eyes

more than a hundred twenty-five children came racing up the hill to attend classes

she explained that she would need to send the younger one's home "to ripen a little"

then convinced the school board to add a second teacher who was hired the second week

Miss Ordway was known as a strict disciplinarian who demanded perfection from her students

she received that commitment in return for her instructional efforts

Miss Ordway taught at the Central School until she returned to Kitsap County

## LITERATURE IS IMPORTANT TO THE PEOPLE OF WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Historical writers featured life in the Pacific Northwest for readers around the country and world

Frances Fuller Victor was a poet and journalist who with her husband

wrote the history of early Oregon Country centered around the career of pioneer Joe Meek

titled *The River of the West* --1870

Elwood Evans, a self-taught historian, was a Washington lawyer and politician

he published a two-volume work -- *History of the Pacific Northwest* [1869]

which was mainly written by Evans who also edited the contributions of others

his was well documented and objective although pioneer Jessie Applegate wrote to Evans

that his book would "**do duty in the privy or light the kitchen fires**"<sup>21</sup>

William H. Gray, former missionary, wrote *History of Oregon* ([1870])

he had several axes to grind

he blamed the Catholic Church for inciting the Indians

to murder Dr. Marcus and Narcissa Whitman

he was violently prejudiced against the Hudson's Bay Company

he also contributed several other outrageous opinions full of person vindictiveness

## WASHINGTON TERRITORIAL PRISON IS LOCATED ON McNEIL ISLAND

Brothers Ezra and Oliver Meekers' former land claim on McNeil Island

came into the hands of Jay Emmons Smith<sup>22</sup> -- 1870

he offered to donate twenty-seven acres of his land along the shoreline

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<sup>21</sup> Gordon B. Dodds, *The American Northwest*, P. 159.

<sup>22</sup> Daryl C. McClary, Essay 5238, HistoryLink.org, April 17, 2003.

to the Washington Territory penitentiary commission

Transfer of the land to the prison commissioners was completed -- September 11, 1870

Smith was given \$100 to "bind the deed"

(it proved to be a shrewd deal for Smith who went to work for the penitentiary as a guard and the value of his adjacent property increased)

## FACE OF FARMING CHANGES IN THE UNITED STATES AND WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Sagebrush and grasslands of Eastern Washington had drawn cattlemen -- 1870s and [1880s]

markets for the cattlemen's herds were the growing cities of the Northwest

miners of Idaho and Nevada and coastal cities such as San Francisco had great demand

but the greatest demand was on the rangelands of the Great Plains

where great herds of cattle and sheep would be held for fattening for eastern cities

Wheat farmers moved into Eastern and Central Washington -- 1870s

they found dry crops could be grown in the river valleys

and then discovered the bench lands behind the rivers also could be successfully farmed

they finally discovered dry farming could be successful on the region's rolling hills

wheat was cheaper to ship than beef after railroads arrived in the Pacific Northwest

financial gains enjoyed by Washington wheat farmers were at the expense of other farmers

Increasing numbers of wheat farmers gave them political power

and vigilante strength to defeat the cattlemen

## OREGON STEAMSHIP NAVIGATION COMPANY SERVES WASHINGTON FARMERS

Mining traffic on the Columbia River was replaced by shipments of wheat

that went through Portland before continuing to distant markets in Europe and Asia

steamboats were the mainstay of farmers along the Columbia and lower Snake rivers

sternwheelers picked up wheat at many landings such as Wallula, Riparia, Penawawa, Almots,

Asotin and Wawawai

## SHIPPING MONOPOLIES CHARGE FARMERS DEARLY TO DELIVER FARM PRODUCTS

There were shipping monopolies on both the Columbia and Willamette rivers

steamship companies and grain elevator (storage) companies charged exorbitant prices

Farmers grew increasingly agitated by the costs of shipping their grain on steamship lines

and the charges for storing grain in elevators

## NATIONAL GRANGE MOVEMENT EXPANDS ITS MISSION

Grange movement had begun as a social club and was strongest in the Middle West

grange members saw themselves as protectors of the spirit of rural people

Grange was not intended to be a political party, but political involvement was inevitable

Grange promoted building rural America through grassroots activities

this organization granted each member a voice within his or her local unit  
and subsequently the opportunity to impact national policy-making  
An aggressive and self-conscious effort on the part of Grange members was begun  
nation's farmers began to define their problems in economic terms  
and to address those problems through economic and political action  
Grangers worked to pass pro-farmer legislation and instituted the cooperative movement  
to allow farmers to pool their capital and purchase machinery, supplies, and insurance  
Grange had grown to become an accumulation of interests and shared visions  
aimed at empowering and improving opportunities for agricultural people  
by offering formal support to address agricultural concerns and to strengthen family values

#### SMALL BOARDING SCHOOLS ARE ESTABLISHED ON WASHINGTON RESERVATIONS

Bureau of Indian Affairs fulfilled its promise to provide an education to Puyallup Indian children  
\$4000 was provided for construction of an industrial and agricultural school  
on the Puyallup reservation -- fall 1870  
(Throughout the next twenty years funding would continue from the federal government  
for the purpose of educating the Indians of the Northwest)  
there were small reservation boarding schools established on the Chehalis, Skokomish  
and Makah Reservations -- 1870s and [1880s]  
these institutions, which had fewer than fifty students, were all closed by [1896]  
and were replaced by day schools)

#### MODOC INDIANS ARE MISTREATED ON THE RESERVATION BY THE KLAMATH INDIANS

Shortly after Captain Jack (Keintepoos) and his band  
started building permanent homes at Modoc Point on Clear Lake [1869]  
their long time rivals, the Klamath Indians, began to mistreat them  
Modoc were forced to move to another part of the reservation  
Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs Alfred Meacham  
realized there was bad blood between the Modoc and the Klamath Indians  
Meacham recommended to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C.  
that Captain Jack and his band be given a separate reservation  
pending action on his recommendation Meacham instructed Captain Jack and his band  
to remain at Clear Lake  
Several attempts were made to find a safe location as the Klamaths continued to harass the band  
finally, Captain Jack and his followers left the reservation and returned to Lost River -- 1870

#### MODOC INDIANS RETURN TO THEIR LOST RIVER HOMELAND

While the Modoc Indians had been on the reservation several settlers had taken up their land  
in the Lost River region

Modoc Indians under their resourceful leader, Captain Jack (Keintepoos) had defied efforts to keep them on the reservation now the band roamed the countryside harassing the settlers who had taken their land Once again settlers' anxieties were elevated throughout the whole Pacific Northwest

#### OREGON AND CALIFORNIA RAILROAD COMPANY BEGINS OPERATION

With funds secured, Ben Holladay sped up construction on the Oregon and California Railroad tracks first train reached Salem, the capital of Oregon State, from Portland -- October 1870 it traveled on tracks along the east side of the Willamette River

#### SEARCH FOR A TERMINUS ON PUGET SOUND

Party of Northern Pacific Railway men came to Puget Sound to select a terminus -- fall 1870 they had such names as Ogden, Billings, Canfield, Wright and Wisdom they journeyed back and forth along the shore of Puget Sound on the steamer *North Pacific* as they viewed potential railroad terminal locations in Olympia, Steilacoom, Mukilteo, Tacoma and Seattle where conditions in these various tiny villages were examined, as well as the surrounding geography and tidal conditions they were entertained at each little village with terminal ambitions but they returned east without making an announcement Coincidentally, Tacoma's name first appeared on a map issued by Hazard Stevens -- 1870

#### SUFFRAGISTS AGAIN TEST THEIR VOTING RIGHTS IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Having been unsuccessful in their effort to vote at White River [1869] fifteen women successfully voted in Thurston County -- November 1870 however, in Olympia Mrs. Mary Olney Brown again attempted to vote (as he had in [1869]) again her ballot was refused at Grand Mound precinct, Mrs. Brown's sister, Mrs. Charlotte O. French and several other women were permitted to vote several other precinct election officers in other parts of the territory interpreted the law the same way as the Grand Mound officials and permitted women to vote

#### AMERICAN FINANCING FACES SERIOUS DIFFCULTIES

As a result of the Civil War credit throughout the United States had been overstrained interest rates were fantastically high Bond speculators, land speculators, construction speculators and others reaped huge profits railroad bonds were offered everywhere to everyone or anyone with cash these bonds were secured by land grants but the acreage was so vast it would be impossible to bring it into cultivation or even sell all of it for decades Europe, once an inexhaustible market for American bonds, turned resistant



unhappy experiences with fraudulent offerings quickly dampened enthusiasm  
also the Franco-Prussian War, between France and Prussia [Germany 1870-1871]  
raged for almost half a year -- resulting in the creation of the state of Germany  
cost of this effort and the ravages of war dried up European capital

#### WALLA WALLA AND COLUMBIA RIVER RAILROAD BECOMES A POSSIBILITY

Eastern Washington wheat ranchers wanted a railroad to link them with the Columbia River  
large rivers were the chief highways in the territory and these were hard to reach  
shipping rates were extremely high and cut into farmers' profit margins  
Dr. Dorsey Syng Baker decided to build the first railroad in the interior of Washington Territory  
he wanted to connect the wheat growing region around Walla Walla and the Columbia Basin  
with the Columbia River

He conducted a survey of a proposed thirty-two-mile-long route from Walla Walla  
to the Oregon Steam Navigation Company boat landing at Wallula  
on the Columbia River -- 1871

lacking proper survey instruments the surveyor used as a level whiskey bottle half filled with water  
which was held horizontally for sightings

After completing his route survey Dr. Dorsey Baker built a sawmill north of Wallula  
to cut railroad ties for the project and construction of a railroad from Walla Walla to Wallula began  
with several gangs of Chinese laborers grading the line -- 1871

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY BUSINESS REMAINS PRIMARILY STAGNANT

With its limited domestic timber market, Western Washington had to remain content  
with the lumber export trade

however, Washington shipyards did build nine vessels totaling 1,377 tons -- 1871

Seattle Coal and Transportation Company was bought out by San Francisco investors -- 1871  
new money increased production capacity and developed a large San Francisco market  
Yakima Valley's energetic and hopeful settler John W. Beck planted an orchard of 100 trees

#### WASHINGTON CITY BECOMES WASHINGTON, D.C.

(Congress created a new federal district from land donated

by the states of Maryland and Virginia: *Residence Act of 1790* [July 16, 1790]

this land held two large settlements: Georgetown, Maryland and Alexandria, Virginia  
a new capital city named in honor of President George Washington was founded  
east of Georgetown [1791]

Congress established operations in the new capital city known as Washington, D.C.

and organized the federal district that became known as the District of Columbia  
with passage of the *Organic Act of 1801* [February 27, 1801]

cities of Washington, D.C. and Georgetown kept their municipal governments

remainder of the unincorporated territory within the federal district  
formed the new “County of Washington”

City of Alexandria also maintained its own local government

but was returned by Congress to the state of Virginia [July 9, 1846]

population of the District of Columbia grew to nearly 132,000 residents [1870]

local governments in the District of Columbia could not handle the population growth

living conditions remained poor as dirt roads and lack of basic sanitation was the standard

this situation was so bad that some Congressmen suggested moving the capital west

(President Lincoln had named Port Angeles, Washington Territory [March 3, 1862]

as an emergency capital city if the South won the Civil War)

President Ulysses S. Grant refused to consider moving the national capital

Congress passed the Organic Act of 1871 -- February 21, 1871

this law revoked the individual charters of the cities of Washington and Georgetown

and combined them with Washington County to create a unified territorial government:

the District of Columbia

Organic Act of 1871 did not establish a new city or city government within the District

Washington, D.C. retained its identity

(today the name “Washington” usually refers to the entire District of Columbia

but the law continues to recognize the city of Washington of the Organic Act of 1871

to avoid confusion people in Washington State refer to the national capital as “D.C.”)

#### YET ANOTHER WASHINGTON TERRITORY EFFORT IS MADE TO BECOME A STATE

Once again Washington Territory voters were asked to support statehood -- 1871

on this occasion only a few voters responded in favor

#### RAILROAD LAND GRANTS COME TO AN END

Between [1850] and [1870] over 129 million acres, seven percent of the continental United States,  
had been ceded to eighty railroad companies

most of that land was west of the Mississippi River

Because of growing objections to such large free gifts of the public domain being given to companies  
and the shortage of property available to settlers resulted in a steady increase in the value of land

Congressional land grant policy was condemned as inconsistent with the free homestead idea

Congress passed the Pacific Railroad Act ending land grants -- March 3, 1871

#### NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY FINALLY COMPLETES FINANCING ARRANGEMENTS

It took seven years to put together enough financing to begin construction

on the western portion of the Northern Pacific Railway

Northern Pacific Railway financier Jay Cooke was the purchaser -- 1871

at a price of five million dollars -- half in cash and half in Northern Pacific bonds

at a set price of 90¢ on the dollar  
Eastern financier Jay Cooke then sold another \$100 million in bonds  
to finance the construction of the Northern Pacific Railway

#### OREGON STEAM NAVIGATION (OSN) DIRECTORS SELL MOST OF THEIR COMPANY

Oregon Steam Navigation Company had an almost complete monopoly of water-based transportation on the Columbia, Snake and Willamette rivers and on Puget Sound  
for a year OSN directors watched the giant westerly strides  
of the Northern Pacific Railway (NPRY)

OSN directors decided it was time to reap a profit of their own -- March 1871  
they sold 75% of their stock and their railway rights-of-way, portage roads  
and controlling interest in their steamboats which would be useful  
for transporting construction materials for the Northern Pacific Railway

Oregon Steam Navigation Company (OSN) was to serve as the transportation link  
between the Pacific Division of the Northern Pacific Railway (NPRY) transcontinental line  
in eastern Washington, the Willamette Valley in Oregon, and Kalama and Puget Sound.

#### NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY PREPARES TO BUILD ITS PACIFIC DIVISION BRANCH LINE

From the stake driven to by General John W. Sprague [March 1870] to mark the location of Kalama,  
Oregon Steam Navigation (OSN) Company President Captain J.C. Ainsworth  
hired 700 Chinese laborers contracted from San Francisco and Portland  
they were on site when construction started in Kalama  
they were joined by 250 men from Scotland, Ireland, Sweden and Germany  
unskilled white workers were paid \$2 per day -- Chinese workers were paid \$1 per day  
mechanics made \$3 and gang foremen were paid \$70 per month  
Chinese lived apart from white workers in a Chinatown known as China Garden  
(little remains of the Chinese presence in Kalama except the name of the road there)

#### CONSTRUCTION BEGINS ON THE NORTHRN PACIFIC RAILWAY PACIFIC DIVISION

Track laying from what eventually grew into Kalama, Washington Territory began -- March 19, 1871  
first twenty-five miles was completed (by fall) northward assuring the promised federal land grant  
construction crews overcame many serious challenges including a huge landslide  
near Pumphrey (eight miles north of Castle Rock, Washington)  
track reached sixty-five miles to Tenino, Washington Territory (November)  
considering the remote and rough wilderness, this was admirable progress  
however, a decision on the exact location of a terminus on Puget Sound had not yet been made  
Olympia was a good possible choice but there were no obvious large cities on the sound  
so any small community was just as good as any other

## CHINESE WORKERS ARE EMPLOYED BY SEVERAL LUMBER MILLS ON PUGET SOUND

There were a number of smaller sawmills on Puget Sound

Port Madison on the northwest part of Bainbridge Island was one that employed Chinese laborers as did lumber mills in Whatcom and Skagit Counties

lumber mills on Puget Sound amassed a fortune providing lumber to the region and to San Francisco which received about two-thirds of the local output

Australia, Chile, China, Japan, Hawaii and the British Isles also received lumber shipments

Chinese people not only worked in the sawmills they also were employed as cooks, servants and “wash” people for white settlers and other businesses in the mill towns

Racial tensions became apparent early in the mill towns of Puget Sound

newspaper accounts described the arson of Chinese property

and reported Chinese being burglarized, robbed, beaten, vandalized and even murdered

Port Madison saw two Chinese employees who were intending to leave for Seattle

murdered at the lumber mill -- 1871

## SAN JUAN ISLAND AND OTHER DISPUTES WITH ENGLAND REACH FINAL RESOLUTION

First Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honorable Sir John A. MacDonald,

was stationed in Washington, D.C. for two months as a member of a Joint High Commission to discuss issues of concern between Great Britain and the United States

Negotiations resulted in the Washington Treaty

as noted in the title this was a: **Treaty between Her Majesty and the United States of America for the Amicable Settlement of all Causes of Difference Between the Two Countries Claims; Fisheries; Claims of Corporations, Companies or Private Individuals; Navigation of Rivers and Lakes; San Juan Water Boundary; and Rules Defining Duties of a Neutral Government during War**

regarding the San Juan dispute, it was determined a neutral third person

chosen by both Britain and the United States to arbitrate

would make the final decision -- no appeal was allowed

newly elevated (from the title German King) German Emperor Kaiser Wilhelm (William I),

referred the question to three judges who returned separate decisions to him in writing

after studying maps of the San Juan Island it was decided that Haro Strait

to the east of the islands would be boundary rather than more westerly Rosario Strait

United States would be granted possession of the San Juan Islands

Gulf Islands north of the international boundary continued to be British property

Final treaty was signed by President Ulysses S. Grant -- May 8, 1871

Canadian House of Representatives was not in session at this time

(they would not ratify until May 3, 1872 when a large majority concurred 121 to 55)

## HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY LEAVES WASHINGTON TERRITORY

With the completion of the Washington Treaty,

Hudson's Bay Company completely withdrew from Washington Territory -- June 1, 1871  
Chief Trader Angus MacDonald moved the company's goods from Colville to Kamloops

## BRITISH COLUMBIA JOINS THE CONFEDERATION OF CANADA

America's intentions toward British Columbia alarmed political leaders in Canada

an offer was presented to British Columbia's leadership if she would join the confederation:

- all of the colony's debts would be paid,
- essential services would be maintained by the federal government,
- an annual subsidy would be paid,
- but most importantly a Canadian railroad would be constructed across the Rocky Mountains

British Columbia agreed to these terms -- July 20, 1871

## CONSTRUCTION BEGINS ON THE WASHINGTON TERRITORIAL PRISON

Contract to build the first cell house, according to plans submitted by the Attorney General,  
was given to Isaac C. Ellis of Olympia and construction began -- 1871

This cell house was a large brick and stone shell with back-to-back cells<sup>23</sup>

interior cellblock held forty-eight double cells, three tiers high

each cell measured six by eight feet, with a seven-and-a-half-foot ceiling

none were located against an outer wall to assure against escapes

There was, however, one astonishing omission in the construction plans as the prison

had no auxiliary facilities; no kitchen, bathrooms, offices, or accommodations for the guards  
and there was no provision for water or heat

## OLD CHIEF JOSEPH PASSES AWAY

Old Joseph (*Tu-eka-kas*) summoned to his deathbed his eldest son

thirty-one-year-old Young Joseph (*Hin-mah-too-yah-lat-kek*)

Old Joseph told his son: **“When I am gone, think of your country. You are the chief of these people. They look to you to guide them. Always remember that your father never sold the country. You must stop your ears whenever you are asked to sign a treaty selling your home. A few years more, and the white man will be all around you. They have their eyes on this land. My son, never forget my dying words. Never sell the bones of your father and mother.”**<sup>24</sup>

Father of Young Chief Joseph, died -- August 1871

in a camp at the fork of the Wallowa and Lostine rivers

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<sup>23</sup> Daryl C. McClary, *McNeil Island and the Federal Penitentiary*, Essay 5238, Link.org, April 17, 2003.

<sup>24</sup> *National Geographic*, March, 1977, P. 410.

Young Joseph later said of that camp, **“I buried him in that beautiful valley of winding waters. I love that land more than all the rest of the world. A man who would not love his father’s grave is worse than a wild animal.”**<sup>25</sup>

#### NEW HOSPITAL FOR THE MENTALLY ILL OPENS AT FORT STEILACOOM

Identified as the Insane Asylum of Washington Territory the facility opened -- August 19, 1871  
on the grounds of the former Fort Steilacoom

Fifteen men and six women patients transferred in from Monticello, Washington Territory  
old barracks served as patient and staff housing  
(military buildings and grounds of the hospital are still in use today  
along with many additional improvements)

Period between 1871 and [1875] was very difficult for the new hospital  
one local businessman had contracted with the legislature  
to look after the daily needs of the patients  
at the same time, a resident physician was hired  
to provide psychiatric treatment and medical care  
unfortunately, patient neglect became so abusive at the hands of the businessman contractor  
that the Medical Society of the Washington Territory had to intervene  
Medical Society was instrumental in influencing the legislature  
to abandon the dual-management system and to place total care of the patients  
with a medical superintendent, Dr. Stacey Hemenway

#### PACIFIC NORTHWEST HAS A WOMEN’S RIGHTS LEADER

Abigail Jane Scott was born [1834] to a pioneer family in Illinois  
she participated in the Westward Movement migrating to Oregon [1852]  
shortly after arriving, she married rancher Benjamin C. Duniway  
she assumed the tasks of frontier wife and mother

Abigail Jane Scott Duniway was an author living in Oregon who published her first book [1859]  
*Captain Gray’s Company* was an account of a fictional crossing of the plains to Oregon  
this was the first novel to be written in the Pacific Northwest  
after her husband was injured, Abigail took up the millinery business in Albany, Oregon  
Duniway’s growing resentment over women’s legal limitations eventually prompted her  
to move her family to Portland where she established *The New Northwest*  
a sprightly and profitable weekly newspaper which for the next sixteen years  
offered general news, literature, editorials and articles  
devoted to the cause of woman’s suffrage -- 1871-[1887]  
she managed a Northwest speaking tour by Susan B. Anthony and accompanied her -- 1871

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<sup>25</sup> *National Geographic*, March, 1977, P. 410.

Abigail Jane Scott Duniway traveled all over the Pacific Northwest speaking about equal rights  
she became an outspoken leader for the women's rights movement  
(she was the first woman to address the Oregon legislature [1872]  
she lectured extensively for many decades in the Pacific Northwest and eastern states  
and was a compelling speaker  
Mrs. Duniway told her own story in her book, *Path Breaking* [1914])

#### ELIZABETH (LIZZY) ORDWAY IS AN ACTIVE FEMINIST

Lizzy Ordway believed in women's rights and was deeply involved in the suffrage movement  
she was one of the first active feminists in the region and was described by a friend as **“admired for her charm and wit, a clever and interesting conversationalist who loved a good argument, and Washington's first career woman.”**<sup>26</sup>

Lizzy Ordway appeared with Susan B. Anthony at Seattle's Brown Church  
afterward the two formed a Female Suffrage Society that frequently lobbied in Olympia  
Lizzy became an active Suffragette crusading for women's right to vote and hold public office  
Miss Ordway served as secretary of the Washington Women's Suffrage Organization  
Washington's suffrage bill, for which Lizzie Ordway lobbied, was heartily defeated -- 1871  
however, the territorial legislature passed an act  
which provided that women had a right to vote in school elections  
opening the door to women's suffrage in Washington Territory  
(later Lizzie Ordway was elected the first School Superintendent of Kitsap County  
she served in that position as a successful and strict disciplinarian for eight years)

(Lizzy Ordway died in Seattle on [September 11, 1897] at age 69,  
she is remembered by a description she applied to herself: **“The Mercer Girl who reserved her affections for her students.”**<sup>27</sup>

#### BEN HOLLADAY BUYS THE PEOPLE'S TRANSPORTATION COMPANY

Ben Holladay was generating funding through the sale of bonds in the United States and Europe  
People's Transportation Company threatened his steamboat business on the Willamette River  
to eliminate this steamboat competition on the Willamette River  
Holladay bought out People's Transportation Company  
and nine of their steamers for \$200,000 -- September 9, 1871  
these vessels were incorporated into his coastal routes  
which was restructured as the Oregon Steamship Company

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<sup>26</sup> James R. Warren, *Seattle at 150: Ordway, the unwed 'Mercer Girl' was still well-loved*. Seattle P.I.com, Tuesday, October 16, 2001.

<sup>27</sup> James R. Warren, *Seattle at 150: Ordway, the unwed 'Mercer Girl' was still well-loved*. Seattle P.I.com, Tuesday, October 16, 2001.

## BEN HOLLADAY'S OREGON STEAMSHIP COMPANY BEGINS OPERATION

Using the potential earnings his new Oregon Steamship Company provided

Holladay issued still more stocks and bonds

However, development of a profitable freight business along the Willamette River failed to materialize  
bond sales of Holladay's Oregon Steamship Company slackened

## BEN HOLLADAY'S OREGON AND CALIFORNIA RAILROAD (O&C) IS TIED UP IN COURT

One of the involved lawsuits between Holladay and his former partner Simon G. Elliott

was scheduled to be heard in the United States District Court

presiding judges were Matthew Deady of Oregon

and Justice Stephen Fields of the United States Supreme Court

it was charged that Holladay gave U.S. Supreme Court Associate Justice Stephen Field

four hundred shares of stock in the European and Oregon Land Company -- September 1871

such gifts to public men were by no means rare during this era

Supreme Court Chief Justice Chase was simultaneously accepting favors from Jay Cooke  
still, this gift was more obvious than most:

- if Simon G. Elliott won the suit, the value of the stock would depreciate;
- if Ben Holladay won, it would certainly rise in value

Justice Fields sent a hundred shares of this stock to his colleague District Court Judge Deady

Deady returned it -- thus announcing himself as Holladay's enemy

(Before cross suits and appeals were finished neither Holladay nor Elliott received any profit  
their only satisfaction was personal)

## BEN HOLLADAY CONTROLS OREGON POLITICS

Ben Holladay's Oregon Senator, George Williams, had failed to be reelected -- November 1871

but, being a loyal political party man, he was appointed by President U.S. Grant

to the position of United States Attorney General

an office Williams filled with singular incompetence

An Attorney General was a useful tool to have, of course, but Holladay wanted a senator even more

to get one, he needed to dominate the Oregon legislature

which in those days elected United States senators

## DR. DORSEY SYNG BAKER PURCHASES A LOCOMOTIVE

Dr. Baker traveled to Pittsburg, Pennsylvania where for \$4,400

he bought a tiny 7½ ton locomotive -- December 1871

it was topped with a conspicuous smoke stack and spark catcher

he shipped the engine around Cape Horn to Portland and then upriver to Wallula

to be used on his yet-to-be-built Walla Walla and Columbia River Railroad

He also imported iron wheels and railroad car frames



on which local carpenters constructed homemade boxcars, coaches and flatcars  
Dr. Baker's money ran out before the any rails could be laid

#### TURN OF THE YEAR BRINGS MORE PROGRESS TO THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

On the Willamette River a canal was planned -- early 1872  
along with a series of locks around the forty-foot rocky horseshoe-shaped waterfall  
this would allow boat traffic on the Willamette to navigate beyond Willamette Falls  
Construction commenced on the Willamette River -- 1872  
locks were located twenty-six miles up the Willamette River from the Columbia River  
this project consisted of four inter-connected lift lock chambers, a canal basin  
and a guard lock to protect the canal from high water in the upper river  
each lock chamber provided a lift of ten feet

#### PORTLAND -- THE LEADING CITY OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Wealth came from transportation, banking, merchandising and real estate  
grain from Eastern Oregon and Eastern Washington Territory arrived in Portland  
steamboats tied the economy of the interior closely to Portland  
Portland influenced politics, society, and economics  
it was an island of wealth and prosperity in an ocean of jealousy and discontent  
which pervaded the hinterland

Portland was a homey town -- not overly friendly but amiable  
it was cautious, conservative and contented with itself  
rich citizens supported culture, philanthropies and churches  
and they voted Republican as a rule

Population of Portland was somewhat diversified  
Irish were the largest foreign-born group in Portland  
between 300 and 400 Chinese immigrated to Portland to build the railroad  
they arrived on each ship coming from the Orient

Churches were a mainstay of cultural life in Portland  
Jews were the first to organize when they built their first synagogue in the Northwest [1858]  
no churches built in Portland until Trinity Episcopal Church was constructed [1865]  
Unitarians molded public opinion toward social reform [1866]  
when they began the Boys and Girls Aid Society  
which utilized foster homes rather than orphanages  
(fourteen Protestant churches existed in Portland by [1876])

Schools were notably ignored by adults and potential pupils alike  
financial resources were limited  
school land funds were stolen or abused on more than one occasion

first school in Portland was opened and conducted by teacher John Outhouse (Othus) -- [1856]  
five elementary and one high school had come into existence by 1872  
sixty-five students were enrolled in the high school  
citizens depended a great deal on private schools to educate their children  
Episcopal Saint Helen's Hall educated upper class young ladies  
Portland Academy and Female Seminary served 250 students  
other educational opportunities were provided by  
three Catholic academies, two Hebrew schools and one German school

Colleges also had their roots in Church schools

Willamette University began as Methodist Oregon Institute

Pacific University began as Mother Tabitha Brown's orphanage

Presbyterian Corvallis College became Oregon Agricultural College

## EARLY PACIFIC NORTHWEST LITERATURE

Poet and journalist Mrs. Frances Fuller Victor who had compiled many historical articles  
and a book about pioneer Joe Meek, *The River of the West* [1870],  
published a second book entitled *Washington and Oregon* --1872

Historian Hubert Howe Bancroft compiled a thirty-nine-volume historical work begun in 1872  
in addition, he published the two-volume *History of the Northwest Coast* [1884]  
followed by *History of Oregon* [1887], *History of British Columbia* [1887]  
and *History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana* [1890]

Frances Fuller Victor joined Historian Hubert Howe Bancroft's staff of historians -- 1872  
who was beginning his great work *History of the Pacific Coast*  
she wrote two volumes on Oregon, one on Washington, Idaho, and Montana  
one on Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming and she probably wrote portions of four others  
Frances Fuller Victor's books were based on careful research of original documents  
they were clearly written and generally objective  
although her treatment of missionaries is considered by some to be unfair  
and others believe she was unsympathetic toward the Indians

## BEN HOLLADAY ACQUIRES A NEW NATIONAL SENATOR FROM OREGON

Holladay dominated Oregon's legislature by seeing to it hand-picked candidates were sent to Salem  
some of the legislators were assured their seats by outright purchase of votes  
others were elected by multiple voting -- 1872

Grateful state senators returned the favor to Holladay

by choosing as their national senator John Hipple Mitchell -- 1872-[1879]

according to his opponents Mitchell announced his political philosophy: **“Whatever is Ben Holladay’s politics is my politics; and whatever, Ben Holladay wants, I want.”**<sup>28</sup>

Senator Mitchell’s detractors made other accusations:

- his real name they said was John Mitchell Hipple  
in Oregon he had assumed his mother’s surname of Mitchell
- he had deserted his wife and two children in Pennsylvania [1860]
- he remarried without benefit of divorce, fathered six more children  
and built up a profitable law practice
- his imposing stature and rolling oratory both were useful political assets  
but his use of bribery was even more effective

#### OREGON AND CALIFORNIA RAILROAD (O&C) REORGANIZES ONCE AGAIN

Ben Holladay’s Oregon railroad reorganized once again under his control

Railroad construction was extended down the East side of the Willamette River  
tracks had connected Portland past Salem and on to Eugene City

track laying progressed in the direction of Roseburg, Oregon -- 1872

but the railroad line remained uncompleted to Sacramento for the next eleven years

Earnings for the railroad remained low

#### FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL SCANDLES DESTROY PUBLIC CONFIDENCE

- Credit Mobilier scandal involved the Union Pacific Railroad  
which formed a construction company of its own -- Credit Mobilier of America  
in a deliberate attempt to defraud the Federal Government and the general public  
Credit Mobilier submitted inflated construction bills to the railroad which paid without question  
these were forwarded to Congress for reimbursement  
excess profits were pocketed by the directors of the construction company and the railroad  
to assure the continued cooperation of Congress in supporting the inflated funding scheme  
Credit Mobilier gave deeply discounted shares of its stock to Congressional members  
it was a very sophisticated corporate scam and was largely not illegal at the time
- Tammany Hall was a corrupt New York City political machine run by William Marcy “Boss” Tweed  
Boss Tweed, former Democratic New York Congressman, state senator, business tycoon  
and New York City land baron was elected a New York commissioner of public works  
from that position he led a ring in control of the municipal government of New York City  
Tweed’s Ring made no great effort to avoid detection -- it was not necessary  
Tweed was in control of the courts and most of the attorneys in the New York bar association  
city Controller Richard B. Connolly was in charge of the books and refused to show them  
contractors working for the city were told to multiply their bill by five, or ten, or a hundred

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<sup>28</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 361.

with Mayor Abraham Oakey Hall's approval and Connolly's endorsement it was paid  
intermediaries cashed the check, settled the original bill and divided the rest with the Ring  
City Sheriff James O'Brien was an inconsistent supporter of Boss Tweed -- 1872  
he gave *The New York Times* evidence of the embezzlements  
newspaper was reportedly offered \$5 million to not publish the reports  
Boss Tweed was convicted for stealing between \$40 million and \$200 million from the city

#### PEACE TALKS ARE ONCE AGAIN HELD WITH THE MODOC INDIANS

Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs Alfred Meacham waited two years  
for a response from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C.  
regarding where to place the Modoc Indians who were living along the Lost River  
near the Oregon-California border  
in the meantime, settlers in the Lost River region petitioned Superintendent Meacham  
to remove the Modoc back to the Klamath Reservation  
so they could farm the land that formerly belonged to the Modocs  
Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs Alfred Meacham received settlers' petition  
he requested General Edward S. Canby, Commanding General of Columbia District,  
who was stationed at Portland where he commanded of the army  
remove Captain Jack and his band of Modoc to back to the Klamath Reservation  
General Canby was a distinguished veteran of the Civil War  
he had received the surrender of the last two Confederate armies in the field  
General Canby forwarded Meacham's request  
to Commanding General of the Pacific John Schofield suggesting  
that before using force to get Captain Jack back to the reservation  
another peaceful effort should be made  
Captain Jack (American name for Modoc Chief Keintepoos) had for some time boasted  
that in the event of war he and his band could successfully defend themselves  
in lava beds on the south shore of Tule Lake in northern California  
these lava beds with a labyrinth of ridges covered an area eight by four miles in extent  
Indians were able to slip out of their strongholds and make raids  
while their foe entering the lava beds were frequently stopped  
by impassable crevices and deep pits  
Major Elmer Otis held a council with Captain Jack at Lost River Gap  
(near what is now Olone, Oregon) -- April 3, 1872  
Captain Jack and the important men of his band were distinctly hostile during the meeting  
nothing was accomplished toward relocating the band to the same reservation  
where they had been harassed by Klamath Indians

#### PEACE TALKS WITH THE MODOC INDIANS AMOUNTS TO NOTHING

Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C. finally responded to the Modoc problem  
they ignored Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs Alfred Meacham  
Washington Territory Superintendent of Indian Affairs T. B. Odeneal was ordered  
to move Captain Jack and his Modoc people to the reservation if that was practical  
and to see they were not maltreated by the Klamath Indians  
Odeneal, carrying out his instructions, sent Ivan D. Applegate and L. S. Dyer  
to arrange for a council with Captain Jack which the Modoc chief refused -- April 14, 1872  
(New orders would be issued to Washington Territory Superintendent Odeneal [July 6, 1872]  
Odeneal was to move Captain Jack and his band to the Klamath Reservation  
using force if necessary)

#### TERRITORIAL APPOINTMENT AND ELECTION

Republican President Ulysses S. Grant appointed Elisha P. Ferry to replace Governor Edward Saloman  
as Washington Territory Governor -- April 1872  
Elisha Ferry had been appointed surveyor-general of Washington Territory by Grant [1869]  
Ferry held the office of Territorial Governor through two full terms of four years each  
(Ferry was re-appointed Washington territorial governor by President Grant [1876-1880]  
making him the longest serving territorial governor of Washington  
he would also serve as Washington's first state governor [1889])

#### TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR ELISHA P. FERRY TAKES OFFICE

From the day of Elisha Ferry's arrival in the territory [1869]  
he has been one of the foremost men in all of Washington  
he was always contributing to the development of the country,  
and assisting those who needed aid in the securing of their homes and farms  
he was the kind of man who is one of the people, and was always very approachable  
he was a man who unconsciously made warm friends of those with whom he came into contact  
he enjoyed a host of friends in all walks of life:  
day laborers, farmers, merchants, bankers, professional men  
friendships were created almost unconsciously -- without any effort or attempt  
such men as Governor Ferry inspired confidence and an unmistakable spontaneous fondness  
which formed a lasting impression  
Governor Ferry possessed all the requirements and natural qualities that make a good executive  
he was a good lawyer and businessman  
prudent, tactful, painstaking in his thinking as well as in his actions  
he possessed high principals, good judgment and great strength of character  
Territorial Governor Ferry was, perhaps, the greatest of all the territorial governors  
with the possible exception of Washington's first governor, Isaac Ingalls Stevens  
Elisha P. Ferry did not surround himself with any of the ceremony or pomp of office,

nor was he as governor any less approachable than he had been as a private citizen

## GOVERNOR FERRY'S FIRST TERM

When his first term in office began the nation was generally prosperous  
development in Washington Territory was progressing slowly, but the settlers were hopeful  
it seemed probable that progress would soon advance more rapidly  
long anticipated railroad building had begun  
spur line from the Columbia River to Puget Sound was nearing completion  
there was no apparent reason why it should not continue until the Sound was connected  
with the older settled regions of the Eastern United States

Governor Elisha Ferry found the financial affairs of the territory in some confusion  
he immediately applied himself to making needed corrections  
laws for the assessment and collection of taxes were still crude and imperfect  
several counties were negligent in paying their share of taxes due the territory  
some had been delinquent for several years  
resulting in an aggregate amount due of nearly \$13,000  
because of this delinquency the counties not in default were compelled to pay for  
part of the interest accruing on warrants issued in anticipation of this delinquent balance  
this was wrong and unjust

Governor Ferry urged the legislature to give the matter attention at once  
so the injustices could be corrected  
all counties would be compelled to contribute equitably  
to the support of the territorial government

But the legislature did not immediately give equalizing taxes the attention it deserved  
(thus the governor was compelled to refer to this problem in several subsequent messages)

## COLVILLE INDIAN RESERVATION IS CREATED BY PRESIDENT USLYSSIS S. GRANT

President Grant issued an Executive Order -- April 9, 1872  
to create an Indian Reservation consisting of several million acres of land  
containing rivers, streams, timbered forests, grass lands, minerals, plants and animals  
people from eleven tribes, including the Colville, Nespelem, San Poil, Lakes, Palouse, Wenatchi,  
Chelan, Entiat, Methow, southern Okanogan, and Chief Moses  
were "designated" to live on the newly created Colville Nez Perce Indian Reservation

## PRESIDENT ULYSSES S. GRANT IS NOMINATED FOR A SECOND TERM

Republican nominating convention was held in Philadelphia -- June 5, 1872  
Grant was selected by the Radical Republicans for a second term  
Liberal Republicans nominated Horace Greeley as their candidate  
his candidacy was also supported by the Democrats

(After the popular election but before the Electoral College had cast its vote, Greeley died  
electors previously committed to Greeley voted for four different candidates for President  
and eight different candidates for Vice President  
Greeley himself received three posthumous electoral votes,  
but these votes were disallowed by Congress)

#### CREDIT MOBILIER SCANDAL IS REVEALED

*New York Sun* reported to the public the story of illegal manipulation of construction contracts  
by the Central Pacific Railroad and Credit Mobilier construction company  
newspapers also revealed the bribing of Congressmen with deeply discounted stocks  
Congress investigated and reported the company had given stocks  
to more than thirty representatives of both political parties (including future President Garfield)  
thirteen congressmen and Schuyler Colfax, the sitting Vice President,  
and his vice-presidential successor Henry Wilson were investigated  
two congressmen, Oakes Ames and James Brooks, were censured  
several other political figures had their careers damaged -- at least theoretically  
It was claimed that \$72 million in contracts had been given to Credit Mobilier  
for laying track only worth \$53 million  
(in the end the Union Pacific and other investors were left nearly bankrupt)

#### CHINESE LABORERS FIND WORK IN THE SALMON CANNING INDUSTRY

Robert Hume placed Chinese laborers from China in his fish canneries on the lower Columbia River  
to keep his production costs low -- 1872  
he was the first to employ Chinese workers in American canneries  
Robert Hume used only Chinese laborers -- only the superintendent was a white man  
Hume preferred Chinese workers because they were reliable, efficient and hard-working  
they would accept low pay and were not prone to join labor unions

#### CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY IS OFF TO A DIFFICULT START

Part of the bargain struck by Conservative Canadian Prime Minister Sir John A. McDonald  
to bring British Columbia into the Confederation of Canada  
was the promise of a transcontinental railroad within ten years  
this was an enormous expenditure for a nation of only three and a half million people  
to ensure financing the Canadian government offered huge incentives  
including vast land grants in the Canadian West  
in addition to financing the construction effort there were at least three additional problems:

- first obstacle to its construction was political  
logical route went through the American Midwest and the city of Chicago, Illinois;
- completing the project would require crossing 990 miles of rugged terrain

- across the barren Canadian Shield and muskeg of Northern Ontario;
- there was also the problem of building a railroad through the Canadian Rocky Mountains

## TWO COMPANIES COMPETE TO BUILD THE CANADIAN TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD

Two syndicates vied for the construction contract which was secretly promised to Sir Hugh Allan in return for financial support for Canada's Conservative Political Party during the closely contested 1872 election

Sanford Fleming was an engineer with the Intercolonial Railway of Canada (IRC) who organized a transcontinental expedition to determine a route across Canada for the new rail line to the Pacific coast -- 1872

at Fort Edmonton, Fleming went south through Yellowhead Pass to Kamloops, then southwest to the Fraser River and then west to New Westminster other members of his expedition went north along the Peace River and then to Fort St. James and the Pacific Ocean

route investigated by Fleming was not used by the Intercolonial Railway of Canada (IRC), (but later would be used by the Canadian Northern Railway -- now the Canadian National)

## NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY IS POORLY MANAGED

Construction on the Western end of the transcontinental railroad was in full swing with a full crew of 800 men and two locomotives -- laborers were paid \$2.25 per day

But within the Northern Pacific Railway there was inefficiency and corruption (this did not extend to Jay Cooke's financial office)

Rumors of scandal leaked out into the already shaky bond market -- sales lagged and prices dropped in a frantic effort to shore up the crumbling structure

Jay Cooke poured more and more of his own money into the doomed project

## MEMBERS OF THE GRANGE MOVEMENT FIGHT RAILROAD SHIPPING RATES

In the Midwest the Grange movement stood in opposition to the railroad's shipping monopoly they demanded federal regulation of shipping rates affecting farmers and consumers

Grange members launched a furious attack on all railroads' shipping rates

they lobbied state legislatures in Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin to regulate railroad produce shipping rates -- when that failed they sued

## SEATTLE COAL AND TRANSPORTATION COMPANY DEVELOPED NEWCASTLE

This company built twenty-five company houses in Newcastle, Washington Territory -- 1872 company operated a steam train from Lake Union to the Pike Street Bunkers

## PRESIDENT GRANT REDUCES THE SIZE OF THE COLVILLE RESERVATION

Executive Order moved the Colville Indian Reservation west of the Columbia River -- July 2, 1872



this reduced the size from several million to 2,852,000 acres  
ironically, the tribes' native lands in the Colville and Methow valleys  
and other large areas of the Columbia Okanogan, and Pend d' Oreille rivers were excluded

#### EFFORT TO CREATE WASHINGTON STATE ENDS IN FAILURE

Proponents of statehood tried once again to convince Washington Territory voters to seek statehood  
but the voters of Washington showed little interest-- 1872

(gold strikes in Idaho Territory before the Civil War had resulted in rushes to the gold fields  
that made Eastern Washington more populous than Western Washington  
Walla Walla speculators had political ambitions -- they wanted their city to be the capital  
when the state of Washington was admitted to the Union

but the loss of the Idaho mines to Idaho Territory had doomed their hopes  
next Walla Walla businessmen and politicians proposed

that all of Eastern Washington and Eastern Oregon be joined to make a new territory  
but since Oregon was already a state Congress had no power to remove  
half of its territory to satisfy the ambitions of a few Walla Walla citizens)

this latest effort to achieve statehood ended in voters again displaying

no interest in becoming a state -- Eastern Washington was still particularly opposed  
although more voters participated this time the opposition defeated the measure  
by a vote of more than two to one

#### NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY (NPRY) IS REORGANIZED

Northern Pacific Railway transcontinental route remained incomplete

in the West Portland lacked an eastern connection

in the East the Northern Pacific Railway reached no farther East of St. Paul, Minnesota  
than Bismarck, Dakota Territory

if the railroad line was not completed and in operation on Puget Sound by [December 17, 1873]

the charter for the Northern Pacific Railway would default

and forty million acres of land grant would be lost

Northern Pacific Railway had delayed taking title to its land grants to avoid paying property taxes

thus hoarding the land away from homesteaders without cost to the railroad

Settlers were embittered toward the railroad for this and other reasons

since railroad construction had not been completed as required

some people thought the United States government should take back the railroad land grants

NPRY filed a new right-of-way map with a new route

new railroad lands were ordered withheld by the federal government to replace old land grants

many settlers suffered financial devastation as they had purchased land along the old route

many other settlers along the new route were now forced to give their claims to the railroad

popular sentiment rose against the railroad until they were viewed as an archenemy of the public

Congress passed remedial legislation to protect settlers

it permitted the railroad to substitute undeveloped timber land for settled farm land

Northern Pacific Railway select timber sites which were more valuable than the settlers' land  
in the land swap the railroad came out way ahead

#### NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY STARTS NEW CONSTRUCTION

Northern Pacific Railway Board of Directors member Charles Wright traveled to the Pacific coast  
to select a location for a western terminal on Puget Sound -- 1872

he undertook the task of pushing the Northern Pacific Railway to completion

Work resumed on the section of the Northern Pacific Railway which ran north from Kalama  
with the exception of a delay to build a bridge crossing the Cowlitz River,

tracks moved rapidly northward fifty miles reaching the small community

(to be named Tenino, Washington Territory) -- October 1872

(regular service began [November] over the 65-mile line between Kalama and Tenino)

#### IMMIGRANT FREDERICK WEYERHAEUSER BECOMES WEALTHY

Friedrich Weyerhaeuser [pronounced Frederick Warehouser] was one of eleven children

his family owned a dairy farm and vineyard in (today's Germany)

at the age of twelve when his father died, Frederick had to give up most of his studies  
to help on the farm

Frederick left (Germany) and immigrated to America at age seventeen

when he arrived in the United States [1852] Frederick Weyerhaeuser was penniless

he moved to Pennsylvania and went to work for his brother-in-law in a brewery

after two years he abandoned the brewing business

because he felt a brewer often became his own best customer

he hired out as a farmhand for a year at \$13 a month and board

during his free time, he established an important relationship with a local German family  
headed by blacksmith John Philip Bloedel

Frederick turned twenty-one and claimed his inheritance from the sale of the family farm

he moved to Rock Island, Illinois where he worked construction

for the nearly completed Rock Island & Peoria Railway

soon after he took a better position as night fireman at the Mead, Smith and Marsh sawmill

quickly Weyerhaeuser moved up to tallyman and then yard manager and salesman

he married John Philip Bloedel's youngest daughter Sarah Elizabeth [October 11, 1857]

Frederick was sent to manage a new Mead, Smith and Marsh lumber yard in nearby Coal Valley

while his yard prospered the firm got into financial difficulties

Frederick and his brother-in-law F. C. A. Denkmann bought the company

they began buying pine forests doing business as Weyerhaeuser & Denkmann

at the time, entire state of Minnesota was covered with white pine forests

which attracted Weyerhaeuser's attention

Frederick Weyerhaeuser became a successful lumber entrepreneur

great milling plants were established in Wisconsin and Minnesota by 1872

but he needed more trees to harvest and looked to the Southern and Western states

he and his associates secured large tracts of yellow pine lands in Louisiana,

Arkansas and Mississippi

#### CENTERVILLE (CENTRALIA, WASHINGTON) IS PLATTED BY ITS LEADING CITIZEN

As the Northern Pacific Railway extended its track northward to Puget Sound

it chose a route passing near black pioneer George Washington's land

Washington decided to found a town with the help of his wife and stepson

George Washington platted the town of Centerville, Washington Territory -- 1872

#### WASHINGTON TREATY BETWEEN THE U.S. AND BRITAIN IS SIGNED

Although tensions had been generated by a pig, the crisis was created by humans

if the incident was ridiculous, the tensions behind it were real -- both sides wanted the islands

United States General William Harney and British Royal Governor Sir James Douglas

both were suited to frontier-style decision-making -- but they were not too sensitive negotiations

great distances from both national capitols and slow communications added to the confusion

By themselves the United States and Great Britain could not reach any agreement over ownership

of the archipelago off Washington Territory and British Columbia in the Pacific Ocean

so they asked for an arbitrator to settle the dispute

Kaiser Wilhelm I, King of Germany, undertook that role [1871]

Germany's Kaiser named a panel of three judges who provided three written reports to him

George Bancroft, Minister at Berlin, argued the case for America

Kaiser Wilhelm used the report of his three judges and their maps of the area

to make his decision on the location of the U.S.-Canadian boundary

two of the three voted in favor of the American claim

Wilhelm determined Canal de Haro, the Eastern-most channel, was the boundary -- October 21, 1872

San Juan Islands below 49° north became permanently a part of the United States

Great Britain received all of the Gulf Islands north of 49°

and all of Vancouver Island even though it extended below 49° North

(Great Britain removed its marines from San Juan Island a month later)

Thus ended the threat of the Pig War [1859] -- an event which never happened as no shot was fired even after so many years of heated ownership dispute

both sides quietly accepted the Kaiser's ruling and parted as friends

at least on an international level

#### REPUBLICANS ENJOY GREAT SUCCESS IN THE NATIONAL ELECTION

Republicans having thoroughly defeated the Democrats in the national election -- November 5, 1872  
now attacked themselves in Washington Territory

they condemned Territorial Delegate Selucius Garfielde for building a political machine  
Dissenting Republicans broke away from their party to form an Independent Republican Party  
they cooperated with the Democrats to give the Democrats and Independents combined  
twenty-two of thirty seats in the territorial legislature  
and elect Democrat Territorial Delegate to Congress Obadiah B. McFadden  
he replaced two term Territorial Delegate to Congress Democrat Selucius Garfielde

#### SUSAN B. ANTHONY ATTEMPTS TO VOTE IN THE NATIONAL ELECTION

Suffragette Susan B. Anthony could list many accomplishments achieved during her active life  
she claimed the United States Constitution permitted women to vote  
Susan B. Anthony cast a test vote in Rochester, New York  
during the presidential election -- November 5, 1872  
she was arrested and put on trial for voting (the first person to suffer that indignation)  
unable to speak in her own defense during her trial (women did not yet have that right)  
she was found guilty -- but refused to pay “a dollar of your unjust penalty”

#### RESOLUTION OF THE SAN JUAN DISPUTE CAUSES NEW PROBLEMS

Governor Elisha P. Ferry had been in office scarcely more than half a year -- November 1872  
when news was received that the San Juan boundary question had been settled  
As quickly as possible the British marines were withdrawn from San Juan Island  
they had been stationed there since General-In-Chief of the Army Winfield Scott's visit [1859]  
When the marines left British Camp they cut down the flag pole  
which had flown the British colors for more than dozen years  
each member of the company, or most of them anyway, carried away a piece of it as a souvenir  
This led to some unfavorable comments among the American settlers  
they fancied the flagpole was destroyed solely so the stars and stripes could not be flown from it  
in time, territorial newspapers encouraged the ill feeling  
and added to the hostility by publishing remarks that were less than well founded

#### NATIONAL EQUAL RIGHTS MOVEMENT CONTINUES ITS STRUGGLE

Elizabeth Cady Stanton was an early leader of the Women's Suffrage (women's rights) movement  
she had been educated in a New York Female Seminary [1832]  
there she was drawn into the abolitionist, temperance and women's rights movements  
Stanton was an active organizer of the women's rights convention held in Seneca Falls, New York  
(this early and influential women's rights meeting was held over two days [July 19-20, 1848])  
she wrote the *Declaration of Sentiments* which was approved by the convention  
this initiated the long struggle for women's suffrage and women's rights)

Elizabeth Cady Stanton often traveled as a part of her work on behalf of women's rights  
she gave lectures and speeches to a large variety of groups and audiences;  
she called for an amendment to the U.S. Constitution giving women the right to vote;  
she examined the role religion played in the struggle for equal rights for women  
with her daughter she published the *Women's Bible* in two volumes [1895 and 1898]

Stanton worked in close partnership with Susan B. Anthony often serving as the writer  
Anthony was the strategist in this effective working relationship  
together they published in three volumes the *History of Woman Suffrage* [1881-1886]

Lucretia Mott also was an active leader and noted speaker who was born into a Quaker family  
early in her teen years she attended a Quaker boarding school in New York state  
she became a Quaker minister and was well known for her speaking abilities  
Mott was an early supporter of the American Anti-Slavery Society (an abolitionist movement)  
and found herself threatened with physical violence because of her radical speeches  
she also was actively involved all of her life the women's rights, school and prison reform,  
temperance, peace, and religious tolerance movements

Lucretia Mott joined Elizabeth Cady Stanton in calling for the Seneca Falls Convention [1848]  
which, ironically, was chaired by her husband James Mott  
from that point on she was dedicated to women's rights  
she published her influential *Discourse on Women* [1850]

Lucretia Mott, as a leader in women's education, also helped to found Swathmore College [1864]  
this Quaker college was established with three essentials in mind:

- coeducational in keeping with Quaker teaching about equality of the sexes;
- emphasis on natural sciences which were seen as a source of practical knowledge;
- creating an environment where Quaker children could receive a "guarded" education

Preeminent leader of the Women's Rights effort was Susan B. Anthony  
born to a Quaker family she and her three sisters received an education equal to her three brothers  
a unique circumstance in the society of the time

Susan's family was very active in the reform movements of the day  
they worked for temperance (the prohibition of alcohol) and the anti-slavery movement  
both of Susan B. Anthony's parents (Daniel and Lucy) and her sister Mary  
signed the "Declaration of Sentiments" at the Women's Rights Convention  
held in Seneca Falls, New York [1848]

Susan B. Anthony toured the Northwest presenting a lecture series advocating women's rights  
she quickly became known as the "Mother of women's suffrage in Washington"

## WOMEN'S MOVEMENT LEADERR ELIZABETH "LIZZIE" ORDWAY LEAVES WASHINGTON

After the defeat of the women's suffrage bill in Washington Territory  
Suffragette and former Mercer Girls Lizzy Ordway beaten in spirit left Washington -- 1872  
she accepted a job at a private girl's school in San Francisco

but climate there was not to her liking  
so Miss Lizzie returned to her hometown of Lowell, Massachusetts  
After a few months, she returned to the Kitsap Peninsula  
to teach in Port Madison and Port Blakely

#### DREAMER RELIGION SPREADS BEYOND THE TRIBES OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER PLATEAU

Prophet Smohalla's followers numbered almost 2,000 natives  
primarily among the Wanapum Indians on both ends of Priest Rapids on the Columbia River  
his apostles went among other tribes to spread the word of their religion

#### MODOC CHIEF CAPTAIN JACK FIGHTS THE BATTLE OF LOST RIVER

Indians under their resourceful leader, Captain Jack, defied efforts to return them to the reservation  
since peace appeared impossible Washington Territory Superintendent T. B. Odeneal  
requested Major John Green, commanding officer at Fort Klamath, furnish sufficient troops  
to compel Captain Jack to move to the Klamath reservation

Captain James Jackson, commanding forty soldiers, left Fort Klamath  
for Captain Jack's camp on Lost River -- November 28, 1872

These troops, reinforced by Linkville (now Klamath Falls, Oregon) citizens arrived at Jack's camp  
about a mile above Emigrant Crossing (now Stone Bridge, Oregon) -- November 29

Captain Jack agreed to return to the reservation,

but the situation became tense when Captain Jackson demanded the chief disarm himself

Captain Jack was incensed but finally agreed to put down his weapons  
as the rest of the Modoc were following his lead

Modoc warrior Scarfaced Charley and Lieutenant Frazier Boutelle, Company B, First Cavalry  
got into a verbal argument pulled their revolvers and shot at each other -- both missing  
Modoc Indians scrambled to regain their recently cast aside weapons and fought a short battle  
before fleeing toward the California border to the lava beds south of Tule Lake

After driving the Modoc from their camp in Battle of Lost River

Captain Jackson ordered his troops to retreat to await reinforcements

Casualties in this short battle included one soldier killed and seven wounded,

while two Modoc Indians were killed and three were wounded

as they fled the Indians killed thirteen (or eighteen) settlers (depending on the source)

#### MODOC INDIANS HAVE A STRONGHOLD READY TO PROTECT THEM

After the Battle of Lost River, the Modocs entrenched themselves in lava beds adjoining Tule Lake  
these lava beds covered an area eight by four miles in extent -- it was a maze of ridges and caves  
that soon became famous as "Captain Jack's Stronghold"

In selecting the place to defend themselves, the Modoc took advantage of the lava ridges, cracks,  
depressions, and caves -- all such natural features being ideal from the standpoint of defense

when the Modoc occupied the Stronghold, Tule Lake bounded the Stronghold on the north  
and served as a source of water

Modoc Indians were able to slip out of the Stronghold and conduct raids on nearby settlers  
one such raid resulted in the capture of an Army ammunition wagon at Land's Ranch  
foes who attempted to enter the lava beds to retaliate against the natives  
frequently were stopped by impassable crevices and deep pits

#### DR. DORSEY SYNG BAKER BUILDS A SAWMILL TO CUT RAILS AND CROSS TIES

Dr. Dorsey Baker chose to use the raw materials close at hand to build his narrow gauge railroad  
he could not afford iron rails so wooden rails were substituted

Dr. Baker himself scouted for timber

Logs were floated down the Yakima River into the Columbia River  
where they were formed into log-booms at the Yakima's mouth  
before they were rafted to a spot about ½-mile above Wallula on the Columbia River

Dr. Baker set up a sawmill to cut wooden rails and crossties  
rails were 4-inch by 6-inch fir poles which were 16-feet long  
these "stringers" were cut with mortise joints (slots) and were spiked to slotted crossties

#### DR. DORSEY SYNG BAKER USES WOODEN RAILS ON HIS RAILROAD

Actual laying of wooden track for the Walla Walla and Columbia River Railroad began -- late 1872

Dr. Baker hovered anxiously over his construction gang and insisted on rigorous economy

Before ten miles of track had been built, the wooden rails were already wearing out  
under the weight of the construction cars pulled by the tiny locomotive

wooden rails were chewed away on the corners by the weight of Dr. Baker's tiny locomotive

Wooden rails were surfaced with 2-inch wide strap-iron strips on the corners

at each end the iron strips were turned under and bolted down

then they were spiked into place along the top of the rail

one local joke said the strap-iron was tied down with wet rawhide strips

which shrank as hard as iron as it dried but during rain storms it stretched out again  
and grew too slippery for traction

another tale adds that one winter starving timber wolves put the road out of commission  
by eating up the rawhide sheathing over the iron strips

in fact, the iron strips did work loose and turn up at the ends and sprung into the air

these became known as "snake heads" -- engineers traveled very slowly over the rails

Dr. Baker's Walla Walla and Columbia River Railway became known as the "Rawhide Railway"

rawhide had several meanings -- because it was used to patch and fix so many things  
it came to mean makeshift or cheap or improvised

#### GOVERNOR ELISHA FERRY VISITS SAN JUAN ISLAND

Soon after receiving official notice that the boundary question had been decided,

Governor Ferry visited the island -- December 23, 1872

to reestablished the civil authority in a place where divided military authority had ruled  
he learned from the deputy inspector of customs stationed on the island  
that some of the British residents were alarmed  
fearing that the claims on which most of them had made valuable improvements  
would be taken from them

Governor Ferry did what he could to reassure these people

he informed them that all who had taken their claims filed before [1846], if there were any,  
were fully protected by the Washington Treaty  
others would, under the law be required to become American citizens  
or their claims might be contested by those who were citizens  
most of the British subjects already understood the need to become U.S. citizens  
they had sent a request to the clerk of the district court asking that he visit the island  
to receive their declarations of intentions to become American citizens

Some of the British subjects living on San Juan Island became very concerned about their land claims  
they refused to be placated

perhaps they became alarmed by the writings of local newspapers and a few American citizens  
who commented about the flag pole incident and escalated the event beyond all reason  
at any rate, the authorities in Victoria were notified

Governor Ferry decided the British subjects would be forced

to take the oath of allegiance to the United States or lose their claims

British concerns were referred to the British minister in Washington, D.C.

who contacted the American secretary of state

#### WILLAMETTE FALLS LOCKS BEGINS OPERATION IN OREGON

Willamette Falls four inter-connected ten-foot lift lock chambers, canal basin and guard lock  
built by Willamette Falls Canal and Lock Company at a cost of \$560,000,  
this was the first multi-lift navigation locks in the United States

Willamette Falls Locks, located twenty-six miles up the Willamette River from the Columbia River,  
opened -- January 1, 1873

*Maria Wilkins*, a steamship, was the first vessel to use the locks

This alternative means of overcoming the rocky horseshoe-shaped forty-foot drop of the waterfall  
resulted in cutting freight rates by 50%

farmers, lumbermen and everyone else who used the river for transportation benefited

#### NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY ANNOUNCES THE LOCATION OF A NORTHERN TERMINAL

General John W. Sprague, agent for the Northern Pacific Railway, announced Olympia  
was to be the location of the terminus on Puget Sound -- January 1, 1873



with the news land speculation in Olympia went wild

## CAPTAIN JACK FIGHTS THE FIRST BATTLE OF THE STRONGHOLD

U. S. Army had 400 troops in the field near the Tule Lake Lava Beds

Colonel Frank Wheaton was in command of all troops

including regular army as well as California and Oregon volunteer companies

greatest concentration of troops was at Van Bromer's ranch twelve miles west of the Stronghold

additional troops were stationed at Lani's ranch ten miles east of the Stronghold

troops under Colonel E. C. Mason stationed at Land's ranch

skirmished with the Modoc near Hospital Rock Hospital Rock who had been commanded by

Next morning troops advanced on the Stronghold -- January 17, 1873

hindered by fog, not a single Modoc was seen by the soldiers

edges of the rocks were sharp as knives

in one day's exertions, soldier's shoes and clothing were shredded

warriors held up in defensive positions repulsed the troops advancing from the west and east

General retreat of troops was ordered at the end of the day

U. S. Army lost thirty-five men killed

an additional five officers and twenty enlisted men were wounded

Modocs suffered no casualties in the fighting

Chief Captain Jack had under his command approximately 150 Modoc people

which included women and children -- only fifty-three were warriors

when forced out of their lava caves the Indians simply slipped away to another part of the lava beds

General Canby sent in a request to the War Department in Washington, D.C. for a thousand more men

## PEACE COMMISSION IS APPOINTED TO DEAL WITH THE MODOC INDIANS

U.S. Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano appointed a Peace Commission -- January 25, 1873

to deal with Captain Jack, pacify the Modocs and return them to the reservation

Peace Commission consisted of:

- Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs Alfred B. Meacham who served as chairman
- respected pioneers Jesse Applegate and Samuel Case
- General Edward Canby was appointed to serve the Commission as counselor

This new government plan to hold talks with the Modoc was, early on, reported to Captain Jack

weeks of unsuccessful negotiation were conducted

the army was reluctant to risk more casualties

Captain Jack stalled until (spring) so he could more easily maneuver in the mountains

## ANOTHER POTENTIAL INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM ON SAN JUAN ISLAND

When notice of British concerns on San Juan Island reached the American secretary of state

Governor Ferry was contacted by telegraph and an explanation of his statements was demanded

Elisha P. Ferry wrote a letter to the United States secretary of state -- January 25, 1873  
reporting exactly what he had communicated unofficially to anxious British claim holders  
he added he had subsequently remembered a question might arise  
regarding the claims of the Northern Pacific Railway  
which also claimed some of the British claimants' land  
this land had been withheld from settlement by the secretary of the interior [October 1872]  
therefore, Ferry had written to the inspector of customs on the island suggesting he give  
this information to all who might be interested so they might protect themselves  
Ferry's actions resulted in removing some British land from entry or sale  
adjustments of all legal claims on the part of British claimants willing to comply with the law  
were resolved to their satisfaction

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE CONVENES UNDER GOVERNOR FERRY

Under Governor Elisha Ferry's direction, the first railroad law enacted in the territory was passed  
this provided that rates generally should be reasonable  
one client should not be charged more than another for a similar service rendered  
An act to encourage the construction of railroads was also passed  
this provided no railroad should be taxed until at least fifteen miles was completed and in operation  
tracks under construction would not be taxed  
this was evidently intended to be helpful for future railroad construction projects  
in Olympia, Seattle and Walla Walla where projects were about to begin  
This legislature also passed a law to encourage irrigation in Yakima County  
it provided a means by which rights-of-way for irrigation ditches could be acquired  
and rights to river water could be secured  
in addition, laws were established for the settlement of all controversies that might arise  
regarding both irrigation ditch rights-of-way and the acquisition of water rights

#### GOVERNOR ELISHA P. FERRY ATTEMPTS TO EQUALIZE PROPERTY TAXES

Up to this time there had been no arrangements for equalizing assessments between counties  
Governor Ferry called the attention of the legislature to this matter  
Territorial law provided that property should be assess at its full value  
some counties obeyed it in a reasonable way  
others counties made their assessments much lower  
and thus avoided payment of their fair proportion of territorial revenue  
(However, it was not until the governor had reminded the legislature a second time [1874]  
that a board of equalization was finally provided)

#### WASHINGTON CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION QUESTION COMES UP AGAIN

Legislators again submitted the issue of a Constitutional Convention to the voters -- 1873

total vote again was less than a fourth of the number of votes for Delegate to Congress  
this measure was again defeated showing a distinct lack of interest on the part of the electorate

#### HALL BROTHERS OPEN A SHIPYARD AT PORT LUDLOW ON THE OLYMPIC PENINSULA

Isaac and Winslow Hall established the Hall Brothers Shipyard at Port Ludlow -- 1873  
both brothers had grown up in the shipping and boating world of the East Coast  
because of their early success they invited brother Henry Knox Ludlow to join them [874]  
Hall brothers quickly established themselves as respected, quality ship designers and builders  
they built thirty-one vessels at their Port Ludlow shipyard [before 1879]  
many were sugar transporting schooners for the plantations of Hawaii  
Winslow Hall, the primary architect for the company, moved to San Francisco  
where he could oversee the installation of steam engines in Hall Brother vessels  
that had been towed south from their shipyard -- Winslow Hall died [1879]

#### WA CHONG COMPANY OF SEATTLE CONTRACTS CHINESE LABORERS TO WORK

Chun Ching Hock and his partner Chun Wa expanded their Wa Chong Company general store  
located on Seattle's central waterfront  
they began recruiting and contracting out Chinese laborers to work at construction jobs,  
in mining operations, at logging camps and sawmills, working in Chinese railroad gangs  
(and later in fishing and canneries)

Wa Chong Company laborers worked in manual labor, as skilled workers, as domestic servants,  
in laundries and as cooks and waiters as well as other necessary jobs

Chinese workers built many of Seattle's streets

Wa Chong Company received a commission for each worker placed  
if the employers could not pay in cash, they often paid in real estate

Chun Ching Hock's company soon owned building lots and even entire city blocks in Seattle  
Chun Ching Hock's original partner in the Wa Chong Company Chun Wa died -- 1873

Chin Gee Hee became a junior partner

he worked at the Port gamble lumber mill before he went into the labor contracting business  
when their Chinese laborers complained of racial antagonism and poor management  
the Port Blakely Mill Company, the Wa Chong Company threatened to remove their men

#### FREE SILVER MOVEMENT WANTS MORE MONEY IN CIRCULATION

During the Civil War both gold and silver were minted into coins  
and were used to back federal government paper bank notes  
Leaders of the new German Empire stopped minting silver coins [1871]  
this caused a drop-in demand and downward pressure on the value of silver

Price paid for silver by the U.S. government had been established

by Secretary of Treasury Alexander Hamilton under President George Washington [1789]

by the 1870s the market value of silver had risen above the value set by government  
consequently, little silver was used for making coins as it was too expensive  
New silver mines had been discovered in the Rocky Mountains of Idaho and Montana territories  
silver production from these Western mines doubled between [1870]-1873  
yet silver was still considered by the United States government to be a relatively scarce metal  
financial leaders feared that if silver was again used to back money and produce coins  
inflation would rise and perhaps race out of control

#### COINAGE ACT IS PASSED BY CONGRESS

Coinage Act was passed by Congress -- February 12, 1873  
before the Coinage Act the United States had backed its currency with both gold and silver  
both gold and silver coins were minted  
after the Coinage Act the United States moved to the “gold standard”  
silver was no longer purchased at a fixed price and silver coins were no longer minted  
although silver “trade dollars” used for export to other countries were still minted)  
this made gold the sole monetary standard for the United States  
thus the amount of gold mined limited the amount of new money put into circulation  
this action prevented runaway inflation by cutting back the money supply available to spend  
and by limiting how much paper money could be printed based on the gold reserve

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORIAL PRISON IS BUILT ON McNEIL ISLAND

While the original McNeil Island cell house was finished on time -- 1873  
it was virtually unusable due to lack of facilities, heat, water and furnishings<sup>29</sup>  
Edward S. Kearney, the U.S. Marshal in charge of the prison, asked the U.S. Attorney General  
for an additional appropriation to build a structure for the guards  
and for furnishings for the cells and guardhouse  
when the request was approved Benjamin Harned of Olympia received the contract  
Construction of a wood frame building one-and-a-half stories high began  
it enclosed the only exterior exit to the penitentiary  
and turned the fireproof stone structure into a firetrap with no exit  
(New guardhouse was built [1898] using bricks made by the prisoners)

#### FREEBAND OF NEZ PERCE INDIANS AGREE TO A REDUCED RESERVATION

President Ulysses S. Grant knew that Chief Joseph’s Band of Nez Perce Indians  
had never relinquished title to the beautiful Wallowa region  
he issued an Executive Order which gave them exclusive use of part of the Wallowa Valley

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<sup>29</sup> Daryl C. McClary, *McNeil Island and the Federal Penitentiary*, Essay 5238, Link.org, April 17, 2003.

he set the area aside as a hunting ground for “roaming Nez Perce” -- 1873  
Thirty-three-year-old Chief Joseph (Hin-mah-too-yah-lat-kek) was disappointed  
no paper had been signed allowing this to happen or to provide assurance into the future  
but even so part of the valley was better than none  
Joseph agreed to share the remaining portion of the Wallowa Valley with the whites

#### SEVERAL INDIAN RESERVATIONS HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Largest reservations in the region were the:

- Columbia and Colville reservations on the upper Columbia River south of the Canadian border,
- Yakima and Coeur d’Alene reservations were in central Washington,
- Klamath Reservation was in southern Oregon,
- Lapwai Reservation located in west-central Idaho

Numerous other small reservations were scattered throughout Washington and Oregon  
dating back to treaties written by Washington Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens [1854]

#### PEACE COMMISSION MEETS WITH THE CHIEF CAPTAIN JACK

First meeting with the Modoc leader was at Fairchild’s ranch  
west of the lava beds -- February 19, 1873

a messenger was sent Captain Jack to arrange a meeting

Captain Jack agreed that if the commission sent two settlers, John Fairchild and Bob Whittle,  
to the edge of the lava beds the chief would talk to them  
when Fairchild and Whittle went to the lava beds

Captain Jack told them he would talk with the commission if they would come to the lava beds  
and bring Judge Elijah Steele of Yreka, California with them

Judge Steele had been friendly to Captain Jack

Judge Elijah Steele went alone into the Stronghold to meet with Captain Jack  
after a night in the Stronghold, Steele returned to Fairchild’s ranch

he informed the Peace Commission that the Modocs were planning treachery  
indeed, all efforts by Commission would be useless

Superintendent Meacham wired the Secretary of the Interior, to inform him of Steele’s discovery  
Secretary of the Interior instructed Meacham to continue negotiations for peace

Members of the Peace Commission were replaced

Jesse Applegate and Samuel Case resigned from the Commission and were replaced by

Reverend Eleazer Thomas -- a Methodist minister from California

L. S. Dyer -- Indian Agent for Klamath Indians

Judge A. M. Roseborough also was added to the commission

#### TIMBER CULTURE ACT IS PASSED BY CONGRESS

Timber Culture Act amended the Homestead Act -- March 3, 1873

to provide for an additional 160 acres in land claims  
if trees were planted on one-fourth of the new acreage

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY SENATORS ELECT A NEW DELEGATE TO CONGRESS

Former Washington Territory Supreme Court Associate Justice and Chief Justice

Obadiah Benton McFadden had been elected by the territorial senators  
to serve as the territory's representative in congress

Territorial Delegate to Congress McFadden took his seat in the U.S. House of Representatives  
as a non-voting member -- March 4, 1873

#### ANOTHER MILITARY UNIT SETS UP NEAR THE MODOC STRONGHOLD

Colonel Alvan C. Gillem established a military camp at the edge of the lava beds -- April 1, 1873

Gillem's Camp was located two and one-half miles west of the Stronghold

Colonel Gillem took command of all troops

including those at Hospital Rock who had been commanded by Colonel E. C. Mason

#### NEW PEACE COMMISSION MEETS WITH CAPTAIN JACK

New commission members and Captain Jack met in the lava beds

at a place about midway between the Stronghold and Colonel Gillem's Camp -- April 2, 1873

Captain Jack made three demands at this meeting:

- complete pardon of all of the Modocs,
- withdrawal of all troops,
- Modoc Indians would have the right to select their own reservation

Peace Commission replied with two proposals:

- Captain Jack and his band would go to a reservation selected by the government,
- all Modoc guilty of killing the settlers must be surrendered and tried for murder

After much discussion the meeting broke up with nothing being accomplished

Captain Jack maneuvered and delayed in the face of General Edward Canby's 1,000 armed troops

he led the women and children away from the army

through the lava beds stretching into Klamath Country

#### MODOC TRIBAL MEMBERS ARE BECOMING IMPATIENT

Members of the Modoc tribe began to turn on Captain Jack who desired a peaceful solution

led by John Schonchin and Hooker Jim they pressured on their chief to kill the peace commission

they felt the death of these leaders would force the Army to leave

they shamed Captain Jack for his continuing negotiations

they dressed him in women's clothing during council meetings

Rather than lose his position as chief of the Indian band,

Captain Jack agreed to attack the peace commission if no progress was made

## CAPTAIN JACK PLANS A BIT OF TREACHERY

Captain Jack led his women and children through Lava Beds section of Klamath Country where they prepared to escape into Shoshone Country

Captain Jack returned to the council site

he requested a meeting in the open with Superintendent Abraham B. Meacham -- April 5, 1873 at a flat area one mile east of Gillem's Camp -- all parties to be unarmed

Peace Commission members reacted to the proposed meeting

Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs Alfred B. Meacham who served as chairman and Indian Agent for Klamath Indians L.S. Dyer sent farewell messages to their wives

Rev. Eleazer Thomas, Methodist minister from California,

spent many hours in prayer as he made preparations for an uncertain immediate future

Frank Riddle, a white settler, and his Modoc wife Toby "Winema" served as interpreters

they protested all would be killed

only Judge A. M. Roseborough appeared to have no reservations about the proposed meeting

## YET ANOTHER ROUND OF TALKS IS HELD WITH THE MODOCS

Indian Superintendent-Meacham accompanied by John Fairchild and Judge Roseborough, and interpreters Frank Riddle and his Modoc wife Toby

met Captain Jack at the peace tent still located on a flat area one mile east of Gillem's Camp

This meeting lasted several hours

Captain Jack requested that the lava beds be given to them as a reservation again the meeting ended with no agreement

After Superintendent Meacham returned to camp a message was sent to Captain Jack

asking that he again meet with the commission at the peace tent on April 8

while delivering this message, Toby Riddle learned of a plan to kill the peace commissioners

## MODOC AMBUSH IS NOT SUCCESSFUL

Just as the commissioners were starting for the peace tent -- April 8, 1873

a message was received from the signal tower on the bluff above Colonel Alvan C. Gillem's Camp

it indicated the lookout on the tower had seen five Modocs at the peace tent

and about twenty armed Modoc warriors hiding among the rocks nearby

commissioners realized the Modoc were planning an attack and agreed to remain in camp

In spite of warnings of planned attack by the warriors,

Rev. Thomas insisted on arranging a date for yet another meeting with Captain Jack

he had spent many hours praying over the meeting -- he was sure God would protect them

(Two days later [April 10] a message was sent asking that Captain Jack meet the commissioners at the peace tent on the following morning)

## MURDER TAKES PLACE AT THE PEACE TENT

Commissioners General Canby, Alfred B. Meacham, Rev. Eleazer Thomas, and L. S. Dyer accompanied by Frank and Toby Riddle as interpreters met with Captain Jack, Boston Charley, Bogus Charley, John Schonchin, Black Jim and Hooker Jim

After some talk it became evident that the Modoc were armed -- April 11, 1873

General Canby informed Captain Jack that the commission could not meet his terms until orders came from Washington, D.C.

in an angry mood John Schonchin demanded the region around Hot Creek for a reservation

Captain Jack got up and walked away a few steps

two Modocs, Brancho (Barncho) and Slolux, armed with rifles

ran from where they had been hiding among the rocks

Captain Jack turned and gave the signal to fire

first shot from Captain Jack's revolver killed General Edward R.S. Canby

(Canby thus became the only army general to die in the Indian wars)

Reverend Eleazer Thomas fell mortally wounded

Superintendent Alfred B. Meacham received five bullets and was partially scalped

had not Toby Riddle cried out, "**The soldiers are coming!**" he would have been killed

L. S. Dyer bolted to safety

Frank Riddle reclined on the ground to get out of line of fire

Captain Jack was incorrectly convinced the army would leave with the death of their leader

bodies of the dead were stripped

(today a cross marks where General Canby and Reverend Thomas fell victims to the Modoc)

This tragedy was witnessed by an observer posted above the military camp

troops were sent forward but the Indians fled to the lava caves

All efforts for peace now ended as the U. S. Army made preparations to attack the Stronghold

Modoc War would be conducted in the lava beds of Eastern Oregon

caves and passageways provide shelter and protection for white soldiers and Indians alike

but the Indians had the advantage of familiarity

## SECOND BATTLE OF THE STRONGHOLD TAKES PLACE

Troops under Colonel Alvan C. Gillem advanced from Gillem's camp

located two and a half miles west of the Stronghold

Captain Jack, clad in General Canby's uniform, attacked -- April 15, 1873

unexpectedly, reinforcement led by Colonel E. C. Mason arrived at Hospital Rock

fighting moved to the shore of Tule Lake

## MODOC WARRIORS CONTINUE THE FIGHT AT TULE LAKE

Fighting continued along the shoreline of Tule Lake

Through the afternoon and into the night -- April 16, 1873



each advance made by the troops was met with heavy fire from Modoc positions  
Modocs defending the Stronghold realized that their water supply had been cut off  
by the troops commanding the shoreline

#### PREPARATIONS ARE IN PLACE FOR A FINAL ATTACK BY TROOPS ON THE STRONGHOLD

Everything was in readiness for the final assault on the Stronghold by the morning -- April 17, 1873  
when the order was given to advance the troops charged into the Stronghold

but the Modoc had escaped through a crevice left unguarded during a movement of troops  
from one position to another

when water drew short Captain Jack simply moved to the south

In the fight at Tule Lake [April 15-17, 1873]

troops suffered one officer and six enlisted men killed and thirteen enlisted men wounded  
only Modoc casualty was a boy who was reportedly killed

when a cannon ball he was attempting to open with an axe, exploded  
several Modoc women were reported to have died from sickness

#### MODOC INDIANS CARRY OUT A MASSACRE

Captain Evan Thomas commanding five officers, sixty-six troops and fourteen Warm Spring scouts  
left Colonel Alvan C. Gillem's camp on a reconnaissance of the lava beds to locate the Modocs  
while eating lunch at the base of Sand Butte (now Hadin Butte) in a flat area surrounded by ridges

Captain Thomas and his party of five officers and sixty-five men were trapped  
and attacked by twenty-two Modoc led by Scarfaced Charley -- April 26, 1873  
some of the troops fled in disorder

those who remained to fight were either killed or wounded  
casualties included four officers killed and two wounded,  
one dying within a few days,  
thirteen enlisted men killed and sixteen wounded

After the battle a report was received by soldiers that the Indians had left the lava beds  
by this time the Modoc leaders had a force that varied from forty-nine men  
to never more than eighty-nine

yet they successfully held off more than a thousand army regulars,  
plus volunteers and their Indian allies

#### U.S. ARMY CHANGES LEADERS IN THE MODOC WAR

Following the massacre of Captain Evan Thomas' command  
many called for Colonel Gillem to be removed

Brigadier General Jefferson C. Davis, another distinguished Civil War veteran,  
relieved Colonel Alvan C. Gillem of command -- May 2, 1873

Brigadier Davis became the new commander of the Department of the Columbia

assumed control of the army in the field and marched back to Fort Vancouver

### MODOC WARRIORS FIGHT THE BATTLE OF DRY LAKE

Captain Jack attempted to ambush an army unit at Sorass Lake on the Oregon-California border

Modoc warriors attacked an Army encampment at Dry Lake at first light -- May 10, 1873

soldiers charged and routed the Modoc braves

casualties among the soldiers included five men killed,

two of whom were Warm Spring scouts, and twelve men wounded

this was the first defeat of the Modoc warriors in battle

they lost twenty-four pack animals along with most of their ammunition

Modocs suffered five warriors killed -- among them was Ellen's Man, a prominent Modoc

death of Ellen's Man caused dissension among the warriors who began to split apart  
several Indians eventually ran out of ammunition and surrendered

Hooker Jim led a band to Fairchild Ranch (he knew and trusted the rancher) and surrendered

they agreed to help capture Captain Jack in return for amnesty

for the murder of the settlers at Tule Lake and the murder of the peace commission

warriors who had urged a more aggressive policy for the Modoc leader

now served as guides for the army in its pursuit of the renegade Indians

### PUBLIC OUTCRY PUTS THE FEDERAL FINANCIAL POLICIES IN DOUBT

Coinage Act reduced the domestic money supply which raised interest rates

hurting farmers and anyone else who normally carried heavy debt loads

Many farmers and working people were overwhelmed by debts

they were joined by silver mining interests to form a powerful political force

calling for restoration of free coinage of silver

to increase the money supply and to ease the burden of private debt

they demanded the government again coin all of the silver brought to the U.S. mint

Serious doubts were raised regarding the federal government's financial policy

many wondered how long the new policy implemented by the Coinage Act could last

this perception of instability in United States monetary policy caused investors

to shy away from long-term obligations -- particularly long-term bonds

at the time the railroad boom was funded by millions of dollars in long-term bonds

### FARMERS' GRANGE INCREASES IN POPULARITY AND POLITICAL STRENGTH

Growth of the movement was fantastic in the American South and West

Farmers' Grange swept into the Pacific Northwest -- 1873

first in Oregon, but it quickly expanded into four counties in Washington Territory

Grange movement now focused on three purposes to improve the lives of rural people:

- to improve the economic lot of the farming classes,

- to further education,
- to improve and enhance the social opportunities of agrarian people

Grange members worked together to:

- implement direct purchase of farm implements from manufacturers,
  - open Grange stores,
  - open Grange halls for social functions
- picnics, box socials, singing, general oratory and debates were all popular events

#### MODOC WAR COMES TO AN END

At Big Sand Butte Captain Jack led his band, now numbering only thirty-three,  
out of an army trap set by more than 300 soldiers -- June 1, 1873

Even so, one by one the Modoc warriors surrendered with a guarantee  
that they would be treated as prisoners of war

United States government refused to turn over the Modoc Indians to the Oregon government  
although they were accused of killing civilians

this federal government action reflected its belief that settlers were to blame for the war

#### MODOC WARRIOR CAPTAIN JACK IS CAPTURED

Captain Jack Keintepoos laid down his rifle and was captured in Langell's Valley -- June 4, 1873  
(later Captain Jack said his legs gave out)

General Jefferson C. Davis made preparations to execute the leaders of Jack's band  
however, this execution was prevented by orders from the War Department  
that stated the Indians would be held for trial

#### CORRUPTION IN THE OREGON GOVERNMENT RUNS DEEP

As a result of Ben Holladay's election rigging, United States district attorney in Oregon, A.C. Gibbs,  
ordered an investigation of the election of the Oregon legislators

An impaneled grand jury refused to return any indictments  
jury members had been selected by a Holladay sheriff

U.S. District Attorney A.C Gibbs asked Judge Matthew Deady to dismiss the panel -- which he did  
a second grand jury was impaneled

Senator Mitchell (or Hipple) became alarmed

he asked former Oregon senator and now U.S. Attorney General George Williams  
to replace Gibbs with a more accommodating prosecutor

#### CORRUPTION IN THE U.S. GRANT ADMINISTRATION REACHES DEEP INTO GOVERNMENT

U.S. Attorney General George Williams had just been nominated by President U.S. Grant to succeed  
recently deceased Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Salmon Chase -- 1873

but there were doubts about his confirmation to the court

part of the U.S. Senate's opposition stemmed from William's incompetence  
and part from the antics of his wife, Kate  
Kate Williams, then in her mid-thirties, was a handsome, bold and intensely ambitious woman  
presuming that her husband was as good as seated on the U.S. Supreme Court  
she began lording it over the wives of mere U.S. Senators -- June 1873  
senators' wives announced their displeasure with this treatment to their husbands  
thus inspired, some of the U.S. Senators began questioning a transgression  
which, in the free-wheeling Grant era, they might otherwise have overlooked  
Kate Williams, with her husband's participation, had bought a carriage and livery  
for her servants out of the contingent fund of the Department of Justice  
U.S. Attorney General George Williams needed Oregon's U.S. Senator John Hipple Mitchell's vote  
to be confirmed as Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court  
however, during the 1873 Oregon legislative session U.S. Senator Mitchell  
broke with Republican leaders  
to challenge incumbent U.S. Senator Henry W. Corbett for his seat  
Mitchell was successful, gathering a majority of the legislators' support  
U.S. District Attorney A.C Gibbs in Portland began investigating charges  
that railroad tycoon Ben Holladay had bribed state legislators to vote for Mitchell  
U.S. Attorney General George Williams replaced U.S. District Attorney A.C Gibbs in Oregon  
with another attorney who did not prosecute any bribery brought charges  
against Oregon legislators  
this blatant maneuvering caused such an uproar of protest throughout the country  
that U.S. Attorney General Williams' nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court  
was withdrawn

Congress' righteousness apparently now was exhausted

Oregon Senator John Hipple Mitchell was seated without even a token investigation of his election  
or of charges that he changed his name (reversing his middle and last names)  
when he moved to Oregon [1860]  
after he abandoned his first wife, Sarah Hoon, and fled Pennsylvania  
with his mistress Mattie Price and money stolen from his clients  
it was further alleged that he had not divorced Hoon before marrying his second wife,  
Mattie Price [1862] -- he subsequently abandoned his mistress in California  
(these charges he all but admitted by divorcing his first wife  
and legally changing his name back to John Mitchell Hipple [1874])

## SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE BUILDS NEW QUARTERS

Mother Joseph supervised construction (and did much of the work herself)  
on a new building in Vancouver, Washington Territory -- 1873  
(this school closed permanently due to a lack of students [1966])

## PROMISED CANADIAN TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD REMAINS A MYTH

Canadian Pacific Railway was formed to physically unite Canada and Canadians from coast to coast  
this railroad's early construction was filled with controversy

25,000,000 acres from the government of Canada was offered in land grants

Canada's Conservative government of Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald was toppled  
in the political storm -- 1873

when it was revealed that construction contract winner Sir Hugh Allan  
was largely backed by American promoters

and that he had put \$350,000 into the Conservative campaign

Liberal Party member Alexander Mackenzie took over as Prime Minister

(Prime Minister Mackenzie is not to be confused with the North West Company explorer)

## MODOC INDIANS ARE BANISHED TO INDIAN TERRITORY (OKLAHOMA)

Captain Jack and his band arrived at Fort Klamath as prisoners of war -- July 4, 1873

although the Indians were accused of killing civilians

U.S. government refused to turn over these Indians to the Oregon state government

this federal government action reflected its belief that settlers were to blame for the war

Captain Jack, John Schonchin, Black Jim, Boston Charley, Brancho (Barncho) and Slolux

were put on trial by a military commission for the murder of members of the Peace Commission

all six were found guilty and were sentenced to die -- July 8, 1873

President Ulysses S. Grant approved the death sentence

for Captain Jack, John Schonchin, Black Jim and Boston Charley

Brancho and Slolux were committed to life imprisonment at Alcatraz federal prison

President Grant also ordered that the remainder of Captain Jack's band be held as prisoners of war

thirty-nine men, sixty-four women, and sixty children were sent to Quapay Agency reservation  
in Indian Territory (Oklahoma where they remained [until 1909]

when they were allowed to return to the Klamath Reservation, if they so desired)

(Modoc War had cost over half a million dollars, the lives of some eighty-three whites

and a total of seventeen Indians

Modoc War leaders Captain Jack, John Schonchin, Black Jim

and Boston Charley were hanged [October 3, 1873])

## NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY SELECTS TACOMA FOR ITS TERMINUS

Obvious choice of Olympia as the Northern Pacific Railway's Pacific Division Puget Sound terminus  
was not selected -- in fact, Olympia was bypassed altogether

blame was placed on a greedy real estate company (a subsidiary of the Northern Pacific)

as speculators drove land prices skyward

besides the town was too well developed to gain the support of the railroad's financial officers

who were looking for quick and easy profits from the sale of land  
there was also the fact that Olympia had a shallow-water harbor  
Seattle and Tacoma immediately went into competition for the transcontinental terminal  
Seattle offered both land and cash as an incentive for the railroad  
Northern Pacific Railway Company headquarters in New York  
announced their choice of New Tacoma as the salt water terminus -- July 14, 1873  
where a company-controlled real estate development was located on Commencement Bay  
just outside an insignificant collection of cabins and sawmills known as New Tacoma  
New Tacoma offered better possibilities for land speculation,  
cheap level land surrounded by the splendid harbor of Commencement Bay,  
also the railroad was interested in the forests and mineral deposits in the surrounding hills  
Residents of Seattle were very upset

#### SPOKANE FALLS REGION BEGINS TO ATTRACT INTEREST

James Nettle Glover and J.N. Matheny were each riding their Cayuse ponies  
when they arrived at Spokane Falls -- 1873  
there they found several squatters who had staked out claims along the Spokane River  
J.J. Downing, and S.R. Scranton had set up a small water powered sawmill  
J.J. Downing offered to sell out his stake in the sawmill -- Glover had \$2,000 and bought him out  
S.R. Scranton later ran afoul of the law and was anxious to sell out also  
Downing used the earnings from the sale of his portion of the sawmill to become the sole owner of  
**“what is now the business center of Spokane plus valuable river frontage”**<sup>30</sup>  
Glover and Matheny formed a partnership and added Cyrus F. Yeaton as a partner  
this partnership and its new large sawmill attracted interest to Spokane

#### GOLD IS FOUND IN THE SWAUK DISTRICT OF EASTERN WASHINGTON

Gold seekers had investigated Swauk Creek located in the Swauk District  
north of the Kittitas Valley (Ellensburg) several times -- always with minute or no success  
in fact the location was named “Discovery Bar”  
There are many stories of the events leading up to the actual discovery of gold on a gravel bar  
(located a few hundred feet north of today’s Liberty Road turnoff from Highway 97  
one of the most colorful appeared in the *Valley of The Strong*, a KIT Publication, Yakima)  
Tom Goodwin and his deaf and mute brother Benton, George Mycock, D.Y. Borden, H.R. Beck  
and several others had been unsuccessfully searching for gold in the Stuart Range of Mountains  
(near today’s Leavenworth)  
discouraged and filthy from their efforts as they traveled homeward  
they decided to stop to have lunch, wash their clothes

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<sup>30</sup> Cecil Dryden, *History of Washington*, P. 314.

and do a little panning in Swauk Creek -- 1873

deaf and mute Benton Goodwin took a pair of buckets to the creek to get water for washing when he dipped one of the buckets into the cold creek water he loosened a rock muddy water swirled but when it cleared he saw something glistening in the water Ben Goodwin reached in and pulled out a handful of gravel -- and a small gold nugget he put the gold in his mouth, picked up the buckets and raced up the hill to the others he arrived in such an excited state the others thought he was chased by a bear several grabbed their rifles

Ben Goodwin showed his finding to his brother and the others within an hour the men had \$5 worth of coarse gold and a nugget worth more than \$100 after a few days they had found more than \$600 in gold

Discovery Bar had lived up to its name

when supplies ran out the prospectors were forced to go for supplies promises were exchanged to keep the location of the gold field secret -- they didn't Effect of the gold rush resulted in one of the earliest communities in Kittitas County most importantly, it did not develop into a rip-roaring mining camp but instead became a place for families complete with post office, school, stage lines, stores and a community center which was famous for its Saturday night dances<sup>31</sup>

#### MAJOR COAL DISCOVERY IS MADE IN RENTON

Seattle Coal and Transportation Company operated the Newcastle coal mines with financial backing from successful businessman and rumpel bear of a man Captain William Renton a new mine was opened and designated the Renton Coal Company -- 1873 Renton Coal Company's operation was several miles closer to Seattle than the Newcastle mines with money and strong management, the mines boomed workers picked and blasted tunnels into the rock, erected hoists, and constructed huge bunkers to hold the coal

#### WORLD-WIDE ECONOMY IS IN A FRAGILE CONDITION

First symptoms of the crisis were financial failures in the Austro-Hungarian capital of Vienna that spread to most of Europe and North America by 1873

Panic of 1873 lasted until [1879] and even longer in some countries

This economic depression had several underlying causes (historians debate their relative importance)

- American Post-Civil War inflation had swept the nation,
- rampant speculative investments (overwhelmingly in railroads) made ready cash available,
- large trade deficit resulted in a great deal of import activity while exports languished,
- ripples from economic dislocation in Europe resulted from the Franco-Prussian War [1870–1871],

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<sup>31</sup> Wesley C. Engstrom, *Swauk Basin History: Gold Created A Community*, February 2006.

socialists, anarchists and revolutionaries fled from Paris to the United States  
to escape Old World thinking

- property losses in the [1871] Chicago fire and [1872] Boston fire devastated the local economies,
- there was a massive strain on bank reserves that plummeted from \$50 million to \$17 million in New York City alone [September and October 1873]

#### JAY COOKE AND COMPANY GOES BROKE

Financial office of Jay Cooke and Company in Philadelphia was the leading financial firm involved with the building of the Northern Pacific Railway line

sale of Northern Pacific Railway land grants did not generate enough income to cover the cost of outstanding bonds

partners in Jay Cooke and Company revolted and filed for bankruptcy  
Northern Pacific Railway empire collapsed

Jay Cooke and Company closed its doors -- September 18, 1873

setting off a financial crash that threw the whole country into financial depression

high interest rates imposed by the Coinage Act intensified the financial crisis

some members of Congress argued the railroad's land grants must be forfeited

#### FALL OF JAY COOKE AND COMPANY SETS OFF WAVES OF FINANCIAL PANIC

Northern Pacific Railway was starved for operating cash and entangled in a race

to save the company's the charter before the [December 1873] timeline ran out

to retain its land grants and to build across even more ground to add more land grant land

Waves of financial panic immediately followed the closure of Jay Cooke and Company

New York stock exchange shut its doors for two weeks beginning September 20, 1873

suspended trading paralyzed the economy of the United States

immediately an estimated 100 or more railroad companies suffered bankruptcy

Financial Panic of 1873 halted railroad construction and the Northern Pacific Railway

immediately tens of thousands of railroad construction workers were laid off

in the East, considerable blame was heaped upon the Northern Pacific Railway Company

because of the wild scheme to "build a railroad through the wilderness to nowhere...."

in the Midwest construction running west from St. Paul, Minnesota

stopped at Bismarck, North Dakota Territory

in the West, Portland lacked an eastern transcontinental connection

Washington Territory's nearest railroad station to the East was at Kelton, Utah

on the northwest edge of the Great Salt Lake

and this could be reached only by stagecoach

Washington Territory residents suffered less than those in other parts of the country

but the dream of population growth they had happily anticipated had to be postponed

however, Northern the Pacific Railway survived thanks to austerity measures



put in place by company President General George Washington Cass

#### BEN HOLLADAY FACES FINANCIAL DISASTER

Same depression that broke Jay Cooke drove the value of Ben Holladay's far less substantial bonds lower and lower

his Oregon and California Railroad Company linking Portland and Sacramento

did not generate nearly enough income to pay the cost of his bonds

construction stopped

Portland would not have even a spur line to connect the Pacific Northwest to the East

#### NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY FALLS INTO BANCROPTCY

Railroad construction in America had boomed following the Civil War

33,000 miles of new track were laid across the United States (between [1868] and [1873])

much of the craze in railroad investment was driven by federal land grants

and government subsidies to the railroads

railroad industry was the nation's largest employer outside of agriculture

railroads building required vast amounts of money and large risks

an incredible amount of cash from speculators was available which caused

overbuilding of docks, factories and ancillary facilities

in addition to laying thousands of miles of railroad tracks

much of the money invested did not provide an immediate or early return to investors

#### OREGON STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY (OSN) BECOME A LOCAL BUSINESS AGAIN

Northern Pacific Railway faced a financial crisis -- cash was needed just to keep the company alive

in a desperate attempt to meet its financial obligations, the Northern Pacific

dumped on the market Oregon Steam Navigation Company stock which it had bought

at a price of 40¢ per share

Quietly the Oregon Steam Navigation Company leadership quartet, Captain John C. Ainsworth,

R.R. Thompson, William S. Ladd and Simeon Reed bought back their stock

at a price of 12¢ on the dollar

for the time being at least, their empire was once again secure in their hands

business was conducted as usual

#### FINANCIAL PANIC OF 1873 SEALS BEN HOLLADAY'S FINANCIAL FATE

Ben Holladay and his associates' financial empire collapsed and they faced bankruptcy -- 1873

Holladay's corporate funds were exhausted although his personal wealth remained untouched

Holladay had been born in and lived a third of his life in a log cabin

at age fifty he owned mansions in Washington, D.C., on the Hudson River and in Portland

as well as an elaborate cottage at Seaside, Oregon

## UNITED STATES SUFFERS DURING THE FINANCIAL DEPRESSION

Over the next five years 1873-[1878] more than 5,000 businesses that had invested in the railroad construction in the United States were forced to close their doors  
railroad employees were laid off by the tens of thousands  
Across the nation during that time more than 20,000 businesses failed as a result of over-trading, over-production, over-speculation and over-issues of paper money that resulted in inflated prices when farmers' mortgage payments could not be met  
bankers and merchants bought farmland at depressed prices  
However, the most frightening aspect of the panic was the rapid increase in unemployment by the end of the decade, roughly 14% of American workers were out of work)

## GERMAN BOND HOLDERS BECOME CONCERNED ABOUT THEIR INVESTMENTS

After the financial crash of 1873 many companies defaulted in the payment of interest on their bonds  
Ben Holladay failed to meet the interest payment on his construction bonds  
bulk of Holladay's bonds had been sold in Germany  
When interest payments failed to materialize, German holders of previously purchased securities became increasingly concerned about the financial crisis  
German bond holders sent Henry Villard to Oregon to investigate the condition of their investments

## GERMAN IMMIGRANT HENRY VILLARD FIRST COMES TO AMERICA

In baptism he was given the name Ferdinand Heinrich Gustav Hilgard during the German Revolution [1848] which unified Germany's thirty-nine states  
Ferdinand's sympathies lay with his uncles and against his father who supported the old loose confederation of states and opposed unity  
Thus estranged from his father Ferdinand fled to the United States at age eighteen [1853] there he changed his name to Henry Villard  
in his memoirs he remarked: **"I was utterly destitute of money, had but a limited supply of wearing apparel, and that not suited to the approaching cold season, and I literally did not know a single person in New York or elsewhere in the Eastern States to whom I could apply for help and counsel. To crown it all, I could not speak a word of English."**<sup>32</sup>  
but by age eighteen Henry Villard had received through education his early experiences in his adopted country were in teaching  
Henry Villard tried a number of other occupations: farming, the study of law, and others but he became a newspaper correspondent and journalist  
he covered the Lincoln-Douglas Debates for a German language newspaper

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<sup>32</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 262.

he became a friend of Abraham Lincoln as they shared anti-slavery sentiments  
When the Civil War erupted Villard became a correspondent accompanying the Union Army  
for newspapers in Washington, D.C. and New York -- his stories made him famous  
Villard married Fanny Garrison, the daughter of abolitionist leader William Lloyd Garrison  
His health began to fail and he left the U.S. for Heidelberg, Germany to rest and visit relatives [1871]  
his health continued to decline when he suffered a stroke in Germany [1872]  
before he regained his strength and he returned to his vibrant life

#### HENRY VILLARD BECOMES ACTIVE IN RAILROAD FINANCING

During his convalescence in Heidelberg, Villard was approached by an acquaintance  
**“regarding an unfortunate investment he had made in American railroad bonds”<sup>33</sup>**  
in Ben Holladay’s Oregon and California Railroad  
He came into contact with a protective committee for O&C Railroad bondholders  
his influence in Germany expanded as additional concerned bond owners requested his services  
he joined several committees of German bond-holders and undertook the major part of their work  
Henry Villard agreed to return to the United States to represent German stockholders  
of Ben Holladay’s Oregon and California Railroad  
and his Oregon Steam Navigation Company spur line to Tacoma

#### CONSTRUCTION ON THE TACOMA SPUR RAILROAD FROM KALAMA BEGINS AGAIN

Captain John C. Ainsworth’s Oregon Steam Navigation Company (OSN) took up construction  
of the spur line from Kalama, Washington toward the Commencement Bay town of New Tacoma  
for the Northern Pacific Railway  
Former Cariboo District miners and Chinese laborers went to work  
survey crews and work crews pushed tracks to Yelm, Washington Territory -- fall 1873  
and across the prairies and Nisqually River delta  
Nisqually River crossing was finished [late September]  
work proceeded across the prairie (to where Roy, Washington is now located)

#### CONSTRUCTION ON THE TACOMA-KALAMA BRANCH LINE IS HALTED ONCE AGAIN

Oregon Steam Navigation construction crews building the Pacific Division spur line were left unpaid  
construction was halted twenty miles short of New Tacoma  
one thousand construction workers made up largely of Chinese laborers  
and tough ex-miners from the British Columbia Cariboo gold fields  
refused to work until they received their back pay  
unemployed Chinese railroad workers congregated in Portland  
where they found work as laundry workers, chefs and gardeners for the rich

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<sup>33</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 262.-263.

angry crewmen set up barricades at the Skookumville (Clover Creek) station  
and started to tear up the rail before they could be calmed  
settlers on Puget Sound were only a little ahead of where they had been  
before the railroad construction project began

#### CONSTRUCTION ON THE TACOMA-KALAMA SPUR LINE BEGINS AGAIN

Engineer E.S. "Skookum" Smith convinced Tacoma Spur Line construction crews  
that the remaining eleven miles of track must reach the western terminus before the time limit  
that had been set by the United States government [3:00 P.M. December 17, 1873] ran out  
it could well be that the future of the Puget Sound region rested with them  
Oregon Steam Navigation Company survey crews and work crews pushed tracks  
beside the lakes above Steilacoom and on to (today's Lakeview and the South Tacoma area)  
where construction was delayed four miles southwest of Tacoma-- October 1873  
due to a shortage of iron and money

#### SAN JUAN COUNTY IS CREATED BY THE TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE

Smallest of all of the Washington counties was carved out of Whatcom County -- October 31, 1873  
(previously ownership of the 172 islands of the new county had been under dispute with England  
final resolution had been offered by arbitrator Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany [May 8, 1871]  
during this dispute the area had been considered part of Island County [1852-1854]  
and Whatcom County [1854-1873])  
(Today most of the population lives on the four largest islands  
listed from largest to smallest: Orcas Island, San Juan Island, Lopez Island and Shaw Island)  
Friday Harbor on San Juan Island was named the county seat  
San Juan County was attached to Jefferson County for judicial purposes  
because of the sparse population

#### RACE TO FINISH THE NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY TACOMA-KALAMA SPUR LINE

Once again crews began laying track in an all-out rush to beat the timeline that would  
end the Northern Pacific Railway's Charter and take away all of the company's land grants  
if salt water was not reached by [December 17, 1873]  
Construction followed down the streambed (of modern-day Nalley Valley)  
workers knew that the last steep drop to saltwater would have to be cut diagonally  
across the hillside overlooking Commencement Bay  
Northern Pacific Railway brought the most powerful and advance steam locomotive available  
to descend the steep grade downhill in as direct a line as possible to Commencement Bay  
Chinese contract labors put down wood ties and iron rails that followed the most precise descent  
even so, the first working locomotive toppled over on the beach at the sandy shoreline  
(from Nalley Valley the main tracks have not wandered, the gauge between rails

and length of the wood ties has not changed, and the grade continues to accurately reflect the hurried railroad construction completed that rainy winter the slight bow in the line as it crosses 19<sup>th</sup> street was caused by a steep hump in the terrain before the ground flattened as it approached the Pacific Avenue crossing from the intersection at 19th the line straightens on a gentle grade down to the shoreline)

#### NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY OPENS ITS "PRAIRIE LINE"

Northern Pacific Railway (NPRY) branch line tracks from Kalama through Tenino were brought into New Tacoma at water level by the Oregon Steam Navigation Company's construction company official last spike was driven at New Tacoma -- 3:00 P.M., December 16, 1873 that same day the first train arrived at the pre-arranged ceremonial point in New Tacoma just 24 hours before the expiration of the Northern Pacific Railway's Charter (while the name "Prairie Line" at one time referred to the track laid across the "burnt prairie" east of the Nisqually River delta, "Prairie Line" is now associated with the original route through downtown Tacoma) Tacoma 's Prairie Line spur left a lot to be desired since there was no turntable in New Tacoma trains had to back down the track on the return trip to Kalama at Kalama a large steam ferryboat named the *Tacoma* carried train cars to Portland and back trains were transported across the Columbia River until [1884]

#### SEATTLE GAS AND LIGHT COMPANY BEGINS SERVICE

Gas lamps lit in forty-two private homes and on five public streets -- New Year's Eve 1873 Seattle Gas and Light Company founded by Seattle's first banker, Dexter Horton, one of the towns founders, Arthur Denny, and city mayor, John Collins were responsible for this historic moment gas for the region's first private utility was manufactured from coal and distributed to the company's limited customers through hollowed-out fir logs

#### PACIFIC DIVISION'S PRAIRIE SPUR LINE BEGINS OPERATION

Scheduled train service from Kalama to New Tacoma began -- January 5, 1874 first leg of the trip from Portland used ferryboats along the lower Columbia River to Kalama rails started at Kalama and ran north through Washington Territory toward New Tacoma built around the Northern Pacific Railway depot on Commencement Bay stations were located at (in order from South to North): Tenino, McIntosh, Rainier, Yelm, Roy, Hillhurst, Lakeview, South Tacoma and Tacoma fare was \$6 with \$1 more for the ferry ride across the Columbia River to or from Portland

## NEW PRAIRIE LINE SPUR BRINGS PROSPERITY TO NEW TACOMA

Tacoma-Kalama spur railroad line resulted in a local economic boom for the town on Puget Sound  
new industries provide a strong economic foundation -- even during the financial crisis  
sawmills, machine shops, a flour mill and a salmon cannery all opened in Tacoma  
smell of fresh sawdust was everywhere

Tacoma had more lumber-working plants than anywhere else on the Pacific coast  
constantly changing spider web of rail spurs and sidings served the brick warehouses,  
loading docks and freight yards

Tacoma bragged of more wholesale dry goods, hardware and grocery stores than Seattle  
ox drivers mingled on the streets with dudes and agents selling everything imaginable  
Tacoma's first passenger station sat on the west side of the line just above Pacific Avenue  
(it was physically moved to the site of Union Station [1892]  
and then replaced with the Reed & Stem designed landmark building there today [1911])

Construction in New Tacoma was rapid and incomplete:

- new streets ended in fifteen-foot drop-offs into bramble bushes,
- huge stumps stood at the very door of the best hotels in town,
- telegraph and later light wires clung precariously to tottering poles

St. Paul and Tacoma Land Company was composed of investors some of whom were railroad officers  
built wharfs in Tacoma to service Puget Sound steamboats and ocean-going shipping

Money could be readily made in real estate

one visiting actress was paid \$1,000 in advance for nine days of work at the local opera house  
she invested her earnings with a Tacoma real estate agent who purchased land for her  
she doubled her money when she left town fourteen days later

Tacoma's future was bright indeed

Northern Pacific Railway planned to build mechanic shops for repair of their equipment  
huge grain elevators were to be constructed in Tacoma  
which would soon rival Portland in the grain trade

an ore smelter to process the product of Rocky Mountain mines was soon to be completed

Northern Pacific spur line also caused Vancouver, Washington to grow and prosper

## NOT ALL PUGET SOUND SETTLERS WERE HAPPY WITH THEIR SPUR LINE

Business was not booming in the early years on the Pacific Division's Prairie Line  
one mixed passenger and freight train per day each direction was scheduled  
between Kalama and Tacoma from [1873 to 1877]

Northwest pioneers' hope for a direct railroad connection with Portland remained only a dream

Some Puget Sound settlers thought they were at the mercy of the Tacoma-Kalama Spur line  
which still was owned and operated by the Northern Pacific Railway

Tacoma demanded Northern Pacific Railway build a Cascade Branch railroad line  
which would provide a direct route from the junction of the Snake and Columbia rivers

up the Yakima Valley and across Cascade Mountains thus avoiding the Portland connection  
Seattle in particular saw an opportunity to become the major city on Puget Sound  
if they could arrange for the terminus to move there rather than remain in Tacoma  
Oregon Steam Navigation Company (OSN) resisted this plan  
as they would lose their shipping monopoly  
Northern Pacific Railway delayed undertaking construction of the Cascade Branch

#### PORT BLAKELY SAWMILL AVOIDS THE FINANCIAL CRISIS

Although business fell off during the financial Panic of [1873]  
need for lumber was unabated as San Francisco grew to 200,000 people

Port Blakely Mill Company had sales of \$1.5 million -- 1874

Captain William Renton re-organized his Port Blakely Mill Company:

- he brought in new partners,
- he built a new seventy-five room accommodation, the Bainbridge Hotel,
- he established a daily stagecoach between Port Blakely and Port Madison,
- he experimented with ways to improve heating and lighting at the mill  
dogfish oil lamps were the traditional source of light  
(electric lights were installed in [1882])

Thriving town of Port Blakely bragged of all of the accretions of civilization  
there was a post office, company store, livery stable, Bainbridge Hotel, a jail  
there was a board sidewalk which led to the nearby resort of Pleasant Beach  
recreation centered on boxing matches, dances, tent meetings, a May Day festival,  
and an annual operetta that drew boatloads of Seattleites to Port Blakely

#### WASHINGTON RESIDENTS FACE PROBLEMS WITH TERRITORIAL STATUS

Territorial Administration was a kind of Colonialism  
territorial government was not representative of the settlers  
important appointments were made in Washington, D.C.

Governor, Secretary, Judges, U.S. Marshall

There were many practical problems:

- congress could veto any legislation passed by the territorial legislature,
- school lands were not fully available for development until admission as a state was achieved,
- ownership of tidelands was uncertain,
- neither population growth nor investment capital from government or public sources  
could not be expected until the federal government showed enthusiasm for the region,
- territorial boundaries were not secure

Washington Territory once had been part of Oregon Territory

(Idaho, Wyoming and Montana were currently part of Washington Territory),

- settlers had little control over their own destiny

Citizens chafed at the lack of population that condemned them to a subordinate form of government

#### STATEHOOD FOR WASHINGTON TERRITORY TAKES A STEP BACKWARD

The great issue of the Territorial era was statehood

this current inferior status was especially galling to residents in 1874

when Congress passed a statute that unified the laws applying to territories

this demonstrated to Washington Territory residents

how vulnerable they were to Congressional actions

Territorial citizens also continued to resent their lack of voting representation

in the United States Congress or to vote for the President of the United States

#### SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE MOVE INTO THEIR NEW CONVENT IN VANCOUVER

Mother Joseph moved the sisters, the boarders and the orphans into the House of Providence

located on Tenth and Reserve Streets in Vancouver, Washington Territory -- 1874

people of Washington Territory were amazed at the enormity of the convent

but the nuns were \$20,000 in debt

Once again Mother Joseph set out on a begging tour

this time to the Fraser River country of Canada

where she raised ten thousand dollars in just three weeks

#### OLYMPIA ATTEMPTS TO BUILD A RAILROAD OF ITS OWN TO COMPETE WITH TACOMA

New Tacoma's selection as the port city on Puget Sound frustrated other potential port towns

Olympia, led by Governor Elisha Ferry, tried to build a railroad of its own

a private corporation, the Thurston County Railroad Company, was established

to build an eighteen-mile narrow gauge railroad to Tenino, Washington Territory

where the spur line would connect with the Northern Pacific Railway's track

running to Tacoma

an Easter holiday crowd of residents began shoveling out a grade for the tracks -- April 7, 1874

enthusiasm quickly ran out

some forty Chinese laborers were hired to clear and grade land for the small railroad line

(work was completed on the Olympia and Tenino Railroad [1878])

it then expanded to become the Olympia and Chehalis Valley Railroad [1881]

and finally the Port Townsend Southern Railroad [1887])

Olympia maintained its only railroad connection

until the Northern Pacific Railway built a spur to Olympia [1891])

#### HENRY VILLARD RETURNS TO AMERICA

Henry Villard sailed with his family from Germany to New York along with Richard Koehler

to meet Ben Holladay -- April 1874



Villard was the representative of a large collection of German constituents who had invested in Ben Holladay's Oregon and California Railroad

Villard was to investigate and recommend the future policy to be employed by the bondholders  
Panic of 1873 had greatly weakened Ben Holladay "America's Stagecoach King"

Villard was less than impressed by Ben Holladay -- in fact, his antipathy was immediate

Henry Villard was fastidious man frail from two years of illness and a stroke

Holladay, shiny with diamonds and heavy watch chain was, to use Villard's own description:

**"illiterate, coarse, pretentious, boastful, false and cunning"**<sup>34</sup>

#### CAPTAIN WILLIAM RENTON ACQUIRES A FINANCIAL REPUTATION FOR SUCCESS

Renton's success and reputation allowed him to act as consultant and entrepreneur for other businesses

he was major investor in coal mining at Mox LaPush near the south end of Lake Washington,

(this coal town grew up to be named Renton in his honor)

he also backed a scheme to build a railroad around the south end of Lake Washington

Captain William Renton became a board member of the Seattle and Walla Walla Railroad

#### SEATTLE ATTEMPTS TO BUILD A PRIVATE RAILROAD OF ITS OWN

Seattle community leaders were very disturbed by the selection of Tacoma as the port on Puget Sound

instead of a spur to the Northern Pacific Railway, Seattleites proposed to have railroad of their own

City of Seattle, in a breath-taking display of community pride (and lack of any grasp of reality),

quickly passed an ordinance granting the tideflats south of King Street to a new railway company

Seattle and Walla Walla Railroad was to run across the Cascades over Snoqualmie Pass

to the Inland Empire grain fields and perhaps on to a transcontinental connection

in the eastern part of Washington Territory in an effort to compete with Tacoma

Seattle's first mayor and leading businessman Henry Yesler

pledged to underwrite the cost of two miles of track

coal operator William Renton promised \$1,000 and "10 Chinamen for a month"

Chinese businessmen and community leader Chin Gee Hee and his Wa Chong Company

gave their support to the newly proposed railroad with the promise of providing

Chinese laborers for the project

#### CONSTRUCTION BEGINS ON THE SEATTLE AND WALLA WALLA RAILROAD

Steam whistles blew, a cannon was fired and the construction project got under way

men, women and children began to dig at Steele's Landing (in today's Georgetown)

three miles south of Seattle near the mouth of the Duwamish River -- May 1, 1874

their short-term objective was to construct a railroad line to the Green River, then eastward

to William Renton's coal mine and from there to the Cedar River and to Snoqualmie Pass

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<sup>34</sup> David Lavender, *Land of Giants*, P. 363.

## HENRY VILLARD REACHES OREGON

After his talks with Ben Holladay in New York Villard visited Oregon

where he was very favorably impressed with the natural wealth of the region -- 1874

he wrote: **“What I saw of Oregon on that trip to Portland filled me with the greatest enthusiasm.”**<sup>35</sup>

Villard found construction on Holladay’s Oregon and California stopped at Roseburg, Oregon and his Oregon Central route from Portland was less than halfway to Astoria

both distances were shorter than Holladay’s reports had indicated

it was obvious that land grants held by the dummy European and Oregon Land Company were not being used for the benefit of Holladay’s railroads

Henry Villard perceived that the Columbia River was the key to boundless opportunity

he focused on eliminating Ben Holladay from the Oregon and California Railroad Company

he conceived a plan for gaining control of Oregon’s few transportation routes

a true financial genius, daring, far-sighted, persistent and self-reliant

Villard proposed to undertake three quick, decisive moves:

- incorporate the Northern Pacific Railway Tacoma-Kalama Spur line,
- acquire the Oregon Steam Navigation Company,
- acquire controlling interest in the Northern Pacific Railway Company

by forming a “blind pool” (investors have no knowledge

of what their investments are buying)

Henry Villard contacted his German clients who were large creditors of Ben Holladay

they approved his schemes

## FISH CANNERIES BECOME DEPENDENT ON CHINESE LABOR

There were twelve salmon canneries in business between Astoria and Portland by 1874

as the Columbia River gold mines ran out the Chinese took up other pursuits

fish canneries operated with cheap Chinese laborers (who arrived in [April] -- left in [August])

most of the fishing for the canneries was done by local Indians

Chinese were not allowed to fish

Chinese soon established a dominate presence in the canning industry in Oregon

and the lower Columbia River region

so much so that one writer noted that at thirty canneries along the Columbia River

Chinese did all the work

“cutters” cleaned up to 1,600 fish per day

there were obvious reasons that workers seldom returned for a second season

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<sup>35</sup> Oscar Osburn Winther, *The Great Northwest*, P. 263.

## SALMON FISHING IS DEPENDENT ON RETURNING SALMON

Salmon are at their very best at the time they reach the coast

when they begin their fresh water swim to the spawning grounds salmon stop eating  
and then gradually become flabby and begin to disintegrate

by the time they reach their spawning beds and have laid and fertilized their eggs  
they have become completely exhausted and soon thereafter die

Eggs, usually laid in the riverbeds, hatch in about two months

young salmon often linger many months in fresh water  
before taking off for the two-or-three-year ocean cycle

Much of the commercial fishing in Washington Territory was done by Finns and Scandinavians  
but Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Mexicans, Negroes and Puerto Ricans  
also were employed

pay was on a per-fish basis

## SEVERAL VARIETIES OF SALMON ARE FOUND ALONG THE PACIFIC COAST AND RIVERS

As in the days when ancient Indians fished with spears and nets

salmon is the most valuable fish caught along the Washington coast

Several species are present although the flavor is very similar for all varieties

Chinook salmon (*O. tshawytscha*) is the most sought after and valuable

often called king, spring, or tyee salmon, they are up to five feet in length

and could weigh forty to sixty pounds -- they often weigh in excess of twenty-five pounds  
(largest recorded Chinook salmon was 125 pounds)

Chinook are considered the finest variety because of its deep, rich, red color

peak season is May through September

Sockeye (blueback or red) salmon (*O. nerka*) is the next most valuable species

average six pounds with a maximum at about fifteen pounds

peak season is from May to August

Silver or coho salmon (*O. kisutch*) follows in value

these average eight to fifteen pounds with a maximum of about thirty pounds

peak season from June through September

Humpback or pink salmon (*O. gorbuscha*) is a small salmon averaging about four pounds

with a maximum of about fourteen pounds

peak season is July through September

Chum or keta salmon (*O. keta*) is the least sought after

they run from eight to fifteen pounds, but can reach up to thirty pounds

peak season from June through September

Steelhead (*O. mykiss*) is the same species as the rainbow trout -- not a salmon at all

except the steelhead spends part of their life in salt water

before returning to fresh water to spawn

adults average three to nine pounds with record fish weighing more than forty pounds  
peak season is from (December) through (February)

#### NEW MILITARY COMMANDER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE COLUMBIA IS NAMED

Civil War General Oliver Otis Howard was placed in command of the Department of the Columbia  
he was a devout member of Congregationalist Church who studied his Bible late into the night  
he became known as “the Christian soldier”

(General Howard had temporarily commanded a brigade at the First Battle of Bull Run [July 21, 1861]

he had lost his right arm leading a Union brigade in the Battle of Fair Oaks [June 1, 1862]

during the Battle of Antietam [also known as Sharpsburg September 17, 1862]

he was promoted to II Corps Division Commander

questionable leadership decisions at Battle of Chancellorsville [May 2, 1863]

and Gettysburg [July 1, 1863] clouded his reputation although he had many who defended him

his actions at the Battles for Chattanooga [October-November 1863] reestablished his reputation

he was placed in command of the Army of the Tennessee and led the right wing of

General William Sherman’s famous March to the Sea [November-December 1864]

after the Civil War General Howard was placed in charge of the “Freedmen’s Bureau”

which attempted to change society in the former Confederacy during the Reconstruction era)

General William Tecumseh Sherman gave Howard command of the Department of the Columbia

General Howard traveled west to Washington Territory’s Fort Vancouver -- July 1874

#### AMERICAN MILITARY ABANDONS SAN JUAN ISLAND

American Camp on San Juan Island was decommissioned -- July 17, 1874

eight regular army companies from four regiments under the command of fifteen different officers

had manned the post through some of the most tumultuous years of American history

soldiers at American Camp endured isolation, bad food, worse quarters and crushing boredom

some soldiers had been willing to risk company punishment

such as carrying a forty-pound log around the post all day

to numb themselves with the rot-gut whisky available in old San Juan Town

some had taken “French leave” (deserted) and some had committed suicide

most had endured and contributed to the legacy of peace

at the terminus of the longest unguarded international boarder in the world

#### SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE PLAN TO BUILD A HOSPITAL IN PORTLAND

Most Reverend Francis Blanchet, Archbishop of the Diocese of Oregon City had invited

Mother Joseph and the Sisters of Providence to establish a hospital in Portland [1858]

this project had long been delayed due to lack of finances

finally, after a great deal of prayer and discussion a letter was received

from the local St. Vincent de Paul Society, a Catholic charitable organization -- July 19, 1874

a block of land was offered in northwest Portland  
bounded by Twelfth, Marshall and Northrup streets  
and one thousand dollars for construction of a hospital  
Mother Joseph and her Sisters of Providence could now respond to Archbishop Blanchet's request  
there was little question that the hospital would be called St. Vincent

#### SEATTLE AND WALLA WALLA RAILROAD IS FACED WITH A RACIAL CRISIS

Chinese laborers had started construction on the railroad but their presence was not welcomed  
Chinese laborers were run off the grade by whites – August 1874  
King County Sheriff Louis V. Wyckoff had to intervene to protect the Chinese  
so that work could continue

#### SEATTLE AND WALLA WALLA RAILROAD RECEIVES A SMALL BOOST

Interest and money for construction of the proposed private rail route linking Seattle with Walla Walla  
were both waning -- fall 1874  
but a fortunate discovery of coal by the owners of the Seattle Coal and Transportation Company  
induced private capital to carry on  
construction enthusiastically begun by Seattle citizens near the Duwamish River's mouth  
reached out twelve miles where the track and stopped at Newcastle  
there a steam train carried coal over the track to Lake Washington  
(about twenty-four miles of track were completed [in 1877])  
This small coal field could not generate enough money to push the railroad over the Cascades  
additional financing might be acquired through a land grant  
but a decade of flagrant land grant abuses had led Congress to abandon that subsidy  
Looking for an alternant source of funding, Western promoters jumped on the fact  
that the Northern Pacific Railway had laid no new rails since Jay Cooke's financial failure [1873]  
these promoters argued Congress would be justified in declaring the company's grant forfeited  
then the reclaimed acreage could be distributed to local companies  
that could guarantee construction in their respective areas

#### JAMES JEROME HILL, "THE EMPIRE BUILDER," BECOMES AN ACTIVE BUSINESSMAN

(James Jerome Hill was born in (today's Ontario, Canada [September 16, 1838])  
Jim Hill suffered a childhood accident with a bow and arrow which blinded him in his right eye  
he had nine years of formal education before being forced to leave due to his father's death [1852]  
however, a sharp student, he became adept at algebra, geometry, land surveying and English  
his mathematics and English skills would serve him well later in life  
Jim Hill took a job as a clerk in Kentucky where he learned bookkeeping  
he decided to move to the United States permanently  
at age eighteen he moved to St. Paul, Minnesota

there he found work as a bookkeeper with a steamboat company  
using his skills, he expanded his clientele and handled freight transfers for wholesale grocers  
in this capacity he came in close contact with steamboat and railroad company officials  
Jim Hill possessed a powerful build, a massive arching chest, a craggy head, and a tangle of beard  
that soon turned iron gray

he was intensely ambitious and set out on his own and began bidding on other contracts

he successfully won many of them

next he entered the coal and steamboat business

Hill had three traits which made him the successful businessman he became:

- he was incredibly hard-working;
- he was almost maniacally competitive -- to him it was a point of personal honor  
to be the biggest, best and most competitive businessman in everything he undertook
- third, and perhaps most importantly, Hill was simply brilliant and was a brilliant leader

Jim Hill set up a shipping firm, the Red River Transportation Company,

with Norman Kittson his Canadian partner [1870]

Red River Transportation Company began working boats

between Minnesota and Fort Garry [as Winnipeg was then known] in Canada

this was financially successful and became the foundation of his great financial empire)

#### JAMES JEROME HILL FINDS OPPORTUNITY IN THE FINANCIAL CRISIS

For James Jerome Hill the Panic [of 1873] provided the opportunity he needed

several railroads including the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad (StP&P),

a shortline railroad in the state of Minnesota, had gone bankrupt

StP&P was caught in an almost hopeless legally entangled

Jim Hill researched the StP&P and concluded that it could make money if financing could be found

Hill formed a partnership and bought the railroad

he expanded the trackage by bargaining for rights with the Northern Pacific Railway

in addition to trains Jim Hill's shipping enterprise also included steamboats

#### GRANGE MOVEMENT BECOMES ACTIVE IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

By the time the Washington Territory legislature met -- December 1874

Washington Territory farmers had become very interested in the grange organization

Washington Territory's legislature passed an act providing for the incorporation of farmers

these corporate bodies were authorized to engage in almost every business as well as farming

farmers of that day were hoping they might in time control every aspect of business

which were not being conducted to their satisfaction

#### DR. DORSEY SYNG BAKER'S RAWHIDE RAILROAD IS FORCED TO STOP CONSTRUCTION

Sixteen miles of Walla Walla and Columbia River track had been laid

Dr. Baker's Rawhide Railway reached Touchet, Washington Territory [March 1874]  
Construction continued until Dr. Barker's money was exhausted at Whitman's Station  
ten miles west of Walla Walla at the site of the old Whitman Mission -- end of 1874

Dr. Baker announced his railroad would stop here

(by the end of 1874 Touchet farmers shipped 4,000 tons of wheat  
and received 1,100 tons of merchandise)

#### WASHINGTON LEGISLATURE EQUALIZES PROPERTY ASSESSMENTS IN COUNTIES

Some counties evaded their share of the territorial tax burden by keeping property assessments low  
comparing [1873] tax assessments with 1875 tax assessments demonstrated the problem

fourteen counties showed a decline in value of \$896,335

eight counties showed an increase of \$1,283,739

it was apparent to legislators that property was not decreasing in value  
in the proportion represented by the fourteen counties,

and else it was not increasing at the rate shown by the assessment in eight other counties  
grave injustice was being done everywhere in the territory and the only means of correcting this  
was through a board of tax equalizers which was appointed by the governor

#### WASHINGTON'S TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE ENACTS OTHER LEGISLATION

Washington Territory Legislature passed an act -- 1875

to aid with the construction of the Seattle and Walla Walla Railroad slowly crawling out of Seattle  
this legislation allowed counties to provide financial support for construction of the route:

- King and Walla Walla counties could provide up to \$100,000,
- Whitman County could endow up to \$80,000,
- Columbia County award up to \$75,000,
- Yakima County could give up to \$50,000,
- Klickitat and Stevens (which included Spokane and the north eastern part of the territory)  
both could contribute up to \$20,000,
- Kitsap County could grant up to \$10,000

Other legislation was signed into law by the territorial governor -- 1875

an act was passed to encourage the cultivation of oysters

an act also was passed to prevent and punish gambling

yet another law regulated fishing

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY LEGISLATURE FAILS TO ADDRESS A MAJOR CONCERN

Territorial Governor Elijah P. Ferry in a message to the legislators

addressed the issue of slow population growth

he emphasized the desirability of creating a board of immigration

which would be especially charged with advertising in the eastern states and Europe

this board, using only very moderate funds, could make it known to the world at large  
the abundant resources of our soil, wealth of our forests, our limitless deposits of coal,  
the advantages of our commerce, and the attractiveness of our climate  
and would procure, so far as possible, cheap transportation for all who would move here  
Legislators failed to take action on the governor's grand proposal

#### SUFFRAGETTE ABIGAIL SCOTT DUNIWAY CONTINUES HER EFFORTS

Abigail Scott Duniway published a volume of poems, *My Musings* -- 1875

(*David and Anna Matson*, a long poem, appeared [in 1876])

(Throughout the following years, Duniway traveled and lectured on the subject of woman suffrage  
she lobbied the Oregon state legislature on several occasions

Despite her efforts, Duniway's main goal, equal suffrage for women in Oregon, eluded her

#### HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY SELLS THE STEAMER *BEAVER*

*Beaver's* usefulness to Hudson's Bay Company dwindled

she was sold to a businessman in Victoria, British Columbia -- middle 1870s

for another fourteen years the steamer *Beaver* was used to tow log booms, ships and such

#### FISH CANNERIES EXPAND THEIR AREA OF OPERATION

First canneries along Puget Sound were established in Kitsap County during the mid-1870s

Chinese immigrants took up the fishing end of the business in the Port Madison area

(which is bounded on the north by [Indianola] on the west, by [Squamish]

and on the south by Bainbridge Island)

some forty Chinese were employed catching, drying and salting mostly perch and flounder

these fish were soaked in a weak brine for two or three days

then they were dried on racks in the open air

these fish were sold locally as well as being shipped to San Francisco and China

Chinese fishermen at Port Madison owned their own junks (boats)

which were a little larger than row boats

they also bought large quantities of fish from the Indians

according to government reports both the Chinese and the Indians fished with nets

and threw back fish under six inches in length

#### ANTI-CHINESE SENTIMENT RISES IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Lumber mills began eliminating their Chinese laborers as anti-Chinese sentiment grew -- 1875

Chinese workers at Port Madison were discharge and replaced by whites

under tremendous public pressure, within ten years virtually every lumber mill

in Western Washington had replaced its Chinese workers

as if the loss of jobs was not enough the treatment of the Chinese in these lumber towns



was sometimes worse

Hing Kee was murdered in his bed and the house he lived in burned  
stories of men and even boys harassing, beating and stealing from the Chinese  
were commonplace

cases where the Chinese fought back were also reported  
there were few Chinese residents left in the mill towns  
which once relied on them for labor

Some Indians saw the Chinese as intruders and were brutal in their dealings with the immigrants  
on one occasion Indians attacked the Chinese camped along the Methow River killing several  
these same Indians next went to Chelan Falls to continue their killings  
but discovered the Chinese had left  
they moved down the Columbia River where they pursued and murdered  
an unknown number of Chinese  
other Chinese were harassed and murdered during this same time  
Brutality and ruthlessness so terrorized the Chinese that they did not return to Chelan [until 1881]

#### NEW TERRITORIAL DELEGATE TO CONGRESS ELECTED

Members of the Washington Territory Senate elected Republican Orange Jacobs  
to the position of Territorial Delegate to Congress -- will serve almost five years -- [1874-1879]  
replaced former Delegate Democrat Obadiah Benton McFadden. McFadden  
Territorial Delegate Jacobs requested an enabling act that would allow Washington to become a state  
as soon as a state constitution was drafted and ratified by the voters

#### PRESIDENT GRANT REDUCES THE SIZE OF THE NEZ PERCE RESERVATION

President Grant acted to correct what he perceived as a mistake  
when he enlarged the Nez Perce Reservation  
outraged white settlers had clarified his thinking regarding the Wallowa Valley  
President Grant revoked his previous [July 2, 1873] Executive Order -- 1875

It was only a matter of time before "Free-bands" of Nez Perce Indians  
would be forced from the Wallowa Valley and onto a reservation  
Free-bands of Nez Perce Indians remained off the reservation  
they adopted policy of passive resistance  
many of Joseph's people turned to the Dreamer religion  
Indians and whites lived as reluctant neighbors

Commander of the Department of the Columbia General Oliver O. Howard was ordered  
to occupy the Wallowa Valley with troops  
Nez Perce Indians prepared to defend themselves  
General Howard asked for a commission to settle the controversy with the Nez Perce

## PRESIDENT U.S. GRANT SENDS A COMMISSION TO DEAL WITH THE NEZ PERCE INDIANS

President Grant sent a five-man Commission to investigate the situation in the Wallowa Valley  
Commissioners ruled a majority of chiefs had signed the [1863] Treaty  
Chief Joseph and his people ought to be compelled to go on the reservation  
and the entire Wallowa Valley was to be reopened to white settlement  
in the meantime, twenty to thirty Indians had been murdered by whites  
but the Nez Perce did not retaliate

## BELLINGHAM COAL COMPANY EXPANDS IT MINING OPEARATION

Bellingham Bay Coal Company had been run by manager Michael Padden [since 1863]  
who had a background in mining in Pennsylvania and the Seattle area  
(Padden eventually homesteaded in Happy Valley -- Lake Padden, was named after him)  
Bellingham Bay Coal Company underwent a major expansion of the Sehome mine -- March 1875  
a new mine shaft was opened and ran northeast under Railroad Avenue  
(this shaft reached a depth of 500 feet and extend at least 500 feet out under the bay)

## TACOMA SERVES AS A COAL SHIPPING PORT

Coal had been discovered along South Prairie Creek [1868]  
John Flett, an important Indian interpreter for the Government, came to South Prairie to farm  
His sons David, William and John are noted as the discoverers of rich coal veins  
in the Wilkeson and Burnett area -- 1875  
mines were opened which drew attention to area  
and brought good returns to the small South Prairie settlement  
Tacoma became a coal port and rapidly developed as an important coaling station on the Pacific Coast

## HENRY VILLARD GAINS CONTROL OF BEN HOLLADAY'S RAILROADS

With the approval of his German clients who held outstanding bonds sold by Ben Holladay  
Henry Villard became active in railroad financing  
Blustering six-foot frontiersman Holladay met his match in Villard, the frail little German -- 1875  
Villard ordered the American to liquidate the European and Oregon Land Company  
and to return the original land grant back to the Oregon and California Railroad  
squirring and unhappy, Ben Holladay also agreed to remit all future railroad receipts  
to the representative of the German bondholders -- Henry Villard

## PRISONERS ARE BROUGHT TO THE WASHINGTON TERRITORIAL PRISON

Washington Territorial Penitentiary officially began operation on McNeil Island -- May 28, 1875  
U.S. Marshal Edward S. Kearney arrived with three prisoners<sup>36</sup>:

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<sup>36</sup> Daryl C. McClary, *McNeil Island and the Federal Penitentiary, 1841-1981*, Essay 5238, HistoryLink.org, April 17, 2003.

Abraham Gervais, age 28, sentenced to twenty months for selling whisky to Indians,  
Frank Lafontaisis, age 27, sentenced to eighteen months for the same offense,  
John W. Hand, age 28, sentenced to twelve months for robbing a store at Fort Walla Walla  
When the prisoners arrived, they were logged into the daily journal -- the only admission procedure  
they were issued black and white striped prison clothes

and were promptly put to work cleaning up and grading the prison yard<sup>37</sup>  
Marshal Kearney required prisoners to work all day six days a week with Sunday off  
prisoners were provided with only the basics -- necessary work clothes and food  
to make money for extras, like tobacco, soap, and matches,  
prisoners were allowed to make cedar shingles that were sold in Steilacoom  
their earnings went into a fund for each inmate

When the prison first opened the staff was composed of three guards, appointed by the U. S. Marshal  
they were paid \$75 a month to live at the penitentiary  
they were on duty twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week  
each guard was allowed two-and-a-half days off each month to visit his family on the mainland  
although no charge was made for the bed,

guards were expected to supply and prepare their own food<sup>38</sup>  
Prisoners were transported among Seattle, Tacoma, Olympia, and Port Townsend by steamboat  
but most of the trips to and from McNeil Island were by rowboat  
it was a slow, uncomfortable and sometimes dangerous trip

## GRANGE MOVEMENT IS VERY POPULAR IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Growth of the Grange movement in the Pacific Northwest  
was as fantastic as it was in the South and Mid-West

Peak year in the Northwest was 1875 when there were 10,885 Grange members  
in 181 locals in Oregon, 61 in Washington Territory and 17 in Idaho Territory

Grange movement in the Northwest had a three-fold purpose:

- 1) to improve the economic lot of the farming classes:
  - committees were formed to assist in the direct purchase of farm implements,
  - direct shipment of grain “in bulk” was desired,
  - establishment of Grange stores was begun
- 2) to further education better public schools were sought;
- 3) to improve the social life of agrarian people:
  - Grange halls were constructed,
  - picnics, socials, singing, general oratory and debates were all popular events

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<sup>37</sup> Daryl C. McClary, *McNeil Island and the Federal Penitentiary, 1841-1981*, Essay 5238, HistoryLink.org, April 17, 2003.

<sup>38</sup> Daryl C. McClary, *McNeil Island and the Federal Penitentiary, 1841-1981*, Essay 5238, HistoryLink.org, April 17, 2003.

## LEGENDARY PIONEER JOSEPH LAFAYETTE "JOE" MEEK PASSES AWAY

Well known and respected pioneer Joe Meek married the daughter of Sub-Chief Kowesota of the White Bird band of the Nez Perce Indian tribes in Idaho [1838]

her true name was never recorded but Joe called her "Virginia" after his home state

Mrs. Frances Fuller Victor interviewed Joe Meek many times for a book on early Oregon history

by the time her manuscript got to Connecticut to be published, it had become: *The River of the West: Life and Adventures in the Rocky Mountains and Oregon, embracing events in the life-time of a Mountain-Man and Pioneer with the Early History of the North-Western Slope*

it was essentially, the life and times of Joseph Lafayette Meek

by all accounts, Joe greatly enjoyed traveling and giving speeches

to promote the book in the early 1870s

Joseph Meek died at age 65 -- June 20, 1875

at his home on the Donation Land Claim just north of Hillsboro

Virginia survived her husband by almost twenty-five years,

(she passed away [on March 3, 1900] in the home of her youngest son, Stephen A. D. Meek

she was buried next to her husband near the beautiful Tualatin Plains

beside the Presbyterian "Old Scotch" Church north of Hillsboro

## CHARLES B. WRIGHT BECOMES PRESIDENT OF THE NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY

Charles Wright was elected president of the Board of Directors -- June 30, 1875

Northern Pacific Railway was at its lowest ebb financially -- bankruptcy proceedings had begun more than once he used his personal wealth and credit

to protect the railroad from serious embarrassment

## NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY'S BANKRUPTCY PROCEEDINGS ENDS

Charles Wright's Northern Pacific Railway was wholly without credit

its bonded debt had been wiped out by converting bonds into preferred stock

but the railroad could not borrow money to continue laying track

worse still, there was a debt of \$5.5 million hanging over the railroad

Charles Wright faced a seemingly impossible task:

- resolve the debt,
- persuade creditors not to sue the company,
- make the most out of the assets the company owned,
- manage five hundred miles of railroad that ran through little more than a wilderness

Charles Wright was well-suited to these tasks -- he was prudent, cautious and economical

while at the same time being active and enterprising and always hopeful

even under the most discouraging of circumstances

he established a rigid economic policy forcing the company to pay its expenses

## SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE OPEN SAINT VINCENT HOSPITAL IN PORTLAND

There were many delays during construction from the time the Sisters of Providence had received their very generous contribution from the St. Vincent de Paul Society [1874]

but the *Oregonian* reported the building “... **presents a handsome exterior, and the interior arrangements are such that for comfort and accommodation, they will be equal to any hospital on the coast.**”<sup>39</sup>

Mother Joseph saw the arrival of Mother Mary Theresa and Sister Joseph of Arimathea when they moved into the almost finished hospital

they arrived “**with only bread and butter for their first meal and confidence in Divine Providence for their second.**”<sup>40</sup>

Sister Peter Claver, a trained nurse and pharmacist sent from Montreal, arrived

she was followed by Sisters Mary Sabina, Mary Perpetua and Marie de Bon Secours

George Allen, a 22-year-old desperately ill plumber from Yamhill, Oregon

appeared on the doorstep of Saint Vincent Hospital [June 24]

although the hospital rooms were not ready he was taken in a nursed back to health

grateful for the care he received he stayed for more than a year and helped with various projects

Allen’s early admission had an added benefit -- he and the next six patients all were not Catholic

this helped to calm concerns the community that the sisters would restrict their care

to only members of their own faith

St. Vincent Hospital was dedicated at two o’clock in the afternoon -- July 19, 1875

members of local Catholic organizations met near the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception to process through the main streets to the hospital

as the *Catholic Sentinel* reported: “**The inspiring strains of music, the beautiful banners and the pretty appearance of the schoolchildren gave the city quite a gala-day aspect and many an inquiry was made relative to the cause that called forth such a demonstration on a day not known hitherto in Portland on the calendar of festivals.**”<sup>41</sup>

hundreds of Portland residents met the procession at the hospital

Archbishop Francis Blanchet and clergy from throughout the Northwest also were on hand

The Reverend J.F. Fierens, vicar general of the archdiocese of Oregon City,

gave the dedication: “[St. Vincent Hospital] **is one of those institutions which bring the greatest blessing to whatever society or community is favored with it, and with which a benign Providence has now blessed the city of Portland. This auspicious occasion is then of the greatest interest to this community, and I dare say to all of us. I think we may feel proud of our St. Vincent Hospital, this future home of the sick, as it is the first in the state and one in which not only**

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<sup>39</sup> *Oregonian* April 1875

<sup>40</sup> Chronicles of St. Vincent Hospital, Portland, Oregon, May 10, 1875

<sup>41</sup> Catholic Sentinel Portland, Oregon, July (?)1875

**Catholics, but every citizen is interested, as it admits all religionists. True charity knows no creed nor country.”<sup>42</sup>**

following the speech, a tour of the hospital and its grounds was provided  
along with refreshments and music  
as the crowds began to disperse at about seven-thirty in the evening  
a Chinese man known as Joe was delivered in a horse-drawn ambulance  
his arm had been badly mangled by machinery and had to be amputated,  
Dr. Alfred Kinney performed the first surgery at St. Vincent’s  
(During the first year, 320 patients, mostly men, were treated for everything from gunshot wounds  
to fractures to typhoid to toothache  
hospital records show that charges for board, room, and medical attendance  
averaged one dollar per day which was paid by cash, work, or barter  
with some accounts marked simply “charity care”<sup>43</sup>

#### WALLA WALLA AND COLUMBIA RIVER RAILROAD PUSHES ON TOWARD WALLA WALLA

Because they feared a rival town might grow up at Whitman’s Station (Whitman’s Mission)  
people of Walla Walla raised \$25,000 to subsidize completion of the last ten miles  
of Dr. Dorsey Syng Baker’s Walla Walla and Columbia River Railroad (Rawhide Railway)  
Dr. Baker needed the help to save the company from financial ruin  
as his strap-iron was wearing out and he had just ordered  
sixty-five thousand dollars’ worth of rails from Wales

Walla Walla and Columbia River Railroad was completed -- 1875

Eastern Washington Territory had its first railroad

Dr. Baker hauled five thousand tons of freight between Wallula and Whitman’s Station  
as the railhead slowly advancing toward Walla Walla and the Inland Empire wheat fields

#### DR. BAKER’S WALLA WALLA AND COLUMBIA RIVER RAILROAD IS COMPLETED

It took Dr. Dorsey Syng Baker three years [from 1872] to October 1875  
to complete his Walla Walla and Columbia River Railroad (Rawhide Railway) construction project  
at a cost \$250,000 -- 1875  
narrow gauge track ran thirty-two miles between the steamboat docks at Wallula on the Columbia  
and the Eastern Washington town of Walla Walla  
Riding on Dr. Baker’s Walla Walla and Columbia River Railroad was an adventure  
rails were made of fir logs spiked to mortised (notched) ties  
wooden rails often gave out on the corners and the locomotive would cut through the rails  
causing the train to fall off the track

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<sup>42</sup> Catholic Sentinel Portland, Oregon, July (?)1875

<sup>43</sup> Patient and Account Ledgers, St. Vincent Hospital, 1875-1876, Providence Archives

crew and passengers would work together to put it back  
Dr. Baker's train traveled at speeds up to ten miles an hour  
however, two miles per hour was far more usual -- the train once lost a race to an ox cart  
Scotch, a collie dog, sat on the cow catcher where he prepared to chase cattle off the track  
after which he sat down and waited for train to come up  
Rawhide Railway did not operate at night as this was too dangerous  
when the strap iron nailed on top of the rail worked loose  
it wound around the train's wheels then sprung into the air  
and became a "snake head" which came through the floor of the cars  
this stopped the train cold until the snakehead could be nailed down again  
Dr. Baker's rolling stock was of the crudest type  
his tiny locomotive had been imported from Pittsburgh and put into operation [1872]  
one or two flat cars, depending on need, carried the wheat  
his narrow passenger coach was a boxcar with seats along the sides  
it was known locally as "the hearse"  
many ticket holding passengers rode on the roof of the coach  
to avoid snakeheads tearing up through the floorboards  
"Rawhide Railway" was the laughing stock of Walla Walla and far beyond  
5,000 tons of freight was carried the first year  
then thirty miles of iron rails in odd lengths (12' to 20' long) was brought in from Wales  
Dr. Dorsey Syng Baker began to replace the wooden-capped "stringers" with iron rails  
first in the corners then on the straight-aways  
With the improved rails in place an astonishing amount of business was conducted  
shipping rates for the thirty-two miles ranged from \$4.50 to \$6.00 a ton  
staggering profits were made from the enterprise  
Dr. Baker's railroad opened the fertile southeastern part of Washington Territory  
thousands of acres were plowed and planted in wheat  
other thousands of acres were turned into cattle and sheep ranches  
when the narrow-gauge railroad connected farms and ranches to the Columbia River  
and opened eastern markets  
(Dr. Baker's business made a fortune for its builder  
he sold his railway to the Oregon Steam Navigation Company for \$1 million [1879]  
he sold his remaining stock to Henry Villard [1780]  
Villard extended the line southeast into Oregon and west from Wallula to Umatilla, Oregon  
he converted the line to standard gauge to meet the new Northern Pacific line  
being built east from Portland [1881])

#### RAWHIDE RAILROAD IS DESCRIBED BY AVISITOR

Randall, V. Mills, professor of English at the University of Oregon described the scene:

“...The little engines on the strap rail did not turn in a spectacular performance. Hitched to a string of homemade flat or boxcars, they huffed and wheezed their way back and forth, now and then tearing along at four or five miles an hour, for ten miles an hour was their best speed -- downgrade and running light....

“The strap iron had a nasty habit of working loose under the train and rising up until it poked its way through the floor of the car, forming the familiar snakehead.... Then the train stopped -- it had to, for the snakehead simply pinned the whole outfit to the track -- and the crew went for the blockade with sledge hammers and cold chisels.

“...[On one occasion at Wallula the] conductor came by and told the engineer to go ahead, that the conductor had some business at hand but would catch up with them before too long. The little engine gasped, clattered and shuddered; the whistle bleated in pain, and the trip started. Within a short time the whole shebang was rocketing along at a steady two miles an hour, swaying and jolting on the uncertain track ‘like a canoe in a cross sea,’ a plaintive pling-pling-pling coming from the strap iron under the wheels...

“Within an hour the conductor came sauntering up the track, passed his laboring train and nodded to the engineer.”<sup>44</sup>

“One day a freight train to Walla Walla jumped the track, as it frequently did -- when Dr. Baker was along. While the crew was at work chivvying the cars back on to the rails, a pedestrian sauntered up, saw what was happening, and amiably skinned off his coat to help. When the train was ready to go again, the Doctor thanked the stranger for his aid and invited him aboard to ride the rest of the way. The stranger was polite, ‘No thank you, Doctor, he said, I’m in a hurry.’”

...If a farmer had freight to load, the train stopped at his farm and loaded it. If someone wanted to ride the train, he stood by the track, and the train stopped for him. If he happened already to be aboard and wanted to get off, he yelled at the engineer, who stopped the train -- and waited....

“At the end of the train rambled the passenger equipment, either coach, or both of them, though usually one was quite enough... Inside were wooded seats running lengthwise of the car, so that passengers were ranged along the sides, facing each other.... Mainly women and children rode the coaches, the men preferred airy perches on the flatcars or the roofs of the boxcars....<sup>45</sup>

#### CENTERVILLE BECOMES CENTRALIA, WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Black pioneer George Washington had platted his town of Centerville [1872]

he changed the name to Centralia -- 1875

George Washington divided up his property into \$10 lots

he offered them to anyone who would live on the land -- but he refused to sell to land speculators

Washington was a generous and well-liked landlord:

•he donated land for a park, a church and a cemetery,

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<sup>44</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 349.

<sup>45</sup> W. Storrs Lee, *Washington State*, P. 350.



- he helped many people in Centralia buy land or start businesses by loaning them money,
  - he helped to build many of the first structures in town
    - naturally, he owned some of them and charged reasonable rents to attract tenants,
  - he did not permit saloons or other disreputable businesses to become established on his property,
  - during hard times, he forgave overdue rents and sometimes even fed and cared for sick tenants
- (George's first wife, Mary Jane, died [1889]  
 he remarried the following year and at the age of 73 he had a son -- [1891]  
 Washington later separated from his second wife but kept custody of his son  
 he died at the age of 87 following a buggy accident [1905])

## LUMBER INDUSTRY EXPANDS IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Washington Territory's lumber industry was financed by California capitalists  
 Port Gamble and Seattle were chief export towns for dressed (finished) lumber -- 1875  
 thirty-seven sawmills in the territory produced 130,421, 927 board feet of sawn lumber  
 twelve mills on Puget Sound cut 117,000,000 board feet  
 almost 90% of the lumber exported  
 eighteen lumber ships carried 3,984 tons of dressed lumber to South America and Australia  
 \$759,000 in exported goods were shipped to British Columbia alone

## WASHINGTON TERRITORY INCREASES ITS EXPORTS

California capitalists financed sawmill operations in Washington Territory  
 of thirty-seven sawmills in the territory producing 130,421,927 board feet of sawn lumber  
 twelve mills on Puget Sound cut 117,000,000 board feet -- almost 90% of the total  
 Port Gamble and Seattle were the chief export towns  
 Eighteen vessels totaling 3,984 tons shipped goods principally to South America and Australia  
 but also \$759,000 in export goods were shipped to British Columbia -- 1875

## WASHINGTON STATEHOOD MOVEMENT

Session after session of the Washington Territory legislature continued to memorialize Congress  
 requesting statehood  
 prosperous, civilized Walla Walla provided the issue which became the prime mover  
 for the statehood movement  
 Walla Walla, with its grain shipping connection down the Columbia River to Portland,  
 announced it desired to be annexed to Oregon State along with its wheat farming hinterland

Washington Territorial Legislature passed an Act **“to provide for the calling of a convention to frame a state constitution, and to do all other acts proper and necessary to give effect to the popular will.”**<sup>46</sup> -- November 9, 1875

submitting the question of holding a constitutional convention to the voters

this proposal directed that the legislature which was to be elected at the time of statehood

was **“to provide for the calling of a convention to frame a State constitution, and to do all other acts, proper and necessary to give effect to the popular will.”**<sup>47</sup>

#### WASHINGTON LEGISLATURE SUCCESSFULLY PASSES OTHER MEASURES

City of Tacoma was incorporated by this legislature -- November 12, 1875

Legislators also passed a general diking law providing for the development and protection of farm land in the low lying marshes along Puget Sound

Legislature also passed a curious act providing that any person who wished to do so might sell his property by the platted lot provided he paid ten per cent of the sum received into the road fund to be used to aid in building a road through the Snoqualmie Pass

#### A BILL TO CREATE A NEW STATE IS INTRODUCED IN THE U.S. SENATE

Oregon State's U.S. Senator James Kelly of introduced a bill into Congress to create a new state in the Pacific Northwest -- December 1875

Western Washington rallied to the cause of statehood in an effort to head off the threat of Walla Walla and her environs from leaving the territory

#### NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY REORGANIZES

Northern Pacific Railway faced increased financial stress as economic depression kept a tight grip on the nation

Northern Pacific Railway was reorganized by company officials to escape as much of the debt as possible

Oregon Steam Navigation Company was lost in the reorganization but six hundred miles of track and ten million acres of land grant property was retained by the railroad

In spite of the economic stress, the Northern Pacific Railway began construction on a thirty-mile branch line linking Tacoma with Pierce County coal mines near Puyallup giving the railroad access to a local fuel supply -- 1876

#### HENRY VILLARD RETURNS AGAIN TO OREGON

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<sup>46</sup> Evans, Elwood and Edmond Meany editors, *The State of Washington: A Brief History of the Discovery, Settlement and Organization of Washington The Evergreen State*, P. 61.

Ben Holladay had failed to keep his promises to remit all future railroad receipts to Henry Villard who represented the interests of European bond-holders

Henry Villard stripped Holladay of Oregon and California Railroad along the East Side of the Willamette River -- February 29, 1876

Henry Villard, a wise and progressive leader, took over management of the railroad line along the Willamette River that linked the fortunes of the Oregon and California Railroad to the Northern Pacific Railway and America's burgeoning transcontinental rail system

Henry Villard now controlled Ben Holladay's shattered empire

Ben Holladay withdrew as an active leader in Pacific Northwest transportation

#### ECONOMIC DEPRESSION STILL GRIPS WASHINGTON TERRITORY

New settlers arrived in the Pacific Northwest only slowly

it was not until Territorial Governor Elisha P. Ferry entered his second term -- March 4, 1876 that business returned to something like normal

prosperity began to make a diminutive appearance

In the vicinity of Dry Flat Creek and Missouri Flat Creek, on the bank of the Palouse River

Bolin Farr had set up a camp [1871]

within a year was joined by Dan McKenzie and William Ellsworth

who staked claims on the adjoining land of the rolling hills of the Palouse and blue-black Moscow Mountains

(other cattlemen and farmers filed homestead claims in the area

when the U.S. Post Office was established in the small settlement there

it was named Three Forks, Washington Territory -- later changed to Pullman)

#### HENRY VILLARD MANAGES BEN HOLLADAY'S FORMER COMPANIES

Henry Villard persuaded Holladay's numerous and not very compatible creditors to install Henry Villard as the new manager of Ben Holladay's former businesses the Oregon and California Railroad (the former West Side Oregon Central) and the Oregon Steamship Company -- April 1876

as executive officer Villard was quick to see the limitations of his newly acquired companies and of the golden opportunities they could potentially provide

Villard believed that development of his transportation firms must go hand in hand

with development of the Pacific Northwest that would be guaranteed by a flood of new immigrants accordingly, he set up immigration bureaus in Boston, a major European port of entry, and in England and in northern Europe

to divert settlers from California he established other bureaus in Topeka and Omaha, the beginning point of the Union Pacific Railroad to Sacramento, California

to compete with shipping companies on the Pacific coast

and to recapture the San Francisco-Portland trade for the Oregon Steamship Company,

he spent a great deal of money repairing Holladay's old, decrepit fleet of steamboats  
Railroad creditors were not pleased with money being diverted from laying tracks  
across the perilous mountains of southern Oregon, so that title to still more land could be gained  
Villard, who was feeling in control of transportation in the Pacific Northwest,  
was unmoved by their complaints  
Henry Villard became the head of a profitable business that united him with Oregon capitalists  
he began to amass a considerable fortune of his own  
Villard entertained lavishly  
and spent huge sums trying unsuccessfully to get himself elected to the U.S. Senate

#### ANACORTES IS FOUNDED BY AMOS BOWMAN

Amos Bowman asked his wife Anne to find a in the San Juan Archipelago where she would  
consider building their home  
she selected a location on the northeast corner of Fidalgo Island (in today's Skagit County)  
Amos Bowman purchased a quarter section of land and platted a town -- 1876  
hope was high that the Northern Pacific Railway would select this location for its terminus  
Governor Isaac Stevens' son, Hazard Stevens, added to the positive feelings  
when he secured extensive land holdings while working for the railroad  
two stores, two blacksmith shops, a wheelwright shop, and good public school  
demonstrated the permanence of the town [by the early 1870s]  
settlers were served by semi-weekly steamboat service which linked them to the outside world  
When Tacoma was actually selected to serve as the port city on Puget Sound,  
dreams of becoming a major port were dashed  
Stevens sold his property to Anna Curtis Bowman, the wife of founder Amos Bowman -- 1876  
(when a post office was established Bowman named the town Anacortes  
a corruption of his wife's maiden name: Anna Curtis [1879])  
Anacortes survived in spite of the loss of the railroad terminal, economic depression,  
and repeated raids by both fish pirates and log pirates

#### ANOTHER ATTEMPT TO HOLD A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION IS MADE

Eastern Washington and Western Washington Territory were in competition for political leadership  
Eastern Washington had a larger population than Western Washington  
Eastern Washington leaders, especially those in Walla Walla,  
wanted the capitol of Washington State to be located there  
Eastern Washington continued its antagonism toward Puget Sound Republicans  
like Territorial Governor Elisha P. Ferry  
this made it difficult to achieve cooperation on almost anything  
Seattle newspapers accused Portland's Oregon Steam Navigation Company  
of trying to ruin the future for Puget Sound towns for the benefit of lower Columbia River ports

only the adjournment of Congress before southeast Washington was annexed to Oregon State prevented Walla Walla, the most populous town in the territory, from becoming part of Oregon Frightened by the prospect of Congress consenting to the proposed boundary changes and losing Walla Walla and north Idaho to Oregon, Puget Sound opponents of statehood switched sides on the issue of statehood and proposed that a state with the current boundaries be admitted as soon as possible to court support for statehood in these regions for the constitutional convention measure Western Washington leaders proposed that Walla Walla be the site of the convention Western Washington's feverish pro-statehood campaign was successful for the first time a majority of 7,000 voters in Washington Territory favored framing a constitution voters all around Puget Sound shifted from indifference or opposition to support for statehood Seattle and King counties voted 1,399 to 22 to call a constitutional convention Port Townsend and surrounding communities supported the idea 357 to 7 Kitsap County voted 272 to 4 in favor opponents of immediate statehood won a majority of voters only in the river counties south of the Snake and north of the Columbia did they still vote to be a part of Oregon

#### OWEN BUSH IS VERY SUCCESSFUL IN HIS OWN RIGHT

Oldest son of George and Isabele Bush, Owen Bush surpassed even his father's farming ability he exhibited produce at the Philadelphia Exposition this Centennial Celebration of America's founding was held beginning on a 285-acre tract of Fairmount Park overlooking the Schuylkill River beginning May 10, 1876

#### SEATTLE COAL AND TRANSPORTATION COMPANY SUFFERS A CRISIS

Seattle Coal and Transportation Company's main mine gangway was extended  $2\frac{3}{4}$  miles underground east from Newcastle -- 1876 one hundred company houses with at least 500 residents were located in Newcastle three hundred men were employed in the mine Forty Chinese mineworkers were driven from their Newcastle jobs by other coalminers -- June 3, 1876

#### UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON GRADUATES ITS FIRST COLLEGE STUDENT

Territorial University, as it was then known, was located in downtown Seattle at the southeast corner of 4<sup>th</sup> Avenue and University Street during the early years it served as a primary and secondary school as well as a college Eighteen-year-old Clara Antoinette McCarty [1858-1929] was the first person to graduate from the University of Washington she received a Bachelor of Science degree -- June 1876 fifteen years after the University had opened

(it was another four years before the second person graduated  
twenty-five years after the school opened only twenty-five students had graduated [1886])

Clara McCarty became a teacher

Miss McCarty is listed as one of two teachers at South School [September 1876]

South school was one of the three public schools in Seattle

(Clara McCarty married John H. Wilt

she was elected the first superintendent of Pierce County School System [November 2, 1880]

she was the first woman to hold office in the Washington Territory

University of Washington student dormitory McCarty Hall was named in her honor)

## ARMY RIFLE MODEL [1873] COMES ON THE SCENE

Additional improvements were made to the old Model 1866 Rifle

problems, however, still plagued the Model 73 weapon:

- this rifle was too heavy and too hard to handle to be of much practical use;
- when used in the sun, the barrel would burn the soldier's hands;
- when used in the cold, the barrel would peel away the soldier's skin

This single shot "Trap Door" rifle was very slow to load -- to speed up the loading process

soldiers piled ammunition on the ground within easy reach

when ordered to move, most of the ammunition was left behind -- most of it was wasted

because of amount of ammunition necessary the rifle became known as inaccurate

In the Battle of the Rosebud (Creek), Montana Territory -- June 17, 1876

General George Cook's men had enough ammunition to kill every Sioux in America

about 25,000 rounds were fired -- thirteen Native Americans were killed

2,000 rounds were fired for each Sioux warrior killed

one company commander ordered repeated volley fire at one Indian -- who was walking

Better rifles were available for use but the Army ignored them -- the Indians did not

infantrymen began to be replaced by cavalrymen

As soldiers-on-horseback replaced infantry soldiers

shorter, lighter and more easily operated weapons were required

few were sad to see the replacement of the Model 73 Rifle

## WALLOWA VALLEY SETTLERS CONFRONT A FREE BAND OF NEZ PERCE INDIANS

For generations the Wallowa Valley had been the Nez Perce homeland

but the arrival of white settlers in the region led to violence

settlers killed as many as thirty Nez Perce during the [1860s] and 1870s

yet few of the accused ever stood trial -- and those who did were acquitted

Alexander B. Findley, one of the valley's first settlers, noticed five of his horses were missing

he spent several days searching for his animals

he came across a camp of Free Band Nez Perce Indians living off the reservation

as they were entitled to do -- June 22, 1876

Findley decided these Indians had stolen his horses

Findley returned home and got help from twenty-one-year-old Wells McNall

who was a known Indian-hater and troublemaker

although no horses were seen could be seen when the two whites returned to the Indian camp

they followed the tracks of horses to a hunting camp containing a cache of venison

both Findley and McNall returned home to get more help

#### ALEXANDER B. FINDLEY AND WELLS McNALL RETURN TO THE INDIAN HUNTING CAMP

Alexander B. Findley and Wells McNall rode back to the Nez Perce camp alone and watched

after about ninety minutes a Nez Perce Indian approached them from the woods -- June 23, 1876

both white men rode forward and reached the camp where three more Indians had gathered

one of the Indians was Wilhautyah, a close friend of Chief Joseph of the Wallowa Nez Perce

Although the events that followed remain a matter of debate,

Wilhautyah, who was accused of stealing Findley's horses, was killed

#### SETTLERS REPORT THE INCIDENT THAT RESULTED IN WILHAUTYAH'S MURDER

Wells McNall rode to the Idaho Territory county seat at Union

to report the incident to County Judge E.C. Brainard -- June 24, 1876

unsure of how to proceed, Brainard wrote a letter to the commander of Fort Walla Walla

Colonel Elmer Otis stressing the Wallowa Valley settlers had become alarmed

(to make matters worse three days after the killing Alexander B. Findley found his missing horses grazing near his home -- Wilhautyah was an innocent man

#### LITTLE BIG HORN BATTLE TAKES PLACES DURING AMERICA'S FIRST CENTENNIAL YEAR

Lieutenant-Colonel George Armstrong Custer and 264 men of the U.S. Seventh Cavalry

spotted a Sioux village about fifteen miles away along the Little Bighorn River -- June 25, 1876

Custer also found a nearby group of about forty warriors

Ignoring orders to wait, Custer decided to attack before the main party could be alerted

he did not realize that the number of warriors in the village numbered three times his own strength

Custer hoped to strike the Indian encampment simultaneously from both ends

however, he made this decision without knowing what type of terrain

he would have to cross before making his assault on the village

Custer divided his forces into three groups:

- troops under Captain Frederick Benteen were to prevent the Indians from escaping through the upper valley of the Little Bighorn River;
- Major Marcus Reno was to cross the river and charge the Indian village in a coordinated effort with the remaining troops under Custer's command;
- Custer, himself, would attack the village from the opposite end

too late, he discovered that he would have to negotiate a maze of bluffs and ravines to attack  
In Montana Territory, Colonel Custer and his whole command were annihilated  
by Sioux warriors under chiefs Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse -- June 25, 1876

#### NEZ PERCE TELL THEIR SIDE OF THE STORY OF THE KILLING OF WILHAUTYAH

John Monteith, the Indian agent at the Lapwai Reservation, met with Chief Joseph  
to hear the Nez Perce version of the story

afterward, Monteith wrote to the U.S. Army's Department of the Columbia  
General Oliver Otis Howard who had jurisdiction over Wallowa Country  
Monteith's letter called the killing "**willful, deliberate murder**"<sup>48</sup>

yet he advised Joseph to let white law determine justice and asked General Howard  
to send troops to protect the Indians

General Howard sent Major Henry Clay Wood, his assistant adjutant general, to Lapwai

as a lawyer, Wood studied the Nez Perce case and concluded that '**The non-treaty Nez Percés  
cannot in law be regarded as bound by the treaty of 1863**'<sup>49</sup>

#### FREE BAND OF NEZ PERCE INDIANS MEET WITH WHITE LEADERS

At the request of Major Henry Clay Wood forty Nez Perce Indians rode from Wallowa to Lapwai  
to attend a council with white leaders -- July 22-23, 1876

Chief Joseph spoke during the meetings and explained that among Indians  
chiefs were responsible for controlling their young men  
and preventing them from doing "wicked things"

if the chiefs did not restrain or punish unruly Indians, the chiefs were held accountable  
to Joseph white authorities were responsible for the killing of a respected member of his tribe  
Joseph said he wanted all of the whites to be removed from the valley

Major Wood told the Nez Perce that General Oliver Otis Howard had proposed  
that the United States Government appoint a commission to settle once and for all  
the ownership of the Wallowa country

he asked that Joseph and his brother Olokott let white law  
deal with Alexander B. Findley and Wells McNall

both Indians agreed to this, and the Nez Perce returned home  
afterward, General Howard wrote to Judge Brainard to insist  
that Alexander B. Findley and Wells McNall be tried for murder  
but Findley and McNall remained free

#### TENSIONS GROW IN THE WALLOWA VALLEY

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<sup>48</sup> Alvin M. Josephy, *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest*, P. 473.

<sup>49</sup> Alvin M. Josephy, *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest*, P. 473.



Wallowa Valley settlers grew increasingly concerned

some were sure the Nez Perce were preparing for war

warriors spent their days shooting arrows at targets set up near Alexander B. Findley's home

war dances were held and the sound of drums could be heard into the night

some white settlers continued to harass the Indians by stealing their animals

against Chief Joseph's advice a few Nez Perce retaliated in kind

Indian councils were held at Indian Town located on the confluence of the Snake and Clearwater rivers

where the Free Band of Nez Perce were camped for the summer

Joseph and the older chiefs advised against doing anything that would give whites

an excuse to force them onto a reservation

young men, however, had lost patience with white justice -- the time had come for retribution

but they agreed to move slowly and avoid force for as long as possible

### NEZ PERCE WARRIORS DEMAND A MEETING WITH THE WALLOWA VALLEY SETTLERS

Nez Perce riders traveled through the Wallowa Valley, stopping at every settler's cabin

to deliver the message that all whites including Alexander B. Findley and Wells McNall

were to attend a council the next day at Indian Town -- September 1, 1876

Seventeen settlers showed up for the meeting but Findley and McNall stayed home -- September 2

at the meeting the Nez Perce insisted that whites leave the valley and turn over Findley and McNall

when the settlers refused, the meeting ended with an angry agreement to meet the next day

at the McNall cabin

Sixty Nez Perce warriors rode to the McNall cabin -- September 3

there a number of settlers waited with the Findley and McNall families

Nez Perce repeated their demand the whites turn over Findley and McNall and leave the valley

when settlers again refused, Chief Joseph warned that if they did not turn over the two men

and leave it in one week the Nez Perce would drive them out and burn their houses

Nez Perce rode away and the clock started ticking

### CONFLICTING FORCES CONVERGE ON THE WALLOWA VALLEY

After dark, a few settlers rode through the valley to warn others of the impending Nez Perce attack

Ephraim McNall, Wells' father, traveled to Fort Walla Walla to plead

with Lieutenant Albert Gallatin Forse to send troops to Wallowa -- Lieutenant Forse refused

denied military assistance, McNall headed back toward the Wallowa Valley

as he traveled he stopped to recruit armed volunteers

When Lieutenant Forse learned of this new development

he changed his mind about sending troops and led forty-eight cavalrymen out of Fort Walla Walla

to protect the Nez Perce and prevent war -- September 7, 1876

After riding all night twenty-two armed volunteers from the Grande Ronde Valley

reached Ephraim McNall's cabin -- September 9

there they joined with the Wallowa settlers to form a force of forty-three men  
Nez Perce had moved their main camp close to Wallowa Lake for the beginning of the salmon run  
fifteen armed white men rode that way to help the settlers there

#### LIEUTENANT FORSE MEETS WITH CHIEF JOSEPH

Lieutenant Albert Gallatin Forse's troops arrived at a ranch in the Wallowa Valley  
where many settlers had agreed to gather -- 1:00 a.m. Sunday, September 10, 1876  
this was the day of Chief Joseph's deadline  
Lieutenant Forse found about fifty armed men and several families who sought protection there  
soon even more families arrived  
fifteen more armed white men from Ephraim McNall's cabin arrived at the ranch that morning  
Lieutenant Forse left some of the armed settlers to protect the cabin and its inhabitants  
he moved his men and most of the volunteers up the Wallowa Valley to Thomas H. Veasey's home  
Veasey was friendly with the Nez Perce and spoke their language  
Forse and Veasey then continued on alone to meet with Chief Joseph at his camp seven miles away  
they found Joseph on the summit of a hill near his camp leading 100 painted warriors  
they were in a line mounted on their best war horses well-armed and prepared for battle  
all were decorated with war paint and presented a formidable appearance  
Lieutenant Forse was looking for a solution -- not a fight  
he recognized that Joseph could kill all of the settlers and destroyed their property  
Chief Joseph rode out and dismounted

Lieutenant Forse later wrote: **'I thought he was the finest looking Indian I had ever seen, not only physically, but intelligently. He was about six feet in height, powerfully built, and strength of character [was] written on every feature.'**<sup>50</sup>

Veasey translated as Forse asked the chief if he would be satisfied if McNall and Findley  
were tried by civilian authorities -- Joseph said he would  
Veseay requested that Joseph and his people stay away from the settlers  
it was suggested the Nez Perce remain on the Wallowa Lake side of Hurricane Creek  
again Joseph agreed -- to show their good faith the Indians fired their guns into the air

#### NEZ PERCE INDIANS RECEIVE NO JUSTICE FROM THE CIVIL COURT

Lieutenant Albert Gallatin Forse sent word to Alexander B. Findley and Wells McNall  
advising them to go to Union, Idaho and surrender themselves -- McNall did  
Judge E.C. Brainard released Wells McNall after ruling he acted in self-defense -- September 14, 1876  
Judge Brainard issued a warrant for Findley's arrest charging him with manslaughter  
Findley turned himself in and was arrested -- Findley was released on \$250 bail  
On the day Findley was released on bail Lieutenant Forse met with Chief Joseph

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<sup>50</sup> Peter Cozzens, *Eyewitness to the Indian Wars, 1865-1890: The wars for the Pacific Northwest*, P. 332.

to persuade him to send two Nez Perce witnesses to testify at Findley's trial  
the lieutenant offered to send one of his noncommissioned officers as an escort  
although Joseph agreed he was fearful the whites would harm the native witnesses  
Joseph may have also realized sending the witness would accomplish nothing  
Lieutenant Forse sent a corporal to escort the Nez Perce witnesses  
less than a week later Judge Brainard dismissed the charges against Findley  
both Nez Perce witnesses had refused to testify  
perhaps they feared reprisal or felt their cause was doomed to failure  
(Findley requested his case be continued and he faced a grand jury ([October 1876]  
once again the charges were dismissed)

#### GENERAL HOWARD REQUESTS A COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE WALLOWA EVENTS

Nez Perce Indians were angered by settlers and miners living in the Wallowa Valley  
who mistreated them with impunity  
Settlers reported a steady stream of complaints about a growing number of Indian clashes with whites  
it was noted however that twenty to thirty Indians had been murdered by pioneers  
and the Nez Perce had not retaliated  
General Oliver Otis Howard asked for a five-member commission  
to settle the controversy with the Free Band of Nez Perce and get them onto a reservation  
Secretary of the Interior appointed General Howard, Major Henry Clay Wood and three easterners,  
David H. Jerome of Michigan, A.C. Barstow of Rhode Island  
and William Stickney of Washington, D.C. to the commission -- October 3, 1876  
according to the wife of Lapwai Indian Agent John Monteith the three men from the east were all  
excellent businessmen but they had absolutely no Indian sense, experience or knowledge

#### ELECTION OF 1876 RESULTS IN NO PRESIDENT BEING ELECTED

Advocates of statehood for Washington, primarily Democrats, had a new problem  
Colorado was admitted to the Union [August 1, 1876] generating three Republican electoral votes  
in the race for the presidency  
suddenly an almost certain Democrat victory for Samuel Tilden was in doubt  
Corruption in the U.S. Grant Administration eliminated the possibility of a third term  
sudden death of Vice-President Henry Wilson [November 22, 1875] seemed to end  
any remaining desire that Republican President Grant had to hold onto his office  
Democrat Presidential nominee Samuel J. Tilden  
received a slight majority of the popular vote -- 50.9% -- November 7, 1876  
this gave Tilden 184 electoral votes -- 185 were needed to be elected  
disputed election results in several states added to the confusion  
Congress, which was controlled by a Republican Party majority created an electoral commission  
to resolve all of the disputed election results in several states

Democrats in Washington Territory lost the majority in the territorial legislature -- November 7  
(Republicans will maintain their majority in both houses until statehood [1889])

#### PEACE COMMISSION MEETS WITH THE NEZ PERCE INDIANS

Chief Joseph was summoned to confer with the five-member Commission at Lapwai --

he explained the Nez Perce had lived in the Wallowa Valley for generations

they had been granted the right to live off the reservation as “Free Bands” of Nez Perce

Joseph stated, **“Suppose a white man should come to me and say, ‘Joseph, I like your horses, and I want to buy them.’ I say to him, ‘No, my horses suit me, I will not sell them.’ Then he goes to my neighbor, and says to him: ‘Joseph has some good horses. I will sell you Joseph’s horses.’ The white man returns to me and says, ‘Joseph, I have bought your horses, and you must let me have them.’ If we sold our lands to the Government, this is the way they were bought.”**<sup>51</sup>

Commission members listened to Joseph’s dignified oratory -- November 1876

they then ruled a majority of Nez Perce chiefs had signed the [1863] Treaty

Chief Joseph and his Free Bands (those who had not signed the 1863 Treaty)

would be settled on the reservation within a reasonable time

peacefully if possible, but by force if necessary

non-treaty Indians were almost all members of Smohalla’s cult -- the Dreamer religion

Smohalla, the Indian prophet living at Priest Rapids, had between 300 and 1,000 followers

he preached that if the Indians kept their traditions the settlers would be overthrown

and the land returned to the rightful owners

Commissioners also said that all Dreamer preachers

could have no further contact with roving bands of Nez Perce Indians

old Chief Toohoolhoolzote was a Dreamer spokesman

he was removed from the council meeting by General Oliver Otis Howard

Chief Joseph responded, **“Say to us if you can say it, that you were sent by the Creative Power to talk to us. Perhaps you think the Creator sent you here to dispose of us as you see fit. If I thought you were sent by the Creator, I might be induced to think you had a right to dispose of me. Do not misunderstand me, but understand me fully with reference to my affection for the land. I never said the land was mine to do with it as I chose. The one who has the right to dispose of it is the one who has created it. I claim a right to live on my land, and accord you the privilege to live on yours.”**<sup>52</sup>

Nez Perce chiefs Joseph, Looking Glass and White bird agreed to view the lands offered to them

they traveled with General Howard to visit the reservation

afterwards, when Howard returned to Portland, he had no reason to doubt

that the Freed Bands of non-treaty Indians would go on the reservation

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<sup>51</sup> *National Geographic*. March, 1977, P. 418-19.

<sup>52</sup> *National Geographic*. March, 1977, P. 410.

## NEZ PERCE HOLD OF THEIR OWN COUNCIL

Free Band of Nez Perce Indians met for ten days in a council of their own  
old Chief Toohoolhoolzote fanned the flames of the war spirit

Chief Joseph was facing a choice of three alternatives:

- to flee with his warriors, leaving women, children and wounded behind;
- to surrender;
- to fight from cleverly prepared positions -- Joseph chose to fight it out

## BOX HOUSES PROVIDED A VARIETY OF ENTERTAINMENT

At first, most dancing and singing performances on the frontier took place in saloons  
proprietors provided entertainment to sell more liquor

Washington Territory's first theater was the Theater Comique in Seattle -- 1876

this served a variety of acts and talent in the basement of a saloon on Washington Street

Box theaters provided more scandalous entertainment

box theaters consisted of an auditorium furnished with tables

the floor of the room was sprinkled with sawdust

a small, crude stage was placed at front of the room

traveling performers and entertainers strutted their stuff for the appreciative crowd

Box house owners employed a number of young women as dancers and barmaids

girls circulated among the tables on the main floor

and every so often assembled on the stage for song-and-dance routines

along both sides of the auditorium were small cubicles or boxes

these were connected with the bar at the back of the room

sometimes these boxes were elevated to a gallery above the auditorium

each cubicle possessed a door in the rear through which refreshments could be passed

at the front was a screen which enabled the occupants to watch the main floor and the stage  
without being seen themselves

to promote the sale of drinks young ladies hired by the establishment "hustled" the boxes

they lured miners and loggers into the curtained-off boxes

where they would entice their customers, using various age-old methods,

into buying expensive rounds of drinks and other indulgences at inflated prices

Box houses were, in short, a cross between a saloon, a variety theater, and a brothel

decent people scorned this form of entertainment

Competition for business forced some theaters to move into the better part of town

much to the alarm of the respectable citizens of Seattle

Grand opera, as distinguished from box houses, came to Washington Territory

when the first performance was held at Yesler's Hall in Seattle -- December 1876

## BELLINGHAM COAL COMPANY IS NOT A SUCCESS

Flooding and accumulating gas from coal were a constant problem for the Sehome mine  
major flooding occurred in the mine's lower levels -- 1876  
deeper tunnels were then abandoned in favor of digging coal at about the 350-foot level  
increasing expenses of dealing with fire, gas and flooding  
dramatically reduced the profitability of the Sehome mine

#### AMERICA FACES IT MOST CONTENTIOUS AND CONTROVERSIAL ELECTION TO DATE

Neither Democratic Presidential candidate Samuel J. Tilden  
nor Republican nominee Rutherford. B. Hayes received enough electoral votes to win  
Democrat Tilden had collected 184 electoral votes -- January 20, 1877  
185 were needed for election  
Democrat Samuel Tilden won the election by thirty-seven electoral votes  
but the popular votes in Louisiana, South Carolina and Florida were challenged by Congress  
these states totaled nineteen electoral votes -- a swing of thirty-eight electoral votes  
Congress was divided between the two political parties:

- U.S. House of Representatives had a Democratic majority  
Democratic majority in the U.S. House of Representatives was interested  
in ending the Reconstruction of the South and its division into military districts);
- U.S. Senate was controlled by the Republicans with a one vote majority  
U.S. Senators created a special commission to resolve the electoral vote dispute

#### TOWN OF PUYALLUP IS PLATTED BY EZRA MEEKER

Settlement of Franklin (today's Sumner) was already located east of the Puyallup River  
Ezra Meeker had taken out a land claim west of the Puyallup River  
Meeker sold part of his claim to A.S. Farquharson  
who built a stave (wooden slats) mill on his land  
Franklin mail route was divided into two unequal parts  
a new town was platted on Meeker's claim  
Farquharson said he proposed the name of the town should be Meekerville  
Meeker suggested it should be named after Farquharson  
(perhaps mercifully) Farquharson suggested the name Puyallup  
Ezra Meeker filed the plat for the town using the name Puyallup -- February 1877  
this plat included twenty acres of Meeker property (between Main and Pioneer streets)  
J.P. Stewart made three additions of twenty acres each north of Main  
and increased the town site to eighty acres in size  
(other additions by Allen J. Miller, Arthur Miller, William Shuman, E.C. Merrill  
and more additions by Meeker doubled the size of the town [1888])  
Meeker became the unofficial spokesman of the town and the area  
(later he took responsibility for giving the town such a difficult name to pronounce)

## WILKESON BECOMES KNOWN FOR ITS COAL PRODUCTION

Northern Pacific Railway (NPRY) began construction on a spur line from Tacoma through Puyallup to new coal mines that gave the railroad access to its own local fuel supply -- 1877

Village of Wilkeson, named after the Samuel Wilkeson and early surveyor of the region who became Secretary of the Northern Pacific Railway,

became well known for its coal coking ovens as well as the natural sandstone formations

(that became the source of material for facing the new capitol in Olympia [1923-1928])

at one time the town of Wilkeson had a population of about 3,000

When the coal line branch line was completed from Wilkeson to Tacoma --1877

construction was begun by the NPRY on 100 coal hoppers (train cars) for use on the line

## WA CHONG COMPANY BECOMES THE LARGEST LABOR CONTRACTOR IN WASHINGTON

Chun Ching Hock and Chin Gee Hee's Wa Chong Company provided contracted laborers to industry Seabeck sawmill in Kitsap County was the second largest mill in the region

Chinese labor was hired at the mill beginning in 1877

Wa Chong Company was asked to provide laborers to run the lath machines

at a wage of \$30 a month and other workers as well

Wa Chong Company workers required housing

as the company prospered it constructed buildings that included lodging at their various work sites

Wa Chong Company purchased a Duwamish farm -- 1877

this became the site for a large company house, a hospital and a Chinese temple

Wa Chong Company became the largest labor contractor in Washington Territory

however, the partnership between Chun Ching Hock and Chin Gee Hee was an uneasy one

both were good businessmen, but Chin Gee Hee's major interests

were developing the labor-contracting side of the business

and building an import/export trade with China

## CHINESE LABOR DOMINATES THE FISH CANNING INDUSTRY

There were thirty fish canneries operated along the lower Columbia River -- 1877

Chinese did all of the work

they gutted the fish, prepared them for the cans, and made the cans by hand

by hammering them into shape over iron cylinders

Chinese workers also wove seine nets used to catch the fish

seasonal character of fish canning was especially suited to the Chinese "boss system"

where contract labor companies provided a sufficient and reliable supply of labor as needed

without any responsibility on the part of the canning operator for providing board

## MUKILTEO, WASHINGTON TERRITORY HAS A FISH CANNERY OF ITS OWN

Jackson, Meyers and Company opened a fish cannery at Mukilteo, Washington Territory -- 1877

(they had begun operation eleven years earlier on the Columbia River

but found competition for fish there to be intense)

Mukilteo, close to the Snohomish River, became their new base of operation

however, storms sweeping down Puget Sound battered their exposed location

(after a couple of years Mukilteo was abandoned and the business was relocated to Seattle)

#### OREGON STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY BUILDS A HUGE NEW STEAMSHIP

*Wide West*, a 1,200-ton, 218-foot long sternwheeler was constructed at Portland -- 1877

she was placed on the run from Portland to the Cascades of the Columbia,

which at that time was the head of navigation

This beautiful wooden steamboat lacked nothing in safety or comfort

from sturdy-built hull to velvet-draped floral carpeted salon

#### GRANGE MOVEMENT IMPROVES THE LIVES OF FARMERS

In an important court case reviewing a Grange-sponsored law -- 1877

U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Munn v. Illinois*, that state legislatures

had a right to regulate railroad rates -- even over commerce crossing state lines

U.S. Supreme Court noted that states have the power to regulate business

when that business involves a "public interest"

Grange brought both the Northern and Southern states together into one national organization

they fought for rural parcel delivery services and mail services

they admitted women to Grange membership and fought for women's suffrage

#### SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE OPEN PROVIDENCE HOSPITAL IN SEATTLE -- 1877

Mother Joseph and her Sisters of Providence founded Providence Hospital in Seattle -- 1877

their effort was not well received by the local citizens

as the rough, muddy, sparsely populated town was suspicious of the French speaking nuns

and of Catholics in general

(undeterred, the Sisters of Providence continued their good work by opening

•St. Mary Hospital in Walla Walla [1880],

•Sacred Heart Hospital [now Sacred Heart Medical Center in Spokane, 1886],

•St. Peter Hospital in Olympia [1887],

•St. Elizabeth Hospital [now Providence Yakima Medical Center]

and St. Ignatius Hospital [now Whitman Community Hospital] in [1893])

#### ELECTION OF [1876] IMPACTS WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Members of the Republican-controlled U.S. Senate had appointed an Electoral Commission

that investigated voting irregularities in Louisiana, South Carolina and Florida



Commission gave every vote in question to Republican Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio  
therefore, Hayes won the disputed election by one electoral vote  
President Rutherford B. Hayes was sworn into office -- March 3, 1877 as March 4 was a Sunday  
Democrats in Congress howled in protest that the election had been stolen  
in what became known as the "Compromise of 1877"  
some Democratic Party leaders stated that it would be a long, long time  
before they voted to admit another Republican state  
in the face of this, Republican Washington had little chance of being admitted  
if any Democratic votes were necessary

#### CONGRESS PASSES THE DESERT LAND ACT

Homestead Act was amended by the new law -- March 3, 1877  
now homesteaders could claim the arid lands of the nation and open them to farming  
full section of land (640 acres) could be purchased for \$1.25 an acre  
if the farmer provided irrigation to some part of the land within three years  
this was an attempt to put more farmland into production  
to feed the rapidly growing population of the United States  
wealthy cattle and sheep ranchers who gained title to grazing lands  
also were helped by this legislation  
To meet the need for water, Eastern Washington farmers formed collective corporations  
to construct small dams and canals to bring more water from the streams  
to push back the desert fringe  
more conservative of these companies earned their profits by selling water rights  
and furnishing maintenance service on the canals  
however, the prospect of digging irrigation canals across the Eastern Washington desert  
was too expensive for any individual farmer or farmers' collective to attempt  
Quickly a more dazzling scheme was begun by the incorporators of an irrigation firm  
to buy up great amounts of dry sagebrush land at cheap prices, water the land and cash in  
by selling the ground it at greatly enhanced prices  
Desert Land Act allowed a settler 640 acres (as opposed to the normal homestead allotment of 160)  
if he undertook to irrigate eighty of his acres  
Desert Land Act proved to be a colossal failure so far as land reclamation was concerned  
only a handful of impractical water wheels, wooden pipes, flumes and ditches emerged  
any project capable of watering 80 acres was far beyond the resources of the average farmer  
Congress instituted a series of amendments limiting the acreage and increasing the cost per acre  
Desert Land Act was used primarily as one more fraud for concentrating land  
in the hands of a few ambitious "land barons"

#### WASHINGTON STATEHOOD MOVEMENTS GO NOWHERE

Most significant reason for protracted delay of Washington's admission to the Union as a state was based on national politics

(Following the disputed Tilden-Hayes election

Republicans might then have looked with favor on admitting new states to the union to increase their strength in Congress by admitting Washington which would doubtlessly be a G.O.P. state

however, Democrats who maintained control of the U.S. House of Representatives refused to admit Republican-led Washington Territory and blocked each effort)

#### UTOPIAN MOVEMENT TAKES ROOT IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Many people were unhappy with conditions in the United States most were still suffering from the devastation of the Civil War and the corruption of the Ulysses S. Grant and following administrations and the only recently ended Reconstruction of the South

Complete political reform was demanded by many farmers addressed their concerns by forming granges to press their issues however, other Americans in addition to farmers were not happy

Barring complete political reform

some people sought to bring change by withdrawing from society several groups of people wished to develop "heaven on earth" or utopia Washington Territory provided the two requirements for this movement: isolation and good farm land

First effort to establish a socialist cooperative colony along Puget Sound was in Port Angeles -- 1877

these Socialists advocated group living with no private property rather collective ownership and administration of production and distribution of their goods and products would replace profit-motive capitalism

George Venable Smith led several expatriates into the area they purchased farmland which they would own collectively from sale of their produce, each person was guaranteed a good wage, free land, free lights, free libraries, and no rent

in addition to farming, this socialist colony successfully operated stores, factories, a hotel, and a newspaper: *The Commonwealth*

(Smith's colony lasted for two years before the leaders accused one another of fraud thus ending the effort)

#### FRANCIS HENRY WRITES "THE SONG OF THE OLD SETTLER"

Francis Henry had studied law in Illinois, served in the U.S. Army in Mexico, mined for gold in Washington Territory and was a Wisconsin deputy U.S. Marshall he put his experiences to song -- April 11, 1877 (revised slightly [September 26, 1893])

*The Song of The Old Settler*<sup>53</sup>

Chorus:

No longer a slave of ambition,  
I laugh at the world and its shams,  
As I think of my pleasant condition  
surrounded by acres of clams.

Verse:

I'd wandered all over the country,  
prospecting and digging for gold --  
I'd tunneled, hydraulicked and cradled  
and I have been frequently sold.

Chorus

Verse:

For one who gets riches by mining  
perceiving that hundreds grow poor,  
I made up my mind to try farming--  
the only pursuit that is sure.

Chorus

Verse:

So rolling my grub in my blankets,  
I left all my tools on the ground,  
And started one morning to shank it  
for a country they call Puget Sound

Chorus

Verse:

Arriving flat broke in mid-winter,  
I found it enveloped in fog.  
And covered all over with timber  
thick as hair on the back of a dog.

Chorus

Verse:

As I looked on a prospect so gloomy,  
the tears trickled over my face,  
For I thought my travels had brought me  
to the edge of the jumping-off place.

Chorus

Verse:

I took up a claim in the forest  
and sat myself down to hard toil;  
For two years I chopped and I sweated,  
but I never got down to the soil.

Chorus

Verse:

I tried to get out of the country,  
but poverty forced me to stay;  
Until I became an old settler,  
then nothing could drive me away.

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<sup>53</sup> From the *Washington Standard*, Olympia, April 11, 1877, with minor revisions given in the *Olympia-Tribune*, September 26, 1893.

Chorus

Verse:

And now that I'm used to the climate,  
I think that if man ever found  
A spot to live easy and happy,  
that Eden is on Puget Sound.

Chorus

## CATHOLIC MISSIONS REMAIN ACTIVE IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Several Catholic missions remained active in 1877:

- Cataldo Mission located among the Coeur d'Alene Indians  
was moved to De Smet, Idaho Territory (where it remains today)
- St. Paul's Mission at Kettle Falls, Washington Territory
- St. Mary's Mission at Omak, Washington Territory
- St. Francis Xavier Mission in the Willamette Valley, Oregon
- two missions among the Yakima Indians in Washington Territory:
  - Catholics at St. Joseph's Mission at Ahtanum used primitive methods to irrigate the land
  - White Swan Mission developed a Catholic home for children  
who were educated in Christianity and farming at the Mission

## MOTHER JOSEPH CONTINUES HER GOOD WORK

Mother Joseph made a monumental contribution to health care, education and social work throughout the Pacific Northwest  
she constructed the Poor House Country Hospital in Georgetown (Seattle) -- 1877  
(which later became Providence Hospital)

## GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD AGREES MEETS WITH NEZ PERCE FREE BAND LEADERS

General Howard agreed to meet with Lapwai Indian Agent John B. Monteith and representatives of the nontreaty Nez Perce Indians at Fort Lapwai  
Howard, undoubtedly to intimidate the Free Bands of Nez Perce, posed cavalry at Lewiston, Idaho and near the junction of the Grande Ronde River with the Snake River  
more troops assembled in other places to be brought forward if needed  
Alarmed by the Fort Walla Walla meeting [April 20, 1877]  
about fifty Wallowa Nez Perce appeared -- May 3, 1877  
they were led by Joseph and Ollokot, who requested that the proceedings be delayed until White Bird and Lamatta Free Band could arrive  
Howard was adamant that the council begin  
he warned Joseph and Ollokot that he was prepared to listen to them only if they agreed to comply with the U.S. government's demand they move onto the Nez Perce reservation

Howard told them that hunting and fishing privileges in the Wallowa Valley would be granted once they settled on the reservation  
he warned that further delay would cause troops to be sent after them

#### FREE BANDS OF NEZ PERCE INDIANS MEET IN COUNCIL

Free Bands of Nez Perce Indians reconvened with some of White Bird's band in attendance along with members of other treaty and nontreaty bands -- May 4, 1877  
During this meeting a confrontation flared between General Howard and old Chief Toohoolhoolzote who was a spokesman for the followers of the Dreamer religion  
Toohoolhoolzote tried to explain to Howard the Nez Perce concept of land and fanned the flames of the war spirit  
Howard, with Joseph's concurrence, ordered the meeting adjourned  
General Howard noted that at this meeting the Indians clearly did not intend to comply with the orders from the United States government

#### GENERAL HOWARD MEETS WITH THE FREE BANDS OF NEZ PERCE AT FORT LAPWAI

United States Government wanted to reduce size of Nez Perce Reservation to accommodate gold seekers and pioneers who wanted to settle on Nez Perce land  
Leaders of the non-treaty (Free Bands) of Nez Perce Indians were summoned to Lapwai to attend another council -- May 7, 1877  
they were to confer with Commander of the Department of the Columbia General Howard who had taken over negotiations with the Indians  
Free Bands were represented by Looking Glass, Toohoolhoolzote, White Bird, Moses and Ollokot  
Commander of the Department of the Columbia General Oliver Otis Howard led the U.S. Army stationed in Washington Territory  
General Howard had lost his right arm during the Civil War Battle of Four Oaks devoutly religious, he promoted prayer meetings, morality and temperance and often studied his Bible until late at night  
General Howard had orders to occupy the Wallowa Valley with his troops  
he announced all Nez Perce, including the Free Bands, must move onto reservation and directed two companies of cavalry to march from Fort Walla Walla  
they bivouac at the western end of the Wallowa Valley  
where they remained ready to push the Indians northeast toward the reservation  
Ollokot, Joseph's handsome and intelligent younger brother, represented one of the Free Bands  
he objected to being forced to move onto the Nez Perce reservation  
in an effort to explain the Nez Perces' deep connection with their homeland  
Joseph (Hinmahtooyahlatkekht -- Thunder Rolling in the Mountains) told the General Howard:  
**“The earth and myself are of one mind. The one who has the right to dispose of it is the one who had created it.... In it are riches given me by my ancestors, and from that time up to the present I have**

loved the land, was thankful it had been give me.... The right to the land was ours before the whites came among us.”<sup>54</sup>

#### GENERAL HOWARD AND NEZ PERCE LEADERS INSPECT THE NEZ PERCE RESERVATION

Joseph, Looking Glass and White Bird rode up the Lapwai Valley with General Howard to observe the farms of Nez Perce Indians who had signed the [1855] and [1868] treaties with the U.S. government -- May 8, 1877

General Howard, Looking Glass and White Bird rode to the Clearwater Valley where their bands were assigned to settle to view numerous Nez Perce farms on both sides of the Clearwater River and Creek -- May 9-10, 1877

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD CONVENES A COUNCIL AT FORT LAPWAI

General Howard’s council resumed with more of the nontreaty people in attendance -- May 14, 1877  
Toohoolhoolzote took the lead as he harangued General Howard

and Lapwai Indian Agent John B. Monteith regarding Nez Perce beliefs regarding their lands  
Howard recounted: “[Toohoolhoolzote] **repeats what he had said at the other council about chieftainship—chieftainship of the earth. ... I answer, ‘I don't want to offend your religion, but you must talk about practicable things; twenty times over I hear that the earth is your mother and about chieftainship from the earth. I want to hear it no more, but come to business at once.’** The old man then began to speak about the land and became more impudent than ever, and said, . . . ‘You white people get together and measure the earth and then divide it, so I want you to talk directly what you mean.’ . . . The old man, in a surly way, asked, ‘What person pretended to divide the land and put me on it?’ I answered, with emphasis, ‘I am that man. I stand here for the President, and there is no spirit, good or bad, that will hinder me. My orders are plain, and will be executed’.”<sup>55</sup>

General Howard concluded both Looking Glass and White Bird agreed with Toohoolhoolzote he reminded the Nez Perce leaders that, for him, the only question that needed answering was would the Indians comply peacefully or would it be necessary to put them there by force

General Howard informed the Nez Perce leaders that a majority of Nez Perce people had agreed to the treaty terms and to the United States government the “majority rules”

Free Bands of non-treaty Nez Perce must move onto the reservation

Toohoolhoolzote persisted in his argument -- Howard peremptorily ordered him arrested, led from the assembly and jailed (he was released several days later)

Howard’s action violated council protocol and infuriated the Nez Perce

but Joseph counseled patience as he knew Howard could easily be killed

and the Nez Perce would be blamed for escalating the dispute

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<sup>54</sup> Jerome A Greene, *Nez Perce Summer 1877*, P. 17-18.

<sup>55</sup> General Howard “Supplementary Report: Non-Treaty Nez Perce Campaign.” December 26, 1877. P. 594.

With Toohoolhoolzote removed the Nez Perce leaders, despite evident misgivings,  
agreed to inspect the reservation lands

#### FORT LAPWAI COUNCIL COMES TO AN END

General Oliver Otis Howard concluded the Fort Lapwai Council -- May 15, 1877  
troops from Lewiston had arrived by then -- this was, in effect, a show of force  
Howard reported the Nez Perce agreed to come on the Nez Perce Reservation:

- Joseph's Wallowa Free Band White Bird's Lamatta Free Band  
would settle on the upper Middle Clearwater;
- Husis Kute and his Palouse Indians, relatives of the Nez Perce,  
would also go to the Clearwater River;
- Hasotin's Nez Perce people would move to the area of the Sweetwater River  
on a tributary of Lapwai Creek

General Howard gave the Nez Perce thirty days to gather their livestock and relocate to the reservation  
threat of additional troops and only thirty days to evacuate the Wallowa Valley  
and move onto the reservation caused the non-treaty Nez Perce great resentment  
Chief Joseph was particularly shocked as he had the largest herds to round up  
and longest distance to travel

White Bird indicated he could not always control his people who got liquor from the whites  
so they might not come on the reservation

Howard assured him that his soldiers would be ready to assist in bringing them in

General Oliver Otis Howard, now satisfied he had carried out his orders returned to Fort Vancouver  
confident that trouble had been averted

#### FREE BANDS OF NEZ PERCE INDIANS FACE AN IMPOSSIBLE ORDER

Nez Perce started for their homes to gather their livestock and prepare to move to the reservation  
Joseph and Ollokot crossed the Snake River at Lewiston and ascended the Grande Ronde River  
to their camp near the mouth of Joseph Creek in the Wallowa Valley  
White Bird and Toohoolhoolzote led their bands south to the Salmon River  
Looking Glass with his Free Band of Alpowais Nez Perce Indians  
headed east to his home on the Middle Clearwater River  
within the Nez Perce reservation boundary

For Chief Joseph and his Wallowa Band of non-treaty Indians, it was an impossible ultimatum  
their herds were scattered far and wide through the Wallowa Mountains  
streams they would have to cross were swollen with spring floods  
but troops were nearing their country

rather than risk a clash, Joseph persuaded his followers to try to comply

For last time the men, women and children of the Wallowa Band rode through the Wallowas  
searching for their horses and cattle -- they only had time to collect a fragment of their herds

many animals escaped the roundup and were later captured by white settlers

#### JOSEPH AND HIS FREE BAND OF WALLOWA NEZ PERCE LEAVE THEIR ANCESTRAL HOME

Chief Joseph's Wallowa Band of Nez Perce Indians spent much of the time allotted to them packing their possessions and corralling hundreds of free-grazing horses and cattle

Joseph led his people moved along White Bird Canyon to Slate Creek where camp was made

Joseph afterward said: **"I saw that the war could not then be prevented.... I knew that we were too weak to fight the United States. We had many grievances, but I knew that war would bring more.... We hoped the white settlers would not join the soldiers. Before the war commenced, we had discussed this matter, and many of my people were in favor of warning them that if they took no part against us, they should not be molested in the event of war being begun by General Howard. This plan was voted down in the war council."**<sup>56</sup>

#### LOOKING GLASS' BAND OF NEZ PERCE CONTINUES TO LIVE OFF THE RESERVATION

Nez Perce Chief Looking Glass was the son of a treaty signer and was determined to live in peace

he had told Joseph and White Bird, **"You have acted like fools murdering white men. I will have no part in these things and have nothing to do with such men.... I want to live in peace."**<sup>57</sup>

Looking Glass and his people had already agreed to withdrawn onto the reduced reservation

however, some of his braves planned to join the war effort -- although none as yet had done so

Looking Glass and his Free Band of Alpowais Nez Perce were peacefully camped in his own territory

four miles from the town of Kooskia, Idaho Territory and northeast of Mount Idaho

on the banks of Clear Creek, a tributary of the Clearwater,

where his people lived and had their gardens planted

#### JOSEPH'S WALLOWA NEZ PERCE TRAVEL TOWARD THE NEZ PERCE RESERVATION

Nez Perce and all of their animals had to cross the raging, freezing waters of the Snake River swollen from the spring runoff

the crossing was made at Dug Bar near the mouth of the Imnaha River -- May 31, 1877

many of their animals were swept away and drowned

Wallowa Nez Perce then traveled east for ten miles before fording the Salmon River and moved north through the mountain pass known as Rocky Canyon

they left their cattle below the Salmon River intending to return for them before the deadline.

#### THREE FREE BANDS OF INDIANS HOLD A COUNCIL

Three of the non-treaty bands leaders converged at Tolo Lake -- June 3, 1877

Looking Glass led his Free Band of Alpowais Nez Perce which included forty men

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<sup>56</sup> James E. Seelye, Steven A. Littleton editors, *Voices of the American Indian Experience*, Volume 1, P. 338.

<sup>57</sup> Jerome A Greene, *Nez Perce Summer 1877*, P. 53.



Toohoolhoolzote arrived with his Pikunans Nez Perce of whom thirty were men  
Husis Kute and his Palouse Indians (relatives of the Nez Perce) included sixteen men  
These three Free Bands of Indians met in council for ten days  
as the leaders offered their suggestions as to what to do  
discussions demonstrated the division within the Free Bands  
each band and each individual in the band was free to follow their leader's advice or not

#### JOSEPH AND WHITE BIRD MOVE THEIR FREE BANDS TO THE TOLO LAKE COUNCIL

Angered at being forced to leave their ancestral homes and move onto the reservation  
Joseph with his younger brother Ollokot led their Wallowa Band which included fifty-five men  
White Bird's Lamtamas Band with fifty men traveled with Joseph and Ollokot  
they stopped to rest and to hold talks with the other three leaders of Free Bands  
of non-treaty Indians -- June 12, 1877  
it was only a day or two until General Howard's deadline was to be enforced

#### FIVE BANDS OF NON-TREATY INDIANS MEET IN COUNCIL

All five non-treaty bands led by Looking Glass, Toohoolhoolzote, White Bird, Joseph and Husis Kute  
camped at Tolo Lake on Camas Prairie beyond the Salmon River  
just south of the reservation (not far east of today's Grangeville, Idaho)  
here the Nez Perce had gathered camas root for centuries

Leaders of the five Free Bands met in council

war leadership evolved based on a warrior's record and his ability to attract and maintain followers  
Joseph, a civil leader and descendant of a popular Wallowa chief, was not regarded as a warrior  
even so, he was an influential member of the multi-band councils;  
Ollokot, Joseph's younger brother, was highly regarded in military matters;  
White Bird, chief of the Lamtamas, was in his mid-fifties and was well past warrior age  
but he possessed considerable knowledge and was viewed as a senior adviser;  
Chuslum Moxmox (Yellow Bull), also of the Lamtamas, was a war leader;  
Looking Glass, the Alpowai, chief was fortyish and well respected for his war prowess  
he emerged as perhaps the dominant military leader;  
Toohoolhoolzote, chief of the Pikunans and prophet of the Dreamer Religion, was seventy;  
Koolkool Snehee (Red Owl), was an Alpowai headman and war leader

Much of their talk was about the reservation deadline -- but opinions on what to do were divided  
they had only a day or two remaining until General Howard's deadline  
younger braves talked openly of war -- but most chiefs would have none of it  
there were only about 191 men in all -- just about half of these were warriors  
as the others were either too young or old for that designation  
there were about 400 women and children in the five bands

## BLOOD IS SHED BY THE NEZ PERCE INDIANS

Wahlitits from White Bird's Band of Free Nez Perce had a score to settle three years earlier settler Larry Ott had killed Wahlitits' father in a dispute over land  
Three warriors took matters into their own hands  
Wahlitits, his cousin Wetyetmas Wahyakt (Swan Necklace) and seventeen-year-old Sarpsis Ippilp (Red Moccasin Tops) left camp -- June 13, 1877  
they went in search of Larry Ott but they could not find the man they wanted  
prompted by captured whiskey they approached the Carver Creek cabin of elderly Richard Devine that evening  
he had killed Nez Perce and frequently sicked his vicious dogs on them  
Devine was killed

## MORE YOUNG WARRIORS JOIN IN AN ATTACK ON NEARBY SETTLERS

Sixteen more young braves joined the war party and raided settlers' stores -- they found more whiskey  
young warriors went on a killing, raping, plundering rampage before returning to camp  
three other well-known Indian haters, Henry Elfers, Henry Beckrode and Robert Bland, were ambushed at John Day Creek  
at the settlement of Grangeville, Idaho Territory  
Sarpsis Ippilp shot Samuel Benedict in the legs but Benedict managed to escape

## FEAR SWEEPS THROUGH THE NEZ PERCE CAMP

When word of the bloodshed reached the Indians' camp,  
Joseph and the other chiefs were across the Salmon River butchering beef -- June 13, 1877  
all of the chiefs knew the soldiers would arrive to punish the entire tribe  
perhaps they should split up and travel in different directions,  
maybe they should go on the reservation as scheduled,  
possibly they could journey south of the Salmon River away from the whites,  
it might be they could reach Crow Indian country in Montana or even go to Canada  
Some of the Nez Perce, frightened by the prospects of retribution, tried to disassociate themselves from the outbreak by fleeing to the Indian Agency at Lapawi  
Joseph and his younger brother, Ollokot, agreed to stay with their people

## JOSEPH EXERTS HIS LEADERSHIP SKILLS

Thirty-seven-year-old Joseph, who possessed great dignity and was wise beyond his years, took charge of 200 warriors and 600 women and children of the Free Bands of non-treaty Indians  
Chief Joseph and his people faced a choice of three alternatives:

- to flee with his warriors, leaving women, children and wounded behind,
- to surrender,
- to fight General Oliver Otis Howard's soldiers as best they could

Joseph was not a great warrior but he along with Ollokot saw no course but to bow to the inevitable in confusion and fear the three Free Bands of Nez Perce moved south to White Bird Canyon to prepare for the soldiers they knew would follow

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD RETURNS TO FORT LAPWAI

General Howard returned to Fort Lapwai to witness the Free Bands of non-treaty Nez Perce Indians' arrival at the Nez Perce reservation in compliance with U.S. government orders -- June 14, 1877 soldiers of the U.S. First Cavalry had arrived from Fort Walla Walla

General Howard received a letter from a Mount Idaho, Idaho Territory resident stating the community was becoming increasingly suspicious of the Nez Perce gathered nearby

General Howard busily mobilized reinforcements from throughout his department and wired a telegram to his superior, General Irvin McDowell

Commander of the Division of the Pacific, to send soldiers and supplies from California to Lewiston, Idaho

besides four companies of cavalry and three companies of infantry already available at Fort Lapwai and Lewiston, Howard could expect auxiliaries in the form of six companies of cavalry, five batteries of artillery (intended to function as infantry) and three companies of infantry -- for a total of about 960 men

Howard's message to General McDowell concluded: "**Think we shall make short work of it**"<sup>58</sup>

#### COTTONWOOD RANCH BECOMES A SCENE OF BLOODSHED

When the three Freed Bands of Nez Perce gathered at Cottonwood Creek to discuss their options two families of settlers, the Norton and Chamberlain families left their Cottonwood Ranch situated on a high and easily defended prairie between wooded foothills

astride the road connecting Lewiston and Mount Idaho

they set out for the safety of the town of Mount Idaho

their wagons were attacked about 9:00 P.M., June 14, 1877

John Chamberlain, his three-year-old daughter Hattie, and Benjamin Norton were killed

later than night, Lew Day and Joe Moore also were fatally wounded

During this time a raiding party of seventeen warriors went a rampage

settlers' homes were burned and their livestock was taken

James Baker, Samuel Benedict, and August Bacon were killed in White Bird

as were Harry Mason, William Osborne and Francois Chodoze at Cooper Bar

Jack Manuel and his six-year-old daughter, Maggie, were wounded

Jeanette Manuel was injured in a fall from her horse

#### GENERAL HOWARD SENDS TROOPS TO MOUNT IDAHO, IDAHO TERRITORY

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<sup>58</sup> Jerome A Greene, *Nez Perce Summer 1877*, P. 34.

General Howard ordered Captain David L. Perry then stationed at Fort Lapwai to lead the ninety-nine horse soldiers of the First Cavalry Company F to Mount Idaho accompanied by eleven volunteers to investigate the Nez Perce camping just off the edge of the reservation -- June 15, 1887

#### WHITE SETTLEMENTS ARE GRIPPED WITH STARK TERROR

During a period of four days [June 13] to June 16, 1877

eighteen settlers, including one woman and two children, were killed

two additional women and two girls were wounded and three women were raped several buildings in Grangeville were plundered, ranch building and hay were burned, portable property was stolen and livestock was run off

Manuel family home was burned by angry Nez Perce

Jeanette Manuel and her baby were inside -- June 16

Lewiston and the Pullman-Moscow area feared an Indian attack

settler James W. Poe, influenced by the hysteria, wrote the Idaho governor:

**“two or three hundred Indians”** were continuing their bloody raids

J.P. Villmar of Lewiston informed the mayor of Portland: **“They have massacred 30 or 40 men, women and children; for humanity’s sake...send arms and ammunition.”**<sup>59</sup>

Edward McConville became the colonel of a volunteer group he organized in Lewiston

#### CAPTAIN PERRY LEADING THE FIRST CAVALRY MAKES CONTACT WITH THE NEZ PERCE

After two days of hard riding from Fort Lapwai Captain David Perry

with ninety-nine soldiers of the First Cavalry Company F accompanied by eleven volunteers

reached White Bird Canyon where camp was made at Horseshoe Bend -- June 17, 1877

Captain Perry’s advancing columns discovered a white woman and her child

hiding in sparse underbrush

her husband had been killed by Indians three days before

they gave her food and water before they passed on

Captain Perry’s volunteers were anxious to fight

they believed the Indians would run when the troops arrived

in fact, Captain Perry’s command was outnumbered

Nez Perce knew that Captain Perry was coming and how many men were under his command

many braves wanted action -- but the chiefs still hoped to avoid a fight

about sixty-five braves, half with Winchester repeating rifles

and the remainder armed with muzzle-loading guns or bows and arrows

rode a mile north of their Slate Creek camp

warriors entrenched themselves among the stony buttes

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<sup>59</sup> Bruce A. Wilson, *From Where the Sun Now Stands*, The Omak Chronicle, 1960.

Two Moons led thirty braves on the East flank  
Ollokot, Joseph's brother, led twenty-nine braves on the West flank  
six Nez Perce Indians rode out under a white flag to meet with the troops  
Captain David Perry's scouts rode over the crest of a knoll  
they came to a halt when they saw the Indians under a white flag  
word was sent back word that the Nez Perce had been located  
volunteer interpreter Arthur Chapman was with the advance party,  
Joseph considered Chapman to be a friend although he had boasted  
that he could "**whip the cowardly Injuns**" himself<sup>60</sup>  
Chapman fired a shot at the slowly moving peace envoys -- Sunday June 17, 1877  
Ostotpoo, who was stationed with Two Moons, fired a lucky shot  
Captain Perry's bugler fell from his saddle and the battle was underway

#### BATTLE OF WHITE BIRD CANYON IS QUICK AND BRUTAL

Nez Perce leaders Ostotpoo and Two Moons set up a vicious crossfire -- Sunday June 17, 1877  
Captain David Perry dismounted one of his columns as the other swung abreast on his right  
Almost immediately a handful of Two Moon's warriors broke onto a rocky butte  
where six volunteers anchored Perry's left flank  
two civilians were killed as the others scramble away  
soldiers, many in battle for the first time, fired ineffectively at clouds of smoke  
Nez Perce calmly shot at dusty blue targets  
as wounded soldiers slumped to the ground panic began to spread  
A large group of Nez Perce horsemen swept up the ravine  
they had no single leader but each Indian was an experienced warrior  
many Indians clung to the side of their ponies as they slashed through Perry's position  
volunteers were the first to leave the fight  
Captain Perry's right flank collapsed as soldiers began running

Yellow Wolf, one of finest warriors from Joseph's Band later related: **"I ran to strike one soldier with my bow. I leaped and struck him as he put a cartridge to his gun. I grabbed the gun and shoved hard. The soldier went over backward but was not hurt. I wrenched the gun away from him. At the same time a warrior back of me killed him.**

**"I now jumped down a bank where there was another soldier. My feet slipped and I slid in front of him. He was on one knee, pointing his rifle. The bullet passed over my shoulder. I grabbed the barrel of his gun. While we wrestled, a Nez Perce fired from the bank, and the soldier fell dead..."**<sup>61</sup>

White Bird's braves succeeded in flanking the troops

Captain Perry's First Cavalry Company F was shattered and retreated back up the ravine

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<sup>60</sup> Bruce A. Wilson, *From Where the Sun Now Stands*, The Omak Chronicle, 1960.

<sup>61</sup> Bruce A. Wilson, *From Where the Sun Now Stands*, The Omak Chronicle, 1960.

pursued closely by Nez Perce warriors

Captain Perry's retreat followed two general routes

Lieutenant Edward Theller led two squads in an attempt to retrace their approach toward the army's White Bird Canyon camp

Lieutenant Theller gathered an eighteen-man rear guard

they fought with great courage until they became trapped in a blind ravine and ran out of ammunition

Theller and his seven men were killed by the Nez Perce

Captain Perry and Captain J.G. Trimble fled to the northwest up steep ridges

at the top of the ridge line they reached Camas Prairie

where they were able to regroup at Henry C. Johnson's Ranch

within minutes, Nez Perce warriors pressed the attack

surviving troops continued their retreat for several miles toward Mt. Idaho

where they were rescued by fresh volunteers

#### NEZ PERCE HARASS THE MAULED TROOPERS FOR SEVERAL MORE HOURS

Battle of White Bird Canyon had lasted ten to fifteen minutes

Nez Perce who were involved in the fight got a chance to improve their arsenal

by collecting abandoned rifles

they also added to their ammunition supply and stripped clothing from thirty-three bodies

fully one-third of Captain David Perry's First Cavalry Company F

as was the Nez Perce custom, no enemy's bodies were mutilated

After a running fight of ten miles the warriors gave up the pursuit

Nez Perce had suffered two slightly wounded casualties -- not a single Nez Perce had been killed

Joseph described the event, **"We moved over to White Bird...the soldiers attacked us and the first battle was fought. We numbered in that battle sixty men, and the soldiers a hundred. The fight lasted but a few minutes, when the soldiers retreated before us.... They lost thirty-three killed, and had seven wounded...."**<sup>62</sup>

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD LEARNS OF CAPTAIN PERRY'S DEFEAT

General Howard had learned of Captain David L. Perry's debacle -- afternoon June 17, 1877

one of the first reports came from two Company F soldiers, Corporal Charles W. Fuller

and Private John White who had fled at the opening of the battle who raced their horses

all the way back to Fort Lapwai with the earliest, although erroneous, news of the defeat more accurate reports arrived soon after

General Howard directed that Major John W. Green's troops at Fort Boise march north

to watch the area of the Weiser Valley and keep Nez Perce in that region out of the fight

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<sup>62</sup> *National Geographic*, March, 1977, P. 420.

General Howard, with divisional approval, arranged for troops to be sent from the East Coast

#### NEZ PERCES' TRIUMPH LEADS TO INDECISION

Indian camp was soon filled with indecision, but it was obvious war now could not be avoided  
Nez Perce had not considered what to do next

fortunately, Five Wounds and Rainbow, two Nez Perce Indians who had been hunting buffalo,  
arrived the day after the battle -- June 18, 1877

they suggest the Free Bands of Nez Perce Indians cross the Salmon River  
if the soldiers did not cross, the Indians would be safe  
if the soldiers followed, the Indians could re-cross  
and cut across General Howard's supply line

#### NEZ PERCE CROSS THE SALMON RIVER

Nez Perce crossed the Salmon River to the south -- June 19, 1877

they made bull boats (buffalo hides stitched across green willow poles)

these were loaded with women, children, dogs and supplies

bull boats were towed across the swollen river by braves on horses

next, more than a thousand head of horses were swum across the Salmon River

this passage was accomplished easily -- Indians were old hands at this activity

#### CAPTAIN DAVID L. PERRY REGROUPS HIS FIRST CAVALRY COMPANY F

Three days after the debacle in White Bird Canyon, Captain Perry and his command,  
accompanied by a contingent of citizens, reconnoitered out of Grangeville, Idaho Territory  
toward the White Bird Canyon Battlefield -- but went only as far as the head of the canyon  
no Indians were seen -- June 20, 1877

Captain Perry rested his troops at Henry C. Johnson's Ranch,

where they had stopped on their retreat on the seventeenth, then returned to Grangeville

that evening the first medical personnel arrived from Fort Lapwai

#### BATTLE OF WHITE BIRD CANYON INFLUENCES BOTH SIDES OF THE BATTLE

Defeat of Captain David L. Perry First Cavalry Company F was a powerful incentive

for Nez Perce leaders to fight General Howard's soldiers

perhaps, if they fought well enough they would be allowed to return to their ancestral homes

For the U.S. Army, the battle produced a healthy respect for the fighting abilities of the Nez Perce  
who could, and would, fight to protect their interests

they had proven they could deliver a blow swiftly and with stunning accuracy

soldiers learned that the warriors were better riders than themselves

and were expertly adept marksmen capable of inflicting severe casualties in the ranks

Nez Perce used their ammunition economically

they did not foolishly attempt to fire from horseback -- as had the soldiers well-trained Indian horses stood calmly during the fighting while the army mounts panicked General Howard had to be content with the knowledge that more soldiers at hand and the army's resources were renewable -- whereas the Indians' were not

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD TAKES THE FIELD

News of the Nez Perce atrocities and Captain David Perry's defeat at White Bird Canyon reached all the way to the United States which was still stunned by Lieutenant-Colonel George Armstrong Custer's Seventh Cavalry annihilation a year before at the hands of Lakota Sioux, Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho in Montana Territory reports of the tragedies resulted in the mobilization of military units from all points of the compass and groups of civilian volunteers who gathered to join in the fight Additional reinforcements could not be expected to arrive for a few more days but virtually every fort in the Northwest sent troops heading toward Lewiston

other companies were coming from California, Arizona and as far away as Georgia General Oliver Otis Howard marched out of Fort Lapwai with 227 soldiers -- June 22, 1877

- First Cavalry Companies E and L,
- Twenty-first Infantry Companies B, D, E, I and H,
- Fourth Artillery Battery E outfitted as infantrymen with two small howitzers (cannons) and a Gatling gun (crank-operated ten-barreled rapid-fire machine guns of .45 caliber, drawn by three horses -- along with a detail of probably four men to operate them)
- and civilian Captain Thomas P. Paige twenty volunteers from Walla Walla led by civilian Captain Thomas P. Paige (other troops were to follow two days later)

#### GENERAL HOWARD MARCHES TOWARD SLATE CREEK IN WHITE BIRD CANYON

Howard's command reached Benjamin Norton's and John Chamberlain's homestead on Camas Prairie known locally as Cottonwood Ranch -- 1:30 P.M. June 23, 1877

Cottonwood Ranch had been pillaged by marauding Nez Perce and now lay in shambles

Howard noted the rampant destruction at the place: "**There is the clothing cut and torn and strewn about—the broken chairs, the open drawers, the mixing of flour, sugar, salt and rubbish—the evidences of riot run mad.**"<sup>63</sup>

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD REMAINS IN HIS HEADQUARTERS

General Howard remained in camp at Cottonwood Ranch -- June 24, 1877

newspaper reporters accompanied him because the nation was interested in watching events unfold they represented the Portland *Oregonian*, San Francisco *Chronicle*, Portland *Standard*

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<sup>63</sup> Howard, *Nez Perces Campaign of 1877*, July 18, 1878.



and Idaho *Tri-Weekly Statesmen* out of Boise  
they accused the devout Howard of halting to preach to his men and distribute Bibles  
actually, he was awaiting the scout's report to determine the exact location of the Nez Perce  
and he was also waiting for volunteer reinforcements from Lewiston to arrive  
General Howard dispatched Captain J.G. Trimble and First Cavalry Company H at Grangeville  
to proceed to Slate Creek to protect the barricaded settlers there  
Howard hoped Company H would stop the Indians by occupying their attention  
and thus prevent further massacres in the vicinity  
this would also give Howard's main force time to move directly on the hostiles

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD VISITS NEARBY COMMUNITIES

General Howard and his cavalry visited Grangeville and Mount Idaho -- June 25, 1877  
he greeted wounded soldiers hospitalized in the hotel and met with citizens  
he inspected their makeshift barricades before moving on to Henry C. Johnson's Ranch  
where the infantry troops had preceded him  
citizens of Mount Idaho, three miles distant from Grangeville, demanded action  
Howard grimly promised plenty of it as soon as he could find the enemy

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD RESUMES THE MARCH

Sitting in his Cottonwood Ranch camp while the fleeing Nez Perce  
melted into the Seven Devils country or escaped back toward the Wallowa Hills  
was unthinkable for General Howard  
General Howard ordered a pursuit before the Nez Perce could escape  
after leaving a few of his soldiers at Cottonwood Ranch to protect the settlers,  
Howard moved his command from Cottonwood Ranch -- early morning June 26, 1877  
Howard's troops followed the Salmon River south about four miles  
toward the crossing a mile and a half above where White Bird Creek  
empties into the Salmon River  
As soldiers and civilians approached the mouth of White Bird Creek,  
Indian snipers rushed down from the ridges on the other bank and taunted them to give chase  
warriors tried to pick off any troops who ventured within rifle range  
however, when Howard's command opened fire with long-range rifles  
Indians scrambled for the cover under trees and on the heights beyond  
One sergeant and several of Captain Thomas P. Paige's Walla Walla volunteers  
managed to swim the river and crawled to the top of the bluffs  
but to their amazement not an Indian could be seen  
General Howard made camp at Horseshoe Bend along the north side of the Salmon River

#### GENERAL HOWARD INVESTIGATES THE WHITE BIRD CANYON BATTLEFIELD

Howard cautiously began a reconnaissance of the battlefield with skirmishers advanced

Howard's soldiers found the bodies of their comrades -- June 26, 1877

many, stripped of clothing, had grown disfigured and decomposed nine days after the fight

however, the corpses had not been mutilated as most victorious Indians would have done

horrible sight of their fallen comrades aroused the soldier

they swore vengeance against the hostile Nez Perce

Lieutenant Theller's remains were found in the afternoon during a driving thunderstorm

where he and his small force had been entrapped

Theller's body was wrapped and carefully interred where it lay

While the burials were taking place, General Howard, Captain Perry and Captain Paige reconnoitering the fleeing Nez Perce Free Bands

civilian Captain Thomas P. Paige and twenty volunteers from Walla Walla,

who had accompanied General Howard from Fort Lapwai,

scouted along the crest of a ridge to the right of White Bird Canyon

until they could find a view of the country across the Salmon River

they saw a large force of Indians far ahead had crossed at Horseshoe Bend

and established their camp on Deer Creek

Paige and his civilians hurried back to report to General Howard

General Howard believed that the Nez Perce families intended to keep his troops

from following across the Salmon River

he planned to station a hundred sharpshooters on a ridge

across from the mouth of Canyon Creek while his other troops

engaged the warriors from the front

to implement his plan Howard sent a note to Captain J.G. Trimble and First Cavalry Company H

at Slate Creek: **"Be prepared to follow up a success from us by intercepting and**

**obstructing trails toward Little Salmon."**<sup>64</sup>

#### GENERAL HOWARD ATTEMPTS TO CROSS THE SALMON RIVER

General Howard raised the American flag over his headquarters

Nez Perce responded by raising a red blanket and called for the troops to cross the river and fight

Unsuspecting of Chief Joseph's plans, Howard decided to ferry his command to the south

troops began to cross the Salmon River in pursuit of Joseph and his people bank -- June 27, 1877

ineffective gunfire had been exchanged with Nez Perce sharpshooters as Howard's soldiers

prepared to cross the raging Salmon River one-and-a-half miles above White Bird Creek

Soldiers tried to get a rope across the river to begin themselves across

but they were not old hands at crossing a river as large as the Salmon

which was running high, carrying a full flood of water from snows melting in the mountains

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<sup>64</sup> Howard to Trimble, June 26, 1877, entry 897, box 1, part 3, 1877, U.S. Army Continental Commands.

warriors continued waving blankets and taunting  
Howard's troops camped near White Bird Crossing and waited for morning

#### GENERAL HOWARD BEGINS HIS CROSSING OF THE SALMON RIVER

After careful mathematical calculations, Lieutenant H.G. Otis an engineer of the Fourth Artillery, declared that a rope made of the cavalymen's lariats would be strong enough to hold a raft against the current of seven miles an hour -- June 28, 1877  
a rough-hewn raft made of twelve-inch logs thirty or forty feet long was constructed when the raft was launched it was discovered there had been a miscalculation as the craft broke the rope and disappeared down the Salmon River  
after losing several rafts, General Howard's engineers fastened a cable across the Salmon River two boats were attached using ropes and rings

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD RECEIVES REINFORCEMENTS

After a delay that General Howard considered unwarranted, still more reinforcements arrived at his Salmon River campsite -- June 28, 1877  
Fourth Artillery (serving as infantrymen) batteries A, D, G and M  
and Twenty-first Infantry Company C brought Howard's total to almost four hundred men

#### CHIEF JOSEPH AND WHITE BIRD AND THEIR NEZ PERCE RE-CROSS THE SALMON RIVER

As General Oliver Otis Howard and his command labored to cross the Salmon River to the south bank Chief Joseph and his Nez Perce Indians re-crossed the Salmon River fifteen miles downstream at Craig's Ferry -- June 28, 1877  
Having made the decision to flee into the Bitterroot Mountains  
Joseph turned north and moved leisurely across Camas Prairie toward the south fork of the Clearwater River  
Joseph's Nez Perce Free Bands made camp in the timber of Craig's Mountain

#### GENERAL HOWARD'S CROSSING OF THE SALMON RIVER TAKES TWO DAYS

Transporting infantry, cavalry, pack mules, foodstuffs, munitions and mountain howitzers across boiling Salmon River was complex  
General Howard's crossing consumed two days -- June 28-June 29, 1877

#### GENERAL HOWARD DISCOVERS THE NEZ PERCE INDIANS HAVE ELUDED HIM

Once across the Salmon River General Oliver Otis Howard discovered the fleeing Nez Perce had re-crossed the Salmon River and had withdrawn into the highlands  
leaving the army to follow their trail and try to divine their intentions -- June 29, 1877  
they had temporarily put the soldiers on opposite side of the Salmon River

from Fort Lapwai and Howard's supply lines  
Howard and his men rested before he took up the pursuit once again

#### GENERAL HOWARD LEARNS CHIEF LOOKING GLASS HAS JOINED IN THE CONFLICT

General Howard ordered his train back to Fort Lapwai for supplies -- June 28, 1877  
Captain David L. Perry's First Cavalry Company F provided an escort  
along with civilian Captain Thomas P. Paige and twenty Walla Walla volunteers  
Two additional volunteer units arrived at General Howard's headquarters:  
civilian Colonel Edward McConville's Lewiston volunteers  
civilian Captain George Hunter's volunteers from Dayton, Washington Territory  
both civilian companies were sent forward to Slate Creek to support  
Captain J.G. Trimble and his First Cavalry Company H

#### GENERAL HOWARD BECOMES CONCERNED ABOUT CHIEF LOOKING GLASS

General Howard received word that Looking Glass,  
who so far had refrained from openly supporting the people with Joseph and White Bird,  
was now threatening to join in the conflict -- June 28, 1877  
To prevent this from happening, Howard sent Captain Stephen G. Whipple  
with four officers and sixty-two men of the First Cavalry, Companies E and L,  
twenty Idaho volunteers under civilian Captain Darius B. Randall and two Gatling guns  
to surprise and capture the chief and his followers  
Captain Whipple's officers were from diverse backgrounds  
Whipple commanded the First Cavalry Company L  
he had led a unit of California volunteers during the Civil War  
and later served in Arizona Territory  
Whipple's first lieutenant was Edwin H. Shelton, a West Point graduate  
Whipple's second lieutenant was Sevier M. Rains, also a West Point graduate  
Captain William H. Winters commanded Company E as had enlisted in the Civil War as a private  
but had risen to corporal, sergeant and first sergeant before he received a commission  
Winter's first lieutenant was Albert G. Forse, a West Point graduate  
with ten years' experience in the Northwest  
Winter's second lieutenant was William H. Miller, a West Point graduate  
he had Indian campaign experience from the (1872-1873 Oregon Modoc War

#### CAPTAIN STEPHEN G. WHIPPLE ARRIVES AT MOUNT IDAHO, IDAHO TERRITORY

Captain Whipple reached Mount Idaho with the sixty-six men of First Cavalry, Companies E and L  
twenty Idaho volunteers -- June 30, 1877  
After resting his troops, he left his two Gatling guns and with a detail of men to operate them  
he set out with eighty-seven men including twenty civilians under Captain Darius B. Randall

to capture Chief Looking Glass who was camped twenty-five away  
Captain Whipple's men rode through the night  
he planned to strike the village at dawn while the people slept

#### LEWISTON VOLUNTEERS RETURN TO GENERAL HOWARD'S COMMAND

Civilian Colonel Edward McConville's Lewiston volunteers had been sent  
to assist Captain J.G. Trimble and First Cavalry Company H at Slate Creek  
McConville and his men scouted the region searching for the fleeing Nez Perce  
trailing the fugitives McConville crossed the Salmon River at Horseshoe Bend  
and made connections with the general's main command -- June 30, 1877

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD TAKES UP HIS PURSUIT OF THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE

Fear that the whole of the Nez Perce people might enter the war  
was rampant in both the army camp and among the settlers -- July 1, 1877  
After fording the Salmon River, General Howard and his soldiers marched for the Snake River  
General Howard marched across the high plateau between the deep gorges of the Snake River  
and Salmon River south of where the Salmon turns westward toward the Snake  
this high plateau dissected by steep, rugged canyons featured varying amounts of foliage  
depending on the elevation

#### CAPTAIN WHIPPLE CONDUCTS A MORNING RAID ON LOOKING GLASS' CAMP

Captain Stephen G. Whipple led his First Cavalry Companies E and L, twenty Idaho volunteers  
in search of Chief Looking Glass in the hope they could capture the chief  
before he could join with Chief Joseph and the other Free Bands of Nez Perce Indians  
Whipple had planned an attack on the village at dawn, but the approach was across hilly terrain  
through some calculating error the camp lay ten miles farther than supposed  
Captain's Whipple's troops came down a hillside opposite Looking Glass' village on Clear Creek  
by its junction with the Clearwater River (near present-day Kooskia, Idaho) -- Sunday July 1, 1877  
well within the Nez Perce reservation

Looking Glass, who had maintained neutrality to this point, sent Peopeo Tholekt  
to tell the soldiers Looking Glass insisted he had had no part in the troubles  
further, since he was already on the reservation his people should not be harassed  
after treating Peopeo Tholekt roughly, Captain Whipple sent him back  
with the demand that Looking Glass come to talk himself

Looking Glass refused and sent Peopeo and Red Heart, another Nez Perce, back to try to talk again  
as the two Indians talked with Lieutenant Sevier M. Rains, Washington Holmes,  
a half-breed volunteer, fired his rifle across the river and Red Heart fell wounded  
this single shot ignited a powder keg

Soldiers opened fire on the village with Gatling guns and charged across Clear Creek

spraying the forty families in the village with gunfire -- Nez Perce fled into the woods

one Indian was killed and four were wounded

one woman and her infant were drowned as they tried to cross the swift Clearwater River  
neutral Looking glass was now a hostile leader

#### CHIEF LOOKING GLASS AND HIS NON-TREATY NEZ PERCE ESCAPE

Looking Glass' Alpowais Free Band, friendly to whites, fled eastward to the mountains

and the safety of Nez Perce Chief Red Owl's camp on the South Fork of the Clearwater River

Apparently frustrated by not being able to capture Chief White Bird

Captain Stephen G. Whipple destroyed the village and captured the band's twelve hundred horses  
these were driven to Mount Idaho, Idaho Territory -- July 1, 1877

#### CAPTAIN STEPHEN G. WHIPPLE ENTERS MOUNT IDAHO

After attacking the Free Band of Nez Perce Indians under Chief Looking Glass

Captain Whipple's First Cavalry, Companies E and L and twenty Idaho volunteers

reached the town of Mount Idaho where Whipple received word from General Howard

that Captain David Perry would arrive at Cottonwood Ranch with an ammunition train

Whipple was to hurry in that direction with his cavalry

and arrive before Joseph and White Bird could attack -- July 1, 1877

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD ARRIVES AT GRANGEVILLE

General Howard reached Grangeville, Idaho Territory in the early hours of July 1, 1877

where he was reunited with the remains of Captain David Perry's First Cavalry Company F

in Grangeville, Howard learned from friendly Indians that some young men

of Looking Glass' Free Band had slipped away to join the hostile bands

General Howard was a man with many problems

more than a dozen Idaho Territory settlements demanded his small army protect them

military leaders in the War Department suggested decisive action would be appropriate

Nez Perce he was facing were a powerful and determined foe as proven by the fight

at White Bird Canyon where their courage and marksmanship shattered two of his companies

now they had slipped away and were moving casually across central Idaho

Howard had adequate reason to believe that Chief Joseph was a military genius

#### CAPTAIN WHIPPLE RIDES OUT TO MEET CAPTAIN PERRY

After spending the night Captain Stephen G. Whipple and First Cavalry, Company L left Mount Idaho

they reached Norton's and Chamberlain's Cottonwood Ranch on Camas Prairie -- July 2, 1877

Captain Whipple sent two citizen volunteer scouts, William Foster and young Charles Blewett,

to reconnoiter the vicinity of Craig's Ferry where the Nez Perce had crossed the Salmon River

in order to determine the exact location and strength of the fleeing Nez Perce

## GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD MAKES SLOW PROGRESS IN CATCHING THE NEZ PERCE

General Howard's army pushed toward the summit of Brown's Mountain -- July 2, 1877

the followed the trail of the fleeing Nez Perce which was well marked Indian trail, well-marked  
by the passage of their fifteen hundred ponies

but the rugged terrain kept progress to an average of ten or twelve miles per day

several pack mules lost their footing on the slippery grades

and plunged into canyons hundreds of feet below

artillerymen, unused to campaigning, complained bitterly as they tried to keep up

Captain J.G. Trimble and First Cavalry Company H joined Howard on the march

Heavy sleet and rain pummeled General Howard's Brown's Mountain camp

## CAPTAIN WHIPPLE'S SCOUT RETURNS WITH INFORMATION REGARDING LOOKING GLASS

Scout William Foster returned to Whipple's camp on a lathered horse -- toward evening July 2, 1877

he said he had found the Indians about twelve miles away heading for nearby Craig Mountain

he been fired at and young Charles Blewett had probably been killed in the attack

they had become separated and he had not seen the other scout since

## SKIRMISH NEAR COTTONWOOD RANCH, IDAHO TERRITORY

Captain Stephen G. Whipple, realized Captain David Perry's ammunition train was in danger

Whipple's First Cavalry, Companies E and L and his remaining volunteers

began construction of a defensive position

rifle pits were dug near Norton's and Chamberlain's Cottonwood Ranch

Captain Whipple directed Second Lieutenant Sevier M. Rains with ten soldiers

accompanied by the scout William Foster and one other civilian to proceed at once

to provide assistance to the young scout Charles Blewett

and to ascertain the strength of the Looking Glass' band -- evening July 3, 1877

Warriors led by Five Wounds and Rainbow saw Lieutenant Rains and his men coming

Chief Looking Glass concealed a large force of warriors in a shallow ravine

along both sides of the road two miles north of Cottonwood Ranch

when Rains entered the shallow ravine

Indians sprung the trap pouring a hail of bullets on the volunteers

Yellow Wolf, who related several Nez Perce war stories, said Rains and his men

expected to be reinforced so they took cover behind boulders

Captain Stephen G. Whipple's troops heard gunfire as they were mounting their horses,

they charged forward at a gallop

after covering about two miles they saw the warriors in force and well entrenched half a mile away

Whipple realized his few men would suffer a disastrous loss if he charged the Indians' position

so he stopped his First Cavalry and volunteers

Whipple witnessed the fearful sight of Second Lieutenant Sevier M. Rains  
and his and ten doomed volunteers being picked off one by one  
until all of the eleven men in Rains' detail were killed -- evening, July 3

#### CAPTAIN STEPHEN G. WHIPPLE FACES AN IMPOSSIBLE DECISION

Captain Whipple had lost both of his scouts and all of Rains' men -- he dared not risk more lives  
yet, if he retreated to Mount Idaho he would expose Captain David Perry to the same fate as Rains  
resulting in the loss of the ammunition supply train

Whipple decided to move forward a short distance from the massacre site  
to a more defensible position on open ground on the east side of a ravine  
he halted, dismounted and deployed his men in two long lines

he placed his Gatling guns between the two lines of soldiers

Five Wounds, Rainbow and Two Moon and their warriors were on the west side of the canyon  
they were too far away for effective action -- dusk July 3, 1877  
both sides, one thousand yards apart, continued to fire on each other for two hours  
when the Indians withdrew, Captain Stephen Whipple made camp for the night

#### SECOND SKIRMISH NEAR COTTONWOOD RANCH

Captain Stephen G. Whipple's First Cavalry, Companies E and L and his remaining volunteers  
started out again to find Captain David Perry and the supply train -- morning July 4, 1877  
after several miles Whipple established a defensive position

Captain David Perry, coming from Fort Lapwai with the pack train, was unaware of any danger  
riding over the brow of a hill he looked down in amazement to see Whipple's troops  
several miles from Cottonwood Ranch stretched out in battle formation

Perry rushed his pack train and detail of twenty men forward  
they reached Whipple without being fired on

Captain Perry, as senior officer, assumed command

his united force marched back to Whipple's former position at Cottonwood Ranch  
here Perry received instructions from General Howard to wait for further orders from him

#### GENERAL HOWARD LEARNS OF THE ATTACK ON CAPTAIN STEPHEN G. WHIPPLE

General Oliver Otis Howard was in his camp located in Rocky Canyon  
when he received word that Nez Perce warriors had struck

Captain Stephen G. Whipple's command sent to capture Chief Looking Glass  
at Cottonwood Ranch on Camas Prairie -- July 4, 1877

Howard incorrectly believed this was a Nez Perce raiding party

he thought Chief Joseph would again re-cross the Salmon to meet Looking Glass  
instead Joseph moved north of Cottonwood Ranch

and thus placed his warriors between General Howard and Captain Perry



General Howard dispatched civilian Colonel Edward McConville's Lewiston volunteers and civilian Captain George Hunter's volunteers from Dayton to ford the Salmon River and go in support to Cottonwood Ranch this was, in fact, the entire body of fleeing Nez Perce who had re-crossed the Salmon River

#### COTTONWOOD RANCH IS AGAIN ATTACKED BY THE NEZ PERCE

Captain David Perry's First Cavalry Company F and supply train and Captain Stephen G. Whipple First Cavalry, Companies E and L were camped at Cottonwood Ranch on Camas Prairie -- July 4, 1877 facing Chief Looking Glass' warriors Joseph and his Free Bands of Nez Perce were camped only three miles to the west Nez Perce Indians gathered in force and completely surrounded the soldiers' camp at Norton's and Chamberlain's Cottonwood Ranch an attack was made in an effort to dislodge the troops this continued until the Indians withdrew to their camp -- sundown, Wednesday, July 4

#### CAPTAIN DAVID PERRY'S COMMAND REMAINS CAMPED AT COTTONWOOD RANCH

Nez Perce Indians appeared at Norton's and Chamberlain's Cottonwood Ranch once again Captain David Perry sent two messengers to General Oliver Otis Howard to inform him of the dire situation faced by Perry's troops -- morning July 5, 1877 Perry's command waited for hours for an attack as they watched the Indians increase in number Captain Stephen G. Whipple's men were occupied with construction of defenses just east of Cottonwood Ranch suddenly two mounted men, pursued by warriors, galloped madly toward the command post both safely reached the soldiers' lines they were the messengers who had been sent to General Howard other couriers dared not leave the fortifications Captain Perry believed his troops were outnumbered by nearly three to one he wisely refrained from making any sorties

#### NEZ PERCE ATTACK CAPTAIN DAVID PERRY'S POSITION AT COTTONWOOD RANCH

Expected attack by Looking Glass's Nez Perce Indians began about noon July 5, 1877 Alpowais warriors charged all of the soldiers' exposed positions at the same time braves crawled through the tall grass until they were discovered within fifty feet of the soldiers from their elevated position the troops repulsed every charge until the main body of Indians finally withdrew -- however, firing continued for some time

#### CONCERN FOR THE SOLDIERS IS HIGH IN MOUNT IDAHO, IDAHO TERRITORY

Citizens of Mount Idaho had not heard from Captain Stephen Whipple for two days

volunteer Captain Darius B. Randall received word that the Indians were gathered in force at Cottonwood Ranch

where they had attacked Whipple's and Perry's commands -- afternoon July 5, 1877

Citizens from the town organized a volunteer company under Captain Randall

they were dubbed the "The Brave Seventeen" and set out immediately to relieve Perry's troops

#### VOLUNTEER CAPTAIN RANDALL'S MOUNT IDAHO MEN COME UNDER ATTACK

Within two miles of Captain David Perry's position "The Brave Seventeen" were attacked

by an estimated at 125 of Chief Looking Glass' Alpowais warriors who had left the main body which was then engaged in driving their herds of animals across the prairie

Volunteer Captain Darius B. Randall ordered a charge through the Indians' lines

apparently hoping it would carry his force through to the troops

They had almost gained their objective when Randall and B.F. Evans fell mortally wounded

volunteers dismounted and hoped to hold their position until help could come from the regulars

#### VOLUNTEERS' FIGHT IS OBSERVED BY CAPTAIN PERRY AND HIS TROOPS

Captain Stephen G. Whipple was standing on the hill where defense works were being constructed

he noticed a commotion on a nearby summit where a few volunteers were located

Captain David Perry came walking toward Whipple and asked the cause of the excitement

Perry was informed that volunteers apparently from Mount Idaho were under attack

Whipple insisted, although he was outranked, that support be sent to their aid

Perry delayed sending help to the volunteers because he feared that if he left his barricade

his ammunition train would fall into the hands of the Indians

and, if he divided his force of one hundred, neither division could resist an attack

by what he believed to be 250-300 warriors -- let alone save the citizens from massacre (more probably his delay was prompted by caution)

Whipple pleaded with his superior to risk the ammunition and save the civilians' lives

as the two officers debated, about twenty-five soldiers without orders

led by Sergeant Bernard Simpson dashed from their safe location to join in the fight

their daring act caused Captain Perry, at last, to move

he sent out a cavalry detachment under Captain Whipple

in the face of Whipple's attack, the Looking Glass' Indians withdrew -- evening, July 5, 1877

civilians had withstood their engagement for a full hour but the Indians had shot their horses

two volunteers were killed, another was mortally wounded and several more were injured

#### CAPTAIN PERRY WITHDRAWS BACK TO COTTONWOOD RANCH

Before a counterattack could be launched by the Indians, Perry's united force of soldiers and citizens

regrouped at Norton's and Chamberlain's Cottonwood Ranch with the ammunition wagons

sporadic firing kept the Captain David Perry's men occupied

Captain Perry' camp was reinforced when volunteer Colonel Edward McConville arrived with seventy-five Lewiston, Idaho Territory men -- evening July 5

but they were too late to be of any assistance to ill-fated volunteer Captain Darius B. Randall Nez Perce warriors engaged the attention of the troops at Cottonwood Ranch with sporadic gunfire while the main body of Looking Glass' Alpowais Free Band prepared their families and animals for a dash from the timbered slopes of Craig Mountain

#### FREE BANDS OF NEZ PERCE CONTINUE THEIR ESCAPE

Joseph, Ollokot, White Bird and Toohoolhoolzote bypassed the soldiers at Cottonwood Ranch they crossed Camas Prairie to the South Fork of the Clearwater River -- July 6, 1877

warriors from their bands raided abandoned farms and ranches on the prairie

ten miles from Mount Idaho, Henry Croasdaile's house was gutted

all furniture, bedding and groceries were stolen or destroyed

James C. Cearley lost his barn

John Flynn and John Healey both had their houses, barns clothing and provisions burned

as was the home of D. H. Howser who had died of his wounds at Cottonwood Ranch

farmer J. C. Harris reported that sixteen acres of wheat and timothy had been ruined

but the most damaging were those homesteads along the South Fork of the Clearwater

as Nez Perce raiders burned houses and barns and destroyed fences and crops

belonging to George Dempster, D. M. Jones, William Grotts, James T. Silverwood,

Thelbert Wall and Arthur Williams

Free Bands of Nez Perce Indians traveled diagonally between Cottonwood Ranch and Grangeville as they followed the narrowing canyon of Cottonwood Creek to its mouth

#### GENERAL HOWARD REMAINS IN HIS ROCKY CANYON CAMP

General Howard attempted to re-cross the raging Salmon River but failed -- morning July 6, 1877

Howard sent word to Captain Stephen G. Whipple that his raft had been swept away by the current

General Howard ordered twenty horses left behind by the Nez Perce shot

#### CAPTAIN DAVID PERRY LEARNS OF THE ESCAPE OF THE NEZ PERCE FREE BANDS

Gunfire forced soldiers and scouts to remain inside the Cottonwood Ranch defenses

this prevented the troops assigned to stop the Nez Perce from crossing Camas Prairie

from learning of the Nez Perce escape until late in the afternoon July 6, 1877

when Captain David Perry and his men saw herds of horses and cattle

six or eight miles away as they raced from the woods and galloped over the prairie

in the direction of the Clearwater River accompanied by the women and children

Perry and Whipple were outnumbered and pursuit would leave the ammunition wagons exposed

therefore, the troops sat and watched the flight of Joseph, Toohoolhoolzote, and White Bird

volunteer Colonel Edward McConville decided to return to Mount Idaho

to reorganize and acquire supplies

#### FLEEING NEZ PERCE FREE BANDS CAMP ON THE SOUTH FORK OF THE CLEARWATER

Joseph, Ollokot, White Bird and Toohoolhoolzote chose a place to camp

they set up their temporary village on both sides of the South Fork of the Clearwater River

on the South Fork of the Clearwater River -- evening July 6, 1877

where they waited to see what General Oliver Otis Howard would do next

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD IS UNABLE TO RE-CROSS THE SALMON RIVER

General Howard had no nearby means of crossing the Salmon River -- most of his men were on foot

part of the day was spent trying to swim the Cavalry and their horses across

but this was a failure -- July 7, 1877

when a raft was tried this also failed

(how the whole tribe of Indians with horses, women, papooses, etc., got across was a mystery and remains so today)

General Howard ordered a two-day march back to White Bird Crossing -- July 7

#### CHIEF LOOKING GLASS JOINS THE FLEEING FREE BANDS OF NEZ PERCE

Refugees from Chief Looking Glass' destroyed village left their Craig Mountain camp

they journeyed east-southeast to the bank of the South Fork of the Clearwater River -- July 7, 1877

Joseph, White Bird and Toohoolhoolzote were camped along the Clearwater River

where they were overtaken by Chief Looking Glass and his followers -- most traveling on foot

now the Nez Perce camp was composed of about 740 natives

of which 545 were women and children

only 195 braves were in camp and they were expected to protect and defend

five hundred Indian women and children

some were too old to fight while others were disabled or faint-hearted

also it was necessary for some men to watch over and drive the herds

Looking Glass was asked by the fleeing Free Bands of Nez Perce to serve as war chief:

- sixty warriors were from Joseph's band,
- fifty braves were led by the mild, elderly White Bird,
- forty fighters were contributed by the agile Looking Glass,
- thirty were headed by the aging but still remarkably powerful Toohoolhoolzote,
- fifteen others were Palouse Indians led by Hahtalekin Palos

#### FLEEING FREE BANDS OF NEZ PERCE INDIANS ARE AGAIN ON THE MOVE

Joseph, White Bird and Toohoolhoolzote, now Looking Glass proposed to move east

across the Bitterroot Mountains into the country of their friends the Crow Indians

they forded many of their animals to the north side of the Middle Clearwater -- July 8, 1877

at about the same time, many people in the camp rode to Kamiah, Idaho Territory  
there they crossed the Middle Fork of the Clearwater River to attend a Dreamer service

#### VOLUNTER COLONEL EDWARD McCONVILLE SEARCHES FOR THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE

Colonel Edward McConville had left Mount Idaho with his seventy-five Lewiston men -- July 8, 1877  
after receiving ammunition from Howard's command at the mouth of White Bird Creek

McConville's command crossed to Cottonwood Creek then followed that stream until dark  
camp was established by the volunteers on a hill above the Salmon River

at the intersection of Canoe Encampment Trail and Rocky Canyon Trail

they had no idea how close the fleeing Nez Perce were to them

McConville sent ten of his Lewiston volunteers to a high hill about a half-mile away

he gave orders to hold the hill at all costs and to give the alarm if the Indians approached

During the night pickets informed McConville the Nez Perce village less than a mile away

McConville dispatched a rider, John McPherson, to notify General Howard of the discovery  
Colonel McConville sent ten men to a high hill about one-half mile away

soon two more volunteers, George Riggins and P. C. Malin, rode to Mount Idaho to find Howard

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD LEARNS THE FIGHT AT COTTONWOOD RANCH

Colonel McConville's messenger, John McPherson, arrived in Howard's camp -- night July 8, 1877

he informed the general of the Nez Perce trail discovered by the Lewiston volunteers

An hour later Captain David Perry's and Captain Stephen Whipple's First Cavalry  
arrived in Howard's camp

Howard was informed of the attack on Whipple and Perry

and the massacre of Lieutenant Rains' detachment

and of the location of the fleeing Nez Perce Indians

#### COLONEL EDWARD McCONVILLE LEARNS DETAILS OF THE NEZ PERCE VILLAGE

Two of civilian Colonel Edward McConville's men, Lieutenants Luther P. Wilmot and James Cearley,  
approached to within one-half mile of the village -- July 9, 1877

they counted seventy-two tepees and over 150 horses at difference places around the camp

they watched the sun come up and the village come to life --then rode back to report

After some discussion, civilian Colonel McConville decided to stay put  
and send word to General Howard (after dark)

#### GENERAL HOWARD MARCHES FROM WHITE BIRD CROSSING ON THE SALMON RIVER

General Howard, now reinforced by Captain Perry and Captain Whipple's troops,

started north in the hope of catching the fleeing Free Bands of Nez Perce Indians -- July 9, 1877

After a full day's march Howard went into camp on the east side of the South Fork of the Clearwater

General Howard's exhausted artillerymen and infantrymen had fallen far behind the cavalry

Howard awaited the arrival of his infantry who had to be transported from the Salmon River  
in wagons sent from Grangeville

exhausted infantrymen reached camp about 8:00 P.M.

(Howard remained in camp the next day awaiting the arrival of his artillerymen)

#### COLONEL EDWARD McCONVILLE REMAINS IN CAMP NEAR THE SALMON RIVER

Civilian Colonel McConville remained in his camp on a hill above the Salmon River  
about a mile from the temporary village of the fleeing Nez Perce families

One of McConville's men inadvertently fired his rifle which forced a change in plans  
when the warriors responded McConville's volunteers filled kettles and canteens with water  
then began constructing a defensive position behind the rocks on the hill

Nez Perce warriors surrounded Colonel McConville's isolated position on the hill  
which became known alternately as "Misery Hill," "Mount Misery," or "Fort Misery"  
climbing a nearby hill, the Indians taunted the Lewiston volunteers to fight  
suddenly the air was filled with unearthly yells, screeches and wild bird screams, wolf barks  
and panther screams -- about midnight

#### NEZ PERCE WARRIORS ATTACK COLONEL EDWARD McCONVILLE'S POSITION

Nez Perce sharpshooters opened fire on the Lewiston volunteers -- 1:00 A.M. July 10, 1877  
they kept this up until dawn

during the night the forty-three of the volunteers' horses were captured and the others stampeded  
Indians began to once again mock the volunteers -- 7:00 A.M.

as warriors formed in preparation for an attack -- but no attack came

Suddenly the Nez Perce pulled back and returned to the South Fork of the Clearwater River

Colonel McConville's men waited on the hill until late in the afternoon

when they saw thirty warriors move upstream to attack a small party of volunteers  
arriving from Mount Idaho under Major George Shearera

McConville directed Lew Wilmot and twenty men forward and they headed off the warriors  
one Nez Perce Indian was shot and an Indian horse was killed

Indians pulled back allowing Shearer's party to reach Misery Hill

Colonel Edward McConville learned from Shearer that General Howard  
had crossed to the east side of the Clearwater River's South Fork

#### CIVILIAN COLONEL EDWARD McCONVILLE LEAVES "MISERY HILL"

Colonel McConville and his Lewiston volunteers low on provisions, slipped out of Fort Misery  
to return to Mount Idaho on foot -- morning July 11, 1877

They halted for the night at James C. Cearley's ravaged property

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD IS ON THE MOVE AGAIN

General Howard broke his hill camp along the South Fork of the Clearwater River -- July 11, 1877

he marched along a broad ridge between the forks of the Clearwater River

his left flank faced toward the South Fork

in the lead were four companies of the Company F commanded by Captain David Perry

Captain Trimble's Company H had the honor of leading the advance guard

with six mounted troopers at the very front

they were followed by five companies of the Twenty-First Infantry under Captain Evan Miles

following the cavalry came five batteries (companies) of the Fourth Artillery acting as infantry

led by Captain Marcus P. Miller

next came two howitzers and their crews under Second Lieutenant Harrison G. Otis

and two Gatling guns and their Fourth Artillery crews

at the rear were the civilian volunteers

Nez Perce Indians had already named Howard "General Day After Tomorrow"

because he was always two days behind them

#### BATTLE AT THE CLEARWATER RIVER BEGINS

Blistering heat of the noon-day sun parched the soldier, volunteers, horses and rye grass

General Oliver Otis Howard's army, drenched with sweat, followed the crest of Clearwater Canyon

One of General Howard's aides, Lieutenant R.H. Fletcher, led a slow-moving column toward the river

he suddenly discovered a handful of natives

he raced back to General Howard with the message: **"The Indians are down there sir, I'm sure**

**it's the Nez Perce. Plenty of ponies grazing."**<sup>65</sup>

Nez Perce also had discovered Howard's army and were quickly moving their livestock upstream

General Howard determined the Nez Perce were not on the reservation

he ordered a howitzer brought forward and placed on the bluff above the Indian camp

his cannon began to fire across the river from too great a distance to be effective

shells exploded harmlessly overhead -- Wednesday afternoon July 11, 1877

After ten minutes of ineffective fire, the Gatling guns and both howitzers were moved to a nearer bluff

Nez Perce were struck hard by Howard's artillery

confusion swept through the Nez Perce camp -- an all-out attack was expected immediately

braves hurriedly began to drive cattle and ponies down the Clearwater Canyon

Parties of warriors, about sixty in each, set out to defend the village

Rainbow moved north of the camp and entered a ravine that led directly to the soldier's position

mounted warriors burst from the ravine's head to attack Howard's entire command

Ollokot moved his warriors to the south where there was bluff between the ravine and the village

Nez Perce sharpshooters fired on Howard's men

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<sup>65</sup> Bruce A. Wilson, *From Where the Sun Now Stands*, The Omak Chronicle, 1960.

## BATTLE OF THE CLEARWATER RIVER SETTLES DOWN TO TRENCH WARFARE

General Howard was a capable soldier but he became overly cautious

he halted his troops and deployed them in a twisting semi-circle two miles long  
soldiers dug in with trowel bayonets

amazingly, no more than twenty-five warriors had stopped 500 soldiers -- July 11, 1877

Encouraged by Howard's defensive posture, the Nez Perce scramble up the slope

Toohoolhoolzote led twenty-four warriors across the Clearwater River and up the embankment  
determined to slow Howard's advance, they dismounted and fired from behind rocks  
they nearly surrounded one of the howitzers and one of the Gatling guns

swarms of bullets hummed through the air

when not in battle soldiers were seldom issued ammunition

they were provided only two rounds a month -- their marksmanship was incredibly poor  
one warrior rode the length of the battle line, within easy range of the troops

he earned himself the name Kipkip Owyee (Wounded Breast)

other Nez Perce, yelling and firing, closed in on Howard's pack train at the rear of his column  
two packers and several loaded mules went down

but as warriors came within fifty yards of seven mules carryings most of Howard's ammunition  
cavalry troops arrived just in time and the warriors were forced to turn away

Nez Perce warriors piled up rocks for cover

Indian sharpshooters picked off the artillery crew

Yellow Wolf said: **"I looked for an officer. I fired. He did not get up."**

however, because the Nez Perce who are firing uphill they usually tend to aim too high  
Nez Perce fighters held the only source of water, a spring

Indian marksmen kept the soldiers from refilling their canteens during the hot afternoon  
Soldiers made two charges which resulted in their fighting in the open for almost half an hour  
most of the troops' casualties occurred during this effort to push the Nez Perce off the bluff top  
Captain David Perry's actions during the fight were brought into question

(Perry was twice tried before a court-martial

he was accused of making no effort to save the civilian party at Cottonwood Ranch  
and for his actions at the Battle at the Clearwater River

after considering the captain's reasons for not acting promptly

both courts exonerated him [1877 and 1878])

Thick smoke drifted across the battlefield

moving behind rocks and scrub pines the warriors gradually forced Howard's flanks  
until his line was almost a complete circle with 300 mules and horses in the center  
stacks of sheltering saddles protected Howard's command post

Fortunately for Howard's troops, a supply train from Fort Lapwai signaled by dust cloud  
could be seen in the distance

Captain Marcus P. Miller's artillerymen, being used as infantrymen,



broke through the Indian lines to escort the train  
At dusk the firing slackened  
many of the warriors stayed in camp because they believed their families to be safe  
but the army remained cut off from water  
that night the soldiers went without water, food or fires

#### BATTLE OF THE CLEARWATER CONTINUES FOR A SECOND DAY

General Howard was determined to bring water within his lines -- Thursday July 12, 1877  
Captain Marcus P. Miller led a party of the Fourth Artillery  
that stormed the enemy position about 9:00 A.M.  
they broke through the Indians' line and captured the spring near the Indian camp  
with the arrival of water cooks made coffee and bread  
these were issued to the troops as they remained at their posts  
Nez Perce leaders were surprised that General Howard did not charge or surround their camp  
most braves disapproved of the idea of attacking soldiers in entrenchments  
some braves sat in front of their tepees smoking which disgusted the others who felt less safe

#### NEZ PERCE INDIANS PREPARE TO MOVE THEIR CAMP

Realizing they could not hold off the army indefinitely,  
Chief Joseph, 200 warriors and 350 women, children and elderly opted to flee  
they began a remarkable 1,300-mile, three-month-long journey  
Chief Joseph ordered the camp be packed up and moved -- mid-afternoon July 12, 1877  
Joseph had fought on the line the day before as he had done at White Bird Canyon  
but he knew the end of this battle was near  
his primary task now was to safeguard the women and children and the horse herd  
as soon as the village began to move warriors left the battle and joined those who were fleeing  
Captain James Jackson was seen to be bringing the pack train forward  
Captain Marcus P. Miller's Fourth Artillery acting as infantrymen  
was sent to escort it within the battle lines  
as Captain Miller passed by the General Howard's front  
he quickly and unexpectedly charged the Indians  
after a few moments of furious fighting the Nez Perce gave way and fled in confusion  
they were quickly pursued by the whole army  
Chief Joseph led the Indian people out of sight up a flanking ravine moving toward Kamiah Ferry  
and the trail leading to buffalo country by the Lolo Fork of the Clearwater River

#### INDIAN CAMP ON THE SOUTH FORK OF THE CLEARWATER IS CAPTURED

General Oliver Otis Howard attacked an empty Indian camp -- July 12, 1877  
a few members of the native rear guard slowed the army's advance

until the last of the women and children disappeared over a rise  
General Howard found food still cooking -- they occupied what was left of the village  
soon General Howard's coffee was boiling in the abandoned Indian camp  
soldiers' spirits picked up with their success

#### COLONEL EDWARD McCONVILLE AGAIN PURSUES THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE

Colonel McConville received word from General Howard that the fleeing Nez Perce  
were withdrawing toward Kamiah, Idaho Territory -- July 12, 1877  
Lewiston volunteers, now mounted on horses obtained from Mount Idaho citizens,  
rode away from James C. Cearley's farm to rejoin General Howard's command  
with his withdrawal from Misery Hill McConville lost all chance of coordinating  
with General Howard in an attack on the Nez Perce camp

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD PURSUES THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE INDIANS

General Howard chased the fleeing Nez Perce Free Bands from their Clearwater camp  
to where he saw the Nez Perce crossing the Clearwater River about twelve miles north  
of the village of Kamiah, Idaho Territory -- July 13, 1877  
Howard rushed his forces forward, but he was too late  
one of his cavalrymen was wounded in a skirmish with the natives  
General Howard found he could not ford the South Fork of the Clearwater River  
so he did not pursue the fleeing natives and thus perhaps lost a good chance to end his mission

#### GENERAL HOWARD RETURNS TO THE VILLAGE OF KAMIAH, IDAHO TERRITORY

General Oliver Otis Howard marched his troops twelve miles to Kamiah to wait for reinforcements  
and prepare for a long chase -- July 13, 1877  
while in the village, the general received stinging reprimands from the press  
because of his delay in pursuing the fleeing Nez Perce Indians  
Howard counted his losses: thirteen killed and twenty-seven wounded  
Indian casualties were reported as four dead and six wounded  
Nez Perce had fought five-to-one odds against them to a standstill until the army lost its incentive  
General Howard said: **"I do not think that I had to exercise more thorough generalship during  
the Civil War than I did in that march to the battlefield and in the ensuing battle with Joseph and his  
Indians on the banks of the Clearwater."**<sup>66</sup>  
"General Day After Tomorrow" was content to report a victory at the Clearwater River  
Idaho settlers could now relax as the Nez Perce departed from the Department of the Columbia

#### GENERAL HOWARD ORGANIZES HIS CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE

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<sup>66</sup> George W. Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest*, P. 267.

General Oliver Otis Howard planned to proceed with three columns:

- right column, personally commanded by Howard, would keep on the non-treaties' trail  
it would consist of:

Captain Marcus P. Miller who led the Fourth Artillery battalion  
Companies A, C, D, E, G, L and M;

Captain Evan Miles who led an infantry battalion made up of Eighth Infantry Company H,  
and Twelfth Infantry Company C -- (both recently from Fort Yuma, Arizona Territory)  
and Twenty-first Infantry Companies C, D, E, H, and I

Major George B. Sanford led a third battalion of First Cavalry Companies B, C, I and K  
all were cavalry companies not previously extensively involved in the campaign  
this command consisted of forty-seven officers, 540 enlisted men,  
seventy-four civilians and Indian scouts and approximately seventy packers

- left column, commanded by Colonel Frank Wheaton, was to march across Coeur d'Alene country  
over the Mullan Road to Missoula, Montana Territory where it would meet General Howard  
they were to check potential allies of the Nez Perce fighters among the local Indians  
this command was comprised of ten companies of Wheaton's Second Infantry  
then on their way from Atlanta, Georgia (where they began July 13)  
and First Cavalry Companies F and H along with two companies of mounted volunteers  
from Washington Territory

Wheaton's command numbered thirty-six officers and 440 enlisted men

- Howard's reserve column led by Major Jerome A. Greene would remain  
at Henry Croasdaile's ranch on Cottonwood Creek ten miles from Mount Idaho  
and sixteen from Kamiah

Major Greene's command consisted of First Cavalry Companies D, E, G, and L

Twelfth Infantry Companies B and F and a unit of Warm Springs Indian scouts  
Greene's force numbered twenty-two officers, 245 enlisted men and thirty-five scouts

Green would oversee an army subdepot at Kamiah, Idaho Territory  
with an artillery detachment and two pieces stationed there

and man an outpost at Mount Idaho for the local volunteers

Green's command also would make frequent patrols of the crossings of the Salmon River  
and the South Fork of the Clearwater

and the country between the Salmon and the Snake rivers with instructions

to bring in any parties or families associated with the nontreaty Nez Perce

## GENERAL HOWARD DOES NOT WANT LOCAL MILITIA FIGHTING THE INDIANS

Howard would have been disgusted had he learned of Montana Territory Governor Benjamin F. Potts  
had called for volunteers to go with him "to the front"

Ranchers in the Bitterroot Valley followed the news regarding the fleeing Nez Perce  
as they rushed to prepare defenses

some locals patched up the old trading post of Fort Owen (Stevensville, Montana) to the south (along today's highway 93) Corvallis, Montana residents built a sod stockade which was divided into rooms by wagon boxes even further south (near today's Grantsdale) ranchers took their wives and children to stay in the valley's settlements, stocked up on ammunition, and prepared to defend themselves

#### TELEGRAPH WIRES ARE BROUGHT INTO PLAY BY GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD

General Howard believed the Nez Perce must move into Montana Territory he sent a telegram to Lieutenant General Philip H. Sheridan commander of the Military Division of the Missouri headquartered in Chicago General Sheridan headed the largest military district in the nation Montana Territory lay within the Department of Dakota commanded by Brigadier General Alfred H. Terry from St. Paul, Minnesota Commander of the Missouri Military Division Colonel Samuel D. Sturgis was stationed at Fort Abraham Lincoln, North Dakota when the fleeing Nez Perce crossed the Bitterroots into Montana Territory they entered the department's District of Western Montana commanded by Colonel John Gibbon from Fort Shaw

Gibbon was the hero of South Mountain during the Civil War [September 14, 1862]

General Howard sent a message to Colonel John Gibbon requesting he intercept the hostiles as the telegram stated: **“All reports seem to indicate the hostile Indians have escaped by the Lolo trail...If you simply keep them back until I can close in, their destruction or surrender will be sure.”**<sup>67</sup>

#### COLONEL JOHN GIBBON ORDERED TROOPS TO INTERCEPT THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE

Colonel Gibbon immediately contacted Captain Charles C. Rawn Captain had arrived in Montana Territory only a month earlier to build a military post near the town of Missoula, Montana (later named Fort Missoula) in Colonel John Gibbon's Western Montana District Colonel Gibbon placed Captain Rawn in command of the Seventh Infantry, Company I Captain Rawn was ordered to block the renegades at the mouth of Lolo Creek until General Howard could arrive he was to keep the peace and, if possible, convince the Nez Perce to surrender Rawn obtained a promise from Flathead Indians that they would not help their old allies Captain Rawn took three officers, thirty-four soldiers and fifty volunteers six miles up the Lolo Trail

#### GENERAL OF THE ARMY WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN VISITS THE WEST

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<sup>67</sup> Bruce A. Wilson, *From Where the Sun Now Stands*, The Omak Chronicle, 1960.

General Sherman, the highest ranking officer in the United States Army,

was on a tour of western forts -- summer 1877

he left Fort Ellis (near Billings, Montana) to visit Yellowstone Park as a tourist  
accompanied by eleven people

two officers, his son, a packer-guide, three drivers and only four soldiers

Sherman and his party visited Mammoth Hot Springs, Mount Washburn,

the Lower Falls of the Yellowstone, the geyser basins and Old Faithful

both Yellowstone's beauty and geologic features impressed the tourists

#### CHIEF JOSEPH PROPOSES TO SURRENDER

Chief Joseph suggested talking peace but the more aggressive leaders refused to listen

General Oliver Otis Howard received the surprising message that Joseph and his Wallowa Band  
wished to surrender -- July 15, 1877

while Looking Glass, White Bird and Toohoolhoolzote planned to continue eastward

(Joseph failed to appear the next day to surrender

but thirty-five Nez Perce, including fourteen men, did

this bolstered the Army's view that the Nez Perce were disintegrating as a fighting force)

#### FLEEING NEZ PERCE FREE BAND CHIEFS MEET IN COUNCIL NEAR WEIPPE, IDAHO

Fleeing Free Bands of Nez Perce had left behind plenty of scouts to watch General Howard

as yet no plan for battle or for escape had been developed by the Indians

few had the slightest conception they were fighting the United States government

they believed their enemy was General Oliver Otis Howard

Leaders of the five independent bands met to discuss their options twenty miles from Kamiah

- Chief Joseph and Ollokot wanted to follow the Lolo trail to the Bitterroot Valley

then turn south and return to the Salmon and Snake river country via the Elk City Road

or Southern Nez Perce Trail and Nez Perce Pass (southwest of present Darby, Montana)

to their homeland in southern Idaho;

- White Bird argued for traveling through Flathead Indian country to Canada

to join with Lakota (Sioux) Chief Sitting Bull who had fled

after his [1876] defeat of Colonel George Armstrong Custer at the Battle of Little Bighorn;

- Chief Looking Glass proposed crossing the Lolo Trail from Idaho into Montana Territory;

- seventy-year-old Toohoolhoolzote believed as did other members of the Dreamer religion

that the spirit of the dead would rise up and help the Indians regain their homelands

#### FLEEING NEZ PERCE INDIANS DECIDE TO TRAVEL OVER LOLO PASS

Position offered by Looking Glass carried the day

but in the Nez Perce way, chiefs only suggested what people should do,

each band and each individual decided whether or not to follow the advice

Lolo trail was the major east-west link between north-central Idaho Territory and the Bitterroot Valley in Montana Territory  
from the area of Kamiah, Idaho the trail ran through densely forested land in Idaho's Clearwater Mountains and Montana's Bitterroot range there were myriads of landforms -- undulating ridges, swampy meadows and mountain peaks rising to seven thousand feet  
the lush beauty of the mountains was complicated by an inaccessible character that made passage an arduous undertaking

Lolo Pass (now called Packer's Meadows) was a spacious, level hollow about 5,200 feet in elevation at the divide between the Clearwater and Bitterroot mountains this route had been used by Indians for generations before the arrival of white men Lewis and Clark followed portions of the trail in their [1805-1806] passage to and from the Pacific Ocean  
traveling the Lolo trail was a wearing trek for those who tried it heavy timber growth and large uprooted trees felled by windstorms and heavy snows blocked the way  
moreover, the trail alternately ascended and descended numerous mountains and saddles rather than following one long ridge

Chief Joseph was bitterly disappointed -- the decision meant abandonment of his homeland forever he later said, **"We intended to go peaceably to the buffalo country and leave the question of returning to our country to be settled afterward."**<sup>68</sup>

#### FLEEING NEZ PERCE FAMILIES ESCAPE OVER THE LOLO TRAIL

Fleeing Free Bands of Nez Perce departed Weippe Prairie on the arduous 250-mile-long Lolo Trail crossing of the Rocky Mountains through Lolo Pass -- July 16, 1877  
scouts were left behind to watch the movements of the soldiers  
Leadership of about 700 Nez Perce including warriors and their families comprised of women, the very old and very young, the wounded and the lame along with more than two thousand head of loose horses and hundreds of dogs fell to Chief Looking Glass whose caravan all stretched out for several miles what might have appeared a logistical ordeal occurred with precision and dispatch generations of experience had ingrained the responsibility each family had in organizing packing and completing the daily transporting its property and maintaining harmony in the family and among tribal members  
Nez Perce struggled over the route which was hardly a trail thickets of lodgepole pines were blocked by jumbled windfalls of trees horses were whipped over boulders and through stinging underbrush

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<sup>68</sup> *National Geographic*. March, 1977, P. 420.

they were driven up staggering mountain grades and left behind when they were injured  
Indian women dug bitterroots and camas bulbs to keep the exiles alive  
they boiled marshland shrubbery into tea  
Indian men hunted deer and elk when they could  
some nights the rain fell in sheets -- mornings saw horses slither in glistening mud  
Fleeing Nez Perce believed that General Howard would not take his soldiers  
outside of his jurisdiction -- the Military Department of the Columbia

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD LOCATES THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE INDIANS

General Howard learned that the Nez Perce had moved their camp from Weippe Prairie  
about fifteen miles away from Howard's position  
he dispatched Major Edwin L. Mason with a strong force of soldiers and Nez Perce scouts  
and volunteer Colonel Edward McConville and his civilian Lewiston men  
to make sure the fleeing Indians followed the Lolo Trail  
and to see if their next move could be anticipated  
Major Mason stumbled into an ambush set up by the Nez Perce rear guard  
two of Mason's men were killed and one was wounded -- July 17, 1877

#### FLEEING NEZ PERCE FAMILIES REACH LOLO HOT SPRINGS

Lolo Hot Springs had been a traditional camp site for generations  
as families crossed the Rocky Mountains to hunt buffalo  
Here they received information that some soldiers lay ahead on the trail watching for their arrival  
this had not been anticipated as General Oliver Otis Howard was days behind them  
Looking Glass stated he did not want to fight soldiers or settlers east of Lolo  
because they had not taken part in the fighting in Idaho -- they were not part of the problem  
Looking Glass directed his warriors to fight only in self-defense and not initiate trouble

#### U.S. ARMY WAITS FOR THE ARRIVAL OF THE NEZ PERCE AT THE END OF THE LOLO TRAIL

Captain Charles C. Rawn with three officers, thirty-four soldiers and fifty volunteers  
had been assigned to stop the fleeing Nez Perce families  
Captain Rawn had selected a defensive position  
he and his men worked to construct a crude log barricade across the Lolo Trail  
shallow rifle pits were dug to prevent the Nez Perce from passing

#### FLEEING NEZ PERCE REACH MONTANA TERRITORY

Nez Perce scouts searched the Lolo trail ahead of the families of the fleeing Indians  
they were surprised to finding soldiers constructing defensive works across the trail ahead  
they knew General Howard was far behind  
these could not be General Howard's soldiers

Nez Perce were unaware Commander of the Western Montana District Colonel John Gibbon had entered the chase and his lead detachment was Charles C. Rawn's Looking Glass decided to hold a parley with the soldiers and contact was made Nez Perce sent their women, children and old people a safe distance away they spent two nights at Grave Creek Meadows As work progressed on Captain Charles C. Rawn's Seventh Infantry, Company I defensive outpost an advance party of Nez Perce crossing Lolo Pass fired on them just once in an effort to make their presence known -- July 25, 1877

#### GENERAL HOWARD COMPLETES PREPARATIONS TO PURSUE THE NEZ PERCE

General Howard marched his command out of Kamiah, Idaho Territory -- July 26, 1877 he spent three days crossing the Clearwater River in canvas boats preparatory to marching east on the Lolo trail Fourth Artillery Companies (Batteries) C and L arrived from San Francisco to augment Captain Marcus P. Miller's Fourth Artillery battalion with nearly fifty more men

#### LOOKING GLASS AND WHITE BIRD MEET WITH CAPTAIN CHARLES C. RAWN

As his men continued to prepare their defensive position, Captain Charles C. Rawn started up the Lolo Trail to meet with the Nez Perce leaders -- July 26, 1877 Looking Glass and White Bird received Charles Rawn cordially and listened to his proposal Rawn said he could not give assurances that no one would be hanged for the Idaho offenses because that was to be determined by a court of law Looking Glass asked the soldiers and volunteers in Bitterroot Valley to permit his band to pass he promised to do no harm to the whites this sounded like an excellent proposition to the volunteers who began deserting Captain Rawn demanded the Nez Perce surrender their arms, ammunition and horses -- they refused both sides agreed to meet again the next day after the chiefs had held council

#### CHIEF LOOKING GLASS CALLED A COUNCIL MEETING THAT NIGHT

Looking Glass noted he had tried to surrender in Idaho but instead his village was attacked by Captain Stephen G. Whipple Looking Glass told the gathered council members that he had discussed terms of peace with Captain Charles Rawn but the captain's terms were unacceptable -- night July 26, 1877

#### NEZ PERCE BYPASS CAPTAIN RAWN'S DEFENSIVE WORKS

After three days of standoff and unsuccessful talks between Captain Rawn and Chief Looking Glass Rawn's pickets reported the Nez Perce were packed and moving -- morning July 28, 1877 Rather than continue along the Lolo Trail toward Rawn's defensive works



Indians began to climb the steep ridge beside the ravine located a quarter mile west  
women, children, elders and wounded reached the top of the ridge with their livestock  
a screen of warriors appeared along the edge of the ravine  
they taunted the soldiers below -- by now the Indians were out of range and out of reach  
One of Captain Charles C. Rawn's officers prepared to attack the Indians' rear guard  
Captain Rawn's frustrated detachment caught the defenders of the fleeing people  
Nez Perce outnumbered Captain Rawn's force four-to-one

#### CAPTAIN CHARLES C. RAWN MARCHES BACK TOWARD MISSOULA

Captain Charles C. Rawn abandoned his defensive works and retired to the future Fort Missoula  
on their return to the military post several volunteers stopped to visit the Nez Perce camp  
Looking Glass received them in a friendly manner  
Captain Rawn was left wondering what kind of a report he might write  
to Colonel John Gibbon Commander of the Western Montana District  
since the Indians had nonchalantly walked around his defensive works  
Territorial newspapers were furious at Captain Rawn and his lack of courage since he had not attacked  
(although he had no order to do so)  
(members of the press later named Rawn's crude log barricade "Fort Fizzle")

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD MAKES FINAL PREPARATIONS FOR LOLO PASS

Howard accompanied by volunteer Colonel Edward McConville and his civilian Lewiston men  
investigated northeast to Weippe Prairie and returned without finding any Nez Perce  
because the Free Bands of Nez Perce were no longer appeared to be in Idaho Territory  
General Howard discharged his Washington volunteers -- July 28, 1877  
General Howard brought up some of his reserve troops  
Major George B. Sanford led the First Cavalry Companies C, I and K from Fort Boise  
they arrived at Kamiah adding 140 more soldiers to Howard's army -- July 28, 1877  
along with twenty-four Bannock (traditional enemies of the Nez Perce) scouts  
who were dressed in uniforms with bright sashes of stars and stripes  
Howard's force on the bank of the Clearwater River now numbered some 730 officers and men  
he also had a mule train of 350 animals ready to haul supplies for the army  
along while the artillery complement of two Gatling guns, two howitzers,  
and a small Coehorn mortar that fired a short range time-fused shell  
when these were dismantled they could be transported by mules

#### MOST OF THE NEZ PERCE ARE CONVINCED THEIR FIGHTING DAYS HAVE ENDED

Looking Glass believed General Oliver Otis Howard was far behind  
he set a leisurely pace as they traveled only ten or eleven miles a day in the direction  
of Yellowstone Park (which had been declared a national park five years before [1872])

Nez Perce zig-zagged up and down a series of lateral gulches  
since they believed the fight was over, the Indians calmly traveled south  
along the west bank of the Bitterroot River  
they took few precautions for defense, not sending out scouts or setting pickets to guard their camp  
Nez Perce moved peacefully through Montana's Bitterroot Valley  
they traded with whites in small villages along the way  
they paid farmers for supplies  
they committed no atrocities along the route of flight  
all the while they outwitted the American military regulars attempting to pursue them

#### COLONEL FRANK WHEATON AND HIS ARMY ARRIVE AT HOWARD'S CAMP

Colonel Wheaton led ten companies of the Second Infantry and First Cavalry Companies F and H  
west from Atlanta, Georgia (they began [July 13])  
Wheaton's command, which made up General Howard's left column,  
traveled by train to Oakland, California where they caught a steamer to Portland  
they traveled by boat up the Columbia River to Lewiston, Idaho Territory  
and marched to Howard's Clearwater River camp where they arrived -- July 29, 1877  
Major George B. Sanford's First Cavalry Companies B, C, I and K, the last of Wheaton's troops  
along with twenty-four Bannock scouts were assigned to Colonel Wheaton's command

#### FLEEING NEZ PERCE MAKE CAMP IN MONTANA TERRITORY'S BITTERROOT VALLEY

Free Bands of Nez Perce Indians camped near Stevensville, Montana Territory -- July 29-30, 1877  
for two days Nez Perce Free Bands visited Stevensville to shop at the Buck Brothers general store  
some merchants raised their prices and one storekeeper locked his door  
flour was in great demand as was ammunition and, for some, whiskey  
Looking Glass and others policed the street as supplies worth \$1,200 were purchased  
false rumors among the settlers of a bloody battle at Lolo Creek preceded the Indians  
however, these were put to rest as volunteers reached their homes and told of their experiences  
instead of attacking 250 people sheltered at Fort Own as falsely reported  
Nez Perce had camped three miles away

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD PURSUES THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE

To General Howard the war was not over  
he left his Clearwater River camp with 260 troops, supply wagons and a mule train  
carrying twenty days' worth of supplies -- July 30, 1877  
while the Nez Perce completed their shopping in Stevensville, Montana Territory  
Howard was almost three weeks behind the fleeing Nez Perce when his army ascended the Lolo trail  
under a driving rain that made the mountainous route slippery and difficult

## FLEEING NEZ PERCE INDIANS HOLD ANOTHER COUNCIL

During yet another council -- July 31, 1877

White Bird, Toohoolhoolzote and others proposed they turn north through Flathead County to reach Canada just in case it was necessary

Looking Glass insisted on a southerly route toward Wyoming Territory

and into the country of their longtime friends and allies, the Crow Indians

Joseph did not enter the discussion as he was not familiar with the country in either direction

his greatest desire was to return to the Wallowa Hills and his home

Looking Glass prevailed and the Nez Perce turned away from Canada

## FLEEING FREE BANDS OF NEZ PERCE MOVE SOUTH ALONG BITTERROOT VALLEY

In the Bitterroot Valley the fleeing Indians met a band of Bitterroot Nez Perce

under Chief Lean Elk who was an undersized metis with a booming voice

who was also known as "Poker Joe" for his love of cards

Lean Elk added to the numbers of fleeing Nez Perce people -- August 1, 1877

Nez Perce traveled at a leisurely pace of ten or eleven miles a day

since they knew General Howard was a long distance behind

they passed the settlement e of Fort Owen, Montana Territory

without harassing the frightened settlers -- August 1, 1877

Nez Perce were able to buy horses, guns and ammunition from settlers along the Lolo trail

they paid with gold

## GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD REQUESTS ADDITIONAL REINFORCEMENTS

When General Oliver Otis Howard crossed into Montana Territory,

he left the Department of the Columbia, in General Irvin McDowell's Division of the Pacific

and entered the Department of Dakota within General Phil Sheridan's Division of the Missouri

General Howard, then camped at Soldier Meadows, wrote a letter to Colonel Nelson A. Miles

at Tongue River Cantonment (later Fort Keogh) on the Yellowstone River -- August 1, 1877

although Miles was under General Sheridan's command, General Howard noted

there was a chance Miles could stop the Nez Perce along the Musselshell River

Tongue River Cantonment was constructed after the Battle of Little Big Horn

on the left bank of the Tongue River at that stream's confluence with the Yellowstone River

it was little more than a ramshackle group of mud-chinked cottonwood log huts with earthen roofs

Unknown to the fleeing Nez Perce Indians, after receiving General Howard's letter,

Colonel Nelson Miles sent Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane to the Musselshell River

Lieutenant Doane led the Seventh Cavalry, Company E and about sixty Crow Indians scouts

to watch for signs of the fleeing Nez Perce

maintaining the support of the Crow Indians was a major concern at this point

Lieutenant Doane had been instrumental in gaining their allegiance to the U.S. Army during the Nez Peace campaign

#### COLONEL NELSON A MILES IS THE COMMANDER OF TONGUE RIVER CANTONMENT

Colonel Miles was not a West Point graduate but rather rose through the ranks during the Civil War he organized a company of volunteers from his home state of Massachusetts and led them in battle with bravery and clear judgement Miles participated in the Civil War battles of Fair Oaks, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville (for which service he received a Medal of Honor [1892] and Petersburg wounded four times in combat, he was promoted to major general of volunteers he married the niece of General of the Army William T. Sherman beginning a relationship that the ambitious Miles exploited for personal gain in subsequent years

#### GENERAL HOWARD CONTINUES HIS SLOW MARCH AFTER THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE

General Howard led the First Cavalry, Twenty-first Infantry and Fourth Artillery from Soldier Meadows camp -- August 1, 1877 they plodded to Weitas Meadows -- August 2 camp was then made at Bald Mountain -- August 3

#### FLEEING NEZ PERCE SEEK HELP FROM THEIR ALLIES

Looking Glass sent representatives ahead to enlist the aid of their traditional friends the Crows but the Crows were unwilling to help when Crow assistance did not materialize, the Nez Perce continued their flight Nez Perce left the Bitterroot Valley at Rye Creek they moved southeast into the Beaverhead Mountain range before turning east into a wide, high-mountain valley known as Big Hole While they traveled some Nez Perce young men raided a ranch taking two hundred pounds of flour and thirty or pounds of coffee Looking Glass made them leave horses as payment

#### GENERAL HOWARD RECEIVES REPORTS ON THE LOCATION OF THE FLEEING INDIANS

Howard Camp was established -- August 4, 1877 General Howard learned from messengers that the fleeing families had passed around Captain Charles C. Rawn's "Fort Fizzle" Howard also learned that Colonel John Gibbon's force was approaching Missoula from Fort Shaw this information at least ended fears the Nez Perce would double back to Camas Prairie

#### COLONEL JOHN GIBBON MARCHES ON THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE INDIANS

Commander of the Western Montana District Colonel John Gibbon at Fort Shaw on the Sun River

had assembled a force of 161 men and seventeen officers of the U.S. Second Infantry, including Captain Charles C. Rawn's frustrated unit, a wagon train and one howitzer  
Gibbon's troops, with his men riding in supply wagons when the roads permitted, traveled thirty to thirty-five miles a day -- twice as fast as the fleeing Nez Perce following the trail of the fleeing Nez Perce in the Bitterroot Valley at Missoula thirty-six civilian volunteers were added to his command nine more men were along the route  
all of these volunteers were promised whatever Indian horses they could capture they crossed the Bitterroot Mountains by way of Cadotte's Pass (near the Lolo trail) but when they reached the summit he saw he has been beaten across the Continental Divide  
Gibbon left his wagons at the summit and proceeded on foot  
Gibbon and his soldiers, officers, volunteers and mule train arrived at Stevensville -- August 4, 1877  
Gibbon was again on the march the next day

#### GENERAL HOWARD CONTINUES HIS PURSUIT OF THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE FREE BANDS

General Howard sent couriers back along the trail to report by telegraph to division headquarters that he had learned that the tribesmen were camped near the community of Corvallis, in Bitterroot Valley, and likely intended on moving toward the Big Hole Prairie on the Elk City trail

Inspired by the news the Nez Perce families were not returning to their ancestral home

General Howard advanced with Sanford's cavalry and the artillery join

Colonel John Gibbon as quickly as possible -- August 5, 1877

Howard's command consisted of 192 cavalymen and thirteen officers, twenty Indian scouts and two Howitzers and a small Coehorn mortar with fifteen men and one officer

to provide a faster pace, Howard left his infantry and most of the packs to follow behind

General Howard's troops made at Lolo Pass (now Packer's Meadows) -- August 5, 1877

#### GENERAL HOWARD COMMUNICATES WITH COLONEL JOHN GIBBON

General Howard left his Lolo Pass camp and pushed on to Lolo Hot Springs -- August 6, 1877

there a courier from Colonel John Gibbon notified him that the colonel had left Missoula

and was pressing down the Bitterroot Valley after the fleeing Nez Perce

Gibbon requested cavalry be sent to support his advance

Howard sent him word that he was hurrying with two hundred horsemen and stated: **"I shall join you in the shortest possible time. I would not advise you to wait for me before you get to the Indians, then if you can create delay by skirmishing, by parleying, or maneuvering in any way, so that they shall not get away from you, do so by all means if you think best till I can give you the necessary reinforcements. I think however that the Indians are very short of ammunition, and that**

**you can smash them in pieces if you can get an engagement out of them. Your judgment on the spot will be better than mine. I will push forward with all my might.”<sup>69</sup>**

From his camp at the hot springs, Howard also sent an aide to Missoula, Montana Territory requesting that supplies and feed be forwarded to the mouth of Lolo Creek on the Bitterroot River

#### INDIANS CAMP ALONG THE BIG HOLE RIVER IN MONTANA TERRITORY

Fleeing Nez Perce families crossed the Continental Divide and camped in the Big Hole River Basin

Looking Glass wanted to spend several days resting and gathering (winter) supplies

they camped in the Big Hole River Basin, Montana Territory -- August 7, 1877

some warriors criticized the short distances and lack of scouting

**“Death may now be following on our trail.”<sup>70</sup>**

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD LEAVES THE LOLO TRAIL

After marching from Lolo Hot Springs Howard’s troops

reached Captain Charles C. Rawn’s vacated barricade -- “Fort Fizzle” -- August 8, 1877

a local resident pointed out the Nez Perce route around the work on the heights on the north

General Howard’s command reached the mouth of Lolo Creek

because the Nez Perce had turned south after entering the Bitterroot Valley

and were being approached by both Howard’s force and that of Colonel Gibbon

Howard sent a directive north to Colonel Frank Wheaton of the left column

to shorten his marches and not enter Montana Territory until ordered to do so

General Howard reprovisioned his cavalry and artillery detachment with supplies from Missoula

with the Lolo trail now behind him, Howard set out following Colonel John Gibbon’s trail

up the Bitterroot Valley

(Howard and his cavalymen camped on Trail Creek -- night of August 7-8, 1877)

#### COLONEL JOHN GIBBON FINDS THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE FREE BANDS

Colonel Gibbon’s advance of party mounted men, under Lieutenant James H. Bradley,

found the fleeing Nez Perce Indians in camp at the mouth of Trail Creek -- August 8, 1877

Lieutenant Bradley and his men concealed themselves in the hills and waited for the arrival

of Colonel Gibbon and the infantry

When informed of the location of the Nez Perce village Colonel John Gibbon pushed forward rapidly

leaving twenty men to guard his supply train

Gibbon reached Bradley’s camp -- sundown August 8, 1877

his infantrymen had ninety rounds of ammunition per man, and one day’s rations

General Gibbon advanced on the Indian camp -- about 10 30 P.M.

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<sup>69</sup> Howard to Gibbon, August 6, 1877 entry 897, box 1, part 3, 1877, U.S. Army Continental Commands

<sup>70</sup> Bruce A. Wilson, *From Where the Sun Now Stands*, The Omak Chronicle, 1960.

Indians, who outnumbered him three to one, were armed  
with breech-loading and repeating rifles and had plenty of ammunition  
Colonel Gibbon relied on the advantage of surprise to achieve success in his daring attack  
and on the fact that his officers were nearly all Civil War veterans  
with years of hard service on the frontier -- they had fought many an Indian campaign  
Colonel John Gibbon reached a spot 150 yards away from the Indian camp  
located on the south bank of Big Hole River -- 2 A.M. August 9  
there he waited for daylight

#### BATTLE AT BIG HOLE CAMP IS A COMPLETE SURPRISE TO THE NEZ PERCE INDIANS

Dawn's arrival displayed nearly a hundred tepees -- Thursday, August 9, 1877  
occasionally Indian women would emerge from their tepees to place fuel on a campfire  
four or five hundred untended horses grazed nearby  
Natalekin, an elderly Nez Perce, emerged from his tepee in the faint dawn twilight  
he warmed his hands by a campfire and threw himself on a large iron-gray horse staked nearby  
he rode toward the horse herd on the hillside  
his eyes were failing and he leaned forward on his horse as he tried to see what was ahead  
three volunteers a few ahead fire simultaneously and Natalekn falls to the ground  
someone shouted "**Hit them hard!**"<sup>71</sup>

An ear-splitting volley of rifle fire crashed into the sleeping camp  
yelling and shooting soldiers splashed across the river  
clouds of bullets ripped through the tepees -- this barrage reminded Two Moon of a summer hail  
Nez Perce camp had been caught completely by surprise -- many were killed in the initial attack  
Indians seized their weapons and ran for cover along the river bank  
in a few minutes the troops began to suffer from their exposed position close to the camp  
Wahlitits, whose desire to avenge his father's murder sparked the war, shot a soldier  
Captain William Logan fired -- Wahlitits rolled dead  
Wahlitits' wife, already wounded, seized his rifle and killed Logan  
only seconds later she was killed  
Colonel John Gibbon's troops reached the center of the village  
Indians gripped by fear plunged into willow thickets on the bank of the Big Hole River  
Rainbow, Wahchumyus, Elotoht, and other experienced warriors begin shooting  
Husis Owyeen fired and a soldier fell -- in the next moment Owyeen was hit in the head  
he recovered to continue the fight but he was unaware his two-year old baby  
has been shot through the hip  
his wife snatched up the baby and was shot in the back  
women and children waded hip-deep into the Big Hole River

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<sup>71</sup> Bruce A. Wilson, *From Where the Sun Now Stands*, The Omak Chronicle, 1960.

then ducked under water when fighting exploded near them

Yellow Wolf related, **“Wounded children, screaming with pain; women and children crying, wailing for their...dead. The air was heavy with sorrow. I would not want to hear, I would not want to see again.”**<sup>72</sup>

Rainbow, one of the greatest of the Nez Perce warriors,

nearly collided with a soldier in the willows along the bank -- both threw up their guns

Rainbow was quicker but his gun clicked harmlessly

the soldier's bullet splattered blood across Rainbow's chest

Nez Perce, including a barefoot Chief Joseph, succeed in moving the herd outside of the battle area

twenty minutes had passed and Colonel Gibbon occupied nearly two-thirds of the village

soldiers attempt to set fire to the tepees

but the buffalo hides are too damp and burned only fitfully

Colonel John Gibbon had lost twenty-nine men in the attack

### COLONEL JOHN GIBBON'S PLAN HAD, IN PART, GONE AWRY<sup>73</sup>

Usually when soldiers attacked an Indian camp at dawn, Indian resistance quickly collapsed

that is not the case at Big Hole camp

courage and superb fighting skills of the Nez Perce soon become apparent

Colonel Gibbon did not succeed in stampeding the horses as he had planned

his left wing, disorganized when it stumbled through the willows, lost heart

when Lieutenant James H. Bradley was killed the soldiers drifted toward the center

some Indians got into the hills and the soldiers were caught in a cross-fire

### BATTLE AT BIG HOLE CAMP SETTLES INTO TRENCH WARFARE

Nez Perce developed a core of resistance in the lower part of the camp

Indians threw up rock defenses behind which to hide -- Thursday, August 9, 1877

battle-crazed men fired point-blank into each other's bodies

combatants swung rifles to crush skulls

enemies rolled on the ground as they wrestled for throats

it was a measure of Chief Joseph's leadership that in spite of crippling losses

the Nez Perce rallied without panic and drove Gibbon back with heavy casualties

Gibbon's losses steadily mounted before the colonel decided to seek cover

troops abandoned the camp and withdrew to a gulch

Gibbon's wagon train was brought to within five miles of the battlefield

and its position was fortified

wagons were successfully defended by twenty men who formed a guard

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<sup>72</sup> *National Geographic*, March, 1977, P. 421.

<sup>73</sup> Bruce A. Wilson, *From Where the Sun Now Stands*, The Omak Chronicle, 1960.



Gibbon's army moved to higher ground

they struggled up the slope carrying their wounded into heavier timber and dug rifle pits

Gibbon's troops were surrounded by warriors

Five Wounds wildly charged the embattled soldiers

his body was shattered by a half-dozen bullets

he had sworn to die on the same day as his now dead friend Rainbow

(coincidentally their fathers had carried out the same pledge before them)

#### COLONEL JOHN GIBBON SENDS OUT REQUESTS FOR HELP

Three messengers carried the appeals for help -- August 9, 1877

one was dispatched to the supply wagons and howitzer that remained at Trail Creek

Billy Edwards and another civilian bravely volunteered to try to sneak away

and deliver word of the disaster to Deer Lodge, Montana Territory -- the nearest village

#### NEZ PERCE REOCCUPY THEIR CAMP AFTER THE TROOPS HAVE WITHDRAWN

Battle of the Big Hole was the beginning of the end for the fleeing Free Bands of Nez Perce Indians

bodies of more than eighty dead Nez Perce were found -- Thursday August 9, 1877

about fifty women and children lay sprawled about

among them were the wives of Joseph and his brother Ollokot

After burying the dead in shallow graves the Indians packed most of their belongings on horses

women and children moved off downstream

#### COLONEL JOHN GIBBON BROUGHT UP HIS HOWITZER

Colonel Gibbon's howitzer, his only piece of artillery, was sent forward with six men

an Indian War party discovered the gun was lightly protected

about thirty Nez Perce charged the cannon and captured it before it could be fired

some of the soldiers escaped

none of the Indians could operate the cannon but the raiders made off with six mules still in harness

and a seventh pack-mule carrying 2,000 rounds of .45 caliber ammunition

which had been brought along with the howitzer

Gibbon was forced to ration his troops' bullets because of the successful raid

All afternoon and into the night the Nez Perce fired sporadically at the soldiers

searing thirst added to the misery of the soldiers who were suffering with cold and fear

Indians set fire to the brush to drive the troops out

but the wind blew the flames back just before they reached Gibbon's position

Many warriors, their families now safe, left the battlefield

#### COLONEL JOHN GIBBON IS DEFEATED AT THE BATTLE OF THE BIG HOLE RIVER

Colonel Gibbon's command had lost a total of thirty-three killed and forty wounded

about half of his command was not dead or wounded

two officers were killed: Captain William Logan and Lieutenant James H. Bradley

one of five wounded officers, Lieutenant W.C. English, died a few days later

Gibbon, himself, was wounded in the thigh but he led the other wounded men to Deer Lodge

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD MARCHES FROM STEVENSVILLE

General Howard, unaware of the Battle Hole Battle then in progress, marched his First Cavalry troops along Trail Creek at a quick pace

for a second night camp was made bedside the creek -- August 9, 1877

#### NEZ PERCE CONTINUE ON THE MOVE

Nez Perce non-combatants fled to the south during the night -- August 9-10, 1877

before dawn only a handful of warriors under the leadership of Ollokot

were left at the Big Hole battleground to serve as a rear guard

Chief Joseph organized the surviving women, children, and elderly men

his role became that of camp chief

he organized all of the camp logistics and made sure all of the families were safe and accounted for was an enormous and important task

somewhere around 800 Nez Perce were on the move -- the majority women and children

they were accompanied by horses and pack animals estimated at 2,000

Joseph never pretended to be a master military strategist, as others later claimed,

yet he did play a key role in salvaging an important victory at Big Hole

Joseph's stature as a leader continued to rise due in part to the public exposure

that Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce were receiving in America's newspapers

Leadership passed from Looking Glass to Lean Elk (Poker Joe)

traveling south after the Battle at Big Hole they camped the first night

at the Montague and Winters Ranch on Horse Prairie -- August 9, 1877

Montague, Flynn, Smith, Farnsworth and Cooper were all killed

Poker Joe pushed the caravan along rapidly sometimes traveling from 2 a.m. until 10:00 at night

however, progress was slowed by the wounded dragged on travois

this drive was punctuated by savage attacks on several farmhouses and wagon trains

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD MAKES CONTACT WITH COLONEL JOHN GIBBON

U.S. Army courier Nelse McGilliam arrived at the Big Hole River Battlefield -- August 10, 1877

when he rode up to the woods where the soldiers were dug in

soldiers jumped from their trenches to greet him but Indian gunfire

forced them to quickly return to their rifle pits

they did not know the only Nez Perce who remained were Ollokot's snipers

who pinned them down as others buried their dead, prepared the wounded for travel

and packed belongings  
news delivered by McGilliam was hopeful

he had been sent by General Howard to find Colonel Gibbon and Howard was two days behind

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD CONTINUES HIS MARCH FROM STEVENSVILLE

General Howard led his First Cavalry troops away from Trail Creek and moved to Rye Creek  
where camp was made for the night -- August 10, 1877

his infantry and artillery remained in the village of Stevensville, Montana Territory

#### NEWS OF THE BATTLE AT BIG HOLE REACHES THE CITIZENS OF MONTANA TERRITORY

Civilian volunteer Billy Edwards had walked forty miles from the Big Hole River Battlefield  
to the settlement of French Gulf where he acquired a horse and rode to Deer Lodge  
Billy Edwards sent a telegram to the town of Helena which arrived -- 9:00 A.M. August 11, 1877  
where the Catholic Sisters of Charity organized a relief party of twenty ambulances and wagons  
to be sent to Deer Lodge

this caravan was equipped with five doctors, two Catholic sisters and a priest  
four gallons of brandy, two gallons of whiskey, two cases of surgical instruments  
fifty yards of bleached muslin for bandages, some lint, and \$75 worth of medicine  
also a case each of strawberries, peaches, oysters and sardines

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD REACHES THE BIG HOLE RIVER CAMP

Two days after the Big Hold River Battle, General Howard and his cavalry  
arrived at the Big Hole River -- just after 10:00 A.M. August 11, 1877

General Howard, a devoutly religious man, was disgusted and disturbed by his Bannock scouts  
who dug up the Nez Perce bodies buried in shallow graves to scalp them  
he was also annoyed but less vocal that Colonel Gibbon had let victory slip through his fingers  
General Howard waited in camp for the arrival of his infantry and artillery from Stevensville

#### COLONEL JOHN GIBBON MOVES HIS COMMAND TO DEER LODGE, MONTANA

Colonel Gibbon moved his wounded troops to Deer Lodge where the wounded  
could be treated by the Catholic Sisters of Charity  
and their caravan of hospital staff and supplies -- August 12, 1877

#### COLONEL NELSON A. MILES IS DETERMINED TO STOP THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE INDIANS

Commander of the Missouri Military Division Colonel Samuel D. Sturgis led 360 men  
of the Seventh Cavalry Companies F,G, H,I,L and M Fort Abraham Lincoln, North Dakota  
Tongue River Cantonment on the Yellowstone River  
Seventh Cavalry was George Armstrong Custer's old command that had been reorganized  
after the Little Big Horn Massacre [June 25-26, 1876]

Captain Frederick Benteen commanded companies G, H and M

(Captain Benteen had been with General Custer at the Battle of Little Bighorn, Montana)

Major Lewis Merrill led companies F, I and L

Captain Charles Bendire and fifty men of First Cavalry Company K

were armed with two mule-drawn mounted howitzers

Lieutenant R.H. Fletcher led twenty-five scouts

At Tongue River Cantonment Colonel Nelson A. Miles dispatched Sturgis -- August 12, 1877

up the Yellowstone River to observe the country round the Judith Basin

some 250 miles northwest of the Tongue River Cantonment

as when Colonel Miles had deployed Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane

with the Seventh Cavalry Company E and sixty Crow Indians scouts

Sturgis' troops also were unknown to the fleeing Nez Perce

#### NEZ PERCE FEEL CONFIDENT ABOUT THEIR FLIGHT FROM THE U.S. ARMY

Colonel John Gibbon had moved to Deer Lodge, Montana Territory

and would be no threat for some time

General Oliver Otis Howard still remained in camp on the Big Hole River

After traveling more than one hundred miles from the scene of battle

Nez Perce Free Bands stopped at midday near Leadore, Idaho Territory -- August 14, 1877

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD TAKES UP THE PURSUIT OF THE NEZ PERCE

With the addition of fifty of Colonel John Gibbon's able-bodied men

General Howard's troops were strengthened to 310 men

they marched away from the Big Hole River battlefield -- August 15, 1877

General Howard followed the escaping Free Bands of Nez Perce Indians

Howard's command passed the town of Bannack, Montana Territory

Camp was made that night at the Barrett Ranch on Horse Prairie

as usual, General Howard was surrounded by problems:

- what if the Nez Perce doubled back into central Idaho Territory?
- messages were slow to be delivered and those received by Howard were increasingly caustic

Howard continued to express hope someone could block the Nez Perce as they retreated  
and he could close in for a final battle

advice sent to the general was very pointed such as: **“General Sheridan in all kindness asks me to suggest to you to be less dependent on what others, at a distance, may or may not do, and rely more on your own force and your own plans.”**<sup>74</sup>

#### FLEEING NEZ PERCE CONTINUE ON THE MOVE

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<sup>74</sup> Bruce A. Wilson, *From Where the Sun Now Stands*, The Omak Chronicle, 1960.

Under the leadership of Lean Elk the fleeing Nez Perce traveled south to Birch Creek where Nez Perce warriors attacked a freight wagon train heavily loaded with merchandise mostly whiskey -- August 15, 1877

Fueled by liquor a war dance was performed around the victims as drinking and feasting continued a Chinese crewmember who attempted to escape was killed by a hatchet to the back of his head soon the freighters lay dead except for Albert Lyons who managed to hide before he escaped (a week later he reported the Birch Creek Massacre when he reached safety)

#### FLEEING NEZ PERCE CAMP FOR THE NIGHT IS LOCATED AT HOLE-IN-THE-ROCK

After the attack at Birch Creek (the evening before)

fleeing Nez Perce become fearful their location might be announced to the army

Hole-in-the-Rock, Idaho Territory was the locality of a stage station and telegraph line

Lean Elk led his people there -- August 16, 1877

all of the loose livestock was taken and all of the grain at the station was destroyed use of the telegraph and all stage traffic was stopped for three days

#### GENERAL HOWARD RECEIVES REPORTS REGARDING THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE

General Howard spent the night at Red Rock stagecoach station -- August 16, 1877

reports from terrified settlers indicated the fleeing Nez Perce were headed for Thacher's Pass (now the western entrance to Yellowstone National Park)

#### GENERAL HOWARD FORMS A COMPANY OF CIVILIAN SCOUTS

Chief civilian scout Stanton G Fisher was placed in command of about thirty-three volunteers, and fifty-five Bannock scouts and several friendly Nez Perce Indians

Fisher was provided the title "captain" -- August 16, 1877

Fisher's scouts were designated Seventh Cavalry Company M

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD DEVELOPS A PLAN

General Howard arrived at Williams Junction

about twenty-three miles south of Red Rock, Montana Territory -- August 17, 1877

here fifty-three Montana civilians under Volunteer Captain James Callaway arrived

these were sturdy-looking men who were well-mounted and well-armed

Williams Junction proved to be a poor camping location as firewood was three miles away and alkali water limited grazing prospects

however, Junction Station was a lively place as a daily stage ran by

connecting Corinne, Utah Territory to Virginia City, Montana Territory

General Howard assigned Lieutenant George R. Bacon and forty hand-picked cavalymen

with several Bannock scouts to ride to Targhee Pass by way of Lower Red Rock Lake

they were to constantly probe the country to their right in an effort to find the Nez Perce

if he encountered them, Bacon was to somehow hinder their approach  
and send the information back to Howard

Lieutenant Bacon rode out of Williams Junction -- 10:00 A.M., August 17, 1877

(they traveled through the day and well into the night searching for the fleeing Nez Perce  
they did not stop until the shore of Lower Red Rock Lake  
was reached [1:00 A.M. August 18, 1877])

#### LEAN ELK'S FREE BANDS OF NEZ PERCE REACH CAMAS MEADOW

Fleeing Nez Perce fear retribution for their recent attacks at Birch Creek  
moving rapidly with all of their people and livestock they traveled from Hole-in-the-Rock  
camp was made that night at Camas Meadow -- August 17, 1877

#### NEZ PERCE PLAN A STRATEGY TO SLOW GENERAL HOWARD

Black Hair, who had been wounded during the Big Hole Battle,  
had a dream he saw warriors riding through the darkness -- early morning August 18, 1877  
they came to a place of lush grass with two streams  
cavalry horses were quietly grazing -- ready for stealing  
Black Hair awoke and saw the location of his dream was right where the Nez Perce were camped  
on Camas Meadow (near Parker, Idaho)

Nez Perce moved fifteen miles beyond Camas Meadow  
where they devised a strategy based on Black Hair's vision

#### LIEUTENANT BACON CONTINUES TO SEARCH FOR THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE

Lieutenant George R. Bacon with his forty handpicked cavalrymen and Bannock Indian scouts  
set out from Lower Red Rock Lake toward Targhee Pass in search of Lean Elk's fleeing Nez Perce  
after they had covered fifty-five miles the exhausted men and horses could go no further  
(camp was made near today's Lima, Montana)

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD CONTINUES THE CHASE

General Howard, reinforced by Volunteer Captain James Callaway and fifty-three Montana civilians  
was joined by Captain Randolph Norwood and fifty cavalrymen of the Second Cavalry Company L  
who had started from the Tongue River Cantonment on the lower Yellowstone River  
they had been assigned to escort General of the Army William Tecumseh Sherman  
who was visiting Yellowstone National Park

General William T. Sherman had sent Captain Norwood to aid General Howard

General Howard marched out of his Williams Junction camp  
with his slower moving infantry -- August 18, 1877  
he made camp that night at Dry Creek Station near Spencer, Idaho Territory  
there he learned the Nez Perce were seen camping at Camas Meadow (near Parker, Idaho)

eighteen miles to the east

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD MOVES HIS COMMAND TO CAMAS MEADOW

General Howard traveling with only his cavalry and a supply train made camp for the night with his cavalymen in the grassy pasture -- August 19, 1877

this was a great relief from their usual blotchy green sagebrush and volcanic rock desert Howard posted two circles of pickets around the camp and the grazing area set up for the 200 pack mules and the cavalry mounts

#### NEZ PERCE ATTACK GENERAL HOWARD'S CAMAS MEADOWS (IDAHO) CAMP

Ollokot led twenty-eight Nez Perce warriors in column-of-fours formation

as they crossed the fifteen miles separating General Howard's camp from their own these Indians argued whether the attack should be made on foot or horseback army sentries who saw them thought they were returning cavalymen and failed to respond

Ollokot's warriors attacked Howard's position about 3:30 A.M., Monday August 20, 1877

following the vision in Black Hair's dream, a few Indians stealthy crawled toward the army's herd other the warriors approached the herd on foot and some were on horseback they cut the hobbles from cavalry horses and took the bells from the lead pack mules' harnesses an Indian fired too soon setting off a wild scramble of troops running for their clothing and guns racing from their tents they fired at moving shadows

When the firing began the mule herd, free of its tethers, stampeded

frightened animals were directed in their flight by Indian riders ringing the stolen bells

Nez Perce raiders raced into the red volcanic rocks where found cover behind jagged lava ridges in the early light they saw only a few horses had been taken

but nearly all of Howard's pack train was being driven away by other Indians

Finally, a very shaken General Howard was able to organize three companies of cavalry to pursue the natives

lead cavalry company ran into the entire Indian force laying in ambush

two dismounted cavalry companies were forced to withdraw

this placed the third company faced a vicious cross-fire

more mules were lost to Indians

General Howard sent courier to his infantry and artillery located forty-six miles away

they immediately responded to the crisis -- men and wagons approached as rapidly as possible

but they were forced to exchange footmen for riders again and again which

infantry eventually arrived in support of cavalry

Raid at Camas Meadows settled into general fighting

#### GENERAL HOWARD SUFFERS DEFEAT IN THE RAID AT CAMAS MEADOWS

Indians withdrew in early afternoon -- Monday August 20, 1877

Howard's cavalry returned to camp -- his troops had suffered ten casualties (Nez Perce had none)  
one soldier, Bernard A. Brooks First Cavalry, Company B was killed  
he had served as Captain Jackson's orderly and bugler when he was shot out of the saddle  
his horse returned to him and edged up beside him  
Brooks tried to pull himself up by the stirrup strap and fell dead

#### GENERAL HOWARD RECEIVES MORE BAD NEWS

Lieutenant George R. Bacon with forty hand-picked cavalymen and several Bannock scouts  
had traveled to Targhee Pass in an effort to cut off the Nez Perce escape route  
they had scouted the area and found no Indians in the vicinity  
impatient, Bacon and his men left their position and ridden back  
to report to General Howard that they had seen no sign of the Indians -- August 20, 1877  
When Bacon and his men arrived in camp, General Oliver Otis Howard became very frustrated  
(in fact, soon after Bacon's departure the Nez Perce had crossed through Targhee Pass  
into Yellowstone National Park)

#### A SHAKEN GENERAL HOWARD LEAVES THE SCENE OF THE CAMAS MEADOWS RAID

Nez Perce had stolen only a few horses  
but had captured almost all of Howard's pack train of 170 mules  
Howard, his command regrouped, packed his equipment on the recently arrived wagons  
because he had only eighteen mules remaining his supply train was crippled  
Howard was forced to reduce his baggage  
General Howard abandoned his pursuit of the fleeing Nez Perce Indians  
he marched slowly away from Camas Meadows -- August 20, 1877  
wagon train and pack animals were placed in the center of the column  
while another company of cavalry served as the rear guard  
his command made only eighteen miles before they camped beside a small creek (Shotgun Creek)

#### FLEEING NEZ PERCE TRAVEL LATE INTO THE NIGHT

During the evening and night -- August 20, 1877  
Lean Elk's fleeing Free Bands moved in the direction of Targhee Pass  
only recently vacated by Lieutenant George R. Bacon and his cavalymen

#### COMMUNICATION IS SLOW FOR THE U.S. ARMY

Colonel Sam Sturgis' command proceeded west along the north side of the Yellowstone River  
to Pompey's Pillar in central Montana, Territory  
there Sturgis learned Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane with the Seventh Cavalry, Company E  
and about sixty Crow Indians scouts were on the Judith River  
Sturgis moved west toward Lieutenant Doane's position on the Musselshell



Colonel Sturgis did not know where General Howard or the Nez Perce were  
Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane had led the Seventh Cavalry Company E and sixty Crow Indians scouts  
to the Musselshell River -- he then moved to Judith Gap in the Rocky Mountains  
Lieutenant Doane received a copy of a dispatch sent by Colonel John Gibbon  
to Colonel Sam Sturgis -- August 21, 1877

Colonel Sturgis was to travel at all speed to Fort Ellis to re-supply  
then proceed to intercept the fleeing Free Bands of Nez Perce Indians  
Lieutenant Doane set out for Fort Ellis  
(Sturgis, after he received the dispatch, also proceeded to Fort Ellis)

#### GENERAL HOWARD MAKES CAMP AT HENRYS LAKE, MONTANA TO REST HIS MEN

For three days General Howard marched slowly north away from Camas Meadows  
before they camped on Henrys Lake in Idaho Territory -- August 22, 1877  
here his men benefited from an extended stay  
his command had marched continuously for twenty-six days  
averaging almost twenty miles a day  
General Howard and two officers left camp -- 5:00 P.M., August 22, 1877  
to ride in a light wagon to Virginia City, Montana Territory  
to acquire animals and supplies and report to his superiors

#### AFTER CROSSING TARGHEE PASS THE NEZ PERCE ENTER YELLOWSTON NATIONAL PARK

Leaving Idaho Territory, the fleeing Nez Perce followed the Madison River south  
and passed quickly through the southwest corner of Montana Territory  
they entered Yellowstone Park in the vicinity of the present west entrance -- August 22, 1877  
using one of the routes they had followed for centuries  
when traveling to the grasslands of Montana in pursuit of buffalo  
Nez Perce Indians were not familiar with the Yellowstone Park region in Wyoming Territory  
main body of fleeing Nez Perce Indians shattered into separate Free Bands making their journey  
through Yellowstone National Park difficult to follow for the army (and historians)  
camps were made along the Madison and Firehole rivers inside the park  
above the narrows in the vicinity of Old Faithful  
their purpose now became to avoid nearby military troops  
they relied on information from several scouting/raiding parties to keep them safe

#### GENERAL OF THE ARMY WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN TAKES COMMAND

As the fleeing Nez Perce Indians took refuge in Yellowstone National Park  
General of the Army William Tecumseh Sherman began preparations to encircle them  
General Sherman contacted his top commanders -- August 23, 1877  
General Alfred H Terry, Commander of the Department of Dakota

and General George Crook commander of the Department of the Platte River  
Terry was directed to cooperate with General Howard and, if necessary,  
place any troops General Crook could spare under General Howard  
Crook, at Camp Brown, Wyoming Territory, was alerted to the approaching Nez Perce  
his men preparations for field duty

When General Howard expressed concern that the Indians might intend to join Sitting Bull's Sioux  
somewhere below the Canadian line, Sheridan responded that **“such junction is preposterous”**  
even so, Sheridan was directed by General Sherman to send troops to the Musselshell River  
and Judith River Basin above Yellowstone National Park

#### ONE BAND OF FLEEING NEZ PERCE IS SPOTTED BY GENERAL HOWARD'S CIVILIAN SCOUT

Stanton G. Fisher, a civilian scout for General Oliver Otis Howard, had set out  
in pursuit of the fleeing Nez Perce Free Bands with sixty men, mostly volunteers,  
and fifty-five Bannock scouts and several friendly Nez Perce Indians  
after picking up the trail of the Nez Perce they followed the fleeing bands  
to within ten miles to the Big Hole Basin

Fisher led his Seventh Cavalry Company M scouts through Targhee Pass  
and into the Madison River Valley

Standing atop the Continental Divide, Fisher saw the Nez Perce camp along the Madison River  
soon the trail left by the fleeing Nez Perce was found -- August 23, 1877

Reaching the South Fork of the Madison at sundown Fisher halted his scouts  
he sent a few of his Bannock scouts ahead to investigate

when they returned they reported the Nez Perce camp was only a few miles away  
it could easily be taken by the Bannocks

Fisher agreed to the attack and preparations were undertaken

(however, when the time came for the attack the Nez Perce camp was reported to be deserted  
disgusted at losing their prize, fifteen Bannocks deserted o continue on their own pursuit  
of the fleeing Nez Perce Indians)

#### NEZ PERCE TAKE A CAPTIVE IN YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

Fleeing Nez Perce Indians did not stay along the South Fork of the Madison River for long  
soon after breaking camp Yellow Wolf and Otskai happened on fifty-two-year-old John Shively  
a prospector who was crossing the park from the Black Hills gold country in Dakota Territory  
he was taken to the Nez Perce camp -- August 23, 1877  
he attended a council of the leaders in which he was asked to show Indians the best trail  
leading out of the park toward the Wind River -- Shively agreed

#### GENERAL HOWARD ARRIVES IN VIRGINIA CITY AFTER AN ALL NIGHT WAGON RIDE

Howard and two of his officers reached the town -- about 10:00 A.M. August 24, 1877

General Oliver Otis Howard sent two telegrams

one to General Irvin McDowell, commanding the Military Division of the Pacific  
stationed at San Francisco

and another to General of the Army William Tecumseh Sherman

at Fort Shaw, Montana Territory to remind the commanding general

that Howard's cavalry had been campaigning continuously for 1,100 miles

in his telegram Howard stated: **“My command is so much worn by over fatigue and  
jaded animals that I cannot push it much further. If Miles, or Sturgis, is nearby... (and can head the  
hostiles off) ...I think I may stop near where I am, and in a few days' work my way back to Fort  
Boise slowly....”**

General Sherman, feeling pressure from the press and the public, replied: **“I don't want to give  
orders...but that force of yours should pursue the Nez Perces to the death, lead where they may.  
Miles is too far off, and I fear Sturgis is too slow. If you are tired, give your command to some young,  
energetic officer....”**<sup>75</sup>

Badly stung by Sherman's rebuke, General Oliver Otis Howard answered

that he would begin the march and continue until the end of the campaign was reached

#### NEZ PERCE TAKE SEVERAL MORE CAPTIVES

(Unaware of the escaping Free Bands of Nez Perce Indians

seven women and two men left Radersburg, Montana Territory

they planned to fish and tour Yellowstone National Park for almost a month

and were equipped with a two-horse wagon, a double-seated carriage and four saddle horses

they averaged thirty miles that day in the hot, dry weather

following the Madison River to the Lower Geyser Basin)

Nez Perce Indians broke camp and followed Nez Perce Creek upstream across the central plateau  
of Yellowstone National Park near Lower Geyser Basin

they saw the nine tourists cooking breakfast who were startled to see a painted war party  
of heavily-armed Indians

War party captured the Radersburg tourists less than a half a mile from where John Shively was seized

they joined the prospector in captivity -- August 24, 1877

while there was no intent to harm these prisoners,

Nez Perce did not want them reporting the tribe's whereabouts to the pursuing army

one of the tourists, thirty-five-year-old Civil War veteran George Cowan, attempted to escape

during a shouting match with his captors, he was shot and left for dead

(he survived and was later rescued)

remainder of the tourists and prospector John Shively were forced to travel with the Nez Perce  
up the Mary Mountain trail

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<sup>75</sup> Bruce A. Wilson, *From Where the Sun Now Stands*, The Omak Chronicle, 1960.

## SOME OF THE RADERSBURG CAPTIVES MAKE AN ESCAPE

Members of the Nez Perce war party met other fleeing Indians -- August 24, 1877

this distraction provided an opportunity for A.J. Arnold and William Dinges to escape  
in the midst of the confusion Al Oldham was wounded

Henry Meyers, Charles Mann and William H. Harmon manage to escape  
in the confusion, George Cowan's wife twenty-four-year-old Emma,

her twenty-seven-year-old brother, Frank Carpenter and sister Ida aged thirteen also escaped  
Nez Perce made camp that night at Highland Hot Springs on the edge of the Lower Geyser Basin  
campfires were built every twenty or thirty feet and a thousand or more horses grazed in the basin

## FLEEING NEZ PERCE ARE AGAIN ON THE MOVE

Main body of Nez Perce moved east away from General Howard -- early morning August 25, 1877

they followed Trout Creek to the Yellowstone River as three scouting parties remain behind  
this splitting up of the main Nez Perce body resulted in a great deal of confusion  
regarding their location and route

James C. Irwin, a recently discharged soldier from Fort Ellis and still in uniform,  
was captured while backpacking in the park -- August 25

## GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD GATHERS SUPPLIES IN VIRGINIA CITY

General Oliver Otis Howard remained in Virginia City, Montana Territory -- August 25, 1877

where he busied himself with purchases of additional supplies, horses and mules

Howard's main force remained in camp at Henrys Lake

three companies of Howard's command set out for Fort Ellis

where they were to acquire supplies and communicate with Colonel Sam Sturgis

they also were to await at or near the Crow Agency for further orders from Howard

## CAPTAIN STANTON G. FISHER FINDS TWO ESCAPED NEZ PERCE CAPTIVES

Civilian scout Stanton G. Fisher, the number of his Bannock scouts now reduced to forty

came across two of the escaped Radersburg tourists -- August 25, 1877

William H. Harmon and Charles Mann provided information that the Nez Perce

were headed for the Crow Agency near the Yellowstone River

and ultimately to the buffalo grounds above the Yellowstone

Fisher and his Seventh Cavalry Company M traveled about ten miles

and camped on the south fork of the Madison River

## NEZ PERCE TRAVEL FOUR MILES FROM THE YELLOWSTONE RIVER AND MAKE CAMP

Lean Elk (Poker Joe) led his fleeing band of Nez Perce people as they fled

along the southern edge of the park's Hayden Valley

warriors captured James C. Irwin, a recently discharged soldier from Fort Ellis  
who was still in uniform

Lean Elk's people crossed the Yellowstone River and made an early camp at a pool on the east side  
they spent two days resting (at what later was named Indian Pond) -- August 25-26, 1877

fleeing Nez Perce were aware General Howard's location

they believed the soldiers had been far outdistanced -- they stopped sending out a rear guard

Prospector John Shively, still held captive by the Indians, indicated the Absaroka Mountains ahead  
and noted they must pass across these to reach Crow County

a visiting Shoshone chief and a few Snake Indians indicated they had discovered the old trail  
used by the Shoshone Indians to reach the Stinking Water River (Shoshone River)

Fleeing Bands of Nez Perce Indians held a council

White Bird decided the Radersburg tourists Emma Cowan along with her brother Frank Carpenter  
and sister Ida would be released

they were given some of their own bedding, a waterproof tarp, bread and matches

thirteen-year-old Ida Carpenter was given a jacket

two worn out horses were brought to them

all three shook hands and bid farewell to prospector John Shively

before setting out on their own

they promised to deliver some messages to Shively's friends in Phillipsburg

should they survive

#### CARPENTER FAMILY CONTINUES THEIR ESCAPE FROM THE NEZ PERCE INDIANS

Emma Cowan, her brother Frank Carpenter and sister Ida traveled four or five miles

because the dresses worn by Emma and Ida had gotten wet swimming the Yellowstone River

they suffered from the cold as they walked

darkness overtook the three siblings and they climbed up into some timber

where they spent a cold, fearful night alone in the wilderness -- August 25-26, 1877

#### FREED HOSTAGES ARE DISCOVERED BY CIVILIAN SCOUT STANTON G. FISHER

Emma Cowan along with her brother Frank Carpenter and sister Ida

walked safely into civilian scout Stanton G. Fisher's camp the on south fork of the Madison River

soon after breakfast -- August 26, 1877

there the frightened tourists also found William H. Harmon and Charles Mann

Fisher forwarded a report to General Howard indicating five hostages had been discovered

and the news regarding the general course the fleeing Nez Perce appeared to be taking

Fisher's Seventh Cavalry Company M set out to continue their pursuit

(they camped that night in the Lower Geyser Basin with its mud pots, geysers, pools,  
springs, volcanic dust and Great Fountain Geyser)

## HELENA PARTY IS ATTACKED BY THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE

Andrew Weikert, Richard Dietrich, Frederic J. Pfister, Charles Kenck, John Stewart, Leslie N. Wilkie Leander Duncan, Ben Stone, James McCartney and two youth, Jack Roberts, and August Foller had set out from Helena, Montana Territory to see the wonders of the Northwest [August 13] after seeing a party of Nez Perce Indians they decided to make camp above the Upper Falls of Otter Creek

Captive discharged soldier James Irwin had told the fleeing Nez Perce of their presence needing supplies, a small Nez Perce scouting party raided the Otter Creek camp -- noon August 26 Charles Kenck was killed and John Stewart was wounded but escaped along with Frederic Pfister, Ben Stone, Jack Roberts, Richard Dietrich and James McCartney after giving chase, one warrior returned and demanded money from the wounded John Stewart, he turned over \$263 and his silver watch Helena tourists also were relieved of twelve horses, four shotguns, one Henry rifle, two revolvers, seven saddles, clothing, clothing and camp gear -- almost everything else was burned two other men, Andy Weikert and Leslie Wilkie were out scouting when their camp was attacked they returned to find their camp in chaos but the Indians had gone

## CIVILIAN SCOUT STANTON G. FISHER IS IN CLOSE PURSUIT OF THE NEZ PERCE

Breaking camp at Lower Geyser Basin just after dawn -- August 27, 1877

Fisher's scouts of Seventh Cavalry Company M trailed the Nez Perce to cone-shaped Mud Volcano several of his Bannock scouts found an old Indian woman left in camp she had stayed behind to die so as to not hinder the progress of her people she was killed and scalped before Captain Fisher could arrive on the scene

## GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD'S ARMY REMAINS IN CAMP

General Howard's troops and animals continued resting at Henrys Lake

General Howard returned from Virginia City to his Henrys Lake camp -- about noon August 27 he brought with him necessary supplies, horses and mules purchased there

## CIVILIAN SCOUT STANTON G. FISHER TRAVELS FAST TO CATCH THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE

Captain Fisher's Seventh Cavalry Company M scouts were exhausted when they made camp in the vicinity of Mud Volcano -- 3:00 A.M. August 28, 1877 After spending less than two of hours in camp, Fisher's scouts again set out-- dawn, August 28 they forded the Yellowstone River and moved toward Pelican Creek

## ONE BAND OF FLEEING NEZ PERCE LEAVES THEIR INDIAN POND CAMP

After two days of rest, the Indians continued their flight -- early morning August 28, 1877 Nez Perce captive prospector John Shively offered advice on the route the Nez Perce should follow this was ignored and the fleeing Indians traveled up winding Pelican Creek to the northeast

(but then turned left toward the Yellowstone River and went around Pelican Cone finally taking Shively's advice the Nez Perce turned west)

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD'S ARMY RESUMES THEIR PURSUIT

General Howard deployed the several armies assisting him in closing in on the fleeing Nez Perce he sent a dispatch to General Irvin McDowell explaining that the Nez Perce might diverge southeast to avoid the troops from Fort Ellis

he sent a courier to Fort Ellis requesting that Colonel Sam Sturgis be informed the tribesmen would probably go by way of Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone River

he sent Captain Randolph Norwood's company, with an artillery complement under Captains Edward Field and Harry C. Cushing, to the Crow Agency east of Fort Ellis on the Yellowstone River

he sent word to General Crook to watch for signs of the Nez Perce moving southeast

General Oliver Otis Howard also took this opportunity to prepare a field order

praising his men for their sacrifices and attempting to put a bright face on their campaign although it had achieved only mixed success

he offered hollow assurances that their **"disciplined spirit"** would be rewarded **"in the conscientious performance of duty"**<sup>76</sup>

General Howard finished preparations to resume the chase

Montana volunteers departed for home as did most of the wagons hired in Missoula

another wagon train was put together composed of three four-horse wagons, five two-horse wagons and another two-horse team pulling a light spring wagon

Howard's army left the camp on beautiful Henrys Lake -- 7:00 A.M., August 28, 1877

their route took them through Targhee Pass to the Madison River

Howard traveled the very route the Nez Perce had taken six days before

#### CIVILIAN SCOUT STANTON G. FISHER ENTERS A DESERTED NEZ PERCE CAMP

Captain Fisher and his Seventh Cavalry Company M scouts

moved in the direction of Pelican Creek -- morning August 28, 1877

Three of Fisher's scouts reported an Indian camp at Indian Pond a mile away

as Captain Fisher and his Bannock scouts approached the camp he saw two Nez Perce leaving they proved to be the last two in the camp

Fisher's men discovered thirty pounds of bacon which they ate greedily

Fisher and his civilian scouts pursued the fleeing Indians up Pelican Creek about ten miles

Fisher stopped and climbed Pelican Cone

from the top he could see smoke from the Indians' camp in the distance

Fisher was forced to return to his own camp -- arriving about midnight

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<sup>76</sup> General Field Order No. 6.

there he had to spend two days recovering from a stomach ailment

#### NEZ PERCE MAKE CAMP DEEP INSIDE YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

They traveled three miles before leaving the East Fork of the Yellowstone (Lamar) River they ascended a high ridge to the east into the Gallatin Range of mountains on Mirror Plateau they found more meadows and springs and an abundance of elk

Deep Creek on Mirror Plateau provided fresh grass for their horses -- August 28, 1877

they were not aware of General Howard's location

or of the additional military units that were in the pursuit

Reunited, the fleeing bands of Nez Perce build a defensive perimeter on Mirror Plateau

here they waited as four emissaries were sent to request aid from their friends the Crow Indians

#### GENERAL HOWARD AND HIS MEN ENTER YELLOWSTONE PARK

General Howard's army pushed slowly up the Madison River and entered the park -- August 29, 1877

Howard's command picked up Radersburg tourists (captured four days before)

Henry Meyers who was unhurt and Al Oldham who had been shot in the face and was famished

Howard camped that night on the Madison River inside Yellowstone National Park

General Howard received a telegram from General of the Army William Tecumseh Sherman

who authorized Howard's command to be given to the Seventh Infantry's

Lieutenant-Colonel Charles C. Gilbert if he arrived at Howard's location

#### U.S. ARMY BEGINS A NEW EFFORT TO LOCATE THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE INDIANS

Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane left Fort Ellis with the Seventh Cavalry Company E -- August 29, 1877

Doane was ordered by Colonel John Gibbon to push up the Yellowstone River

and search for the Nez Perce

#### INDIVIDUAL BANDS OF FLEEING NEZ PERCE CONTINUE THEIR ESCAPE

When the four Nez Perce emissaries to the Crow Indians returned they delivered the sad news that the Crow Indians had refused to help

Fleeing Nez Perce Indians held a council to determine their course of action -- August 30, 1877

it was decided they would try to reach the camp of Lakota (Sioux) Chief Sitting Bull

then in Canada where he had migrated after decisively defeating United States forces

in the Battle of the Little Bighorn River

Hostage John Shively told the Indians he could guide them to Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone River

for several days Shively guided the fleeing Indians

(until the night of [September 2] when he managed to escape)

#### GENERAL HOWARD ADVANCES DEEPER INTO YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

General Oliver Otis Howard found many impediments to his advance through the park



he traveled across river gorges and canyons walled by high cliffs, through marshes and underbrush

Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone was so winding that in one day it had to be forded five times  
Howard crossed the mouth of the Gibbon River and started up the Firehole River  
camp was made about a mile above the East Fork of the Firehole -- August 30, 1877  
while in camp many of its members took the opportunity to visit the geysers

they marveled at the **“puffing steam, squirting boiling water, lakes of clear blue hot water, holes full of boiling mud, chalk vats that made bubbles as large as your hat, bountiful formations of soda and magnesia, [and] needles of pure sulphur.”**<sup>77</sup>

During the night Civil War veteran George Cowan, who had been found the previous day  
by civilian scout Stanton G. Fisher, was brought in for treatment by the surgeons

#### RAIDING PARTY OF NEZ PERCE INDIANS ATTACK HENDERSON BROTHER’S RANCH

Eight fleeing Indians attacked the occupants of Henderson brother’s ranch -- morning August 31, 1877  
(located south of Gardiner, Montana)  
ranch house and property were burned

Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane with Seventh Cavalry Company E and forty-two Crow scouts  
was passing Cinnebar Mountain when he saw smoke from the burning ranch house -- August 31  
Doane and ten of his men rode out to investigate

Henderson brother’s ranch became the scene of a two-hour long-range gun battle  
during the fight the Indians made off with the ranch’s horses  
afterward the raiders returned to Yellowstone National Park

Doane and his ten men were later joined by the rest of the Seventh Cavalry Company E  
Doane now believed the Nez Perce were not far ahead

#### COLONEL SAM STURGIS MAKES PLANS FOR HIS CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE NEZ PERCE

Sam Sturgis waited at the Crow Agency for his scouts to arrive -- August 31, 1877

Sturgis was angered by Colonel John Gibbon’s arrogance

in sending Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane from Fort Ellis to find the fleeing Nez Perce

Colonel Sam Sturgis received notice from General Oliver Otis Howard

that, based on information from his (Howard’s) scouts he believed the fleeing tribesmen

would will probably cross the Stinking Water (Shoshone) River

one hundred miles south east of Crow Agency

Colonel Sturgis developed a campaign strategy based on what the fleeing Nez Perce might do  
if the Nez Perce moved up the East Fork of the Yellowstone (Lamar) River

Sturgis would move up Clarks Fork canyon all the way to Soda Butte Pass if necessary  
otherwise Sturgis would make camp near Heart Mountain

where he could observe both the Clarks Fork River and Stinking Water (Shoshone) River

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<sup>77</sup> Jerome A. Greene, *Nez Perce Summer, 1877*, P. 196.

Colonel Sturgis dispatched two scouts, John J Goff and J.S. Leonard, to find the fleeing Nez Perce in the Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone and Stinking Water (Shoshone) rivers area he also hired a French guide named Rogue, a prospector named Seibert and six Crows to make contact with General Howard  
Colonel Sturgis informed Colonel Nelson Miles at Tongue River Cantonment of his plan

#### COLONEL SAM STURGIS RIDES OUT OF THE CROW AGENCY

Colonel Sturgis' scouts to the Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone-Stinking Water (Shoshone) rivers area, John J Goff and J.S. Leonard, had not reported back  
in fact, rather than finding the Nez Perce, the Indians found them  
and, in an ambush, unhorsed them  
John J. Groff was shot through the neck while J.S. Leonard was unharmed  
Colonel Sam Sturgis, having heard no word from his scouts,  
feared the Indians had passed east through Yellowstone National Park  
Colonel Sam Sturgis led six companies of the Seventh Cavalry out of the Crow Agency  
searching for the fleeing Nez Perce Indians -- August 31, 1877  
he marched toward Clarks Fork in the Yellowstone-Stinking Water (Shoshone River) region  
he positioned his troops at the mouth of Clarks Fork Canyon near Mammoth Hot Springs

#### NEZ PERCE RAIDING PARTY ATTACKS MAMMOTH HOT SPRINGS, WYOMING TERRITORY

Nez Perce raiding party moved from the Henderson brother's ranch  
on to the town of Mammoth Hot Springs, Wyoming Territory  
Helena party member Richard Dietrich had reached the safety of the town  
he was having something to eat at McCartney's Hotel in Mammoth Hot Springs -- August 31, 1877  
he heard the arrival of the Nez Perce reconnaissance party and rushed to the door to investigate  
Richard Dietrich was killed in the hotel doorway

#### GENERAL OF THE ARMY SHERMAN SENDS A REPLACEMENT FOR GENERAL HOWARD

General of the Army William Tecumseh Sherman ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Charles C. Gilbert to take to the field and relieve General Oliver Otis Howard of his command  
Lieutenant-Colonel Gilbert departed from Fort Ellis leading the Seventh Infantry, Company L in quest of General Howard -- August 31, 1877  
Gilbert was a West Point graduate [1846] who served in the Mexican and Civil wars  
he was wounded at Civil War Battle of Wilson's Creek [1861]  
he was appointed a general ([1862] but his was impeded after the [1862] Battle of Perryville due to perceived command deficiencies -- he ended the war a major at a desk job

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD TRAVELS THE MARY MOUNTAIN TRAIL

General Howard, unaware his replacement was attempting to find him, moved from the Madison River

he led eleven wagons along the trail beside the East Fork of the Firehole River  
he encountered one of the Radersburg party's wagons off to the right  
base of Mary Mountain, the troops stopped for the night near Mary Lake -- August 31, 1877  
General Howard's aide-de-camp issued a memorandum prohibiting the killing of Nez Perce  
that had been left behind  
General Howard's scouts discovered an escaped tourist along Pelican Creek that evening

#### CAPTAIN STANTON G. FISHER AGAIN TAKES UP THE PURSUIT

Recovering from his illness Fisher continued his pursuit -- just after sunrise September 1, 1877  
Captain Fisher and his eighteen Bannock scouts rode along a trail paralleling Pelican Creek  
(That evening Fisher's Seventh Cavalry Company M unexpectedly met discharged soldier  
James C. Irwin who told Fisher he had escaped that morning  
and had traveled about thirty miles from Joseph's camp)

#### LIEUTENANT DOANE CHASES AFTER THE NEZ PERCE RAIDERS

Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane with Seventh Cavalry Company E and forty-two Crow scouts  
at the Henderson brother's Ranch directed Lieutenant Hugh L. Scott to take twenty men  
and scout down to Baronet's bridge, which crossed the Yellowstone River -- September 1, 1877  
just above its confluence with the East Fork of the Yellowstone (Lamar) River  
Scott was to determine if the Nez Perce had forded there  
Scott was to set fire the grass on his return to frustrate their passage along the valley  
Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane's departure from the ranch to conduct a search of his own  
was preempted by the appearance of a courier  
from Lieutenant-Colonel Charles C. Gilbert with instructions for him to await his arrival  
Lieutenant Scott moved out paralleling a horse trail  
that led from Blacktail Deer Creek to Baronet's bridge  
Scott refused his Crow scouts' advice to stay on the trail for fear of an ambush  
Lieutenant Doane assumed a defensive position in some dry irrigation ditches  
and established a number of sentry posts around the bivouac

#### GENERAL HOWARD CONTINUES HIS SEARCH FOR THE NEZ PERCE INDIANS

General Howard left his Mary Lake camp and set out on a route that paralleled the north bank  
of the East Fork of the Firehole River -- September 1, 1877  
about one-mile north of Mary's Lake the road turned east, then south,  
tracing along the east side of Highland Hot Springs  
Howard's route continued southeast for two miles before leveling east for ten miles  
across the south edge of Hayden Valley to the Mud Volcano and the Yellowstone River  
Howard's advance was painfully slow as he faced difficult conditions  
Captain W.F. Spurgin of the Twenty-first Infantry directed civilian volunteers

as they constructed a wagon route up and over Mary Mountain [September 1-2]  
During the day Howard's Bannock Indian scouts began deserting the command  
they tried to take about forty horses with them -- eight of the scouts were arrested  
Howard made their release contingent on the return of the stolen animals -- which was done  
remaining Bannocks (not counting those with Stanton G. Fisher) were released

#### LIEUTENANT HUGH SCOTT SEARCHES FOR THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE

Lieutenant Scott reached Baronett's bridge without sign of the Nez Perce  
Scott's men set the grass on fire, but the rain shortly extinguished it -- September 1, 1877  
Scott and his troops turned back to the Henderson Brother's ranch  
on the way, they came upon two scouts, J. Groff and J. S. Leonard, sent by Colonel Sam Sturgis'  
who troops were located east of Yellowstone Park  
J. Groff and J. S. Leonard were trying to find General Howard  
J. Groff and J. S. Leonard were sent ahead to the Henderson ranch  
where Groff received treatment for his wound and rode in a wagon down to Fort Ellis  
(later, on his way back to Colonel Sam Sturgis with dispatches from Fort Ellis,  
Leonard was overtaken and killed by the Nez Perce on Clark's Fork)

#### CAPTAIN STANTON G. FISHER CROSSES OVER THE PELICAN CREEK DIVIDE

Fisher and his Bannock scouts spent the morning taking observations from Mary Mountain  
they did not start out until late afternoon -- September 2, 1877  
this trail proved to be very difficult as it was blocked by swamps and fallen timber  
after traveling about six miles, Fisher's Seventh Cavalry Company M crested Pelican Creek divide  
and reached the waters of upper Timothy Creek  
food was scarce but one of the scouts managed to kill a deer -- their only nourishment that day

#### CAPTAIN STANTON G. FISHER CONTINUES HIS SEARCH FOR THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE

Fisher's Seventh Cavalry Company M now in the vicinity of Timothy Creek -- September 3, 1877  
faced dead timbers and huge granite rocks had fallen onto the trail from the steep banks  
many dead and crippled horses showed the Nez Perce had passed through not long before

#### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL CHARLES C. GILBERT CONTINUES HIS SEARCH FOR HOWARD

Lieutenant-Colonel Gilbert led the Seventh Infantry, Company L down the Yellowstone River  
to the headwaters of the Gallatin River then on to the Lower Geyser Basin -- September 3, 1877  
in search of General Howard to relieve him of command  
Gilbert made contact with Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane  
with the Second Cavalry, Company E and forty-two Crow scouts  
Doane, with years of Indian experience, firmly believed the fleeing Nez Perce  
intended to move down an age-old trail that paralleled the Yellowstone River

(to where Livingston, Montana stands today) and then cross to the Musselshell River  
and pass through Judith Gap to the buffalo hunting grounds

Doane begged Gilbert to push up the Yellowstone River in pursuit of the Nez Perce  
however, Lieutenant-Colonel Gilbert stubbornly refused and took command of Doane's men  
he said he was only interested in reaching General Howard to take command  
he did not want to be delayed by a fight

(Gilbert will travel a circuitous 120 miles back to the Yellowstone River  
only twenty-four miles from where he first met Lieutenant Doane  
Howard had already moved beyond the Yellowstone River  
Gilbert will return to Fort Ellis effectively taking himself out of the chase  
and saving General Howard from losing his command)

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD'S PROVISIONS CATCH UP WITH HIM

All of General Howard's eleven wagons reached Mary Lake by noon September 3, 1877  
no longer slowed by his wagon train General Howard proceeded across Sulphur Mountain  
down to Alum Creek and toward the Falls of the Yellowstone River  
crossing a gentle plateau, they shortly approached a wooded ridge extending toward the river  
Howard's Bannock scouts supplied information that the Nez Perce were headed  
in the direction of Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone River

Howard sent this word back Fort Ellis in an attempt to coordinate  
with Captain Harry C. Cushing's and Colonel Sam Sturgis' columns

J.W. Redington, a sometime newspaper reporter who was following the action with the Nez Perce,  
was told by General Howard to take the two Bannock Indians and find Captain Fisher

Redington did not trust the loyalty of his companions

or their desire to reestablish contact with Captain Fisher

That afternoon Howard's troops marched to the Yellowstone River and along the left bank  
about two miles above the Upper Yellowstone Falls north of Yellowstone Lake  
there they stopped for the night

#### NEZ PERCE NOW LEAVE THE HIGH MOUNTAINS EAST OF YELLOWSTONE LAKE

Nez Perce had remained in the mountains for a week -- (August 28 to) September 4, 1877

To escape the pressure being applied by Captain Fisher Nez Perce bands split up

at least part of the Nez Perce moved easterly up the Lamar River canyon

these people continued east to a grassy summit near the headwaters

of Miller, Pappoose, and Hoodoo creeks known as Hoodoo Basin

camp was made on a beautiful, grassy ridge between Hoodoo and Miller Creeks

they appeared to be headed toward Crandall Creek on Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone

another band was thought to have exited the park ten to fifteen miles south of Cooke City, Montana

## GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD DECIDES TO QUICKEN HIS PACE

General Howard received the distressing news the Nez Perce had sent emissaries to the Crow Indians  
Howard set out from his camp at Upper Yellowstone Falls and traveled over Mount Washburn  
passing through cold and rainy weather

his supply wagons stalled at Cascade Creek -- September 4, 1877

civilians cleared a roadway through the trees and built a pole bridge across the stream  
as Howard's supply train made slow progress, Howard's troops camped at the ford  
about six miles below Yellowstone Lake near Mud Volcano  
there they found "plenty of wormy fish"

Because of the difficulty and delay in moving the wagons forward, Howard decided leave them behind

General Howard loaded his supplies on pack mules

he directed Captain W.F. Spurgin to take the wagons out of the park to Fort Ellis -- September 4

## CAPTAIN SPURGIN TAKES HOWARD'S SUPPLY WAGONS OUT OF YELLOWSTONE PARK

Captain W.F. Spurgin led General Howard's eleven supply wagon

back along the difficult Mary Mountain trail -- September 4, 1877

continuing on through Dunraven Pass and into Carnelian Creek valley,  
then they slowly moved toward Tower Creek

and continued down that stream to its junction with the Yellowstone River

his men sighted Indians on a distant mountain and Spurgin broke out the ammunition

he established a defensive position and braced for an attack

however, the Indians proved to be some of Lieutenant Gustavus C. Doane's Crow scouts  
teamsters and civilians detoured around Tower Fall and journeyed down the Yellowstone River  
to strike Gardner River about one and one-half miles above its mouth

they constructed a bridge to cross the Gardner River

Sturgis continued down the Yellowstone River and exited Yellowstone National Park

## CAPTAIN STANTON G. FISHER DISCOVER THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE INDIANS

Fisher and a white scout named A. K. Gird left the other members of Seventh Cavalry Company M  
to climb into the mountains to search for the location of the fleeing Nez Perce Indian camp  
seeing the camp, they approached to within a mile

as the Indians were breaking camp -- about noon September 4, 1877

when he returned to his camp Fisher's Bannock scouts told him the area was called the "trap"

as the fifteen-mile-long Lamar River Canyon was narrowly closed at both ends

Fisher and his men heard gunfire in the Lamar River Canyon that afternoon

they tried to descend to the bottom, but found the perpendicular canyon wall  
was impossible to negotiate

(later, they learned that some of Fisher's Bannocks had accidentally run into a rearguard  
of some forty Nez Perce Indians and had a brisk exchange of gunfire

one Nez Perce was reported killed)

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD LEAVES YELLOWSTONE PARK

General Howard waited for the arrival of supply wagons from Fort Ellis bearing rations and badly needed clothing

many had been wearing the same outfits for the past several weeks

General Howard and his weary men with their supplies now carried by the pack animals

plodded up Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone River in pursuit of the Nez Perce -- September 5, 1877

Howard reached the confluence of the Yellowstone with the Lamar River

to find that Baronett's bridge had just been burned

Howard quickly made repairs to the bridge using logs found in an abandoned house

General Howard learned about the Nez Perce attack on Henderson's ranch

and Mammoth Hot Springs from miners

he also heard that Lieutenant-Colonel Charles C. Gilbert

had moved rapidly in the wrong direction to find Howard

Howard forded the Lamar River and continued upriver to Soda Butte Canyon

#### GENERAL HOWARD CONTINUES TO SEARCH FOR THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE INDIANS

General Howard's soldiers started up Soda Butte Canyon -- September 6, 1877

this trail, frequently used for decades, was relatively good much of the way

#### CIVILIAN STANTON G. FISHER AND HIS BANNOCK SCOUTS FOLLOW A DIFFICULT TRAIL

Scout Stanton G. Fisher and his scouts continued for twelve miles along the rough trail

beside the Lamar River -- September 6, 1877

When a deer was killed, camp was made and a fire built at once -- food for one meal was devoured

then the march was begun again -- Soda Butte Creek was reached after a three-mile march

there signs of the passage of the Nez Perce were seen

after about two more miles the twelve men made camp in the dark

Fisher had about a dozen men left as more of the Bannocks departed his dwindling scouting force

#### COLONEL SAM STURGIS TURNS TOWARD THE STINKING WATER (SHOSHONE) RIVER

Colonel Sturgis with Seventh Cavalry did not know where General Howard or the Nez Perce were every attempt to communicate with Sturgis was frustrated by the Nez Perce Indians

who methodically killed all whites they meet as they feared they were scouts or messengers

at least two of Colonel Sturgis' attempts at communication with Howard were severed

Sturgis learned nothing for sure until he came across a 100-yard trail

indicating the hostiles had slipped past him

Sturgis sent his wagons with twenty-five men back to the Crow Agency for additional provisions

his Crow Indians also departed for the agency

Sturgis sent his French-Canadian guide, Rogue, and a prospector named Sibert to warn the inhabitants of a mining camp near Soda Butte of the possibility of nearby Nez Perce -- September 6, 1877

Colonel Sam Sturgis and the bulk of his force  
marched away from Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone River Canyon  
they moved closer to Heart Mountain (north of Cody, Wyoming)

#### COLONEL SAM STURGIS SEARCHES FOR THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE PEOPLE

At this time Colonel Sturgis was on the march toward Heart Mountain -- September 7, 1887  
located fourteen miles to the southeast of his present position  
Sturgis sent out two prospectors who served as couriers for his Seventh Cavalry  
to find General Howard

#### NEZ PERCE REACH A DIVIDE LINKING THE STINKING WATER AND CLARKS FORK RIVERS

Yellow Wolf ran into Colonel Sam Sturgis' couriers, Rogue, Sibert and six Crow scouts,  
near Heart Mountain as they searched for General Howard  
Seibert was killed but Rogue was only wounded and managed to escape -- September 7, 1877  
Yellow Wolf was stunned by a bullet that glanced off his skull in the fight

#### GENERAL HOWARD CONTINUES ON TO THE FOOT OF CLARK'S MOUNTAIN

General Howard discovered signs of the Indians where Crandall Creek enters Papoose Creek  
he continued down Crandall Creek where he found Sturgis' wounded courier,  
French-Canadian Rogue, who alerted the general to Sturgis' position -- September 7, 1877  
Sturgis had six companies of the Seventh Cavalry with him east of Yellowstone Park  
near Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone River less than fifty miles away  
Rogue was made as comfortable as possible in preparation to being sent  
with several prospectors to the Crow Agency

General Howard had high hope was high for General Howard that the Indians were trapped  
between himself and Colonel Sam Sturgis

General Howard quickly sent three couriers to Sturgis telling him of the Nez Perce presumed route  
Howard urged a cooperative attack on the fleeing native (none of whom reached Sturgis)

Howard also dispatched orders to Captain Harry C. Cushing at Fort Ellis  
to hurry supplies forward to Clark's Fork

Civilian scout Captain Stanton G. Fisher and his twelve remaining Bannock scouts  
linked with General Howard near the Clark's Fork River

Fisher and his men had not eaten since the day before

Fisher was ordered to take the lead in an easterly direction to discover the trail of the Nez Perce

#### FLEEING NEZ PERCE INDIANS EXIT YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

As the Indians passed through and exited the park, the troops of several military commands



had begun converging on them hoping to close and compel their surrender -- September 8, 1877  
Yellowstone National Park had proven to be a challenge for the fleeing Nez Perce people  
their route had made reaching the buffalo hunting grounds and the Crow Indians very difficult  
even as the Nez Perce approached their friends the Crows,  
the Crows increasingly supported the leadership of the military hounding them  
Nez Perce encounters with tourists demonstrated the hatred some of the Nez Perce maintained  
and the compassion that some of the Indian leaders were willing to display

#### GENERAL HOWARD IS ON THE MOVE ONCE AGAIN

General Oliver Otis Howard left his Clark Fork of the Yellowstone River camp -- September 8, 1877  
he descended to the mouth of Crandall Creek  
where reports had indicated the Nez Perce were headed  
Meanwhile, his scouts followed the trail of the fleeing Indians from the mouth of Soda Butte Canyon  
probably up Cache Creek and its tributaries to Hoodoo Basin  
location of the Indians' village of nearly 200 lodges was found  
this demonstrated their strength had increased

#### COLONEL SAM STURGIS CONTINUES THE SEARCH

Rather than following the route of the fleeing Nez Perce to the Clarks Fork River  
Sturgis chose to march cross-country to the outlet of Clarks Fork Canyon -- their anticipated route  
to head the Indians off before they could reach the Stinking Water River -- September 8, 1877  
Sturgis set out with pack animals up Pat O'Hara Creek bound for the Stinking Water  
camp was made after fifteen miles -- probably on Skull Creek near the base of Heart Mountain

#### GENERAL OLIVER O. HOWARD'S COMMAND IS ON THE MOVE

Captain S.G. Fisher and his Bannock scouts traveled in advance of Howard's troops  
camp was broken and the command set out in the rain and cold -- 7:00 A.M., September 9, 1877  
they climbed a steep hill and then passed through a narrow cut at the top  
fortunately, they discovered a good trail to follow  
General Oliver Otis Howard reached Dead Indian Hill -- September 9  
civilian scouts found where Joseph had camped the night before at the foot of the broad mountain  
an old ailing warrior who had been left behind to die was also found -- he was killed and scalped

#### COLONEL SAM STURGIS LEAVES THE VICINITY OF HEART MOUNTAIN

Sturgis' command negotiated the rough terrain west and south of Heart Mountain  
then forded the Stinking Water River about noon east of its canyon  
Colonel Sam Sturgis' troops suffered from the sulfur fumes filling the air  
(and giving the Stinking Water River its name)  
Sturgis turns south and camped that night (near today's Cody, Wyoming) -- September 9, 1877

## GENERAL HOWARD ATTEMPTS TO COMMUNICATE WITH COLONEL STURGIS

Howard was joined by a few Crow Indians who arrived from the Crow Agency  
they found a wounded German who reported his two partners had been killed at Crandall Creek  
Howard attempted to communicate with Colonel Sturgis to tell him the Nez Perce were ahead  
and must be stopped before they reached the Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone River

## J.W. READINGTON AND TWO BANNOCK COMPANIONS ALSO SCOUT AHEAD OF HOWARD

Sometime newspaper J.W. Redington traveling with two Bannock scouts  
as instructed by General Howard continued their search for Captain Stanton G. Fisher  
Redington and his men were three to five miles ahead of Howard's troops -- September 9, 1877  
Contact was made with fifty well-counted Mountain Crow Indians along the Clarks Fork River  
they were proud of the Spanish brands on their horses because they had been stolen in Mexico  
they said stealing horses in Mexico was easy  
difficult part was getting them past Indian tribes between Mexico and Montana

## STANTON G. FISHER IS TOLD TO PREPARE FOR A BATTLE WITH THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE

Scout Stanton G. Fisher's camp was made near a small stream that entered the Clarks Fork River  
one of Fisher's men killed a wounded Nez Perce discovered near the scout's camp  
another scout scalped the dead tribesman -- evening September 9, 1877  
when he approached to alert them of Sturgis' presence  
the scouts' trophy was hidden from General Howard  
Howard indicated to Fisher that a fight seemed imminent the next day

## STANTON G. FISHER AND HIS BANNOCK SCOUTS DISCOVER THE NEZ PERCE TRAIL

Captain Fisher and his men found the Nez Perce' trail bearing southeast  
through the foothills separating the Clarks Fork and Stinking Water rivers -- September 10, 1877  
Nez Perce appeared to be moving toward the Stinking Water River  
but instead of continuing in the direction they had been traveling and a crossing an open plain  
they turned off to the north, passed along the steep side of the mountain through the timber  
their trail was covered by the milling Indian horse herd  
fleeing Nez Perce intended to turn their pursuers toward the Stinking Water River  
while they would turn in a new direction  
Fisher scoured the area for signs of the Nez Perce  
he then stumbled on the Nez Perce trail after they had turned north -- September 10, 1877  
Captain Fisher followed through a very narrow and rocky canyon down to Clarks Fork River  
because their horses were exhausted camp was established about 5:00 P.M.

## FLEEING NEZ PERCE INDIANS EVADE COLONEL SAMSTURGIS

Rather than pressing ahead to join their allies the Crow Indians on the buffalo grounds north of the Yellowstone as anticipated -- September 10, 1877  
fleeing Nez Perce people doubled back  
and descended into the Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone River Canyon  
they had effectively circumvented Sturgis' troops and evaded Howard's military force

#### COLONEL SAM STURGIS DISCOVERS HE HAS BEEN TRICKED

Sturgis' Seventh Cavalry re-crossed the south fork then the north fork of the Stinking Water River  
Sturgis turned up Rattlesnake Creek leading northwest from the north fork  
they crossed the divide to Dead Indian Creek, a tributary of the Clarks Fork  
where they found the trail of the Nez Perce -- September 10, 1877

Nez Perce trail indicated the Indians had turned back to descended to the Clarks Fork River  
effectively circumventing Colonel Sturgis' troops while evading General Howard  
Sturgis had been misinformed regarding possible escape routes

Nez Perce by using the apparently impassable route through the narrow canyon  
had avoided detection by Colonel Sam Sturgis

That night Sturgis camped at high altitude, probably at Dead Indian Pass -- September 10

#### GENERAL HOWARD EMERGES FROM THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

With high hopes the Indians were trapped between him and Colonel Sturgis

General Howard led his column of troops up Dead Indian Hill -- dawn September 11, 1877  
losing many weakened horses that fell blocking the way for others  
pack mules slipped in the mud and fell headlong into the depths below  
carrying supplies with them

Captain Stanton G. Fisher reported to General Howard

Howard was disappointed to learn that he was at least one day behind the fleeing Nez Perce  
Fisher's scouts had found and buried the bodies of three prospectors killed by the warriors  
to keep the natives' location from being reported to the surrounding military units

#### COLONEL SAM STURGIS AGAIN TAKES UP HIS PURSUIT

Colonel Sturgis broke his camp at Dead Indian Pass to continue the pursuit -- September 11, 1877  
Sturgis paralleled Clarks Fork Canyon to reach the river below the mouth of the canyon  
at Sunlight Basin directly on the trail of the Nez Perce  
however, during the day no contact was made with the fleeing Indians  
embarrassingly, when camp was set up that evening,  
Sturgis' men could see the campfires of Howard's troops only four miles behind them

#### HOWARD ENTERS CLARKS FORK OF THE YELLOWSTONE RIVER CANYON

General Howard discovered the place where the Nez Perce had milled his horses

before they started toward the Stinking Water River and entered the forest

to avoid Colonel Sam Sturgis

as he followed the route of the fleeing Nez Perce

Howard reached Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone River and moved down the right bank

General Howard descended into Clarks Fork Canyon

which was not more than twenty feet wide between high walls

Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone River was reached along its right bank

scouts found and buried the bodies of three prospectors killed by the Nez Perce

Howard continued down the right bank of the Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone River

two miles below the canyon the night's camp was made -- September 11, 1877

#### COLONEL SAM STURGIS RIDES TO GENERAL HOWARD'S CAMP

To Colonel Sam Sturgis embarrassment and General Oliver Otis Howard's amazement

Sturgis ruefully joined Howard at his camp at the same spot

where Colonel Sturgis had made camp three days before [September 8] on Skull Creek

near the base of Heart Mountain -- night September 11, 1877

fleeing Nez Perce people had escaped and were fifty miles ahead of the commanders

Howard and Sturgis agreed that Sturgis should press the Nez Perce with forced marches

accompanied by Major George Sanford who was ordered to saddle up three companies of cavalry

Carr's, Jackson's and Norwood's -- just arrived from Fort Ellis

they would pursue the Nez Perce at first light

also accompanying Sturgis was Howard's aid Lieutenant R.H. Fletcher and twenty-five scouts

and Second Lieutenant Harrison G. Otis leading two mule-mounted Hotchkiss guns (howitzers)

General Howard would follow with the balance of the command as rapidly as possible

two companies of cavalry and fifty infantrymen were readied for the march

Howard sent two couriers to Colonel Nelson A. Miles at the Tongue River Cantonment (Fort Keogh)

to explain the situation and implore Miles, in the event Sturgis should fail, to make every effort

to prevent the Nez Perce escape -- or at least hold the fleeing Nez Perce for Howard

Miles received the message about 150 miles east of where the Nez Perce crossed the Clarks Fork

Miles understood he was to intercept the Nez Perce and prevent them from escaping

#### NEZ PERCE CROSS THE YELLOWSTONE RIVER

Nez Perce, with all their horses and belongings, had beaten both General Howard and Colonel Sturgis to the Yellowstone River

Nez Perce forded the Yellowstone -- September 12, 1877

this crossing was made below the mouth of the Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone River

(near today's Laurel, Montana)

Fleeing Nez Perce people moved downstream about three miles through a driving rain

to the grassy flats bordering Canyon Creek above its mouth,

then turned up the creek for three more miles to camp for the night  
Council was held to discuss their options  
down Canyon Creek from their campsite the Yellowstone Valley narrowed to less than one mile  
the presence of the community of Coulson, Montana (near today's Billings) at that spot  
perhaps influenced the Nez Perce leaders to avoid an encounter with the settlers there  
by moving instead up Canyon Creek  
fleeing Nez Perce leaders at last realized the futility of attempting a union with the Crows  
and the crossing Canadian border loomed as an inviting option  
Yellowstone River area was strikingly different from that in the vicinity of Yellowstone National Park  
Yellowstone's left bank reached northwest in a rolling fashion  
to form a high series of yellow clay ridges and plateaus followed by a tableland  
carved with broad valleys and sandstone buttes carved and weathered  
by millions of years of erosion

#### COLONEL SAM STURGIS RESUMES THE CHASE

Sturgis' soldier scouts reported that the main body of Indians along with their horse herd  
was fleeing up Canyon Creek toward the wide open mouth of its canyon  
if the Indians made their escape into the canyon before they could be captured  
the situation could become desperate  
Sturgis knew he was facing an incredibly brave people that could be peaceful at one moment  
but at the chance of any threat to their families, the warriors would turn and face their enemy  
with great ferocity and tenacity  
Sturgis led his own Seventh Cavalry plus fifty of General Howard's cavalry and Cheyenne scouts  
for a total of more than 400 soldiers plus two mountain howitzers (Hotchkiss guns)  
out of camp -- September 12, 1877  
Sturgis drove his force at a trot down the Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone River  
through a mist that grew into a torrential rain in an effort to overtake the Nez Perce  
turning north, the soldiers located a ford (near where the present bridge crosses into Laurel)  
and, began swimming their horses across the Yellowstone River -- about 10:00 A.M.  
his artillery had dropped far behind because of their exhausted animals  
Sturgis covered thirty miles before their first halt was made -- 1:00 P.M.  
On the march again, the men passed an abandoned Nez Perce camp site -- 4:00 P.M.  
Sturgis continued his rapid pace until 11:00 P.M., September 12, 1877  
camp was made about eight miles above Clark's Fork's confluence with the Yellowstone  
they had traveled more than sixty miles -- without seeing any sign of the Indians  
Sturgis had discovered what General Howard already knew  
Joseph and his followers were exceptionally fast, resolute, and resourceful

#### MAJOR GEORGE SANFORD LEADS THREE COMPANIES IN PURSUIT OF THE NEZ PERCE

Major George Sanford's three companies rode out -- September 12, 1877

Norwood's company was to follow the Indians' trail

other two companies detoured to the left and right presumably to outflank the Nez Perce

along the way about half of the army's stolen pack mules were recovered

after half an hour of riding Sanford's troops approached a ridge five miles from camp

an Indian rear guard ready to make a stand was discovered just on the other side

Norwood's men dismounted and took cover under a lava ridge where they returned fire

Norwood was in an exposed position and dependent on the other two companies for protection

Major George Sanford ordered the withdrawal of all three companies

Norwood was unable or unwilling to carry out the order

almost immediately he found himself in a crossfire

eventually he withdrew his horses and men five hundred yards to the cover of a small woods

Indian rear guard, unable to dislodge Norwood's men withdrew -- September 12

they had provided enough time for the main Nez Perce band to flee to safety

#### GENERAL HOWARD LEADS THE REMAINDER OF HIS TROOPS

As Howard was eating breakfast, Major George Sanford's first messenger arrived in camp

he reported half of the stolen mules had been recovered

very shortly after a second courier rode in and announced the Indians had returned in a large force

making Sanford's position precarious

Howard moved out at a gallop with the reserve cavalry and artillery until he saw Sanford's line

when he learned Norwood's men had been left forward, he led the whole command to find them

by the time the general arrived, Norwood's battle was well over

Indians had retired taking booty with them

#### COLONEL NELSON A. MILES JOINS THE CHASE TO STOP THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE

Anticipating the Indians' goal of gaining the buffalo grounds north of the Yellowstone

or, perhaps, uniting with the Lakota (Sioux) Indians under Sitting Bull in Canada

Colonel Nelson A. Miles marched out of Fort Keogh to Judith Gap -- September 12, 1877

(this was a stretch of prairie land north of the Yellowstone River

between the Little Belt and Big Snowy mountain ranges)

logically, the fleeing Nez Perce might attempt to pass through this gap

Colonel Miles camped where Tongue River empties into the Yellowstone River

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD MAKES CAMP FOR THE NIGHT

General Howard established camp for the night

on the directions of the officers, the packers let the mules graze to stop their braying

it was feared the noise would warn the Indians of the approach of the troops

most of the weary soldiers fell into a damp, restless sleep that did little to refresh them

Captain S.G. Fisher and his Bannock Scouts traveled ahead of General Howard's army  
they also had suffered through the morning mist and afternoon's hard rain -- September 12, 1877  
camp was made by the cold, wet, hungry scouts  
on the Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone six miles above Rock Creek

#### FLEEING NEZ PERCE PEOPLE CAMP ON CANYON CREEK

Canyon Creek was a steep-bank stream that ran through grassy terrain  
this area was dry except for infrequent alkali pools of water  
here the Nez Perce made camp -- night September 12, 1877  
Canyon Creek was dominated by towering yellow, red and gray colored walls  
up to four hundred feet high  
Canyon Creek ran southeast entering the northeasterly flowing Yellowstone River  
Yellowstone Valley snaked its way south and east twelve miles  
on either side the Yellowstone River spread through a broad, mostly treeless, valley  
through a few tributaries led to the main river

#### NEZ PERCE RAIDERS STRIKE OUT AT THE SETTLERS

Nez Perce warriors who had roamed away from the main body of Indians  
started down the Yellowstone Valley to forage for supplies  
they encountered several newly established homes -- early morning September 13, 1877  
near the mouth of Canyon Creek they alarmed settlers Elliott Rouse and H.H. Stone  
who fled downstream to a neighboring ranch  
stagecoach from Tongue River (Miles City) to Helena was stolen by six or seven Nez Perce  
it was stopped as it approached the stage station on the east side of Canyon Creek  
near the junction of Canyon Creek and the Yellowstone River -- September 13  
half a dozen stage passengers made a run for a thick willow with bullets flying around them  
(most of the passengers then struck out on foot up the river and eventually reached safety)  
Nez Perce raiders burned the buildings and haystacks at the stage station scattered the mail,  
and tried to destroy a mowing machine  
excited warriors drove the commandeered stagecoach through Canyon Creek  
continuing downstream they found Bela B. Brockway's ranch and burned his barn and corral  
as most of the surrounding settlers found refuge in the bushes  
on the rich bottom land five miles below Canyon Creek,  
two hunters, Clinton Dills and Milton Summer, were killed

Six warriors of a second raiding party rode farther down the Yellowstone River  
they attacked the Cochran homestead and stole property from his ranch including clothing, utensils,  
tools and ammunition -- September 13

Clinton Dills and Milton Summer two hunters who occupied a tent on the property were killed  
next the Indians moved on to the settlement of Coulson (near Billings)

there they burned a saloon and shack and exchanged shots with residents  
who were securely sheltered in hastily-dug rifle pits  
raiders kept on (to near the present town of Huntley) before turning back to rejoin the main body  
then moving up Canyon Creek

#### U.S. ARMY CLOSES THE DISTANCE ON THE NEZ PERCE

Captain Stanton G. Fisher and his Bannock scouts again got an early start -- September 13, 1877  
they reached the Yellowstone River and crossed at a very deep ford  
they stopped to dry their clothing  
a Bannock scout came galloping into camp announcing that the Nez Perce  
were moving up the river toward the scouts' camp  
camp was abruptly broken and the Bannock scouts rapidly rode about five miles  
over open country in search of the Nez Perce

#### COLONEL SAM STURGIS LEARNS THE LOCATION OF THE NEZ PERCE

Sturgis reacted with swift urgency moving his two battalions quickly downstream  
then he turned north across country in the hope of cutting off the Indians' escape  
Sturgis led two battalions, 400 cavalymen, Cheyenne scouts and was equipped with two howitzers  
as they descended the Clarks Fork of the Yellowstone River  
then crossed to a plateau lying between Clarks Fork and the Yellowstone River  
Major Lewis Merrill's battalion, about 150 soldiers of companies F, I and L led the advance  
Captain Frederick Benteen's company's G and M followed in reserve  
his Company H served as rearguard  
Major George Sanford's and Captain Charles Bendire's First Cavalry Company K  
along with Second Lieutenant Harrison G. Otis and the artillery,  
had dropped far behind because of their fatigued animals  
turning north, Sturgis' command began swimming their horses  
across the Yellowstone River -- about 10:00 A.M. September 13, 1877  
(near where a bridge leads to Laurel, Montana today)  
after gaining the north bank Sturgis seemed ready to halt his weary men  
and possibly give up the chase  
Sturgis' troops rested on the left bank of the Yellowstone River waiting for the artillery, pack mules  
and rear guard to cross over (near the present town of Laurel, Montana)  
while the primary force waited on the left bank of the Yellowstone River  
Sturgis' scouts reported spotting the Nez Perce not far down river  
since exiting Yellowstone National Park the Nez Perce  
had successfully avoided both Miles and Sturgis until this morning

#### J.W. REDINGTON AND HIS TRAVELING COMPANIONS ARRIVE AT CLARKS FORK RIVER



Just above the mouth of Clarks Fork River the sometime newspaperman, two Bannock horse thieves and fifty Crow Indians saw Nez Perce scouts watching them from a bluff of the north  
Racing toward the bluff Redington and his companions drove the scouts to the other side of the bluff following after they discovered the traveling Nez Perce below them  
along the bottom of Canyon Creek  
seeing nearly 2500 horses drove the fifty Crow Indians with them nearly crazy -- September 13 they charged one corner of the rear of the herd and cut out about 300 horses which they stampeded over the hill and raced back to their reservation

#### STANTON G. FISHER AND HIS BANNOCK SCOUTS COME UNDER FIRE

After crossing five miles of open country Captain Fisher and his scouts reached a rise of tableland bordering the Yellowstone Valley about 2:00 P.M., September 13  
Indians opened fire on them from the hills

#### COLONEL SAM STURGIS COMPLETES THE CROSSING OF THE YELLOWSTONE RIVER

Major George Sanford's and Captain Charles Bendire's cavalrymen,  
Second Lieutenant Harrison G. Otis and the artillery  
along with the pack train and rear guard crossed finished their crossing  
of the Yellowstone River -- about 4:30 or 5:00 P.M., September 13, 1877  
Colonel Sam Sturgis was approached by Crow scout who rode up and announced  
Scout Stanton G. Fisher saw a plume of smoke rising from buildings and haystacks  
that had been ignited by warriors  
soon another scout appeared and announced the Nez Perce Indians  
were seen traveling northwesterly up Canyon Creek six miles away

Sturgis' command set out at a trot  
two miles downstream, his troops received word from the scouts that the Nez Perce were headed toward the canyon of Canyon Creek approximately ten miles north of the Yellowstone River  
at this, Sturgis veered his men north away from the river  
toward the bluffs rising sharply four miles north to try and head off the tribesmen  
Major Lewis Merrill's battalion of Companies F, I, and L, 150 men,  
led the advance with Company L in the lead  
Companies F and I followed in columns of fours at his flanks  
Captain Benteen's battalion minus Company H which served as rearguard followed in reserve

#### COLONEL SAM STURGIS MAKES CONTACT WITH THE NEZ PERCE

Sturgis' 400 Seventh Cavalry troops, Cheyenne scouts and two cannons  
caught up with the Nez Perce -- September 13, 1877  
Nez Perce warriors fired on Major Lewis Merrill's Company L from the high bluffs  
shooting brought the troops to a halt

Seventh Cavalry began moving forward in mounted skirmish formation  
cavalrymen started up the slopes of the ridge, firing their Springfield rifles as they went  
Companies F and I were strung out behind because of their worn-out animals  
Gaining rising ground the command could see the Nez Perce  
bearing up the north side of Canyon Creek bound northwest  
apparently headed for the mouth of the canyon  
Newspaperman J.W. Redington thought there would be a charge right there to end the Nez Perce War  
but instead of charging the attacking Indians  
at the top of the ridge soldiers dismounted about 500 yards from the warriors  
soldiers deployed to the right and left with Company F on the right  
they opened a very rapid fire -- at such long-range little damage was done  
this cost Colonel Sturgis his chance to win the engagement  
Mounted Indians returned fire from their horses

#### BATTLE OF CANYON CREEK TAKES PLACE (NEAR TODAY'S LAUREL, MONTANA)

Major Lewis Merrill's Company L led the attack with the objective of taking a wide ridge  
that rose about 300 feet before them  
Nez Perce sharpshooters established themselves on buttes overlooking the Canyon Creek area  
they fired accurately from the high bluff to slow the soldiers long enough  
so their families could make their escape into the canyon  
Merrill's Companies F, I, still mounted joined Company L in the attack  
they faced incoming fire but his soldiers did not hesitate although many were recruits  
Nez Perce warriors remained mounted and sharpshooters pinned the soldiers down  
women and children drove the horse herd into a nearby canyon  
Major Lewis Merrill made tactical mistakes  
once on top of the ridge, the soldiers dismounted and formed a skirmish line  
this was an error that benefitted the Nez Perce as they had more time to make their final escape  
however, Merrill's skirmish line did succeed in pushing the warriors  
down the northeast portion of the ridge  
as the mounted warriors retreated northeast, Merrill and his first sergeants  
ordered the troops to stop, aim and fire  
taking full advantage of the accurate range of their Springfield Rifles  
To the left of the ridge where Major Lewis Merrill's were fighting  
there was better ground for a cavalry to make its charge  
Captain Frederick Benteen approached Sturgis with the idea of moving his troops over that ground  
toward the mouth of the canyon to intercept and capture the horse herd  
Benteen was willing to gamble his troops could reach the canyon before the Nez Perce  
Sturgis liked the plan and issued orders to carry it out  
meanwhile, Major Lewis Merrill's were to mount up and move to the north/northwest

in to protect Benteen's men from the Nez Perce sharpshooters  
Thus So began the second phase of the Battle of Canyon Creek

#### CAPTAIN FREDERICK BENTEEN MAKES HIS CHARGE

Captain Benteen crossed to the north side of Canyon Creek -- Thursday September 13, 1877  
but snipers from higher ground put a stop to his plan  
effective from the Nez Perce rearguard forced Benteen  
to pull his troops back to the south side of the creek

At the same time, accurate gunfire from the Nez Perce forced Major Lewis Merrill's soldiers  
to maintain their skirmish line which had become widely separated from their horses  
they were forced to move about three miles over rough terrain  
while fighting took a physical toll on the soldiers  
thus it took longer than hoped for the cavalymen to remount and move to support Benteen  
that delay gave the warriors all the time they needed to reestablish new positions  
on the bluffs north and southwest of Canyon Creek

Captain Benteen who had been with Colonel George Armstrong Custer at Little Big Horn [1876]  
must have had fleeting memories of Major Marcus Reno's experience  
as he waited for Custer to come to his aid

There was one brief moment of optimism when Crow scouts  
managed to capture a large number of the Nez Perce horses  
this quickly faded into more frustration as Benteen's battalion watched  
as most of the Nez Perce horse herd entered the mouth of the canyon  
all signs indicated the Nez Perce were making a great escape

#### COLONEL SAM STURGIS CONTINUES THE FIGHT FOR THE BLUFFS AND CANYON

Finally, Captain Charles Bendire and fifty men of First Cavalry Company K reached the battle  
one of their howitzers was somewhere at the bottom of the Yellowstone River  
animals transporting the remaining howitzer were completely spent  
making any attempt to use the heavy gun useless -- it never opened fire

Colonel Sturgis adjusted his battle plan as Calamity Jane Horse Cache became the primary objective  
Sergeant William Costello led ten soldiers who were to climb the butte from its north side  
meanwhile Major Lewis Merrill formed his troops into a mounted skirmish line  
that extended across the plain facing west toward the canyon's mouth  
Merrill's line would begin the charge the moment they heard gunfire from Costello's soldiers  
Benteen's now fully formed battalion comprised of Companies G, M and K  
would support Costello by circling the butte and then climbing it from the south  
to effectively create a pincer attack on the NezPerce

Sturgis began his initial attack with troops mounted on horseback  
while warriors fired on the cavalymen

once the ridge became too steep, the soldiers dismounted and continued up the ridge on foot  
after taking the heights, Benteen's battalion formed a skirmish line  
and continued its march across Calamity Jane Horse Cache towards the north  
only to discover the snipers were gone  
as they so often accomplished in the past weeks, the Nez Perce simply vanished  
Meanwhile, Second Lieutenant Ezra Fuller's Company H,  
First Lieutenant John Wilkinson's Company L and Captain Henry Nowlan's Company I  
attempted to take the bluffs to the north but were repulsed by warrior fire from above  
Major Merrill reacted to Sergeant Costello's gunfire as planned and began his charge  
once inside the canyon walls, all attempts to finally capture the Nez Perce  
were hindered by the Indian rearguard  
Nez Perce marksmen positioned themselves behind the many boulders and bluffs,  
fired back at the soldiers -- then continue their move further into the canyon  
this fight, one to two miles into the canyon was like an ebb and flow of waves  
Nez Perce withdrawal was more organized rather than a route  
they continually kept up their fire as they pulled back  
one Indian stationed behind a point of rocks held the army in check for more than ten minutes  
when the point was finally taken forty empty shells were counted -- all government issue  
when the women, children and horses were safe  
warriors rode to the rocks and cottonwood trees that skirted the creek  
there they dismounted and concealed their mounts in the nearby ravines and washes  
From the top of the ridge, Sturgis must have been disappointed as he watched  
the Nez Perce and horse herd race for the canyon about three miles away  
in between was ground broken by gullies and ravines  
filled with the main group of warriors on horseback continuing to fire back on the soldiers  
while they moved north/northeast  
Colonel Sam Sturgis had to finally end it due to approaching darkness  
he pulled back and reformed all his battalions at the mouth of the canyon  
where he established his command post and field hospital

#### BATTLE OF CANYON CREEK ENDS AT SUNDOWN

Weary troops made camp -- sundown, September 13, 1877  
they counted three of their men killed and eleven wounded  
Colonel Sam Sturgis claimed the Nez Perce lost sixteen  
(Yellow Wolf said three were wounded;  
Fisher said none were killed as his Bannocks combed the area anxious for scalps to no avail)  
When camp was setup the soldiers learned that Crow Indians who had accompanied J.W. Redington  
had stolen some of the equipment  
Crows had no part in the fight, but rather stayed behind the lines

and stole everything they could get their hands on  
clothing, bedding, etc. as well as a number of pack and saddle animals  
once again a count of the actual losses was not possible  
Sturgis claimed between 900 and 1000 horses were lost at Canyon Creek  
(Howard thought a more modest 400 horses, most of them worthless, was likely  
Yellow Wolf said only thirty sick or worthless horses left on the trail were lost by the army)  
Cheyenne scouts were very disgusted with how Sturgis conducted the fight  
firing during the day was mostly at long range  
strong gale winds made accurate shooting nearly impossible for both sides  
wet ground kept the troops from seeing where their bullets hit -- no dust trail could be followed  
To appease themselves hungry soldiers cut steaks from the horses and mules shot during the battle  
meat was tough and stringy as the animals had seen constant use for months grazing only at night  
but it was all the food they had  
exhausted, there was little chance to sleep

#### NEZ PERCE FAMILIES RAPIDLY FLEE NORTH FROM CANYON CREEK

After the Battle of Canyon Creek, Chief Joseph started the caravan of non-combatants moving north  
he then joined the rear guard protecting the fleeing procession for a time -- September 13, 1877  
Because their route to the buffalo hunting grounds was blocked by Colonel Sturgis  
fleeing Nez Perce people turned toward Canada  
Nez Perce families fled across the high plains (along today's Buffalo Trail Road)  
toward the Musselshell River twenty-five miles to the north  
they probably camped near (present-day Molt, Montana -- night September 13, 1877  
Chief Joseph began to exude more authority than before  
his leadership increased as Colonel Sam Sturgis fell farther behind  
and the Indians grew increasingly confident Canada would be reached  
however, as the common threat and danger declined the unity that the fleeing Free Bands together  
diminished -- disputes and disharmony broke out with greater frequency

#### ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT KNOW IT STURGIS WON THE BATTLE OF CANYON CREEK

Colonel Sam Sturgis may have thought he had lost the day  
Nez Perce had made another successful escape as they had done so many times before  
Nez Perce must have felt the same  
in fact, U.S. Army had won the day thank to their Crow Indian scouts  
who captured enough Nez Perce horses to create an incredible burden for the Indians to travel  
they could not move as fast as before as there were not horses  
to move wounded, young and old and provisions towards Canada as quickly as before

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD IS UNAWARE OF THE FIGHTING AT CANYON CREEK

General Howard had just established camp some twelve to fifteen miles from the ford on the Yellowstone River -- evening, September 13, 1877 when a messenger from Sturgis' command delivered a message:

**“We have struck the enemy and are fighting...”**

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD RIDES OUT TO FIND COLONEL SAM STURGIS

When General Howard heard by courier of Colonel Sturgis encounter at Canyon Creek -- September 13, 1877

Howard left his command camped near Rocky Creek in the charge of Major Edwin C. Mason Howard with fifty mounted men rode thirty-five miles through the night

General Howard reached the battlefield -- 10:30 A.M. September 14

Colonel Sturgis had already departed in his pursuit of the fleeing Nez Perce Free Bands his command was twenty miles ahead in hot pursuit of the Nez Perce

General Howard sent a message to Sturgis that he expected supplies from Fort Ellis and that he had brought forward five hundred pounds of freshly slaughtered beef for Sturgis' men Howard then sent to the Bighorn Post (Fort Custer) for supplies for his own troops

#### STANTON G. FISHER AND HIS BANNOCK INDIANS BREAK CAMP AT SUNUP

Breakfast was horsemeat as Stanton and his Bannock scouts prepared to break camp in pursuit of the fleeing Nez Perce Indians -- sunrise September 14, 1877 throughout the day a hard rain added to their misery two dead Nez Perce people were found along the trail the Indians had taken they had evidently been wounded and died during the escape from Canyon Creek

#### COLONEL SAM STURGIS CONTINUES HIS PURSUIT OF THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE

After the Battle at Canyon Creek, Colonel Sturgis set out with pack mules in pursuit of the fleeing Nez Perce people -- September 14, 1877 Colonel Sturgis met a large party of 150 Crow Indians -- early in the morning they were dressed in war costumes but were more interested in Nez Perce horses than blood because Crows' horses were so fresh Sturgis set them ahead hoping they could catch the Nez Perce and somehow hold them until Sturgis' troops could arrive Crow scouts raced ahead but they were not able to stop the escaping Nez Perce however, Crow harassment forced the Nez Perce to abandon about 400 animals (some that were recovered proved to be mules taken from Howard at Camas Meadows) Crow Indians were joined by some Bannocks they kept up a running skirmish with the fleeing Indians' rear guard five Nez Perce were killed

#### GENERAL HOWARD CHANGES HIS APPROACH TO CAPTURING THE NEZ PERCE

General Oliver Otis Howard visited the site of the Canyon Creek battle while there he decided to change his strategy in pursuing the Indians fleeing Nez Perce were 150 yards closer to the U.S.-Canadian border than Howard's troops Howard felt he had no chance of catching them before they left the United States and entered the safety of Canada he knew, from a dispatch he had received [September 12] that Colonel Nelson Miles would march diagonally northwest from the Tongue River Cantonment in an effort to convince Chief Joseph and the other leaders they were no longer being pursued Howard's scouts were given order that when they came in contact with the Nez Perce they were to flee and leave their horses behind to help convince the Nez Perce that the chase had been given up

#### STANTON G. FISHER AND HIS BANNOCK INDIANS REACH THE MUSSELSHELL RIVER

Fisher and his scouts continued toward the Musselshell River where he camped in a slough where the water was very poor weather was cold, rainy and windy -- evening of September 14, 1877 Fisher noted he could see the fleeing Indians through his field glasses while in camp Fisher received a dispatch from General Howard that ordered him back to the Yellowstone River in keeping with Howard's new strategy, Fisher and his scouts were to help convince the Nez Perce that the chase had been given up if contact was made Fisher was to flee and leave their horses behind

#### COLONEL SAM STURGIS RECEIVES ORDERS TO RETURN TO THE YELLOWSTONE RIVER

After making about thirty-five miles, Sturgis's soldiers were fatigued -- September 14, 1877 men and horses were strewn over the back trail for ten miles, with at least one-third on foot That evening a courier brought orders for all of Howard's troops to return to the Yellowstone River

#### FREE BANDS OF NEZ PERCE CONTINUE THEIR ESCAPE TOWARD CANADA

Nez Perce families continued across the open plains of the Big Lake Basin crossing multiple tributaries of the Musselshell River to reach the area (of modern Lavina, Montana) where they turned west at about where (Ryegate, Montana is today) they forded the Musselshell and continued toward the Big Snowy Mountains this portion of their trek was not easy given their depleted condition and loss of horses pursuit by Sturgis, and especially by the Crow scouts, made it even worse by Crow and Bannock scouts who disobeyed General Howard's direct orders as Crows and Bannocks tried unsuccessfully to cut off and capture the families a running skirmish with the Nez Perce rear guard kept the refugees moving

during the chase Crows and Bannocks gave up and drifted away by ones and twos  
and headed for home  
attacks by Crow warriors further convinced the Nez Perce leaders  
that Canada was their only hope

#### GENERAL HOWARD LOSES HIS BEST SCOUT

Scout Stanton G. Fisher and his Bannock scouts returned to General Howard's headquarters  
on the Yellowstone River -- September 15, 1877  
"Captain" Fisher dismissed his command as they had only signed on for one month's duty  
General Howard and his officers tried to persuade Fisher to remain in their service  
Howard noted in front of his officers and other scouts that Fisher had provided more service  
that all of the other scouts combined  
Six white men and a young Bannock chief now made up Howard's scouting corps  
all made enviable reputations for themselves, however, in reality they were of no practical use  
being primarily both boastful and cowardly

#### COLONEL SAM STURGIS GIVES UP THE CHASE

Major Major George Sanford with Captain Charles Bendire's First Cavalry Company K  
started back while Colonel Sam Sturgis with the Seventh Cavalry pushed ahead  
to the Musselshell River where they arrived -- September 15, 1877  
Condition of the horses and the men in Sturgis' command had become critical  
Sturgis decided he could go no farther  
his men had been on half rations for the past few days  
now were reduced to eating horse meat  
ninety-three of the Seventh Cavalry's horses had been lost  
either killed in the fighting, wounded and abandoned, or exhausted and abandoned  
in addition, a painful hoof disease appeared among the remaining cavalry mounts  
making them too sick to carry their riders  
half of Sturgis' men, most of whom were too weak to even walk, had no mounts  
Colonel Sturgis sent a letter to General Howard notifying him the Nez Perce  
were heading toward the Judith Basin and that he was reluctantly abandoning a hopeless pursuit  
Colonel Sam Sturgis rested his troops on the banks of the Musselshell River

#### NEZ PERCE CROSS THE MUSSELSHELL RIVER

They continued north through Judith Gap, Montana Territory, moving toward the Missouri River  
hope of returning to their homeland in the Wallowa Mountains  
had long disappeared -- September 16, 1877  
even the wish to settle on their old hunting grounds along the Yellowstone and Musselshell rivers  
had been abandoned when the Crow Indians, their former allies, had attacked them



## GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD WAITS AT THE CANYON CREEK BATTLEFIELD

General Howard's command arrived at the Canyon Creek Battlefield where they joined the general also with them were soldiers from Colonel Sam Sturgis' command wounded at Canyon Creek  
General Howard started his troops and the wounded soldiers  
down the Yellowstone River to Pompey's Pillar -- September 17, 1877

## COLONEL NELSON A. MILES ENTERS THE FIGHT AGAINST THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE

Colonel Miles at Tongue River Cantonment received a tired rider -- Monday evening September 17  
he carried General Oliver Otis Howard's [September 12] dispatch describing events  
before the Canyon Creek battle and an appeal to Miles for help  
Colonel Miles sent a dispatch to Commander of the Department of Dakota General Alfred H Terry  
enclosed was a copy of Howard's dispatch  
Miles requested that rations and grain along with clothing for his own men  
and for the destitute commands of Howard and Sturgis be sent up the Missouri River  
by steamer from Fort Buford

As the couriers departed, Colonel Miles made preparations through the night for assuming the chase  
thirty days of rations, thirty-six wagons, two ambulances,  
artillery: one breech-loading 1.67-inch caliber Hotchkiss gun that fired a two-pound projectile  
one bronze twelve-pounder Napoleon gun plus their requisite ammunition  
it could fire twelve-pound projectiles from its barrel,  
as well as grapeshot, chainshot, shrapnel, shells and canister shot  
small arms ammunition (two hundred rounds per man  
(fifty rounds on the person and the balance carried in the wagons),  
mule teams, pack mules, horses, baggage, and 383 cavalrymen, Cheyenne and Sioux scouts  
had to be ferried to the north bank of the Yellowstone preparatory to leaving in the morning

## COLONEL NELSON A. MILES TAKES TO THE FIELD

Colonel Miles command marched out of Tongue River Cantonment -- dawn September 18, 1877

Miles led the Seventh Cavalry:

- Captain Myles Moylan commanded approximately thirty men of Company A,
- Captain Edward S. Godfrey and First Lieutenant Edwin P. Eckerson  
led approximately forty men of Company D,
- Second Lieutenant Edward J. McClermand with about fifty men Company G,
- Second Lieutenant Lovell H. Jerome commanded about sixty men Company H

Miles led his own Fifth Infantry regiment riding captured Sioux ponies:

- Captain Andrew S. Bennett and Second Lieutenant Thomas M. Woodruff  
commanded twenty-six of Company B,
- Captain Simon Snyder, commanded twenty-eight men of mounted battalion Company F,

- First Lieutenant Henry Romeyn officered the twenty-three soldiers of Company G,

- First Lieutenant Mason Carter led twenty-eight enlisted men of Company I,

Miles also led a contingent of the Fifth Infantry that was without horses:

- Captain David H. Brotherton and Second Lieutenant George P. Borden  
with twenty-nine men of Company K,

- twenty-one men from Company D escorted the wagon train  
and served Sergeant John McHugh's artillery pieces,

First Lieutenant George W. Baird served as Miles's command adjutant,

First Lieutenant Frank D. Baldwin was Miles' aide-de-camp,

Second Lieutenant Oscar F. Long was acting engineer officer,

Second Lieutenant Marion P. Maus commanded several white and thirty Indian scouts

surgeon Major Henry R. Tilton and Assistant Surgeon First Lieutenant Edwin F. Gardner  
accompanied as medical officers

there were twenty packers, a detachment of about twelve men to service the artillery  
plus teamsters to drive the wagons

On the march, Colonel Nelson A. Miles absorbed two additional companies:

- Captain Owen Hale and Second Lieutenant Jonathan W. Biddle led forty-four men  
of the Seventh Cavalry Company K,

- Captain George Tyler's battalion of fifty-four men of the Second Cavalry Company F

Colonel Miles' troop complement after incorporation of the units of the Seventh and Second cavalry  
totaled approximately 520 officers, men, scouts and civilian employees

many of Miles' officers and men represented seasoned campaigners who had recently fought  
in demanding campaigns against the Teton Sioux and Northern Cheyennes

Miles immediate objective was to reach the mouth of the Musselshell River on the Missouri River  
in the shortest time possible to cut off the fleeing Free Bands of Nez Perce Indians

## COW ISLAND IS A MILITARY AND CIVILIAN SUPPLY BASE

Cow Island in the Missouri River is located about 120 miles downstream from Fort Benton, Montana  
it was, in fact, two large islands (both extensively covered with cottonwoods)

and several smaller ones located in a major bend on the south side of the stream

across from the main island on the north bank of the river and west of the mouth of Cow Creek,

stood Cow Island Landing where steamboat cargoes were unloaded to await delivery upstream

by freight wagons to Fort Benton for military and commercial use

a road paralleled Cow Creek and ascend the pine-dotted bluffs leading from the canyon

to the open strip of land surrounded by slopes north of the Missouri

south of the river, the bluffs rose sharply in similar fashion, but without access to the river

Upstream from Cow Island near the mouth of the Judith River a civil engineer unit worked

to remove obstructions and stabilize the river channel at Dauphin Rapids

Seventh Infantry Company B from Fort Benton under Sergeant William Molchert

was sent to Cow Island to collect commissary supplies -- August 18, 1877  
no permanent buildings stood at the Cow Island Landing  
there were only tents surrounded by a drainage ditch approximately two and one-half feet deep  
with its excavated dirt piled to form an embankment that could double as an entrenchment  
about four hundred feet upstream from the landing area above the mouth of Cow Creek

#### COLONEL NELSON A. MILES CONTINUES HIS SEARCH FOR THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE

Colonel Miles' command was joined by thirty Northern Cheyenne warriors to serve as scouts  
Miles increasingly used his civilian and Indian guides as he neared the region  
where he might logically expect word of the Nez Perce -- September 20, 1877

#### NO CONTACT IS MADE BY EITHER SIDE AS THE FLIGHT OF THE NEZ PERCE CONTINUES

(General Howard left his Pompey's Pillar camp [September 19, 1877]  
crossing over the prairie to the Musselshell River)  
Nez Perce made camp near Judith Gap -- September 20, 1877  
General Howard camped on the Musselshell after detouring down the Yellowstone River  
to visit Pompey's Pillar -- September 20  
Nez Perce next made camp near Lewiston -- September 21  
Howard marched west and joined Colonel Sam Sturgis on the Musselshell River -- September 21  
necessary supplies arrived from Fort Ellis

#### FLEEING NEZ PERCE ATTACK A CROW INDIAN CAMP

Fleeing Nez Perce Indians had approached the Missouri River after passing the Judith River Basin  
they encountered a Crow Indian camp along the way  
Nez Perce attacked the Crow camp seeking revenge because Crow warriors  
had joined with the U.S. Army in the pursuit of the refugees -- September 21, 1877  
property was wrecked, meat was taken and Crow Indian horses were stampeded  
After the attack the fleeing Nez Perce veered slightly northeast  
they stopped at Reed's Fort, a trading post on Big Spring Creek (just west of modern Lewistown),  
then traveled west of the Judith Mountains, passing close to (today's Winifred, Montana)  
next they probably crossed familiar terrain that they had visited often in times past  
during their pursuit of buffalo herds

#### MORE SOLDIERS ENTER THE CHASE

News that fleeing Nez Perce were threatening the defenseless trading post of Fort Clagett,  
on the south side of the Missouri River below the mouth of the Judith River  
prompted Major Guido Ilges, post commander at Fort Benton,  
to lead a force downstream to provide for its relief -- September 21, 1877  
Fort Benton's garrison was reduced to a single depleted company of the Seventh Infantry

this required Ilges to enlist volunteers from the local citizens

each man was to furnish his own horse, gun and ammunition

Second Lieutenant Edward E. Hardin, with thirteen men of Seventh Infantry Company F

plus two citizen volunteers and a mountain howitzer, boarded light open sailboats

they set out down the Missouri (and reached Fort Claiborne in the morning of the twenty-second)

Major Guido Ilges accompanied single enlisted man, Private Thomas Bundy of Company F,

and by thirty-eight volunteers all mounted, Ilges started overland for Fort Claiborne

(which he reached late in the afternoon of the twenty-second)

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD UNITES WITH COLONEL SAM STURGIS

Howard's weary troops now joined by Colonel Sam Sturgis's soldiers

their united forces made camp on Careless Creek -- September 22, 1877

#### GENERAL HOWARD AND COLONEL STURGIS TAKE UP THE PURSUIT

General Oliver Otis Howard and Colonel Sam Sturgis crossed the Musselshell River

they plodded their way west, up Careless Creek toward Judith Gap -- September 23, 1877

there were rumors among the men that their campaign was nearing an end

#### FLEEING FREE BANDS OF NEZ PERCE CROSS THE MISSOURI RIVER

Fleeing Nez Perce families arrived at the place on the Missouri River

sixty miles to the West of General Howard's present position

where General Howard had camped (two days before) -- September 23, 1877

they helped themselves to generous portions of coffee, bacon, flour, beans and sugar

from a lightly guarded army supply depot

General Howard was at least two days behind -- Canada only a few days' march ahead

#### SEVERAL HUNDRED NEZ PERCE INDIANS APPEAR AT COW ISLAND LANDING

Twelve men of Seventh Infantry Company B under Sergeant William Molchert

had arrived at Cow Island Landing the day before

to obtain additional rations from the army stores located there

also at the landing were four civilian disbursing clerks who represented the freight company

one of these was Michael Foley, chief clerk for the agent of the *Josephine* line of steamboats

fifty tons of government and commercial freight lay under tarpaulins at the landing

waiting for shipment by wagon to remote corners of the territory

including Deer Lodge, Missoula, Helena, and Fort Shaw

Fleeing The Nez Perce after passing through the Judith River Basin

approached Cow Island Landing -- about 2:00 P.M. September 23, 187

some of the people moved upstream to ford the river

others crossed below and directly opposite from the Cow Island Landing

while Sergeant Molchert and his party watched and prepared to defend themselves  
Nez Perce crossing of the Missouri River was orderly and controlled  
twenty warriors rode in advance to meet any attack, followed by the pack animals and families  
who were in turn guarded by the remaining warriors on the south bank  
Once across, the procession moved two miles away and went into camp  
two of the Nez Perce Indians approached the landing to ask for food  
clerk Michael Foley, who claimed a knowledge of Indians, advanced and spoke with them,  
but returned to tell Sergeant Molchert that the tribesmen  
wanted to talk with the person in charge of the soldiers  
Molchert went forward unarmed and was surprised to learn that the Indians spoke English well  
and readily expressed their friendship  
Molchert refused to allow them to approach closer than one hundred yards from the defenses  
When the Nez Perce requested provisions from the freight deposit,  
Molchert turned and walked away but the tribesmen called him back to beg for food  
Molchert returned to his defenses, got a sack with some hardtack and placed a side of bacon with it,  
he then walked back and handed it over and shook hands with the Nez Perce leader  
(whom he later declared was Joseph) and the Indians withdrew

#### FLEEING NEZ PERCE INDIANS RAID COW ISLAND LANDING

Things remained quiet as the soldiers ate supper -- sundown September 23, 1877  
each man had been given ammunition and had his place in the defense works  
One of the Nez Perce men walked through the defensive perimeter  
when the Nez Perce opened fire from the hills without warning -- sundown September 23, 1877  
luckily none of the soldiers were  
All though the night the fighting continued  
warriors attacked three times through high willows that made it impossible to see any one  
all of the military's freight was piled against the bluff -- none of it could be saved  
chief clerk Michael Foley had a hospital tent there for his quarters  
with 500 sacks of bacon piled against it -- this was set on fire and lit the country up for miles  
that fire probably saved the troops from disaster

#### COLONEL NELSON A. MILES CAMPS BESIDE THE MISSOURI RIVER

Colonel Miles had received dispatches from Tongue River Cantonment on the Yellowstone River  
reporting Colonel Sam Sturgis' encounter at Canyon Creek and running fight to the Musselshell  
and of General Oliver Otis Howard's intention to slow his march  
to allow Miles time to advance his troops -- September 23, 1877  
Miles advanced about twenty-two miles and made camp on the Missouri River  
about six miles below the mouth of the Musselshell River -- 7:00 P.M.

## MAJOR GUIDO ILGES MARCHES HIS VOLUNTEERS FROM FORT CLAGETT

Major Ilges learned from his five scouts that the fleeing Nez Perce Free Bands had moved toward Cow Island

Ilges directed his mounted thirty-eight volunteers and one soldier downstream toward Cow Island sixty-five miles away -- dawn September 24, 1877

## COLONEL NELSON A. MILES CROSSES THE MISSOURI RIVER

Colonel Miles made use of the steamboat *Fontenelle* which had been delayed in its journey from Fort Benton to St. Louis -- September 24, 1877

Captain George Tyler's battalion of fifty-four men of the Second Cavalry Company F and twelve wagons were crossed so they could travel to Fort Benton

to meet with Commander of the Department of Dakota General Alfred H Terry and organize a unit to exercise vigilance and prevent surprise

Colonel Miles, believed the fleeing Nez Perce most likely be encountered south of the Missouri River, he wrote General Terry that he intended to travel the south side of the Missouri perhaps as far as the Judith River Basin

Colonel Miles outfitted his troops with fifteen days' rations

he left his wagons on the bank of the Missouri River

under the care of Captain Brotherton's Seventh Cavalry Company K

Miles began a complicated and complex movement to get his troops and their horses and pack animals across the Musselshell River

## FLEEING NEZ PERCE INDIANS DEPART FROM COW ISLAND LANDING

Gunfire at Cow Island Landing died down apparently at the instigation of Nez Perce leadership as the fleeing Nez Perce people departed -- 10:00 A.M. September 24, 1877

they climbed a ridge to the relatively flat land at the top

then headed in the direction of the pass between the Bear Paw and Little Rocky Mountains

tons of supplies continued to burn well into the afternoon

no fatalities had occurred on either side in the skirmish at Cow Island

one warrior and two civilians had been injured

## NEZ PERCE INDIANS CONTINUE THEIR ESCAPE TOWARD CANADA

When the Nez Perce left Cow Island Landing and headed north

they were less than eighty miles from the United States-Canada boundary -- September 24, 1877

they were convinced Colonel Sam Sturgis and General Oliver Otis Howard

were at least two days behind them

Continuing north, the Nez Perce families overtook a wagon train and herd of cattle

belonging to O. G. Cooper and Frank Farmer who were accompanied by six men

some warriors approached the wagons unthreateningly and the entire Nez Perce assemblage

camped within one and one-half miles of the train -- September 24, 1877

#### SEVENTH INFANTRY FROM FORT BENTON REACHES COW ISLAND

Second Lieutenant Edward E. Hardin, with thirteen men of Seventh Infantry Company F had traveled from Clagett down the Missouri River by sailboats  
en route Hardin picked up Sergeant William Molchert and his men near Dauphin Rapids and brought them back to Cow Island -- September 24, 1877

Major Guido Ilges with thirty-eight volunteers and one soldier reached the south bank opposite the Cow Island landing well past sundown -- September 24, 1877 long after the warriors had lifted their siege of Sergeant Molchert's men and departed destroyed freight was still burning

#### MAJOR GUIDO ILGES LEAVES COW ISLAND

Major Guido Ilges used the small sailboats to ferry his men and horses across the Missouri River he began his mounted civilian force up Cow Creek  
trailing the fleeing Nez Perce -- 9:30 A.M September 25, 1877

Major Ilges received reports that a wagon freight train bound Fort Benton and a light wagon containing military personnel and civilians, including four women, was ahead on the road

Ilges hoped to rescue any members of either train who may have escaped the Nez Perce Cow Creek Canyon required thirty-one crossings  
its narrow creek bottom and high cliffs increased the danger of Indian attack

#### NEZ PERCE INDIANS ATTACK THE COOPER-FARMER WAGON TRAIN

O. G. Cooper and Frank Farmer rode up Cow Creek to find their cattle -- morning September 25, 1877 warriors shot and killed a teamster named Barker as seven other teamsters fled into the willows at the sound of the firing Cooper and Farmer ran into the hills  
where they found most of the other teamsters

#### MAJOR GUIDO ILGES RIDES TO PROTECT THE COOPER-FARMER WAGON TRAIN

Major Ilges had traveled only ten miles before his scouts sighted the fleeing Nez Perce whose warriors had surrounded the wagon train in Cow Creek Canyon -- September 25, 1877 Warriors simultaneously set the train afire and started down the canyon to meet the Ilges' civilians  
thousand yards from Ilges and his force, the Indians split into small groups they disappeared from view as they sought advantageous positions  
on the high ground in Ilges' front and among the hills on his right they opened long-range fire on the men

Ilges distributed his force as well as the topography in the canyon would allow he placed his wagon and horses in the creek bed and returned fire

however, as the fight opened his position was generally exposed to Nez Perce marksmen shooting from the surrounding heights  
Ilges dispatched Private Bundy, the only other soldier present, to go back to the landing and bring forward Lieutenant Hardin and his men and the mountain howitzer  
Bundy, traveling by foot, succeeded in reaching the river and Hardin started immediately  
Exchange of gunfire had begun about noon and lasted about two hours  
finally, the warriors stopped shooting and withdrew up Cow Creek Canyon  
one of the citizen volunteers, Edmund Bradley, had been killed  
Major Guido Ilges was concerned the Nez Perce might attempt to flank his position  
he also recognized he was greatly outnumbered  
Ilges began a slow and cautious withdrawal down the canyon floor  
three miles from the Missouri River he and his men  
joined the advancing troops under Hardin  
together they returned to the Cow Island entrenchment

#### GENERAL HOWARD ENTERS THE JUDITH RIVER BASIN

Howard's command skirted the Big Snowy Mountains and entered the Judith Basin -- September 25  
Howard's came on a recently vacated Crow Indian camp several bodies lying around  
according to scout J.W. Redington, it was a village where the Nez Perce had taken vengeance  
by attacking, wrecking their property, taking their dried meat  
and running off their horses [September 21]

#### LEADERSHIP DISPUTES BREAK OUT AMONG THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE FREE BANDS

At the first camp following the skirmish with Major Guido Ilges an argument broke out  
between Lean Elk (Poker Joe) and Looking Glass complained of the constant rush forward  
with Canada looming ahead, the troops far behind, and with the weakened animals  
and the weariness of the elderly and the young so pervasive throughout the column,  
Looking Glass now challenged the need to keep up the pace  
Free Band leads met in council and approved a change in leadership  
with Looking Glass prevailing -- night September 25, 1877  
Nez Perce families began a to travel at a leisurely pace  
because of the condition of the families and their animals  
and because of as by rifts among the leadership  
grueling three-months-long journey toward often changing and uncertain goals took a severe toll  
people had lost many friends and relatives in the various battles since leaving Idaho,  
obtaining food and supplies obtaining food and supplies added to their worries  
increasingly cold weather sapped their strength and energy -- if not their spirit

#### MAJOR GUIDO ILGES RETURNS TO THE SCENE OF THE WAGON TRAIN SKIRMISH



Major Ilges' led his troops and civilians back to the site of wagon train fight -- September 26, 1877  
to bury civilian Edmund Bradley and a teamster named Barker killed the day before  
they searched for O. G. Cooper and Frank Farmer and the four missing teamsters  
before returning to Cow Island Landing

#### COLONEL NELSON A. MILES CHANGES HIS PLANS

News of the events at Cow Island [September 23] and of their apparent plan to keep to Cow Creek  
caused Colonel Miles to abandon his plan to follow the south bank of the Missouri River  
he now intended to intercept the fleeing Nez Perce somewhere in the area of the Little Rocky  
or Bear Paw mountain ranges  
Miles hoped that by traveling east of the Little Rocky Mountains  
his position would be screened from the Nez Perce while his scouts ranged far and wide  
among the high points of that range seeking the them out  
To implement his new strategy, he had his Hotchkiss gun fired three times  
to signal the steamer *Fontenelle* to return and transport his troops -- September 26, 1877  
remainder of the day and night was spent in transferring his entire command,  
including pack train and wagons, to the north bank of the Missouri River

#### MORE FREIGHT ARRIVES AT COW ISLAND LANDING

Steamboat *Benton* arrived at Cow Island Landing and discharged fifty tons of freight  
while the *Silver City* approached with one hundred tons more -- September 26, 1877

#### COLONEL NELSON A. MILES MOVES TOWARD THE BEAR PAW MOUNTAINS

Miles had a difficult time getting his wagon train from the Missouri River up the bluffs to the top  
Miles marched through the cold and wind  
away from the Missouri River -- late afternoon September 27, 1877  
after less than ten miles when Fourchette Creek was reached Miles stopped  
horses and mules were allowed to browse as the command waited for the wagon train  
Once his troops were again united Colonel Miles left his wagons and Napoleon gun  
with forty soldiers under Captain Brotherton and Lieutenant Borden  
Miles marched his mounted force with eight days' rations plus the Hotchkiss gun and pack train  
they passed through gently the rolling land of upper Dry Fork Creek  
(probably only a few miles west of present Shed and Beam lakes)

#### MAJOR GUIDO ILGES COMMUNICATES WITH COLONEL NELSON A. MILES

Major Ilges sent two of his volunteers as couriers cross country to Colonel Miles  
who operating near the Little Rocky Mountains -- September 27, 1877  
Miles was informed of events at Cow Island Landing and about the Cooper-Farmer wagons  
he was also provided information regarding the location of the fleeing Nez Perce Indians

and of their slow pace in advancing toward Canada  
Major Ilges and his volunteers started up the Cow Creek road on their return to Fort Benton  
while Lieutenant Hardin remained at Cow Island with twenty-five men and the howitzer  
(Over the next two days, Ilges' party found evidence of further attacks by the Nez Perce warriors  
including the body of a man killed between Birch and Eagle creek  
before arriving at Fort Benton [September 29] tired but satisfied in the success of their mission  
they had provided another obstacle to the Nez Perce as they fled toward Canada)

#### GENERAL HOWARD LEARNS OF THE ATTACK AT COW ISLAND

General Howard received a courier who delivered word  
that the Nez Perce had crossed the Missouri River at Cow Island  
Howard decided to march to the Missouri River and find a steamer  
to transport him upstream to Cow Island -- September 27, 1877  
(over the next four days he followed the road to the trading settlement of Carroll City  
located on the south side of the Missouri River  
about twenty miles above the mouth of the Musselshell River)

#### COLONEL NELSON A MILES GETS AN EARLY START

Miles' troops faced a cold and windy night  
they were awakened at 3:00 A.M. September 28, 1877  
to build fires of buffalo chips for cooking breakfast  
They marched across the prairie as they approached the east flank of the Little Rockies  
after tracing Beaver Creek Colonel Miles' men began to climb the rolling ground  
near the foot of the mountains  
After traveling twenty-eight miles, Miles's soldiers camped along a stream  
some time that day or the next two couriers, Charles Bucknam and William Gantes,  
sent by Major Guido Ilges reached Miles with direct information  
about the course of the Nez Perce after they left Cow Island

#### COLONEL NELSON MILES ONCE AGAIN GETS AN EARLY START

After carefully extinguishing their cooking fires before dawn September 29, 1877  
Colonel Miles' command resumed their march to the northwest  
game was plentiful as they approached the southwest side of Three Buttes  
weather turned colder and intermittent rain turned to snow  
as the column drew nearer to the Bear Paw Mountains in the afternoon  
low clouds drifted by shielding the army from being observed  
Colonel Miles sensed the fleeing bands of Nez Perce close at hand  
he sent his scouts out to range in all directions

## FREE BANDS OF NEZ PERCE PEOPLE CONTINUE THEIR MARCH TOWARD CANADA

(Fleeing Nez Perce, now under the leadership of Looking Glass, emerged from the Cow Creek region they moved at a leisurely pace over the next several days to reserve their strength they skirted the east and northeast edges of the Bear Paw Mountains until they reached the bottom of Snake Creek -- just forty miles south of Canada)

## COLONEL MILES' SCOUTS REPORT FINDING THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE

Second Lieutenant Marion P. Maus with some soldiers and civilian scouts searched for the Nez Perce a considerable distance southwest of Miles' troops they came upon fifteen or twenty Nez Perce warriors leading some horses during the firefight Maus's scouts captured fourteen horses and believed they wounded two Indians they returned to report to Colonel Miles the Nez Perces' trail was directly in his left front Miles sent Maus with two soldiers and two civilian scouts to continue the search

## NEZ PERCE MAKE CAMP NEAR THE BEAR PAW MOUNTAINS, MONTANA TERRITORY

Fleeing Free Bands of Nez Perce Indians reached the Bear Paw Mountains there in frigid autumn temperatures and heavy fog the tired and weakened people made camp at Snake Creek in a small valley -- noon September 29 realizing that Canada still lay some distance away almost everyone wanted to continue but Looking Glass decided it would be best to rest, restore their strength and prepare for the winter some of the buffalo killed at the site by advance scouts he also wanted to prepare gifts of food for Sitting Bull and the Lakota (Sioux) in Canada perhaps more importantly some of the horses experienced a painful sickness in their hooves some Nez Perce wanted to let them feed on the plentiful grass Looking Glass prevailed at the council of leaders and the halt was made General Howard was still far behind so scouting was neglected by the Indians Looking Glass was not aware of arrival of the force commanded by Colonel Nelson A. Miles

## BEAR PAW MOUNTAINS PROVIDE PROTECTION FOR THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE

Bear's Paw Mountains provided the Fleeing Bands of Nez Perce with ample game as well as outlying buttes and ridges high enough to discover an approaching enemy while affording a visual shield to their own presence Bear Paws rise sharply from the surrounding plain they stretch approximately twenty miles north-to-south and about forty miles east-to-west rather than a true mountain range they are composed of elevated ridges grass-covered slopes, aspen and cottonwood trees are scattered throughout their valleys on the high western slopes streams radiate in all directions but trend to flow south toward the Missouri River and north to the Milk River about twenty miles away

one of these streams is Snake Creek

Nez Perce leaders had chosen an excellent campsite in a grassy valley

away from the seemingly ceaseless cold winds and breezes that swept the open prairie  
while simultaneously providing a water source, shrub fuel and buffalo chips for cooking  
and a place for concealment

to the south an abruptly sloping bluff rose forty feet to a treeless plain running to the mountains  
six miles to the southeast

West of the Indian village the creek bottom stretched from the mostly dry, willow-fringed channel  
rising gently through the adjacent hills to an open plateau ideal for grazing horses  
along the East side of the creek was six acres of roughly crescent-shaped ground  
where the Nez Pierce families set up their huts

(most lodges had been abandoned at the Clearwater and Big Hole battlefields)

each band occupied a specific site

Joseph and his Wallowa Band of at least fourteen families had the southernmost campsite

Looking Glass and his Alpowais Band had at least nine shelters

located to the northeast across a low marshy swale

White Bird's Lamtamas Band had eleven dwellings to the north

Toohoolhoolzote with the Pikunan Band was fifty yards further northwest

with at least fifteen shelters

just beyond the southern extremity of the camp, Snake Creek angled southwest

and a tributary entered through a coulee from the east and southeast

#### COLONEL MILES MAKES CAMP FOR THE NIGHT

Several inches of snow had accumulated by the time the troops, after twenty-six miles, made camp  
among the foothills along a fork of Peoples Creek -- September 29, 1877

they were probably within fifteen miles of the Nez Perce village on Snake Creek

Second Lieutenant Marion P. Maus and his scouts returned to camp in a fine, cold mist after dark

they reported finding the Free Bands of Nez Perce Indians

Soldiers' tents remained in the wagons and the men prepared for an uncomfortable night

anxiously they waited for whatever the morning might bring

#### COLONEL NELSON A. MILES PREPARES FOR ANOTHER DAY OF PURSUIT

Colonel Miles's scouts had spent the night ahead of the main command

Second Lieutenant Marion P. Maus and several civilian scouts had camped in the foothills  
somewhere to the southwest of Miles' location

Cheyenne and Lakota scouts searched to the northwest for the Nez Perce encampment

Colonel Miles's troops were up and about at 2:00 A.M. September 30, 1877

cooks prepared breakfast over frozen and hard-to-light buffalo chips

Miles was on the march even before the fleeing Nez Perce families

began their daily routine in preparation for continuing their trek north into Canada  
most of the soldiers wore caped greatcoats  
each cavalryman carried a pistol and Springfield carbine  
each mounted infantryman had a "long Tom" Springfield rifle  
each man took one hundred rounds of ammunition

#### COLONEL NELSON A. MILES'S SCOUTS FIND THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE FAMILIES

Cheyenne scout Louis Shambo was riding with ten of his tribesmen  
when they saw a dozen or so Nez Perce shooting buffalo -- September 30, 1877  
Shambo sent a messenger back to inform Colonel Miles the Nez Perce had been found  
Shambo and the Cheyenne scouts followed the Indians at a safe distance  
as they returned to their campsite

#### COLONEL NELSON A. MILES MAKES ANOTHER EARLY START

Colonel Miles' column slowly wound its way southwestwardly from the campsite  
toward the foothills -- 4:30 A.M. September 30, 1877  
troops of the Fifth Infantry mounted battalion was in front  
followed by the battalions of the Second and Seventh regiments  
foot soldiers of the Fifth Infantry were next  
pack train brought up the rear  
morning dawned bright and cloudless as mist in the mountains slowly evaporated  
Miles' soldiers forded several iced-over tributaries and headed ever more directly south  
when word arrived that some Indians had been sighted in that direction

#### NEZ PERCE FAMILIES BEGIN PREPARATIONS TO CONTINUE THEIR FLIGHT TO CANADA

Fleeing Nez Perce Free Bands prepared to start north again -- soon after daybreak September 30, 1877  
they were still confident that the great distance from Howard's army assured their security  
in the Nez Perce camp were approximately 700 people, of whom perhaps 250 were warriors,  
all of the rest were women, children and the elderly

Nez Perce people went about their daily routines  
some of the men rode off to hunt, while some women left the camp to skin, butcher  
and pack the meat from buffaloes killed the day before  
other tribesmen, including Joseph and his twelve-year-old daughter, Kapkap Ponmi  
were out catching horses from among the herd located west of Snake Creek  
still others packed selected animals for continuing the movement into Canada  
which was only forty miles away  
children played with sticks and mud balls

Some of the people were still eating breakfast  
when two Nez Perce scouts who had been visiting an Assiniboine camp raced in from the north

yelling that soldiers must be approaching and had stampeded some buffalo

Looking Glass downplayed the warning as he believed there was plenty of time to move  
About an hour later a Nez Perce scout was seen riding hard from the north  
on the highest bluff he circled about and waved the blanket signal:

**“Enemies right on us! Soon the attack!”<sup>78</sup>**

#### COLONEL NELSON A. MILES LEARNS THE LOCATION OF THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE CAMP

Colonel Miles arrived the trail located by his Cheyenne and Lakota scouts  
that indicated the fleeing Nez Perce had passed this way -- 8:20 A.M. September 30, 1877  
Almost simultaneously a Cheyenne scout appeared with the news that smoke from the Indian camp  
had been sighted about six miles ahead

#### COLONEL NELSON A. MILES PREPARES FOR AN ATTACK

Word of the presence of the village ahead compelled Miles  
to hurry his troops forward --- shortly after 9:00 A.M. September 30, 1877  
Colonel Miles planned to execute the traditional army tactical strike used in the Indian campaigns  
it was developed to physically shock and demoralize all of the camp occupants,  
men, women, and children, both young and old,  
before they could respond effectively to counter the blow  
non-combatants were especially targeted

Colonel Miles prepared his mounted force for battle  
he sent an officer back to hurry the lagging ammunition packs  
he placed all of the extra equipment with the remaining mules  
Fifth Infantry foot soldiers were assigned to follow in reserve with the supply train  
Miles sent a second messenger back over the trail to find the wagon train  
with orders that the Napoleon gun and its ammunition be brought up quickly  
Miles suddenly reversed his direction and turned north with the Seventh Cavalry battalion in front  
followed by the Second Cavalry and the mounted Fifth Infantry soldiers  
Off to the left a few Nez Perce scouts suddenly appeared on a slope  
some of Miles' Cheyenne and Lakota scouts went after them  
some long-range intertribal maneuvering occurred that the officers and men  
watched with interest from the distance

#### COLONEL NELSON A. MILES LEADS THE CHARGE ON THE NEZ PERCE CAMP

Colonel Miles was riding close to the Seventh Cavalry troopers as they resumed a trot  
down the slope leading toward the south end of the Nez Perce camp  
Captain George Tyler's men diverged, Miles saw what was happening

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<sup>78</sup> Bruce A. Wilson, *From Where the Sun Now Stands*, The Omak Chronicle, 1960.

he quickly ordered the battalion of the Seventh Cavalry to lead the charge into the camp  
troopers of the Seventh re-formed into columns of four  
At Colonel Miles' command, the Seventh Cavalry broke into a gallop  
Captain Owen Hale and forty-four men of the Seventh Cavalry Company K led the charge  
as their horses thundered toward the top of the hill rising south of the bottom,  
the field suddenly narrowed as the coulee extending on the right  
increasingly crowded the Hale's Seventh Cavalry Company K  
was pressed by Captain Edward S. Godfrey's Seventh Cavalry Company D  
Hales' Company K deviated to the right through two marshy areas  
meanwhile, Godfrey's Company D stayed on course in the center of the attack  
and Captain Myles Moylan Seventh Cavalry Company A was on Godfrey's left  
Hales' Company K ascended a flat ridge and started down southeast toward the Indian camp  
warriors hidden in the coulees and washes suddenly opened a devastating fire on them  
Company K's charge was abruptly stopped  
Almost simultaneously, Companies A and D galloping full stride  
converged as they arrived on the top of the bluff  
several warriors suddenly sprang up from beneath the crest of the bluff  
they delivered a point-blank volley into them  
some riders fell or were shot from their saddles as the momentum of the charge  
caused their mounts to stumble over the bluff  
as the mounted assault became hopeless Captain Moylan ordered Company A to fall back  
before Godfrey could follow suit, however, a Nez Perce marksman killed the captain's horse  
Godfrey lay stunned on the ground his right arm paralyzed at the shoulder  
Lieutenant Edwin P. Eckerson took charge of Company D and retreated

#### AS INTENDED, MILES ATTACK PRODUCES TERROR IN THE NEZ PERCE CAMP

Colonel Nelson A. Miles' force aroused a sense of terror in the peaceful camp  
without a quick response by the warriors to warnings by their scouts of the imminent strike,  
the camp would have been defenseless  
When Joseph heard the tumult, he was still with the horses  
he told his young daughter to catch one and flee with the others starting north from the camp  
then he raced back, the soldiers' bullets tearing through his clothing and wounding his horse  
Kapkap Ponmi and many others cut off -- fled to the hills  
some were discovered and murdered by Lakota scouts, others perished from exposure  
Surprised Nez Perce Indians held crest of hills surrounding camp against cavalry charge  
sixty to seventy warriors fire steadily from behind rocks and ridges  
during the first part of the battle, few of the warriors were hit  
one who died was Ollokot, Joseph's brother and respected military leader  
he was shot in the head by a soldier's bullet

## BATTLE OF BEAR PAW CONTINUES

Colonel Miles directed Seventh Cavalry Companies A and D to dismount and face front mounted Fifth Infantry regiment arrived on the field and, united, formed a line Miles next ordered the two cavalry companies to connect with Hale's Company K which faced intense fire from the warriors

Thus far, casualties to Companies A and D remained light with three soldiers killed and four wounded meanwhile, Company K to the right more than three hundred yards away sustained severe losses

Captain Owen Hale's Company K had advanced in formation along a flat ridge and had descended toward the southeast side of the Nez Perce position where they found themselves isolated and exposed to sharpshooters in gullies adjoining the bluff on the south

Hale ordered his men to dismount and to move forward in skirmish formation they forced the warriors from their position below the bluff embankment where they had fired on Companies A and D

From this point, the battle intensified as warriors quickly moved through the marshes and gulches to flank the soldiers, drive off and capture their animals

when the troops approached the edge of the coulee, the fighting became hand-to-hand

Dismounted troopers of Companies A and D moved forward at double time in support

warriors gradually withdrew to take up a protective stance behind ridges and in gullies

between the soldiers and their village, where many noncombatant families now lay hidden

Hale took advantage of the pause to pull back and reassemble Company K

leaving several dead and wounded on the ground in his front

Some injured soldiers struggled back to the line, while others, unable to move,

lay helplessly near the edge of the coulee until caught and killed in the ensuing crossfire

## COLONEL NELSON A. MILES MANEUVERS HIS TROOPS

Companies A and D were exposed on their left flank

warriors opened fire again, this time raking and inflicting heavy losses on the men of those units

Hale's Company K was engaged about one hundred yards from the Indians

Captain Myles Moylan Seventh Cavalry Company A

and Captain Edward S. Godfrey's Seventh Cavalry Company D which was mounted led their troops through a veritable rain of bullets toward Hale's position

In less than five minutes the Seventh Cavalry sweep aimed at destroying the Nez Perce

became a shambles -- of the 115 men in the charge about sixty of were killed or wounded

every officer and non-commissioned officer except one was killed or wounded

Nez Perce sharpshooters had selected their targets well

Lieutenant Edwin P. Eckerson was the only commissioned officer

still engaged in the three Seventh Cavalry companies -- any insignia of rank was a death warrant



three first sergeants of the battalion (George McDermott, Company A, Michael Martin, Company D, and Otto Wilde, Company K) along with several more sergeants and corporals, lay dead or dying on the field when the soldiers reported their ammunition running low, Eckerson mounted, raced to the rear, and brought forward a new supply despite his horse being wounded in the effort Lieutenant Oscar Long arrived to replace the now dead Captain Owen Hale and lead Company K he brought with him orders to connect with Companies A and D which he ultimately did surgeon Major Henry R. Tilton and Assistant Surgeon First Lieutenant Edwin F. Gardner managed to move over the field attending the stricken troops amid fusillades of bullets Captain Simon Snyder's mounted Fifth Infantry Company F completed their deployment by the time cavalry companies A and D began their movement to join Company K leading their horses by lariats, the foot troops pressed forward over the ground that companies A and D had charged in on during the initial assault Company K took a position on the bluff overlooking Snake Creek soldiers lying prone began firing volleys at the warriors still sheltered in surrounding draws who were harassing the Seventh Cavalry troopers to their right front across the coulees Colonel Miles' Hotchkiss gun arrived at the battle and was placed on the brow of the ridge immediately west of the south bluff but the muzzle of the piece could not be lowered sufficiently to be effective precise shooting by the warriors soon forced the cannon's temporary abandonment Throughout the opening phase of the action, Colonel Nelson A. Miles rode back and forth in the rear observing and directing operations, sending staff officers ahead with orders to the commanders of the Seventh Cavalry and Fifth Infantry when the first horse is winded a fresh one was mounted, and he was off again at one point he approached the position of the beleaguered Seventh Cavalry and was shocked to see the lifeless body of Captain Owen Hale a little further lay the body of Second Lieutenant Jonathan W. Biddle who had been second in command of Company K Miles was faced with a crisis of command in the Seventh Cavalry he directed Lieutenant Henry Romeyn of the Fifth Infantry to move with his own Company G and take command of the crippled battalion of the Seventh at the same time Captain Simon Snyder's mounted Fifth Infantry Company F poised on the bluff put up a sufficiently effective fire to allow the cavalrymen to withdraw from the catastrophic field with some semblance of order

#### MILES' SOLDIERS ATTEMPT TO KEEP THE NEZ PERCE AWAY FROM THEIR HORSES

Captain George Tyler's Second Cavalry Company F arrived at the battlefield moving at a gallop over the open ground west of Snake, they attempted to stop the Nez Perce from reaching their herd of horses and mules

Tyler succeeded in corralling most of the 500 animals and drove them away from the camp  
although perhaps 250 animals had been taken by the mounted tribesmen  
moving northeast in their attempt to flee the village  
when Tyler's men sighted these people, they were about a half mile from the camp  
Captain Tyler sent Lieutenant McClernand's Seventh Cavalry Company G in pursuit  
these troops opened a long-range running encounter  
McClernand's maneuvering to capture the Indian herd took two or three hours  
when McClernand returned to the Snake Creek Indian camp  
most of these people continue to flee to Canada

After the main part of the herd had been captured, Second Lieutenant Lovell H. Jerome  
brought his Seventh Cavalry Company H to the left bank of Snake Creek opposite the village  
at the time the Fifth Infantrymen were firing at Nez Perce warriors  
to relieve the Seventh Cavalry troopers pinned down east of the camp  
Jerome's men opened a fusillade for several minutes that kept the warriors occupied  
as the survivors of the Seventh Cavalry Company K managed to escape  
Jerome later reported he heard a voice call out from the Nez Perce position:  
"Who, in the name of God are you? We don't want to fight."<sup>79</sup>

#### COLONEL MILES ORDERS AN ATTACK ON THE NEZ PERCE CAMP

As the fighting raged around them Nez Perce families kept out of sight in a broad coulee  
covered by abruptly rising slopes on either side  
warriors delivered enough firepower from the nearby coulees  
to keep the troops east, south and west of the encampment at bay  
Miles' force held the high ground north of the camp and the Indian families hiding place  
some of Captain George Tyler's Second Cavalry Company F soldiers held the hills  
on either side of Snake Creek  
Colonel Miles decided that a general assault on the fleeing tribesmen from the east and southwest  
would dislodge them and force their destruction or surrender  
orders to attack went out to the soldiers of the Fifth and Seventh battalions -- about 3:00 P.M.  
Lieutenant Henry Romeyn in command of his own Fifth Infantry Company G  
and the Seventh Cavalry battalion pulled back on the ridge beyond the ravine  
to the right of the Fifth Infantry and readied his men for action  
as he rose to his feet to signal the infantry to start with a wave of his hat,  
bullets from the Nez Perce positions several hundred yards away struck him  
one passed through a lung  
Romeyn walked about seventy-five yards toward the rear and collapsed  
Romeyn's command, which had advanced with a cheer but quickly withdrew to its former position

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<sup>79</sup> Interview with Lovell H. Jerome in the *New York Herald*, October 30, 1877.

several of the men were hit by the warriors' fire

only a unit composed of Fifth Infantry Companies I (fifteen men) and F (ten men)

and two or three other men under Lieutenant Mason Carter, moved ahead

they started forward through the ravine on the left of the Fifth's blufftop position

while soldiers provided covering fire

across Snake Creek, Second Lieutenant Marion P. Maus and the Cheyenne scouts

raked the ravines occupied by Nez Perce families below them with gunfire

In the camp occupied by Chief Joseph's people warriors hidden in firing pits and gullies

fired volleys of shots that halted the troops and forced them back to the deep gully behind them

eight soldiers were wounded (two of whom died) in the attack and withdrawal

#### COLONEL NELSON A. MILES WITHDRAWS HIS TROOPS

Miles issued orders to Lieutenant Mason Carter initiate a withdrawal -- September 30, 1877

troops crawled on their hands and knees along a little ravine for about twenty yards to escape fire

even so, thirty-five percent of Carter's men had been disabled in the day's fighting

it was impossible for Colonel Miles to take the remainder of the encampment

Soldiers wounded close to the Nez Perce positions who could not crawl to safety

were of particular concern to the command

many soldiers wounded in the day's fighting lay stranded between the lines

they could not immediately be rescued

#### COLONEL MILES SENDS MESSAGES TO GENERAL HOWARD AND COLONEL STURGIS

Miles notified General Oliver Otis Howard, Colonel Sam Sturgis

and Captain David H. Brotherton Fifth Infantry Company K of his situation: **"I have this day surprised the hostile Nez Percés in their camp and have had a very sharp fight. I have several officers and men wounded—about 30. About 25 [250?] Indians are still in their camp, which is still protected.**

**We capture[d] the most of their herd, but I may have \* \* \* [difficulty?] in moving, on account of my wounded. Please move forward with caution and rapidity."**<sup>80</sup> -- 5:30. P.M. September 30, 1877

Colonel Miles had captured a large portion of the Nez Perce horse herd which prevented their escape

he decided to surround the Indian encampment with soldiers and strategically placed artillery

to pound and starve them into submission

#### FLEEING NEZ PERCE HAD SUFFERED GREATLY IN THE BATTLE

Across the battleground scarcely one-half mile away

as many as six hundred men, women and children braced against the falling sleet and snow

awaiting to see what would happen to them next

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<sup>80</sup> Miles to Howard, Sturgis, and Brotherton, September 30, 1877, folder: Nez Perce War, box 3, Sladen Family Papers. The asterisks and bracketed word are in the copy. Unaccountably, Miles did not inform of the large proportion of men killed in his command. And his low estimate of the number of Nez Percés still before him is equally confusing.

some buried relatives from among the twenty-two killed this day  
but other bodies were too close to the soldiers' lines to be retrieved  
among the dead were Chief Toohoolhoolzote, shot in a rifle pit on a ridge north of his camp,  
Ollokot, killed in the initial fighting,  
and three men Koyehkown, Kowwaspo, and Peopeo Ipsewahk (Lone Bird)  
who were killed accidentally while they were far in advance  
toward the soldier position southeast of the village and thought to be enemy scouts  
Lean Elk (Poker Joe) also lay among the dead -- also the victim of mistaken identity  
five more Nez Perce men lay dead (at a place later called "Death's Point of Rocks")  
total number of Nez Perce wounded on the first day at Bear's Paw was not known

#### REMAINING FREE BANDS OF FLEEING NEZ PERCE INDIANS SPEND A FEARFUL NIGHT

Provisions taken at Cow Island and an abundant supply of meat from horses killed by the soldiers  
meant the Nez Perce could hold out indefinitely

Moreover, the fleeing families had access to the water in Snake Creek from two waterholes  
dug where many hid below the mouth of the slough and northwest of Toohoolhoolzote's camp

People used knives, with cooking utensils and bare hands to dig a system of trenches,  
underground shelters, and rifle pits with communicating galleries in the coulee floor  
work continued through the night, as the Nez Perce, desperate to protect themselves  
from the gunfire, worked to connect their shelter pits with each other

some by underground tunnels and others by the labyrinth of ravines and washes  
that emptied into the main draw

soft soil permitted the creation of cavities deep enough to accommodate whole families  
and their supplies taken from their former campsite

They piled saddles and other items on the edges of their pits and covered them with dirt from the pits  
at least forty-one of these shelter pits were excavated or enlarged

during the night of September 30-October 1, 1877

at the same time warriors prepared at least fifteen rifle pits along the inside slope of the ravine  
around these pits dirt and rocks were piled up with holes to shoot through

Yellow Wolf stated, "**Children crying with cold.... Everywhere the crying, the death wail.... I felt  
the coming end.... All for which we had suffered lost!**"<sup>81</sup>

Joseph and others who had remained with the horses had been cut off from the village  
they finally slipped back into camp

An icy wind sprung up driving gusts of snow through the camp  
by morning five inches of snow have fallen and covered the battlefield

women could find no fuel for their cooking fires

not all of the Nez Perce leaders were adamantly opposed to meeting with Miles to save lives

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<sup>81</sup> *National Geographic*. March, 1977, P. 421.

Joseph was one of those in favor of dialog

## COLONEL NELSON A. MILES ESTABLISHES CAMP FOR THE NIGHT

Miles' Fifth Infantry still occupied the bluff south of the village while the Second Cavalry companies maintained positions on the plateau west and northwest of the village and on the rising ground east of Snake Creek and northeast of the camp

severely decimated units of the Seventh Cavalry held the ascending ground east and southeast of the camp -- September 30-October 1, 1877

Darkness and the decrease in warrior gunfire provided Miles an opportunity to advance his troops and establish rifle pits along the crests of the ridges east and southeast of the village

infantrymen with their longer-range Springfield rifles replaced Cavalrymen in the line infantrymen took up their position on the high ground on the east

Seventh Cavalry occupied the bluff south of the camp and the ridge west of Snake Creek

Colonel Miles moved his Hotchkiss gun to the ridge west of the south bluff

it was trained on the ravines hiding the families and was made ready to open fire at first light

it would propel a two-pound explosive percussion shell as much as fifteen hundred yards

East of the Hotchkiss gun and behind the bluff the dead who had been retrieved

were laid out in a row and covered with blankets

One thousand yards west of the Hotchkiss gun and its supporting detachment's camp

and beyond the Seventh Cavalry's camp Miles placed his headquarters

in a protective bend on the right side of the creek bottom

Farther west lay the infantry camp where foot soldiers congregated, slept and ate when not on the line somewhere in the vicinity, probably adjoining the infantry camp, the pack mules were corralled

One thousand yards away, across Snake Creek along a tributary to the northwest,

the Second Cavalry battalion established its camp

Surgeon Tilton's hospital tent was on the south bluff in the depression behind the infantry line

wounded in the hospital also passed a cold and dreary night

with neither wood nor troops to be spared to find some, there were few fires

Dr. Tilton distributed thirty blankets, and others were taken from the pack train

As Colonel Miles assessed the casualties for September 30,

he found that his assault had been extremely costly

Seventh Cavalry's three companies lost two officers and fourteen enlisted killed

two officers and twenty-nine men wounded (two died later)

mounted Fifth Infantry's four companies lost two enlisted men killed

four officers and twelve men were wounded (three died later)

Second Cavalry's three companies had one man was wounded

total casualties thus numbered two officers and sixteen men killed

and four officers and forty-two men wounded

two Indian scouts had also been wounded

## NIGHT BRINGS NEW FEARS TO COLONEL MILES' SOLDIERS

As night progressed and the firing subsided on both sides, plummeting temperatures  
snow fell, then hails, then the temperature dropped below freezing  
no fires were possible to relieve the cold or dry the stiffened, frozen clothes of the men  
and a wind-driven snow added greatly to their discomfort of the wounded soldiers'  
who lay among comrades who had been killed  
some died and those who did not feared that the warriors would come and finish them off  
and perhaps mutilate them  
these fears proved to be unwarranted, although during the night some Nez Perce men  
came among them, they only took their weapons and ammunition  
in one instance a disabled sergeant readied his revolver  
as a warrior approached him in the darkness and to him in English  
telling him he would not harm him, then took the pistol and cartridge belt,  
his watch and whatever money he had in his pockets  
in another encounter an injured soldier begged for water when a warrior approached  
the warrior took only his ammunition belt and left him a can filled with water

## SOLDIERS SEES MOUNTED HORSEMEN IN THE DISTANCE

Wind-whipped mist obscured the horizon -- daylight October 1, 1877  
to the north riders could be dimly seen on black horses, pinto horses and other colors  
it could not be determined if these were troops coming to their support Colonel Miles' efforts  
or reinforcements from Sitting Bull come to the aid of the Nez Perce  
then two moving lines were spotted to the south of Miles' position  
they appeared to be Colonel Sam Sturgis' Seventh Cavalry Companies F,G,H,I,L and M  
but could also Sitting Bull's warriors  
anxiously the men of Colonel Miles' command waited  
before it was determined they were watching buffalo marching in single file  
Miles' troops had reason to be concerned as Sitting Bull and his Lakota (Sioux) Indians  
knew were aware of the Free Bands of Nez Perce just across the international boundary  
although they may not as yet have known of Miles' attack  
Lakota leaders met in council in preparation of crossing the border to assist the Nez Perce  
however, of Major James M. Walsh, superintendent of the North-West Mounted Police,  
informed Sitting Bull that Canada would no longer provide them sanctuary  
if they moved below the border he would drive their women and children out of Canada

## COLONEL NELSON A. MILES ATTEMPTS TO OPEN TALKS WITH THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE

One of the army packers hailed the Nez Perce -- early in the morning October 1, 1877  
warrior Yellow Bull advanced under a white flag and met the man and discussed opening a dialog

Yellow Bull rook message back to Joseph that Miles did not want to kill people unnecessarily

Joseph responded that he needed more time to decide

In a second effort, three of Miles' Cheyenne Scouts, High Wolf, Young Two Moon, and Starving Elk, approached the Nez Perce defensive fortification

in the hope of saving the women and children -- after daylight October 1, 1877

three Nez Perce came out and shook hands with them

Starving Elk was given a bead necklace by a young girl

Young Two Moon reported Nez Perce bodies were everywhere in the camp

Cheyennes told the three that Miles would listen to them

they then rode back and reported to Miles

Colonel Miles sent Young Two Moon and three other scouts back to the Nez Perce

in another attempt to convince Joseph and several followers to come out for talks

In yet another attempt, Army scout John Bruguier, perhaps with some Cheyenne scouts, went to the Nez Perce camp to communicate with Chief Joseph

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD ARRIVES AT CARROLL CITY, MONTANA TERRITORY

At Carroll City General Howard learned Colonel Nelson Miles was on the march from Tongue River Cantonment on the Yellowstone River

General Howard was intent on finding Colonel Nelson A. Miles

Howard left the main body of his force with Colonel Sam Sturgis in Carroll City, Montana where they to wait for instructions from the general

General Howard set out from Carroll City aboard the steamer *Benton* -- October 1, 1877

with the general were two aides and an escort of twenty-one foot soldiers, several scouts, two elderly Nez Perce men and one white interpreter

they reached Cow Island forty miles west of Carrol City

where Howard was determined to pick up the trail of the fleeing Nez Perce

#### COLONEL MILES AND CHIEF JOSEPH MEET

Chief Joseph left the Nez Perce fortification and walked to Colonel Miles' tent -- October 1, 1877

Joseph shook hands with the colonel, who invited him to sit inside discuss matters

arrangements were made to allow both sides to retrieve their dead and wounded

some of the injured soldiers had died in the night from their wounds or from exposure everywhere between the lines the scene was of carnage and devastation

burials began as soldiers placed the bodies of their comrades in a trench

dug about 150 yards back from the edge on the south bluff

where part of the Seventh Cavalry attack had been repelled

Joseph told Miles that although he wanted to surrender many of the people opposed giving up

Miles instructed Joseph that he must surrender and pile his peoples' weapons on the ground

Joseph hesitated about giving up any more guns as some guns were necessary to hunt game

when a stalemate was reached Joseph and colleagues turned to return back to their people  
Miles, despite the armistice and with no explanation then or later, took Joseph prisoner  
Joseph was turned over to engineer officer Lieutenant Oscar F. Long to guard  
Joseph was taken behind the soldiers' lines where his arms were bound  
and his ankles hobbled  
he was held captive in the center of the military camp

#### SECOND LIEUTENANT LOVELL H. JEROME IS CAPTURED

Second Lieutenant Lovell H. Jerome, Second Cavalry Company H, was a West Point graduate  
Colonel Miles directed Jerome to take advantage of the suspension of hostilities  
to find out the condition and circumstances of the besieged Nez Perce  
Jerome rode directly into the Nez Perce entrenchment  
as Lieutenant Jerome was looking around the Nez Perce learned Joseph had been detained  
warriors seized the officer to ensure that no harm would come to their leader

#### COLONEL MILES' SUPPLY WAGONS ARRIVE AT THE BATTLEFIELD

Quartermaster Francis M. Gibson's wagon train finally arrived at the Bear Paw Battlefield  
with Captain David H. Brotherton's Fifth Infantry Company K as escort  
their arrival was greeted by a rousing cheer from the troops -- about 4:00 P.M. October 1, 1877  
with the train came tents for the command and especially for the wounded  
Also arriving was the bronze twelve-pounder Napoleon gun  
whose presence represented horrifying prospects to the Nez Perce people  
Hospital tents were fired on by warriors when their interiors were lit up  
hospital tents were moved to a more protected location next to Miles' headquarters  
along Snake Creek bottom  
wounded soldiers had to be moved by stretchers

#### COLONEL NELSON A. MILES REDEPLOYS HIS TROOPS

Infantry and cavalry units again shifted positions -- night October 1, 1877  
Captain Simon Snyder Fifth Infantry took up its position in front of the Indian defensive works  
Captain George Tyler's Second Cavalry moved closer to the north side of the Indian location  
Tyler's soldiers dismounted and the horses were led a little to the rear  
men were deployed as skirmishers and were directed to lie down  
each man was required to call softly to his neighbor at intervals of about five minutes  
in this way one man was found to be dead, having been shot through the body  
even this frequent calling to each other did not keep some of the men awake  
occasionally some Indians would try to escape and the skirmishers would open fire,  
shooting at the noise because it was too dark to see  
several dead Indians were found in our front next morning



Along the encircling line of rifle pits, army cooks made their rounds after darkness fell  
an unsteady truce continued through the night

#### UNSTEADY TRUCE CONTINUES THROUGH THE DAY

Colonel Nelson A. Miles flew a white flag over his camp  
to indicate a ceasefire was in place -- early morning October 2 1877  
only occasional shots were fired by Colonel Nelson A. miles' troops or Nez Perce warriors  
Six soldiers and six civilian packers started with sixteen pack mules for the foothills to get firewood  
(they returned in the afternoon with mules and horses fully loaded)  
Meantime, Sergeant John McHugh and his men of the Fifth Infantry Company D  
worked to prepare the Napoleon gun for service  
earthworks were raised to protect the gun crews

#### PLANS ARE MADE TO EXCHANGE HOSTAGES

Messages passed between the camps  
and arrangements for a prisoner exchange were completed -- October 2, 1877  
At the appointed time, Joseph appeared accompanied by Colonel Miles and Lieutenant Maus  
they advanced under a white flag carried by Maus to a halfway point between the lines  
there Chief Joseph and Second Lieutenant Lovell H. Jerome shook hands  
then turned and went with their respective parties to their lines  
When he reached Colonel Miles' camp Lieutenant Jerome informed Miles of what he had learned  
he counted only about 250 people -- only 100 were warriors  
when the men entered the rifle pits they carried three guns apiece  
one of these was a repeating rifle for close quarter fighting  
warriors discussed mounting an all-out charge on the troops to free themselves  
when one warrior started forward he was joined by only two other and they turned back  
Jerome decided then to tell Colonel Miles to stop fighting

#### NEZ PERCE FORTIFY THEIR DEFENSIVE POSITION

In the Nez Perce camp, the people used the prolonged ceasefire to improve their defenses  
they burned some tipi poles dragged over from the village for warmth  
Remaining leaders of the Freed Bands of Nez Perce Indians met in council  
Lean Elk (Poker Joe) was dead as were Looking Glass, Hahtalekin and Toohoolhoolzote  
White Bird was over seventy years old and was almost worn out  
Joseph, for the first time, emerged as the lone leader  
he had fought as a rifleman in at least two battles although he most naturally served  
as the leader and protector of the women, children, and horses  
he had been the fabric that held together Nez Perce society during the escape  
Joseph proposed surrendering, but the people remained divided -- October 2, 1877

(he later pondered that they could have from Bear Paw Mountain  
if they left their wounded, old women, and children behind  
but they were unwilling to do this)

#### COLONEL MILES POSITIONS HIS CANNON TO FIRE ON THE NEZ PERCE PEOPLE

Second Cavalry troops moved from Miles' extreme right flank to the left -- evening October 2, 1877  
they were to provide protection for the Napoleon gun placed about fifteen hundred yards  
directly west of the ravine that held the Nez Perce families  
it was aimed at the place where the Indians came down in the evening to get water  
and could fire its projectiles into the entire east-west length of the ravine

#### COLONEL MILES CONTINUES TO FLY A WHITE FLAG

Miles used the time to move his camp a bit more upstream for better protection against sharpshooters  
He also completed preparations on his twelve-pounder Napoleon gun -- October 3, 1877  
he announced that if the Indians did not come to terms by midmorning he would use his artillery  
Nez Perce had experienced the destruction of the Hotchkiss Gun's two-pound projectile  
but they were unaware of the destructive potential of the twelve-pound Napoleon gun

#### GENERAL HOWARD CONTINUES HIS MARCH FROM COW ISLAND

General Howard led his small party of men, which included the general's son, Lieutenant Guy Howard,  
as they searched for the location of Colonel Nelson A. Miles -- October 3, 1877  
following the trail of the fleeing Nez Perce Free Bands was easy  
after their raid on Cow Island Landing as their route up Cow Creek and Bull Creek  
was littered with packages of fine-cut tobacco, beans and coffee  
that had trickled and dropped off their packs

#### COLONEL NELSON A. MILES OPENS FIRE WITH HIS NAPOLEON GUN

Firing on Nez Perce with the Hotchkiss gun and Napoleon gun began -- 11:00 A.M. October 3, 1877  
this was accompanied by small arms fire from the soldiers  
Firing of the large cannon had an immediate impact among the people  
cries of terror from Indian women, children and dogs filled the air after each explosion  
warriors fired only a few shots in return  
it became apparent the Nez Perce families were well dug in and protected by coulees  
direct fire on their positions was impossible -- firing overhead exposed troops to danger  
also, unknown to the Nez Perce, Colonel Miles had only twenty-four rounds for his cannon  
It seemed the Nez Perce must be starved into submission

#### ADDITIONAL INDIANS TURN AGAINST THE FLEEING NEZ PERCE FAMILIES

Native people living in the vicinity of the Bear Paw Mountains received word

of what the U.S. government expected from them even before troops had arrived  
(Gros Ventres and Assiniboine's had earlier sent parties to the Missouri River  
to watch for the fleeing bands of Nez Perce)

Assiniboines were formally solicited by Commander of the Department of Dakota  
General Alfred H Terry at Fort Benton to help contain the Nez Perce  
also Colonel Nelson A. Miles sent word to the Assiniboines from the battlefield  
they could attack any Nez Perce who escaped and take their weapons and horses  
Gros Ventre warriors assisted by some Assiniboines, encountered some Nez Perce  
on a fork of Box Elder Creek -- October 3, 1877

five Nez Perce men were killed and two women captured

Twenty-five Gros Ventres received a supply of tobacco as a reward for providing information  
about the location of some of the Nez Perce who escaped the battlefield

Forty mounted Gros Ventres ranged through the western Bear Paw Mountains searching for escapees  
When several families of Nez Perce approached the Gros Ventre camps, they were turned away  
Assiniboines succeeded in capturing some army horses and mules near Milk River  
they claimed to have killed seven Nez Perce and captured four more

However, there is evidence that Cree Indians took in some Nez Perce refugees near the Milk River,  
provided them with food and blankets and helped them in cross into Canada

#### COLONEL MILES REPORTS HIS SITUATION TO GENERAL TERRY AT FORT BENTON

Colonel Miles sent a courier to Fort Benton with dispatches

for Commander of the Department of Dakota General Alfred H Terry at Fort Benton

he described his action today, his casualties and the situation of the Nez Perce -- October 3

Miles also sent a letter to his wife with an optimistic notation: "**At present we have them closely surrounded and under fire, and they may yet give up.**"<sup>82</sup>

Surgeon Major Henry R. Tilton prepared an account of casualties for the department headquarters  
he noted that in anticipation of removing the wounded to Fort Buford  
he was already constructing litters and travois

#### NEZ PERCE FAMILIES REMAIN UNDER FIRE

Artillery fire and small arms fire continued during a cold, cloudy, disagreeable day -- October 4, 1877  
artillery gunners had adjusted their fire by shooting higher into the air with less powder  
causing the projectiles to arc more effectively into the Indians' position  
Captain Simon Snyder's mounted Fifth Infantry Company F which had been on the battle line  
continuously since [September 30]  
were relieved by Captain David H. Brotherton's Fifth Infantry Company K  
Several attempts were made to open talks with the Nez Perce but they came to nothing

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<sup>82</sup> Helena *Weekly Independent*, October 11, 1877

## GENERAL HOWARD LEARNS OF THE BEAR PAW BATTLE

As he continued his search to find Colonel Nelson A Miles, General Howard met two men carrying dispatches from Colonel Sturgis to Colonel Miles

General Howard first learned of the Battle at Bear Paw then underway -- October 4, 1877 (Unknown to Howard, Colonel Miles had sent a dispatch to Colonel Sturgis [October 30] informing Sturgis of the battle [this was received October 2])

Colonel Sturgis had mobilized his troops and crossed the Missouri River on the steamers *Meade* and *Silver City*)

## COLONEL SAM STURGIS MARCHES TO SUPPORT COLONEL NELSON A. MILES

After his steamboat crossing of the Missouri River, Colonel Sturgis pushed north with ten day's rations his troops covered thirty miles

they reached the base of the Little Rocky Mountains -- evening October 4, 1877

## GENERAL HOWARD ARRIVES AT THE BEAR PAW BATTLEFIELD

General Howard's small party reached the divide south of the Bear Paw Battlefield and saw campfires in the growing twilight -- evening October 4, 1877

bullets flew past the heads of Howard's men -- he mistakenly believed he was under attack

Colonel Nelson Miles appeared and informed General Howard he had the Indians pinned down

General Howard was taken forward by an escort party

General Howard told Colonel Miles at a meeting that evening

that he had no wish to assume command and that the colonel would be free

to complete the work he had started -- much to Miles' relief who knew victory was imminent

and whatever laurels and promotional possibilities it might provide remained secure

However, the end of the siege did not appear to be near

and the potential for Sitting Bull's assistance remained a factor,

so General Howard prepared dispatches directing reinforcements ahead from his command

Howard was not aware Colonel Sturgis was already marching north toward Bear Paw

Howard sent word to Major Edwin L. Mason, who was with Sturgis' command, to supervise

transporting supplies from Cow Island and Carroll City to the mouth of Little Rocky Creek

on the Missouri River and wait there for Colonel Miles' wounded soldiers to arrive

they were to be taken by steamboat to Fort Buford along with Miles' artillerymen

finally, Howard suggested using his two Nez Perce Indians who had arrived with Howard,

Jokais (Captain John) and Meopkowitz (Old George), to try to induce their surrender

both Indians had daughters who were among the besieged people

General Howard then prepared a status report for Commander of the Pacific General Irving McDowell

then in San Francisco highly praising Colonel Nelson A. Miles

## FLEEING NEZ PERCE FAMILIES SUFFER THROUGH ANOTHER TERRIFYING NIGHT

Morning arrived sunny and bright -- October 5, 1877

bombardment of the Nez Perce defensive works which had gone at intervals all night  
finally subsided -- October 5, 1877

surgeon Major Henry R. Tilton and Assistant Surgeon First Lieutenant Edwin F. Gardner  
finished performing three amputations at the hospital

Lieutenant Guy Howard at his father's direction sent a message to Colonel Sturgis  
telling him to bring along a Napoleon gun, as it was needed against the Nez Perce  
(in fact, Sturgis had left the gun behind because the horses were too weak to pull it)

## FIRING ON THE NEZ PERCE ENFAMPMENT CEASES

All firing ceased -- 8:00 A.M. October 5, 1877

Captain John and Old George stepped forward under a white flag  
they descended to the Snake Creek bottom and crossed to the Nez Perce position  
Captain John and Old George told the Nez Perce that Howard's army was but a day behind  
and that a surrender would bring no executions

he people would be treated well and would be given blankets and food  
hours passed before the two emissaries returned and reported to Miles and Howard  
that one shell killed three people and wounded others  
they had sent runners to the Assiniboine Indians but these couriers had been killed  
soldiers fired at them, citizens fired at them and Indians fired at them  
they were ready to surrender

While Captain John and Old George were making their report to Miles and Howard

Nez Perce leaders met in council to discuss the proposal they had been offered  
some were inclined to believe that the leaders, notably Joseph, would be hanged  
others wanted assurances that they would be compensated  
for the property taken from them before the war had begun

Both Captain John and Old George then went back to the Nez Perce with a message from Miles  
who asked to speak directly to Joseph

Nez Perce counseled again and decided that Joseph should meet with Miles  
all realized that the individual bands could decide unilaterally and might not act together  
in fact, each individual was free to choose his or her own course

Joseph asked Captain John and Old George if he would be able to return to Wallowa Hills  
he was told he would unless an authority higher than General Howard ordered otherwise  
Joseph told the council that to quit fighting was the best thing to do

he explained: Joseph says: **"The women are suffering with cold, the children are crying. For myself I do not care. It is for them I am going to surrender."**<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Bruce A. Wilson, "From Where the Sun Now Stands," *The Omak Chronicle*, 1960.

Chief Looking Glass decided to continue the fight  
Moments after the final council Looking Glass knelt in a rifle pit talking with Joseph  
Looking Glass stared at a mounted horseman coming from the north  
he sprang from the rifle-pit and shouted that help was coming  
one of Colonel Miles Cheyenne scouts fired and hit Looking Glass in the left forehead  
he toppled backward -- the last casualty of the Nez Perce War  
Captain John and Old George returned to the army command to relay Chief Joseph's feelings  
Captain John, "with tears in his eyes," relayed Joseph's response to General Howard  
which was interpreted by Arthur Chapman who served as Howard's interpreter  
Indian speeches were not thought to be significant at the time -- no official notes were taken  
Second Lieutenant Charles Erskine Scott Wood, General Howard's aide-de-camp and adjutant,  
took notes for his own benefit -- this became known as Joseph's surrender speech: **"Tell  
General Howard I know his heart. What he told me before I have in my heart. I am tired of fighting.  
Our chiefs are killed. Looking Glass is dead. Toohoolhoolzote is dead. The old men are all dead. It is  
the young men who say yes or no. He who led on the young men [Ollokot] is dead. It is cold and we  
have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. My people, some of them, have run away  
to the hills, and have no blankets, no food; no one knows where they are—perhaps freezing to death.  
I want to have time to look for my children and see how many of them I can find. Maybe I shall find  
them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs. I am tired; my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun  
now stands I will fight no more forever."**<sup>84</sup>

#### JOSEPH MEETS WITH COLONEL MILES GENERAL HOWARD AND INTERPRETER CHAPMAN

Halfway between the lines Joseph, Tom Hill and some other apparently unidentified Nez Perce Indians  
met with Miles and Howard and Chapman

Chief Joseph indicated his intention of surrendering his own band and himself,

he left to others to decide the respective fates of the other Nez Perce Free Bands

he later related that: **"General Miles said to me in plain words, 'If you will come out and  
give up your arms, I will spare your lives and send you to your reservation."**<sup>85</sup>

Chief Joseph (Hinmahtooyahlatkekht, "Thunder Rolling Down the Mountain")

completed his surrender and he returned to his people-- 11:00 A.M. October 5, 1877

#### CHIEF JOSEPH PEERSONALLY SURRENDERS HIMSELF TO COLONEL NELSON A. MILES

Joseph mounted a borrowed black horse and slowly rode out of the Nez Perce entrenchments  
through a light snow storm

five young warriors clung to him as they walked beside their leader's mount

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<sup>84</sup> U.S. Secretary of War, Report, 1877, P. 630.

<sup>85</sup> General Howard "Supplementary Report: Non-Treaty Nez Perce Campaign." December 26, 1877. In *Report of the Secretary of War, 1877*, 585-660. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1877. P. 630.

his hair tied with otter fur hung in thick braids on each side of his head  
he wore buckskin leggings and a gray woolen shawl with four or five bullet holes  
his forehead and a wrist were scratched by bullets  
Joseph's were crossed as he held a Winchester rifle across the saddle pommel in front of him  
his head was lowered

slowly they made their way toward the crest of a hill

Colonel Nelson A. Miles, General Oliver Otis Howard and other officers stood waiting to receive him  
as he approached Joseph sat upright -- then gracefully dismounted before the senior officers  
other warriors and headmen fell back as Joseph raised his head, walked forward,

and extended his Winchester carbine to General Howard who, true to his word, stepped back  
and motioned the Nez Perce leader over to Miles

who received the weapon -- 2:20 P.M. October 5, 1877

those present shook hands with Joseph whose worn and anxious face lighted with a sad smile  
as silently he took each offered hand

Joseph had surrendered eighty-seven men; 184 women and 147 children of his Free Band  
Turning away, Joseph walked to the tent provided for him.

Howard and Miles, riding on either side riding on either side, accompanied Joseph to the rear  
where Second Lieutenant Charles Erskine Scott Wood took charge of him

Chief Joseph was very concerned about his daughter, Kapkap Ponmi,  
who had escaped during the initial attack

he was afraid she would die from exposure in the cold  
(Joseph's daughter returned to him six months later)

Other groups of Nez Perce came filing out of their rifle pits to turn in their weapons  
sixty-seven warriors and an unspecified number of noncombatants had turned themselves in  
this procession lasted until dark

Then, almost randomly, probably as they concluded that capitulation was the only alternative,  
in an impromptu demonstration that lasted until dusk. Wrote a witness

Colonel Nelson A. Miles prepared a dispatch for delivery to General Alfred H Terry,

Commander of the Department of Dakota: **"We have had our usual success. We made a very direct and rapid march across the country, and after a severe engagement, and being kept under fire for three [sic] days, the hostile camp of Nez Percés, under Chief Joseph, surrendered at two o'clock to-day."**<sup>86</sup>

At least seventy members of the Nez Perce Free Bands had managed to escape from Miles  
during the opening moments of the attack [September 30]  
most of these had eluded the Second Cavalry pursuit and continued north toward Canada  
also during the course of the siege, under the cover of darkness other groups of tribesmen,

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<sup>86</sup> "Report of Colonel Nelson A. Miles." December 27, 1877. In *Report of the Secretary of War, 1877*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1877.

probably numbering as many as one hundred -- sometimes including whole families)  
had managed to penetrate the military line and escaped

#### NOT ALL OF THE NEZ PERCE FOLLOWED JOSEPH'S LEAD

On the night after the surrender White Bird decided to flee to Canada where they hoped they would find freedom and a reunion with friends and relatives who had escaped with him were 140 men and boys; ninety-three women and girls quietly made their way north along the Snake Creek bottom -- 9:00 P.M. October 5, 1877 they eluded the attention of the army pickets, and headed toward Milk River and beyond When Chief White Bird did make an appearance -- morning October 6, 1877 General Howard and Colonel Miles visited his camp and learned he had departed Howard did not understand, or did not appreciate, Nez Perce leadership dynamics he considered than White Bird had violated the terms of his surrender in fact, those Nez Perce who wished to surrender gave up their guns those who did not kept their weapons Joseph spoke only for his own band

#### ROUTINE RETURNS TO THE TROOPS OF GENERAL HOWARD AND COLONEL MILES

Colonel Miles and General Howard sent word to Colonel Sturgis and Major Mason -- October 6, 1877 to halt at the first good campsite and await the arrival of the command "at the first good camp." Miles prepared a report for General Irvin McDowell, Commander of the Military Division of the Pacific, describing his movements and the battle Miles had 363 men in his command he had suffered the loss of two officers and twenty-nine soldiers killed and forty-four wounded Miles' reported 448 Nez Perce had been captured they had suffered six chief and twenty-five warriors killed and forty-six wounded including small parties of Nez Perce picked up by troops over the next two weeks prisoners included several wounded Nez Perce who were taken to the hospital for treatment

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD TAKES COMMAND FROM COLONEL NELSON A. MILES

General Howard assumed command -- October 7, 1877 Howard directed Miles to keep the Nez Perce within the District of the Yellowstone until (spring) unless a higher authority than Howard orders them sent under guard to Fort Vancouver and the Department of the Columbia Howard told Miles he would move his own force back to their home stations he relinquished his command of Colonel Sam Sturgis' men he requested that they be permitted to return to Fort Lincoln to recuperate from the demands of the campaign



## COLONEL NELSON A. MILES PREPARES TO RETURN TO FORT BENTON, MONTANA

Colonel Miles started his troops marching from the Bear Paw Mountains on their way to Fort Benton to join Commander of the Department of Dakota General Alfred H Terry -- October 7, 1877

Seventh Cavalry and Fifth Infantry soldiers escorted the Nez Perce prisoners

they wore lively colors and strung out in a long line

many of the Nez Perce rode horses that had been captured by the soldiers and their guides

their possessions were carried in wagons

Captain George Tyler's Second Cavalry with Assistant Surgeon First Lieutenant Edwin F. Gardner and the wounded were to stop at Fort Belknap, Montana located along Milk River

(near the present community of Chinook)

Also on the march were travois that carried seven of the wounded soldiers and two travois that carried injured Nez Perce, two amputation cases occupied the broken ambulance,

other injured men rode on grass and willow branches in the wagons

these were followed by the pack train and horse herd

Colonel Miles reached the Missouri River about noon

two ambulances from Colonel Sam Sturgis' command arrived

Ten miles were traveled that day -- October 7

that night a lightning and thunder storm struck, but subsided before causing a stampede of the stock (Miles continued his slow march and reached the Missouri River [October 13])

## GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD MARCHES AWAY FROM THE BEAR PAW MOUNTAINS

General Oliver Otis Howard sent a dispatch to Commander of the Department of Dakota

General Alfred H Terry at Fort Benton, Montana Territory -- October 8, 1877

Howard detailed his role in bringing about the surrender,

reported thirty-three warriors were killed in battle or by other tribes,

and that all of the Camas Prairie murderers had been killed

General Howard then departed Bear Paw intending to send his command down the Missouri River

Howard's command reached the mouth of Little Rocky Creek -- October 9

they boarded the steamer *Benton* to travel down the Missouri River

next afternoon [October 10] the steamers *Meade* and *Silver City* were prepared

to receive Miles' wounded and cross his troops

## GENERAL HOWARD AND HIS SOLDIERS TRAVEL BACK TO THEIR HOME POSTS

General Oliver Otis Howard would visit in St. Paul and Chicago on his return to Fort Vancouver

General Howard's First Cavalry, Twenty-first Infantry and Fourth Artillery traveled by steamer

to Omaha, Nebraska, then via rail to San Francisco and finally by steamship to Portland

and their assignment at Fort Vancouver

Colonel Nelson A. Miles' Seventh Cavalry was left on the north side of the Missouri River

as a precaution against a possible resurgence by Lakota (Sioux) Chief Sitting Bull still in Canada Miles with his Fifth Infantry, the wounded men of the Bear Paw Battle, and the Nez Perce prisoners traveled aboard the steamer *Silver City* to Forts Buford on the Milk River and Fort Lincoln, Dakota Territory Miles and his troops and prisoners then traveled cross-country to the Yellowstone River and the Tongue River Cantonment where they arrived [October 23, 1877]

## RESULTS OF THE NEZ PERCE WAR

Nearly 700 Nez Perce Indians had started from Idaho [June 1877] perhaps 150 warriors had fought four pitched battles and numerous skirmishes against several different commands totaling 1,500 troops and volunteers Indian scouts from ten different tribes participated against them Chief Joseph and his people had fled for 1,200 miles they were forced to surrender within forty miles of the Canadian border It had taken United States soldiers, volunteers and the telegraph to defeat the Nez Perce 109 soldiers and volunteers had been killed and 115 wounded U.S. government incurred direct expenses of almost \$2 million Nez Perce had lost ninety-six killed -- thirty-six of those were women and children at a cost to the American government of almost \$20,000 for each native killed United States Army confiscated the Nez Perce weapons, 1,500 horses and about 300 saddles Nez Perce had lost their horses, their land and their freedom they were helplessly subjugated to the will of their conquerors these once prosperous people were now destitute

In the end Joseph noted, **“The white men were many and we could not hold our own with them. We were like deer. They were like grizzly bears. We had a small country. Their country was large. We were contented to let things remain as the Great Spirit made them. They were not, and would change the rivers...if they did not suit them.”**<sup>87</sup>

## TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROADS FRUSTRATE THE PUBLIC AND CONGRESS

Legislation grant transcontinental railroads huge land grants for construction was hardtop administer there was a great deal of confusion regarding public and private property most Americans believed in “manifest destiny” and the inexhaustibility of frontier resources Unfortunate checkerboard pattern of the land grants along railroad construction right-of-ways had been granted by the federal government under the assumption the government’s sections would double in value because of the nearby railroad thus the government would lose no money from the sale of its land in fact, not all of the checkerboards were sold by the railroads or by the government

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<sup>87</sup> *National Geographic*, March, 1977, P. 419.

and the government did not receive the anticipated \$2.50 per acre asking price

in some cases, the railroads sold land to dummy corporations owned by the railroad itself  
other issues complicated the administration of federal land grants:

- railroad company leaders were inept,
- U.S. General Land Office was corrupt,
- Congress and the courts were ambivalent toward the railroad corporations,
- general public was frustrated

Some political leaders and many Americans began to believe the railroads

should be forced to forfeit their land grants if their contracts had not been fulfilled

railroad leaders replied this would deprive stock and bondholders of their investment

it was argued that: "Many stockholders were widows and orphans."

In Washington Territory fully one-quarter of the land was in the hands to railroads

United States General Land Office urged Congress to either extend the construction deadlines  
or take action to forfeit the unearned grants -- 1877

Washington Territory Attorney General John Jay McGilvra urged the federal government  
force the Northern Pacific Railway to forfeit it land grant to Puget Sound

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY GOVERNOR ELISHA P. FERRY URGES REFORMS

In his message to the territorial legislature Governor Ferry

urged a revision of the revenue law -- October 1877

under the system then in use no money reached the treasury for any year  
until after the legislature had adjourned

sometimes taxes did not come in for eighteen months or more

after the assessment of the taxes were made

thus it was necessary for the state to pay out a considerable sum of money for interest

sometimes at an interest rate of ten per cent

these expenditures might be saved by a change in the law

which would put the territory on a cash basis

Governor Ferry also advised that a memorial should be prepared that would urge Congress

to appropriate funds to remove obstructions from the navigable rivers of the territory

in many places these seriously interfered with navigation

it was true they were to some extent being removed by private enterprise

but this was a burden that individuals need not bear

because the federal government would sometimes assist in the work

Elisha Ferry thought they should be urged to take on the task

Railroad issues demanded attention from the territorial government

there were a variety of opinions regarding extending the time

within which the Northern Pacific Railway

should complete its main railroad line to Puget Sound or lose its land grant

opposition to extension of this timeline was strengthened because the company refused to sell settlers land already acquired by the company  
terms of the land grant set the minimum price for this land at \$2.50 per acre  
many believed they should not be charged more as settlement would be slowed  
however, the NPRY was often demanding much higher prices and, many believed, was, therefore, delaying settlement rather than encouraging it  
Governor Ferry urged the time limit should be reasonably extended -- but not without conditions  
Northern Pacific Railway should be required to make a beginning on its construction work  
and to complete a minimum portion of its tracks each year  
this he thought was fair and by adopting it the company would be encouraged  
to begin and complete the construction of its Cascade Division  
which he considered of the utmost importance since this would help to defeat the effort  
to make Portland the western terminus of the railroad

#### GOVERNOR ELISHA P. FERRY RECEIVES LITTLE SUPPORT FROM THE LEGISLATURE

Governor Ferry's most recent suggestions, like his suggestions to the legislature [in 1875] did not immediately impress themselves upon the legislators  
However, he did win one small victory when a board of immigration was established -- 1877  
board members were especially charged with advertising to the eastern states and Europe  
the exhaustless resources of Washington Territory,  
and to procure, so far as possible, cheap transportation for all who would move here  
for this fine work the board was appropriated only \$150  
with this small sum, of course, very little could be done  
but work was started (and in time was conducted in a fairly efficient way)

#### DR. DORSEY SYNG BAKER BUYS A SECOND LOCOMOTIVE

(Walla Walla and Columbia River Railroad had been completed two years earlier [1875]  
to span the thirty-two miles between the steamboat docks at Wallula  
and the Eastern Washington town of Walla Walla)  
Dr. Dorsey Baker placed an order for the narrow gauge locomotive *Blue Mountain*  
with Porter Bell Co. of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania -- October 23, 1877  
it called for a fourteen-ton locomotive at a wheel gauge of three feet  
and an eight wheel, three-ton tender  
this engine was to be equipped to burn wood as fuel  
lettering was to include the number 4 painted on the cab panels  
and the railroad's initials of WW&CR on the sides of the tender  
(today the *Blue Mountain* is the oldest existing locomotive in the state of Washington)

#### PROBLEMS WITH TERRITORIAL STATUS REMAIN UNRESOLVED

Territorial Administration served as a kind of American colonial government  
territorial government was not representative of the settlers  
important appointments were made in Washington, D.C.

Governor, Secretary, Judges, U.S. Marshall, Superintendent of Indian Affairs

There were also many practical problems:

- Congress could veto territorial legislation;
- school lands were not fully available until admission as a state;
- ownership of tidelands was uncertain;
- investment capital from neither the government or public sources could not be expected until the federal government showed enthusiasm for the area;
- boundaries were not secure

Washington had been part of Oregon Territory

Idaho, Wyoming and Montana territories had all been part of Washington Territory;

- settlers had little control over their own destiny

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY GENERAL ELECTION IS HELD

For the first time a pro-statehood result was achieved

majority of 4,168 “yes” votes out of approximately 7,000 cast -- November 6, 1877

Washington Territorial voters approved an act to select delegates  
to attend a proposed state constitutional convention

This change in voter sentiment was due to a fear that further delay  
might result in creation of a new territory in the interior

Without waiting for Congress to grant authorization

Washington Territorial Legislature again called for a Constitutional Convention

#### YET ANOTHER EFFORT TO FORM A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION FOR WASHINGTON

This time a measure calling for a Constitutional Convention was passed by 4,000 votes

Omnibus Bill to create a new state was introduced into Congress -- December 1877

by Washington Territorial Delegate Orange Jacobs

#### PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF VASHON ISLAND

This island in Puget Sound was named after British Captain James Vashon  
of the James Cook Expedition [1776-1778]

whose ships put into Quartermaster Harbor for repairs [1778]

People came to live on the island a hundred years later

but the population increased at a much slower rate than on the mainland

(Later Quartermaster Harbor became a center of activity for fishing, logging and shingle making  
with the start of a brick baking plant on the island, brick yards flourished there)

## NEED FOR A NAVAL SHIP YARD ON PUGET SOUND IS IDENTIFIED

U. S. Government began to study the idea of building a naval shipyard in the Pacific Northwest  
United States had no repair facilities north of San Francisco's Mare Island Navy Yard  
large enough to accommodate military and commercial steamers and sailing vessels  
large ships either had to make the long voyage to San Francisco for repair and maintenance  
or go to the British Columbia Dock Yard at Esquimalt British Columbia, Canada  
Congress did not relish the idea of contributing American money to the British economy  
Lieutenant Ambrose Barkley Wyckoff was assigned to chart the waters of Puget Sound  
he set out aboard the *USS Yukon* -- 1877  
he noted the area had good harbors, a mild climate, access to plenty of timber, iron ore and coal  
Lieutenant Wyckoff immediately began promoting Puget Sound  
as the place best suited for a naval shipyard  
he enlisted aid of Washington Territory Senator John B. Allen  
William Bremmer, the founder of Bremerton, sold 190-¼ acres to the U.S. government for \$10,000

## BELLINGHAM COAL COMPANY CLOSES THE SEHOME MINE

(Bellingham Bay Coal Company's President Pierre Cornwall traveled from San Francisco  
to Bellingham 1877 with a geologist and a coal mining expert to inspect the mine  
Cornwall's team decided that continued mining was unfeasible  
work at the mine came to a halt in -- December 1877  
Sehome mine was closed when the coal company sold all the mining equipment -- January 1878  
only the property was kept  
shipping of the remaining 4,000 tons of coal in the bunkers to San Francisco  
was completed -- February 1878  
Ownership of Bellingham Bay Coal Company's vacant property on the side of Sehome Hill  
was shifted to Pierre Cornwall's Bellingham Bay Improvement Company  
these extensive holdings would be developed  
(in the [1880s] and [1890s] to become modern Bellingham)

## OSN IMPROVES THE WALLA WALLA AND COLUMBIA RIVER RAILWAY

Porter Bell Company of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania shipped the new locomotive  
to the Oregon Steam Navigation Company (OSN) by steamship -- January 1, 1878  
OSN received its new locomotive and tender dubbed the *Blue Mountain*  
*Blue Mountain* joined other Oregon Steam Navigation Company engines  
two tiny seven-ton engines: *Walla Walla* and *Wallula*,  
one ten-ton locomotive *Columbia*,  
*Blue Mountain* arrived with "#4" painted on the cab  
Two additional locomotives, the ten-ton *Mountain Queen* and the much larger twenty-ton *J.W. Ladd*  
arrived a few weeks after the *Blue Mountain*

*Blue Mountain* and other Oregon Steam Navigation Company locomotives

hailed wheat and other freight between Walla Walla and Wallula on WW&CR track  
(today the *Blue Mountain* is the oldest existing locomotive in the state of Washington)

#### SEATTLE AND WALLA WALLA RAILROAD REACHES THE NEWCASTLE COAL MINES

Optimistically named Seattle and Walla Walla Railroad had begun construction [1874]

an inability to raise sufficient funds constantly plagued the Seattle and Walla Walla Railroad  
after four years it reached from Settle to Newcastle,  
a distance of twenty miles --February 5, 1878

Former coal shipping route by way of Lake Washington was closed down

as shipping costs and the expense of using the Seattle docks were both reduced

coal production increased from less than 10,000 tons [1870] to nearly 150,000 tons a year

#### WALLA WALLA AND COLUMBIA RIVER RAILWAY (RAWHIDE RAILROAD) IS SOLD

Dr. Dorsey Syng Baker sold seven-eighths of his fortune-making WW&CR stock

to the Oregon Steam Navigation Company for one million dollars -- February 18, 1878

Dr. Baker and his "Rawhide Railroad" were no longer a laughing stock

#### BLAND-ALLISON ACT ALLOWS SILVER TO BE USED TO BACK THE VALUE OF U.S. COINS

Bland-Allison Act, supported by western members of Congress, passed -- February 28, 1878

this law ordered the Secretary of Treasury to purchase and coin \$2 million to \$4 million  
in silver each month

(fears of impending inflation raised by eastern bankers were lessened

when newly appointed Secretary of Treasury John Sherman

purchased only the minimum amount of silver)

#### JAMES JEROME (JIM) HILL BECOMES THE "EMPIRE BUILDER"

Jim Hill's steamboat company, the Red River Transportation Company, had been hauling into Canada  
millions of dollars' worth of construction materials purchased in the United States

When the Minnesota shortline railroad known as the St. Paul and Pacific went broke

Dutch investors were eager to unload this derelict property -- 1878

James Jerome Hill and three other men using Canadian money took steps to gain control

Norman Kittson, Hill's partner in the Red River Transportation Company

Donald Smith (later builder of the Canadian Pacific Railroad)

George Stephen (later Lord Mount Stephen) president of the Bank of Montreal

as financing was not available this partnership agreed to buy the defunct railroad on credit

to keep the route from the grasping fingers of the reorganized Northern Pacific Railway

St. Paul and Pacific Railroad in Minnesota began to expand toward the north

## RAILROAD RIVALRY BETWEEN JIM HILL AND JAY GOULD BEGINS

Jim Hill knew his railroad would remain a small, regional line unless he built to the Northwest or he acquired the Northern Pacific Railway

Jim Hill's arch rival was Jay Gould -- owner of the Union Pacific transcontinental railroad in addition to his personal fortune, Gould had the support of powerful Congressmen or at least the support of those members whose campaigns he financed

Gould did not want another transcontinental line cutting into his shipping rates

Jim Hill envisioned a second northern transcontinental railroad to Puget Sound

but he needed to have a law passed through Congress

to allow him to extend his shortline railroad across Indian land -- Jay Gould blocked the effort

Hill confronted Gould

he told the millionaire that if the needed law did not pass he would stay in Washington, D.C.

until every one of Gould's crooked politicians was exposed and removed from office

because of the threat, or because of public opinion, Gould allowed the law to pass

Jim Hill's St. Paul and Pacific Railroad in Minnesota began to build toward Puget Sound

Hill bought many short lines and spiked them together with new tracks

he did not receive any federal money or land grants

however, he did receive land grants from the shortline railroads he absorbed along the route

Hill made a strong effort to develop markets and customers along his route

## TIMBER AND STONE ACT REMOVES THOUSANDS OF ACRES FROM PUBLIC ACCESS

Congress authorized the sale of some of the richest forests ever seen by man -- June 3, 1878

160 acre tracts were to be sold to individuals (but not to corporations) at \$2.50 per acre

Of course once timber cutting had advanced beyond the water line

160 acres was not enough land to justify the expense of the sawmills and heavy machinery necessary to harvest the giant trees of the coastal mountains

Timber companies rounded up gangs of their own employees, of sailors temporarily in port, and of wandering derelicts who were taken into the woods to stake a claim on pre-selected sites these "homesteaders" were then ferried by the shipload to land offices

where they registered their claims -- then stepped outside

and for the price of a night on the town sold the holding to a waiting timber company agent

more than 200,000 acres of timberland in Washington Territory became company property

Timber companies created even more anger by holding these lands in reserve

enough timber to meet their immediate needs could be purchased from individual loggers

who, as often as not, simply helped themselves from the public forest -- it was easy enough

surveys were incomplete; enforcement offices were inadequately staffed

and even if a man was caught in the act he could avoid prosecution

by paying a fine that generally did not equal his profits



## BENJAMIN BONNEVILLE, ‘HISTORY MADE MAN’ DIES

Captain Benjamin Louis Eulalie de Bonneville had been born near Paris, France [April 14, 1796]

when he was seven Benjamin’s parents brought him to New Rochelle, New York

Benjamin Bonneville received an appointment to West Point and graduated after only two years  
his military career on the frontier continued through the western expansion

he served in the Mexican War and served as a Brevet Brigadier General in the Civil War  
before he retired and moved to Arkansas to live out his remaining days

Benjamin Louis Eulalie de Bonneville died at the age of eighty-two -- June 12, 1878

at the time of his death, he was the U.S. Army’s oldest retired officer

Captain Ben Bonneville's travels in Oregon and throughout the region  
were characterized by constant movement and exploration

Bonneville recorded his understanding of much of the western landscape on maps  
that helped both the military and the overland emigrants find their way across the continent

Ben Bonneville spent three years in the Rocky Mountains  
without losing a man under his personal command

his camps were popular with free trappers because of his hospitality

Because of a misunderstanding his commission in the U.S. Army had been revoked

Ben Bonneville was forced to interrupt his exploration of the West and travel

to meet with General Alexander Macomb to have his commission reinstated [1835]

on his way to Washington, D.C. Bonneville stopped at New York where he was received  
by his patron John Jacob Astor

while staying with Astor, Bonneville met the author Washington Irving

Bonneville entertained Irving with tales of his adventures

Irving purchased the rights to Bonneville’s map and noted for \$1,000

Washington Irving produced the book the *Adventures of Captain Bonneville* [1837]

## OREGON STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY BUILDS THE STEAMBOAT *R.R. THOMPSON*

*R.R. Thompson* was a large steamer, 1,158-tons, named in honor of Robert R. Thompson

one of the owners of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company

She began operation under Captain John McNulty

on the middle portion of the Columbia River -- June 1878

passengers and cargo from Portland traveling on the steamer *Wide West* were off-loaded

to one of the portage railroads that traveled around The Cascades of the Columbia Gorge

passengers and cargo was then loaded on the *R.R. Thompson* for transport to The Dalles

where another portage railroad carried them around Celilo Falls

before being loaded on another steamer for transport up the Columbia River

traveling down the Columbia River the trip was made in reverse

## JAMES GLOVER DEVELOPS SPOKANE FALLS

James Glover heard about the beauty of the Palouse and Spokane area from a friend

he decided to make the long journey at age thirty-six [May 1873]

he and his partner Jasper N. Matheney traveled up the Columbia and Snake rivers

then completed the trip on horseback

James was quite taken by the beauty of the region

Glover and Matheney returned to Oregon to get their families

they convinced C. F. Yeaton to travel to Spokane Falls with them

they started a sawmill (Glover later started a store to trade furs for goods with the Indians)

not many people moved to Spokane Falls and Glover's partners became discouraged

they left Spokane Falls and sold their land to Glover giving him a total of 160 acres

Glover urged a lawyer, a merchant, a doctor and a missionary to settle in Spokane Falls

he gave them land to help them get started

he convinced Frederick Post to move from Post Falls, Idaho Territory

and build a sawmill on forty acres of Glover's land

James Glover ("Father of Spokane") filed a plat in the heart of Spokane Falls -- 1878

he requested Spokane's first survey, helped with the survey

and named many of Spokane's downtown streets:

- Mill Street (later renamed Wall Street) because his first mill was build there,
- Howard Street for General O. Howard,
- Sprague for General John W. Sprague, an agent for the Northern Pacific Railway and one of the founders of Tacoma,
- Post Street was named for Frederick Post,
- Monroe, Washington, Adams, Lincoln and Madison in honor of presidents

Glover insisted that the streets be one hundred feet wide or he would not donate his land

(street widths at the time were usually sixty feet)

James Glover sold half interest in his holdings to J.J. Browne and Anthony M. Cannon

promotional schemes were carried out, a commercial building was built,

a schoolhouse was constructed and two churches were organized

## ABERDEEN AND HOQUIAM AREA SEES ITS FIRST BUSINESS OPERATION

George R. Hume established a fish packing cannery in Grays Harbor

that he named the Aberdeen Packing Plant -- 1878

George Hume sent a hundred Chinese from his canning operation on the Columbia River

Chinese did the canning at a dollar day plus board -- white workers did the fishing

George Hume named his new settlement Wishkah which was interpreted by the founder to mean

"the meeting of two rivers" (that is, the Wishkah River and Chehalis River)

(later the name of the town was changed to Aberdeen)

In spite of its early maritime industry, lumbering was the key to development of the region

## TERRITORIAL DELEGATES MEET IN YET ANOTHER CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Without waiting for Congress to act Washington Territorial Legislators

called for yet another a Constitutional Convention -- this one to meet in Walla Walla -- 1878

Washington Territory's largest city

Walla Walla Convention lasted forty-seven days -- June 11, 1878 to [July 22, 1878]

there were fifteen elected male delegates from Washington Territory

eight Republicans and seven Democrats -- about half of the delegates were lawyers

Alonzo Leland, Lewiston surveyor, attorney, newspaper editor and antislavery activist,

was an active supporter of north Idaho being part of Washington Territory

with Lewiston as its capital

he specialized in fighting with Olympia, Boise and Salem when they opposed his interests

he made arrangements to have north Idaho participate in Washington's constitutional convention

and served as the delegate at the convention from Northern Idaho

he had no vote but he exerted great influence

in preparing the application for admission as a state

which would include the Idaho Panhandle in its boundaries

Walla Walla Convention delegates heard a speech by Abigail Scott Duniway

publisher and editor of *The New Northwest* newspaper [1871-1887] who attended as a lobbyist

Duniway pioneered women's suffrage in the Northwest and eastern states

those in attendance agreed to send a separate women's suffrage article to the voters

Delegates also supported the new temperance movement

they agreed to include a separate article allowing counties the option

to prohibit the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages

## RENEGADE INDIANS BRING FEAR TO THE YAKIMA VALLEY

While a small band of Bannock and Paiute Indians crossed the Columbia River they were fired on by soldiers on a steamboat patrolling the river -- July 1878

some of the Indians were killed but several escaped and succeeded in reaching the far bank

filled with anger and seeking revenge the small band rode across the Horse Heaven Hills

and forded the Yakima River -- then sped northwest across the Rattlesnake Hills

in the general direction of Yakima City (today's Union Gap)

## NEWLY-WEDS ARE KILLED BY RENEGADE INDIANS

Cattleman Lorenzo Perkins and his bride Blanche Bunting Perkins

lived in an old Hudson's Bay cabin at White Bluffs, Washington Territory

disturbed by the sight of so many tents and canoes on the opposite side of the Columbia River

they decided to hurry to the Yakima City home of her mother

and leave their herds to fare as best they could

Lorenzo and Blanche Perkins set out at dawn -- July 9, 1878

they ate lunch at Rattlesnake Springs, a popular resting place forty miles east of Yakima City,  
on the slope to the south seven riders suddenly appeared and rode up to their lunch spot  
as one of the Indians raised his rifle to fire, Blanche mounted a saddled horse and raced away  
Lorenzo, not waiting to saddle a horse of his own, followed after her  
riding only a short distance Lorenzo was shot and fell to the ground dead  
Blanche's horse stumbled in an attempt to leap a ravine and the rider fell  
Murderers bore down upon their victim -- not wanting to waste ammunition they pelted her with rocks  
Lorenzo's body was dragged next to where his injured bride lay -- both were buried in rocks  
Blanche managed to force her hand upward against the weight before she was crushed to death  
Taking what possessions they wanted, the killers rode swiftly to the Wenas Creek Valley  
as they rode past cowboys driving a herd of cattle they fired recklessly  
frightened drovers rushed into Yakima City shouting out warnings to settlers on their way  
soon all of the Yakima Valley was thrown into panic -- a mass attack was forthcoming  
Homesteaders hurried to Yakima City with their families leaving stock and possessions behind  
fortifications were frantically built and women and children were packed into the main hotel  
but no attack came

#### MOSES: CHIEF OF THE SINKIUSE-COLUMBIA INDIANS

Kwiltalahun was a member of the Sinkiuse-Columbia Indian tribe that lived along the Columbia River  
at the age nine he so impressed the missionary Rev. Henry H. Spalding  
that he was invited to be educated at the Presbyterian Mission of Lapwai, Idaho  
for three years he learned the ways of whites and made extensive contact with Nez Perce  
in whose territory the mission was located  
Kwiltalahun became fluent in several languages, including English, Nez Perce, Spokane, Colville  
and Yakima -- a skill that served him later in life  
Kwiltalahun was given the Christian name "Moses" by Rev. Spalding  
he would use that name for the rest of his life despite never becoming Christian  
At the time of the Yakima War [1855-1858] Moses' brother was chief of the Sinkiuse-Columbia  
Moses played only a minor role  
Sinkiuse-Columbia people declared Moses to be their chief while he was away representing his tribe  
in talks with government officials -- he assumed the duties and took the name of his father  
who had been chief: *Sulk-stalk-scosum*: "The Sun Chief"  
During the [1877] flight of the Free Bands of Nez Perce Indians  
Chief Moses had done nothing to aid them  
although some of the young men of the Sinkiuse-Columbia tribe had gone to join Chief Joseph  
they were followed by Yakima Indian Agent at Fort Simcoe James H. Wilbur  
who brought them back to their reservation

#### RUMORS FLY AROUND THE YAKIMA VALEY

Peaceful years of comradeship with the Yakima Indians were forgotten

fear and mistrust were rampant in the Yakima Valley

some whites fled to The Dalles, but most remained to guard their possessions

Rumors regarding the possible involvement of Chief Moses of the Sinkiuse-Columbia tribe enflamed white settlers:

- it was widely believed that the Bannock and Piute renegades were hiding under the protection of Chief Moses;
- it was reported that Chief Moses had been joined by coastal Indians from as far north as the Skagit River in a planned attack on the Kittitas Indians;
- 500 men, women and children followers were said to be moving to attack the Yakima Indians and to massacre settlers on the Ahtanum River -- July 12, 1878

Nearly all of the families in the Yakima Valley rushed to a meadow

where they formed a large wagon circle around an inner circle of men prepared to fight

At once a delegation went to Fort Simcoe to Yakima Indian Agent James H. Wilbur with an appeal to request of Governor Elisha P. Ferry send two hundred stands of guns and ammunition for the settlers to use in protecting their homes

settlers in Spokane Falls, Crab Creek and Palouse were equally excited

Reports of Moses' movements were all false

#### BODIES OF LORENZO AND BLANCHE PERKINS ARE DISCOVERED

Bodies of Lorenzo and Blanche were brought in by a scouting party -- July 18, 1878

when the gruesome discovery was made family and friends were stricken with grief and terror and a burning desire for revenge swept over the settlement

they were buried in the little pioneer cemetery in Yakima City

Settlers in the town of Yakima City formed a large posse to search the hills for the killers

#### CHIEF MOSES SHOWS NO SIGNS OF HOSTILITY

Chief Moses showed no preparation for war

but Yakima Indian Agent James H. Wilbur knew all too well that the hatred and suspicion of the settlers was directed toward him and that it would take only a rash spark to ignite a war that would surely to end in massacre

Indian Agent Wilbur and his Indian police kept a constant patrol on the reservation

but the murders of the Perkins couple escaped detection

James Wilbur asked Chief Moses for his help in locating the murderers -- Moss agreed to assist

Moses said he believed they were hiding in the Crab Creek lava beds

#### ORGANIZED SEARCH FOR THE PERKINS' MURDERERS IS UNDERTAKEN

Acting on the tip provided by Chief Moses fifteen Yakima Agency Indian Police and thirty white men formed a company to search the hills

where Chief Moses believed the renegades might be hiding -- July 18, 1878

Moses provided ten of his best scouts to aid in the search to the Crab Creek lava beds

Chief Moses went out a day ahead of the search party to make arrangements to cross the Columbia  
many of the white men disapproved of cooperating with Moses

without Yakima Indian Agent James H. Wilbur's knowledge

they made plans to go on the road ahead of the chief to waylay him and take him prisoner

Moses learned of the plan and returned to his home full of suspicion and uncertainty

#### CHIEF MOSES SETS OUT TO FIND THE KILLERS OF THE PERKINS COUPLE

Three days later, resenting the settlers' attitude but wanting to keep faith with Indian Agent Wilbur

Moses started out with nine men to aid in the search -- July 21, 1878

they were surrounded and captured in their sleep by a party of the volunteers that night

Chief Moses and his men were taken prisoner

#### CHIEF MOSES IS PUT IN JAIL IN YAKIMA CITY

Chief Moses and four of his sub-chiefs were brought to Yakima City in irons and thrown into jail

five others were allowed, under guard, to join the search for the murderers -- July 22, 1878

as he sat in jail Moses could hear townspeople outside celebrating his capture

Some Yakima City people wanted Moses and his sub-chiefs prosecuted

for aiding and abetting in the Perkins murderers

Anti-Indian agitators in Yakima City wanted all of the Indians removed from the Yakima Reservation  
and the land opened to settlement -- even if a war was necessary to accomplish the task

#### WALLA WALLA CONVENTION DELEGATES WRITE A PROPOSED STATE CONSTITUTION

Fifteen delegates at the Walla Walla convention

drew up the newest proposed State Constitution -- July 22, 1878

these delegates wanted to keep government inexpensive:

- salaries for state officials were low (governor was paid \$1,500),
- state debt was limited,
- legislature had the duty to fix the debt of the counties

In many ways the proposed Constitution was typical of other states in outlining government structure:

- it had a separation of power among governor, judges and legislators;
- it had a division of power between the state government and county government;
- there was a bill of rights that contained the usual guarantees

but Washington's proposed constitution also included some innovations:

- except for the right to vote, women's rights were included;
- three-fourths rather than a unanimous vote was required for a criminal case conviction;
- grand jury was to be composed of seven members with five votes required to indict

there was also an innovation concerning the election of state legislators

as the proposed constitution stated voters could cast as many votes for one candidate  
as there were representatives to be elected in the district  
or they could distribute their votes among the candidates  
this proportioned system was designed to ensure minority party representation  
in the state legislature

However, the completed proposed constitution reflected to a surprising extent  
the reform movement of the 1870s

which was fearful of corporations and eager to support new causes  
in five articles the delegates drafted restraints on corporations,  
reflecting disenchantment with banks and railroad companies  
especially the Northern Pacific Railway and Oregon Steam Navigation Company

#### YAKIMA INDIAN AGENT JAMES H. WILBUR LEARNS OF THE ARREST OF CHIEF MOSES

When Yakima Indian Agent James H. Wilbur was informed of Moses' arrest by his scouts  
he hurried to Yakima City -- July 1788

many local residents wanted to storm the jail and hang Chief Moses  
only Indian Agent Wilbur's presence kept the angry townsmen from seizing the chief

#### CHIEF MOSES IS TAKEN TO FORT SIMCOE

Yakima Indian Agent James H. Wilbur was more than ever convinced of the chief's sincerity  
he talked Yakima City officials into releasing Chief Moses and his four sub-chiefs  
and allowing them to be moved to Fort Simcoe for protection -- July 1788

When they arrived at Fort Simcoe Wilbur welcomed them as honored guests  
with gifts of choice foods and camping facilities

he did not mention the subject of the murders until a week of social harmony passed

Chief Moses remained as a guest (not a prisoner) at Fort Simcoe

Moses was allowed to receive visitors -- one of whom was Frank C. Middleton  
a reporter for the Portland *Oregonian* newspaper

Moses asked Middleton to tell General Howard of the chief's friendship toward whites

Middleton composed a letter to General Howard in support of Chief Moses

Wilbur sent messages to the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters in Washington, D. C.

urging that Moses be allowed to visit to present his problems to President Rutherford B. Hayes  
before the citizens took rash action against him

Meanwhile the renegade killers were finally tracked down and returned to Yakima City for trial  
but this was not enough to satiate the townspeople's desire for retaliation

Yakima Indian Agent James H. Wilbur had to continue his protection of his Indian friend

#### NEZ PERCE FREE BANDS CONTINUE TO BE INCARCERATED

(General Oliver Otis Howard's promise to return the Nez Perce Free Bands to Idaho was not kept

Chief Joseph and those non-treaty Indians who surrendered  
were taken by horseback and Missouri riverboat to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas  
to be imprisoned for the winter in a squalid camp  
malaria made more than half of them sick -- twenty or thirty natives died  
meanwhile many Nez Perce tribesmen who had fled to Canada were drifting back home)  
U.S. Army released the Nez Perce natives from Fort Leavenworth to the Indian Bureau -- July 1878  
for next seven years the Nez Perce Free Bands were situated in Indian Territory (Oklahoma)  
there the change of climate and malaria caused illness which decimated the people  
disease and accidents reduced their numbers from 418 Nez Perce to approximately 280  
Yellow Wolf stated, **"...the climate killed many of us. All the newborn babies died, and  
many of the old people, too.... We were always lonely for our old-time homes.... No mountains, no  
springs, no clear running rivers. Thoughts came of the Wallowa where I grew up.... Of tepees along  
the bending river.... From the mountain forests, voices seemed calling. I felt as dreaming. Not my  
living self."**<sup>88</sup>

#### SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD BECOMES PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA FOR A SECOND TIME

Disgraced Canadian Prime Minister John A. Macdonald who had accepted bribes from the winner  
of the contract to build a railroad across Canada was returned to power -- October 16, 1878  
his Conservative government replaced Liberal Party Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie  
by the time Macdonald was returned to power the massive trans-Canada railroad building project  
was seriously behind schedule and in danger of stalling completely  
Prime minister Macdonald quickly set out to build the trans-Canada railroad  
Macdonald confirmed that Port Moody, British Columbia  
would be the Western terminus of the Canadian railroad  
he also announced that the route would follow the Fraser and Thompson rivers in British Columbia  
(Canadian government bonds were sold in London to finance the huge construction effort [1879])

#### VOTE ON THE PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION REPORT

Debate in Washington Territory over accepting a proposed state constitution  
centered on the railroad companies -- this became the decisive issue in the campaign  
most of the state newspapers favored the constitution  
counties that had not been chosen by the Northern Pacific Railway for its route  
voted against the constitution  
locales along the right-of-way, where the Northern Pacific had its greatest influence,  
also voted against the constitution because of proposed controls on local businesses  
Population of approximately 75,000 settlers lived in Washington Territory  
when the vote was taken -- November 5, 1878

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<sup>88</sup> *National Geographic*, March, 1977, P. 421.



proposed Constitution accepted by voters by a two-to-one margin

ballot results: 6462 **“for”** -- 3231 **“against”**

articles proposed by Suffragette Abigail Scott Duniway supporting women’s right to vote

and the local option for prohibition of the sale of alcohol were rejected by (male) voters

Proposed Constitution was submitted to Congress by Territorial Delegate Thomas H. Brents

immediately after he was seated

Congress did not even vote the matter out of the Committee on Territories

as Washington Territory was primarily Republican

Democrats maintained control of the U.S. House of Representatives

#### NEW WASHINGTON TERRITORIAL DELEGATE TO CONGRESS IS ELECTED

Congressional Delegate Thomas H. Brents, Republican, was elected -- November 5, 1878

he replaced Republican Washington Territorial Delegate Orange Jacobs

Thomas Brents had served in the Oregon State House of Representatives

he became an attorney and moved to Walla Walla where he served as the city attorney

Delegate to Congress Brents served in office of Territorial Delegate for five years [1879-1885]

Thomas Brents died in Walla Walla, Washington [October 23, 1916]

#### ANTOINETTE JOSEPHINE BAKER HUNTINGTON IS ELECTED SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT

(Asa Mercer had recruited Antoinette Josephine Baker as one of his first group of Mercer Girls [1864]

at age twenty-five she traveled to Seattle to teach at the Washington Territorial University

at the end of the school term she met U.S. Marshall William Huntington

Antoinette was hired by U.S. Marshall Huntingtin to take up teaching

in Monticello, Washington Territory [today’s Longview --1864]

teaching in Monticello Antoinette met Edwin Huntington, William Huntington’s older brother

they were married on [February 21, 1865] in Monticello and had four children

Antoinette and Edwin and their family moved to a farm at Castle Rock, Washington Territory

where she organized the community’s first school [1876]

she taught classes in the front room of her home until [1883]

when Castle Rock’s first school building was built)

Antoinette Josephine Baker Huntington was elected the first woman

to serve as School Superintendent of Cowlitz County -- November 5, 1878 [re-elected 188])

Antoinette died [June 15, 1916]

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD SENDS TROOPS TO YAKIMA CITY

Detainment of Chief Moses by Yakima Indian Agent James H. Wilbur was reported to

Commander of the Department of the Columbia General Oliver Otis Howard -- December 1878

General Howard did not have a feeling of alarm regarding the Yakima situation

Howard had conducted too drastic a campaign against the Nez Perce Indians [1877]

to be too upset by the murders of two lone settlers

this attitude did not appease the citizens of the Yakima Valley

General Howard sent troops under Lieutenant E.B. Rheem to Yakima City to observe the situation

Lieutenant Rheem joined Yakima Indian Agent James H. Wilbur in sending a message to Howard that troops were no longer necessary as the disturbance had subsided

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD COMPOSES A LETTER TO CHIEF MOSES

Chief Moses was at Fort Simcoe as a guest of Yakima Indian Agent at Fort Simcoe James H. Wilbur when he received a letter from General Howard -- January 1879

Howard informed the chief that Portland *Oregonian* reporter Frank C. Middleton

had been very supportive of the chief and the plight of his people

Howard noted he had sent a request to Washington, D.C. for a new reservation

for Moses and his people

in reply, government officials thought it better for Moses to move to the Yakima Reservation

however, in his letter to Moses Howard noted President Rutherford B. Hayes

had not rejected the idea of a new reservation

Howard concluded: **“Bear your suffering with patience. I hope there are brighter days in store for you and your people.”**<sup>89</sup>

#### CHIEF JOSEPH TRAVELS TO WASHINGTON, D.C.

Exiled to Indian Territory (Oklahoma) after their defeat in the Bear Paw Mountains of Montana [1877]

Joseph, after months of struggle and enduring the sad task of watching his people suffer,

was determined to tell government officials the fate of his Nez Perce Wallowa Band

after considerable difficulty with corrupt and vicious Indian Agent Hiram Jones

Chief Joseph was invited to Washington, D.C. with Chief Yellow Bull

and interpreter Arthur Chapman -- January 1879

Chief Joseph attended various meetings with congressmen

and spoke with Commissioner of Indian Affairs Ezra Hayt, Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz

and President Rutherford B. Hayes

Joseph’s plea was always to move his people from Indian Territory where they suffered

Chief Joseph was invited to speak at Lincoln Hall to an audience of 800 diplomats, senators,

congressmen and Indian rights activists -- January 14, 1879

in his speech Joseph said, in part: [On his deathbed my father said:] **“My son, never forget my dying words. This country holds your fathers’ body. Never sell the bones of your father and mother.”** I pressed my father’s hand and told him that I would protect his grave with my life. My father smiled and passed away to the spirit land.

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<sup>89</sup> Howard to Moses, January 7, 1879.

**I buried him in that beautiful valley of winding waters. I loved that land more than all the rest of the world. A man who would not love his father's grave is worse than a wild animal....**

**I cannot understand how the Government sends a man out to fight us, as it did General Miles, and then breaks his word. Such a government has something wrong about it.... It makes my heart sick when I remember all the good words and all the broken promises. There has been too much talking by men who had no right to talk. Too many misrepresentations have been made, too many misunderstandings have come up between the white men about the Indians. If the white man wants to live in peace with the Indian he can live in peace. There need be no trouble. Treat all men alike. All men were made by the Great Spirit Chief. They are all bothers.**

**"The earth is the mother of all people, and all people should have equal rights upon it. You might as well expect the rivers to run backward as that any man who was born free should be contented penned up and denied liberty to go where he pleases. If you tie a horse to a stake, do you expect he will grow fat? If you pen an Indian on a small spot of earth, and compel him to stay there, he will not be contented nor will he grow and prosper....**

**"Whenever the white man treats the Indian as they treat each other, then we shall have no more wars. We shall be all alike--brothers of one father and one mother, with the sky above us and one country around us, and one government for all. Then the Great Spirit Chief who rules above will smile upon this land, send rain to wash out the bloody spots made by brothers' hands upon the face of the earth. For this time the Indian race are waiting and praying. I hope that no more groans of wounded men and women will ever go to the ear of the Great Spirit Chief above, and that all people may be one people...."**<sup>90</sup>

With this publicity Joseph became the popular symbol among non-Indians for Nez Perce heroism (for the remainder of his life, Joseph tried unsuccessfully to convince federal authorities that he and others from his tribe should regain a place in the Wallowa Valley he dictated his own account of the Nez Perce War, hoping to draw sympathy and support from those in power -- but the government did not move quickly on his appeals western senators and congressmen were not about to lend aid to the Indians with the possibility of losing their constituents 'support and all they had created since the U.S. Government had started its war of armed pacification)

## CONSTRUCTION BEGINS ON CANADIAN PEMBINA BRANCH LINE

Canadian government began construction of a branch line of their Canadian Pacific Railroad -- January 14, 1879

Pembina Branch ran from Winnipeg, Manitoba south to Emerson, Manitoba on the Canadian border

## FUTURE OF CHIEF MOSES BECOMES AN EXPLOSIVE SITUATION

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<sup>90</sup> *National Geographic*, March, 1977, P. 421. Note: See Appendix for Joseph's speech as printed in the literary magazine *North American Review* April 1879.

Paiutes, friendly and hostile, and a few Shoshone prisoners from Oregon

were moved to the Yakima Reservation -- February 2, 1879

Chief Moses had a long-standing feud with the Shoshone Indians

but regardless, fears arose that Moses might join with his former enemies and Bannock renegades against the whites

Commander of the Division of the Pacific General Irvin McDowell stationed in San Francisco

sent a message to the War Department noting that placing Chief Moses on the Yakima Reservation would mean potential war against the whites

General McDowell's communications were passed to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Ezra Hayt who passed them on to Interior Secretary Carl Schurz

#### CHIEF MOSES IS CALLED TO WASHINGTON, D.C.

Moses, chief of the Sinkiuse-Columbia Tribe, was ordered to Washington, D.C. for a conference by Commissioner of Indian Affairs Ezra Hayt -- February 18, 1879

this order was communicated to Yakima Indian Agent James H. Wilbur

Moses was not to be arrested -- he was to be allowed to return to his people and make preparations for his journey to the nation's capital

Moses feared this was simply a ploy to remove him from his people

and force his tribe to Indian Territory (Oklahoma) like Chief Joseph and his Nez Perce

Yakima Indian Agent James H. Wilbur stilled hope Chief Moses could be convinced

to move to the Yakima Reservation with his people and made this proposal to the chief

Moses was agreeable but stated he needed to talk with his followers before making a decision

Wilbur agreed to give Moses his freedom for a month to hold a council and report back

#### CHIEF MOSES RETURNS TO HIS PEOPLE TO DECIDE ON THEIR FUTURE ACTIONS

Chief Moses rode away from Fort Simcoe after promising Yakima Indian Agent James H. Wilbur that he would return in a month with a decision to either move to the Yakima Reservation

or decide to travel to Washington, D.C. to meet with official regarding the future of his tribe

Chief Moses met in council with his people who decided their chief should go to Washington, D.C.

and attempt to get a reservation of their own

#### CHIEF MOSES IS AGAIN ARRESTED

Interracial peace in the Yakima Valley was on very shaky ground

it was not known what Chief Moses and his followers would decide

it also was not known when or if war-minded Yakima Valley settlers might strike

Many of the citizens of Yakima City and the surrounding region were furious

when they learned Chief Moses had been set free

One of the killers of newlyweds Lorenzo and Blanche Perkins had been captured

he had stated that Chief Moses had promised to protect the killers

another killer then in jail said Chief Moses was fully aware of their intent and did nothing to stop it

#### CHIEF MOSES IS DUE TO RETURN TO FORT SIMCOE

Chief Moses made his way toward Fort Simcoe after holding a council with his people

Indian Agent James Wilbur set out for the Yakima ferry their agreed-upon meeting place

When Agent Wilbur arrived at the ferry -- March 11, 1879

Yakima County Sheriff F.D. Schnebly and a posse was guarding every crossing

up and down the Columbia River for twenty miles

they were determined to take Moses dead or alive

unable to accomplish anything, Agent Wilbur returned to Yakima City

Chief Moses was brought in by the sheriff the next morning

When Chief Moses appeared in court, Yakima Indian Agent James H. Wilbur posted bail

#### ARRANGEMENTS ARE MADE FOR CHIEF MOSES TO GO TO WASHINGTON, D.C.

Interior Secretary Carl Schurz was aware of Chief Moses' reluctance to go to Washington, D.C.

and of the various pressures to keep him in Washington Territory

Secretary Schurz telegraphed Territorial Governor Elisha P. Ferry to urge Moses to make the trip

Governor Ferry knew of Moses' faith in General Oliver Otis Howard

Ferry invited Howard to accompany him up the Columbia River to Walla Walla

where other members of the Washington, D.C.-bound party would gather

Governor Ferry and General Howard arrived in Walla Walla -- March 13, 1879

#### CHIEF MOSES BEGINS THE JOURNEY TO WASHINGTON, D.C.

Moses, his nephew Chillileetsah and interpreter Abe Lincoln

set out from Fort Simcoe -- March 17, 1879

they met Governor Elisha P. Ferry and General Oliver Otis Howard

aboard the sternwheeler *Annie Faxon*

also on board were chief Homily of the Walla Wallas, and Hiachenie, a Cayuse chief

(Without complications, the delegation of Indian chiefs reached Washington, D.C.)

#### WASHINGTON TERRITORY PROPOSES A STATE CONSTITUTION IN CONGRESS

Walla Walla Constitutional Convention's proposed State Constitution

as passed by the voters [November 1878] was submitted to Congress

by Territorial Delegate to Congress Thomas H. Brents immediately after he was seated

in the House of Representatives -- March 1879

Washington's proposed Constitution was not approved -- Congress failed to act

national politics was the most important factor for the protracted delay of admission to the Union

Washington Territory was primarily Republican

Democrats continued to hold a small majority in the U.S. House of Representatives

they had been forced to award the presidency to Republican Rutherford B. Hayes [1877]  
they were not willing to give more potential Congressional votes to the Republicans

#### GENERAL OLIVER OTIS HOWARD RESPONDS TO THE ONGOING INDIAN SITUATION

General Howard's Fort Vancouver was renamed Vancouver Barracks -- April 5, 1879

at his post General Howard grew increasingly concerned that hot-headed white settlers  
would implement their own version of justice if non-treaty Nez Perce reappeared in Idaho  
even though Howard himself had promised their return to Lapwai

Howard justified this breaking of his word with the argument

that Joseph had violated the surrender terms by permitting so many Nez Perce to escape

General of the Army William Tecumseh Sherman refused to consider sending the Nez Perce prisoners  
west from Indian Territory (Oklahoma) although he admitted: **"The Indians throughout [the war]**

**displayed a courage and skill that elicited universal praise; they abstained from scalping; let captive women go free; did not commit indiscriminate murders of peaceful families; and fought with almost scientific skill, using advance and rear guards, skirmish lines and field fortifications."**<sup>91</sup>

#### CHIEF JOSEPH'S VERSION OF THE ESCAPE TOWARD CANADA IS PRINTED

In April 1879, Chief Joseph published "An Indian's View of Indian Affairs"

in the literary magazine *North American Review*: [On his deathbed my father said:] **"My son, never forget my dying words. This country holds your fathers' body. Never sell the bones of your father and mother."** I pressed my father's hand and told him that I would protect his grave with my life. My father smiled and passed away to the spirit land.

**I buried him in that beautiful valley of winding waters. I loved that land more than all the rest of the world. A man who would not love his father's grave is worse than a wild animal...**

**I cannot understand how the Government sends a man out to fight us, as it did General Miles, and then breaks his word. Such a government has something wrong about it... It makes my heart sick when I remember all the good words and all the broken promises. There has been too much talking by men who had no right to talk. Too many misrepresentations have been made, too many misunderstandings have come up between the white men about the Indians. If the white man wants to live in peace with the Indian he can live in peace. There need be no trouble. Treat all men alike. All men were made by the Great Spirit Chief. They are all bothers.**

**"The earth is the mother of all people, and all people should have equal rights upon it. You might as well expect the rivers to run backward as that any man who was born free should be contented penned up and denied liberty to go where he pleases. If you tie a horse to a stake, do you expect he will grow fat? If you pen an Indian on a small spot of earth, and compel him to stay there, he will not be contented nor will he grow and prosper...."**

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<sup>91</sup> Bruce A. Wilson, "From Where the Sun Now Stands," *The Omak Chronicle*, 1960.

**“Whenever the white man treats the Indian as they treat each other, then we shall have no more wars. We shall be all alike--brothers of one father and one mother, with the sky above us and one country around us, and one government for all. Then the Great Spirit Chief who rules above will smile upon this land, send rain to wash out the bloody spots made by brothers’ hands upon the face of the earth. For this time the Indian race are waiting and praying. I hope that no more groans of wounded men and women will ever go to the ear of the Great Spirit Chief above, and that all people may be one people...”<sup>92</sup>**

#### CHIEF MOSES IS GRANTED A RESERVATION FOR HIS PEOPLE

While in Washington, D.C., Chief Moses participated in several conferences regarding the plight of his people in Washington Territory

Columbia Reservation was set aside by Presidential Executive Order of Rutherford B. Hayes for Chief Moses and his people, the Sinkiuse-Columbia Tribe, and Chelan, Entiat and Wenatchi Indians -- April 19, 1879

Columbia Reservation, sometimes called the Moses Reservation, adjoined the Colville Reservation on the west and together encompassed all (of present-day Okanogan County)

Moses agreed to give up their former Columbia Basin reservation which was then opened for homesteading

further, it was ordered that Chief Moses and his party be forwarded to their new reservation without arrest or further interference

#### SALMON TRAPPING INDUSTRY BEGINS ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

Columbia River fishing for thousands of years had employed Indian spearing techniques and gill netting to catch salmon returning to the river to spawn

gill netting operations had expanded to include nets stretched between canoes

and even using draft horses to draw huge nets through the Columbia’s waters gathering salmon that were pulled up on the shore

Oliver P. Graham constructed a fish trap in Baker Bay on the Columbia River -- April 1879

he had seen such a fish trap on the Great Lakes -- (Graham’s trap proved to be very successful)

#### JIM HILL’S ST. PAUL AND PACIFIC RAILROAD LINE RESTRUCTURES

Jim Hill and his three partners, Norman Kittson, Donald Smith, George Stephen restructured the bankrupt St. Paul and Pacific Railroad

St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad was organized -- May 1879

Jim Hill became the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad Company president

Hill focused his attention on the Manitoba, Canada portion of his railroad route

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<sup>92</sup> *North American Review*, Vol. 128, Issue 269, pp. 412-434. NOTE: For the full text of Chief Joseph’s speech as reported in that literary magazine see Appendix.

but also assisted in organizing the Canadian Pacific Railroad  
(within five years the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad's mileage doubled,  
net earnings trebled, and equipment quadrupled)

#### GRAIN HAULING ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER IS VASTLY IMPROVED

Long wooden pipes were laid from the Eastern Washington plateau tops  
to the steamboat docks at Wallula -- 1879

wheat was dumped down the pipes in golden tides

However, once at the docks the wheat had to be sacked -- an additional expense  
sometimes there were no boats to carry the golden harvest down the Columbia River  
at best, the grain had to be shifted from boat to train and back again to a boat  
at both of the Columba Gorge portage railroads sites

also, harvest season coincided with the low water of autumn

Oregon Steam Navigation Company's flat-bottomed stern-wheelers often hung up on sand bars  
and sometimes the river froze while the grain was still on the docks

In spite of these handicaps, the wheat was of such high quality that at Portland  
it could be transferred to sailing vessels and sent around Cape Horn to Liverpool, England  
where it could compete successfully with grain from anywhere in the world  
wheat trade, which began with a single vessel [1867],

attracted eighty-one tall, four-masted windjammers [1880]

this was respectable but the figure was far below California's record

#### OREGON STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY HAS BEEN VERY SUCCESSFUL

In less than nineteen years the Oregon Steam Navigation Company (OSN)

had spent \$3 million in developing its businesses and had paid investors \$2.5 million in returns

In addition to steamboats and property, the OSN listed as its railroad assets:

1) Cascade Portage Railroad, Washington Territory

six miles of roadbed and track, along with sidings, turntables, shops, etc.,

three locomotives, three passenger cars and thirty-five box cars -- all valued at \$300,000

2) Oregon Portage Railroad, Oregon State

five miles of grading and trestle, seven miles of telegraph line,

miscellaneous other equipment with a total worth of \$75,000

3) The Dalles and Celilo Railroad

fourteen and a half miles of roadbed, track and sidings, turntables,

three locomotives, twenty-seven box cars, nineteen flatcars,

two passenger cars, etc., valued at \$700,000

4) Walla Walla and Columbia River (Rawhide) Railway

with new steel rails added and valued at \$600,000

5) miscellaneous equipment necessary for rail operations,



such as 250 miles of telegraph line between Walla Walla and Portland  
valued at \$25,000 and machine shops and equipment worth \$15,000

But it was obvious that the necessity to re-handle freight at the Columbia River portages  
would prohibit steam boats from competing with the railroads in the future

#### OREGON STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY LEARNS THEY HAVE COMPETITION

Captain John C. Ainsworth, president of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company,  
learned that Henry Villard had purchased 125 miles of railroad iron  
to be used in constructing track from Wallula, Washington Territory to Celilo, Oregon  
to eliminate that Upper Columbia River steamboat link  
(this work that would eventually be part of the transcontinental route  
linking Portland with the Midwest)

#### HENRY VILLARD FACES COMPETITION FROM EASTERN FINANCIER JAY GOULD

Henry Villard was President of the Oregon and California Railroad  
and the representative of European investors  
his arch rival was Jay Gould the owner of the Union Pacific transcontinental railroad  
Union Pacific Railroad President Jay Gould was involved in the manipulation of his competitors  
Gould deviously suggested that if Villard built a line through the Columbia Gorge  
Union Pacific might lease the tracks as its mainline outlet to the sea  
rather than continue using Collis Huntington's Central Pacific Railroad tracks to California  
Villard agreed to acquire the portage railroad tracks beside the Columbia Gorge

#### OREGON STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY LEARNS THEY HAVE COMPETITION

Henry Villard, President of the Oregon and California Railroad,  
and representative of European investors was interested in buying the Columbia River portages  
owned by the Oregon Steam Navigation Company  
Captain John C. Ainsworth, president of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company,  
learned that Henry Villard had purchased 125 miles of railroad iron  
to be used in constructing track from Wallula, Washington Territory  
to Celilo, Oregon to eliminate that portion of the Upper Columbia River steamboat link  
(this work that would eventually be part of the transcontinental route  
linking Portland with the Midwest)

#### OREGON STEAM NAVIGATION (OSN) COMPANY IS SOLD TO HENRY VILLARD

Henry Villard proposed to buy all of the holdings of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company  
Captain John C. Ainsworth, OSN president, asked \$5 million  
half in cash and the remainder in stocks and bonds  
Villard completed the deal at \$5 million within the hour -- May 23, 1879

Villard had also purchased the transportation companies owned by OSN:

- three portage railroads on the Columbia River for \$321,132:
  - Cascade Portage Railroad operated on the Washington side of The Cascades,
  - Oregon Portage Railroad operated on the Oregon side of The Cascades
  - Dalles and Celilo Railroad around Celilo Falls  
on the Oregon side of the Columbia River
- Dr. Dorsey Syng Baker's Walla Walla & Columbia River Railroad (Rawhide Railroad) from Walla Walla to Wallula Gap was purchased  
WW&CR track was changed from narrow gauge to standard gauge and miscellaneous equipment necessary held in surplus by the Oregon Steam Navigation Company

Henry Villard secured complete control of the steamboats and portage railways these acquisitions gave Villard a profitable business and united him with Oregon capitalists he also could present an option to lease the Columbia Gorge portage railroads to Union Pacific President Jay Gould as agreed

#### NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY REORGANIZES

Vermont attorney Frederick Billings replaced Charles Wright as the president of the Northern Pacific Railway -- May 24, 1879  
Billings immediately implemented a program of reorganization  
an improving U.S. economy and increased bond sales allowed construction to begin again  
100 miles of track was laid west of the Missouri River

Billings proposed a route from Puget Sound through Washington Territory  
this proposal was sent to the Interior Department for approval  
once the route was accepted various land grant resources were sold to raise construction funds  
Frederick Billings vigorously resisted Congressional efforts to withdraw federal land grants  
Washington Territory Delegate to Congress Thomas H. Brents and Oregon U.S. representatives introduced one proposal after another that the Northern Pacific Railway forfeit their land grants because the company had failed to live up to its construction contracts  
they believed the reclaimed acreage should be parceled out to local companies that would guarantee railroad construction in their respective areas  
Billings' ally in Congress, Senator Windom of Minnesota, beat down proposal after proposal

#### HENRY VILLARD FINDS HE HAS BEEN OUTMANUEVERED

Henry Villard, now the president of the Oregon and California Railroad and the Oregon Steam Navigation Company had acquired the rights to the Columbia River Gorge portage railroads  
that Union Pacific Railroad President Jay Gould suggested he would lease  
however, when Villard got back to New York with an option to lease the portage railroad routes

financier Jay Gould's pursuit of bigger game had driven him out of the Union Pacific Railroad and into an even bigger scheme -- building a system of railroads in the Midwest  
Collis Huntington, President of the Central Pacific Railroad from San Francisco  
and the new director of the Union Pacific Railroad did not approve of the plan  
to circumvent his railroad -- he backpedaled on the Columbia Gorge portage proposal  
Henry Villard was left holding his useless options to lease the Columbia Gorge portage railroad lines

#### HENRY VILLARD MERGES HIS COMPANIES

Henry Villard was the president of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company (OSN)  
Richard Koehler, Villard's associate, became vice-president of OSN  
other associates T.R. Cornelius, A.G. Cunningham and G.W. Weidler assumed prominent positions  
Villard and his associates merged the finances of his two companies -- June 13, 1879  
Oregon and California Railroad Company became a part of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company  
which owned the six-mile-long Cascades Railroad (old Bradford portage line) at The Cascades  
on the Washington side of the Columbia River  
and also owned the four-mile-long Oregon Portage Railroad at The Cascades with its bridges  
and trestles on Oregon side  
along with The Dalles-Celilo Portage Railroad which was 13.8 miles long  
Oregon Steam Navigation Company (OSN) now had a monopoly on shipping  
in Washington Territory and Oregon State

#### OREGON STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY (OSN) IS SOLD

Henry Villard sold his Oregon Steam Navigation Company (OSN) to his new company,  
the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company (OR&N) -- July 1, 1879  
Ownership of the new corporation gave Henry Villard a heady feeling  
Villard was taken by dreams of a transcontinental railroad of his own  
he also lavishly entertained hundreds of guests at gala parties  
(and spent huge sums trying unsuccessfully to be elected to the U.S. Senate)  
Ample fuel for his transportation companies had become important to Henry Villard  
he came to Seattle to look over the coal mines of the Seattle and Walla Walla Railroad  
without further ado he purchased the mines  
along with two ships for transporting the coal to Portland  
(a little later he would buy the Seattle and Walla Walla Railroad as well)  
OR&N might even mature into Villard's transcontinental dreams by invading Utah or Wyoming  
and forcing its own junction with the transcontinental Union Pacific Railroad  
or it could cross Idaho to link with the Utah & Northern Railroad  
which was building north from Salt Lake City toward the flourishing copper mines  
of Butte, Montana Territory

## LOCAL SETTLERS ARE ALARMED BY THE CREATION OF THE COLUMBIA RESERVATION

Newly-created Columbia Indian Reservation (Moses Reservation) had nearly the same boundaries as the Okanogan and Similkameen Mining District [created in 1860]

white settlers, ranchers and miners held a meeting near Lake Osoyoos -- July 9, 1879  
they drew up resolutions opposing the creation of the reservation  
they also asked the federal government to appraise the value of their properties  
for compensation if the reservation did, in fact, go ahead

Interior Secretary Carl Schurz, embarrassed that he was not aware of the Similkameen Mining District, turned the matter over to the Bureau of Indian Affairs

with instructions that the white settlers would suffer no harm

Administration of the Columbia Reservation (Moses Reservation) became a political football

Chief Moses had shown little respect for the Bureau of Indian Affairs

he had a higher regard for the army

thus the army was given the job of administering the reservation

(soldiers eventually would set up a camp at the southern end of Lake Chelan)

Chief Moses complained to the military officials about the settlers on his reservation

he had been promised that white settlers would be kept off his land

## MOSES, LEADER OF THE SINKIUSE-COLUMBIA TRIBE, FACES SUSPICIOUS SETTLERS

More than a year after the death of popular newlyweds Lorenzo and Blanche Perkins

at the hands of renegade Bannock and Paiute Indians

Yakima City inhabitants still had not recovered

Three months after his return from Washington, D.C. and living peacefully on the Yakima Reservation

Chief Moses, who remained under suspicion that he had been somehow involved,

again was seized by local authorities -- but he was released for lack of evidence

When news of the chief's arrest reached Washington, D.C., the Secretary of War, Attorney General,

the Secretary of the Interior and acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs all became concerned

but they decided the case fell under the jurisdiction of the territorial courts

Chief Moses was scheduled for a hearing in Yakima City where plans were being laid for his execution

## NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY BEGINS HUGE CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS

Frederick Billings' Northern Pacific Railway (NPRY) focused on a desolate patch

of sand and sagebrush where the Snake River entered the Columbia River

here only rough wagon roads existed

but it was accessible to steamboats traveling up the Columbia River

here the NPRY proposed to start building a railroad line northeast to Spokane Falls

this site was more than 200 miles from any supply depot

and in the first 120 miles of the route was almost entirely uninhabited

NPRY was ready to assemble lumber, ties, great numbers of horses, wagons, railroad workers,

well diggers, iron for rails, railroad cars, one or more locomotives, sawmill machinery  
and all other essentials for a project that would alter Northwest history in a major way  
In addition to building northeast and east to an eventual linkup with construction forces in Montana,  
NPRY would connect with Henry Villard's Oregon Railway and Navigation Company at Wallula  
OR&N also was going into action and would build down the Columbia toward Portland  
Plans also were under way to build a line across the Blue Mountains  
to link up with the new OR&N track on the river at Umatilla, Oregon

#### TOWN OF AINSWORTH IS FOUNDED IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Captain John C. Ainsworth, a Portland resident born in Ohio [in 1822],  
had been active in steamboat transportation on the Willamette and Columbia rivers  
he had been president of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company  
he also was involved in construction of the Northern Pacific Railway line north of Kalama  
Wallula became the staging area for the construction of the town of Ainsworth (today's Pasco)  
passenger coach service to Ainsworth set out every morning from Wallula and returned evenings  
Silas R. Smith owned a large ferryboat and charged \$4 for a two-horse team  
and 50 cents per person to cross the Snake River  
Surveyors busily laid out the new community  
this effort reminded observers of a mining camp because the workers lived in tents  
it was reported in the *Vancouver Independent* that the town of Ainsworth  
had been laid out at the mouth of the Snake River  
where machinery for a sawmill had been delivered – July 17, 1879

#### RAILROAD RIVALRY BETWEEN JIM HILL AND JAY GOULD BEGINS

Jim Hill knew his railroad would remain a small, regional line unless he built to the Northwest  
or he acquired the Northern Pacific Railway  
Jim Hill's arch rival was Jay Gould -- former owner of the Union Pacific transcontinental railroad  
Gould was now focused on building a system of railroads in the Midwest  
in addition to his personal fortune, Gould had the support of powerful Congressmen  
or at least the support of those members of congress whose campaigns he financed  
Gould did not want another transcontinental line cutting into his shipping rates  
Jim Hill envisioned a second northern transcontinental railroad to Puget Sound  
but he needed to have a law passed through Congress  
to allow him to extend his shortline railroad across Indian land -- Jay Gould blocked the effort  
Hill confronted Gould  
he told the millionaire that if the needed law did not pass he would stay in Washington, D.C.  
until every one of Gould's crooked politicians was exposed and removed from office  
because of the threat, or because of public opinion, Gould allowed the law to pass  
Jim Hill's St. Paul and Pacific Railroad in Minnesota began to build toward Puget Sound

Hill bought many shortline railroads and spiked them together with new tracks  
he did not receive any federal money or land grants  
however, he did receive land grants from the shortline railroads he absorbed along the route  
Hill made a strong effort to develop markets and customers along his route

#### LOGS ARE DELIVERED TO THE AINSWORTH SAWMILL

Jack Carrolton was placed in charge of a huge log raft  
to be taken down the Clearwater River in Idaho Territory  
to Ainsworth at the mouth of the Snake River on the Columbia River  
his contract was for a million feet of timber to be delivered by late August 1879  
At the Ainsworth sawmill Silas R. Smith began sawing the Clearwater logs  
and additional logs from the Yakima River into lumber

#### TENSIONS RISE ONCE AGAIN IN YAKIMA CITY

Four of the killers of newlyweds Lorenzo and Blanche Perkins escaped from the Yakima City jail  
for a second time -- September 22, 1879  
five days later Yakima County sheriff's deputies killed one of the escapees  
two others were captured and taken back to Yakima City  
but a fourth killer remained at large

#### NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY WORKERS BEGIN WORK AT AINSWORTH

Wallula at the western end of the Walla Walla and Columbia River Railroad  
was the closest town to Ainsworth  
Wallula had been a stopping place for steamboats on the Columbia River since [1861]  
Wallula became the scene of a great celebration – September 30, 1879  
when a crowd cheered and shouted as a steamboat pulled away from the river bank  
with laborers and mechanics going to Ainsworth  
H.M. McCartney, assistant general superintendent of the Northern Pacific Railway,  
led the workers going to Ainsworth  
Ainsworth, became a thriving town because of the sawmill needed to make railway ties  
and other railroad facilities  
hundreds of Chinese gathered at Wallula to begin constructing the railroad line  
to be constructed from there to Ainsworth  
half of the 700 men who worked at the sawmill were Chinese

#### WORK BEGINS ON THE NORTHERN PACIFIC'S TRACK TO SPOKANE FALLS

Northern Pacific Railway workers began grading the route from Ainsworth to Spokane Falls  
General John W. Sprague, Northern Pacific Railway Superintendent for the West Coast  
with headquarters in Tacoma turned the first shovel of dirt himself – October 2, 1879

five hundred white and Chinese workers, with teams of animals and other necessities,  
moved across the treeless terrain preparing the selected route for railroad ties  
(the line would eventually extend from the mouth of the Snake River  
216 miles north to Lake Pend Oreille and became known as the Pend Oreille Division)  
Prospective settlers sought out the best wheat growing land as far as (today's Spokane)  
more than one thousand acres of future farmland was settled – October 1879  
however, due to bad weather and other problems construction mostly stopped  
with only sixteen miles of track and forty-seven miles of grade work done

#### CHIEF MOSES FACES A GRAND JURY

A grand jury met in Yakima City to consider criminal charges against Chief Moses -- October 6, 1879  
escape of four of the accused killers of newlyweds Lorenzo and Blanche Perkins  
added to the drama generated by Chief Moses' hearing  
Nine months after first being shackled in Yakima City, Moses rode back into town to face a grand jury  
more than sixty hostile witnesses accused the chief of criminal participation in the murders  
Yakima Indian Agent James H. Wilbur was in attendance but did not testify  
Chief Moses was faced with the fact that his fate was in the hands of the members of the grand jury  
even his friends in the military, the members of the president's cabinet  
and even the president whose hand he had shaken could not help him if he was indicted  
After eleven days of testimony the grand jury found the case against Chief Moses had not been proven  
all charges were dropped and the chief was free to go -- October 17  
(today Chief Moses is remembered by residents where he lived  
Moses Lake, Moses Coulee, the city of Moses Lake and one of its middle schools  
are all named in his honor)

#### THOMAS ALVA EDISON INVENTS THE ELECTRIC LIGHT BULB

Thomas Edison discovered a thread of carbonized cotton  
would burn for forty-five hours without overheating -- October 19-21, 1879  
he proceeded to test over 6,000 other possible vegetable fibers to find something better  
he finally settled on carbonized bamboo which lasted for 1,000 hours  
(nine years later tungsten will replace carbonized bamboo)

#### FATE OF THE REMAINING PERKINS' MURDERERS IS SEALED

During the fifteen months since the [July 9, 1878] murders of newlyweds Lorenzo and Blanche Perkins  
five accused murders were convicted and sentenced to hang  
one committed suicide  
remaining four were held in Yakima City but they escaped and were recaptured  
they once again escaped by hitting their jailer over the head with a stone-filled moccasin  
rendering him unconscious

during the second escape one of the men was wounded by sheriff's deputies and later died  
two others were captured -- but one killer remained at large  
both captured Indians were hanged  
Blanche Bunting Perkins' brother Bob Bunting and James Taggart  
hunted down and killed the last accused murderer (about two years later)

#### SPOKANE COUNTY IS CREATED BY THE WASHINGTON TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE

(Spokane County was first created by the territorial legislature [January 29, 1858])

Spokane County was annexed to Stevens County by the Territorial Legislature [January 19, 1864]

Stevens County remained the name in honor of Territorial Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens)

James N. Glover the "Father of Spokane" had mounted a strong lobby effort

to again create Spokane County (in a smaller form than the original Spokane County)

his efforts were rewarded by the territorial legislature -- October 30, 1879

Spokane Falls was named as the temporary county seat of Spokane County

quickly a rivalry for the honor of county seat (and increased property values)

developed between Spokane Falls and Depot Springs (Cheney)

this quarrel between two small towns surpassed all other county contests

**"in the display of rude and rugged frontier methods"**<sup>93</sup>

Depot Springs's newspaper editor, L.E. Kellogg, publisher of the *Northwest Tribune*

became the propaganda master for his town

ream after ream of tracts were printed and distributed by fifteen riders he had hired

Daniel Drumheller of Spokane canvassed stockmen in the area for their opinion

when he returned he noted, with some exaggeration, **"even Indians are reading that paper"**<sup>94</sup>

Election to name the county seat resulted in confusion

during the dispute Depot Spring took the county records

(and remained the county seat for six years until Spokane was elected the position [1886])

#### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT OPENS AN INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOL

It was felt that reservation day schools were not sufficiently removed from the influences of tribal life

federal government officials believed that boarding schools provided the best hope

of changing Indian children into members of the white society

boarding schools were established by well-intentioned eastern reformers

Herbert Welsh and Henry Pancoast who decided to use education as the tool

to **"assimilate" Indian tribes into the mainstream of the "American way of life"**<sup>95</sup>

Carlisle Indian Boarding School, the first off-reservation Indian boarding school,

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<sup>93</sup> Dryden, Cecil, *Washington State History*, P. 168.

<sup>94</sup> Dryden, Cecil, *Washington State History*, P. 168.

<sup>95</sup> American Indian Relief Council, "History and Culture: **Boarding Schools**,"  
[http://www.nrcprograms.org/site/PageServer?pagename=airc\\_hist\\_boardingschools](http://www.nrcprograms.org/site/PageServer?pagename=airc_hist_boardingschools)



was opened by Captain Richard Henry Pratt in Carlisle, Pennsylvania -- November 1, 1879  
with an enrollment of 147 students -- youngest was six and the eldest twenty-five  
but the majority were teenagers

Captain Pratt's the philosophy was "**Kill the Indian, Save the Man**"<sup>96</sup>

all students were required to give up their own clothing and wear the provided school uniform  
all girls wore the same or similar dresses and all boys wore the same pants and jackets

#### WATER PROVES TO BE A PROBLEM FOR THE NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY CREWS

Providing water for 500 men and forty teams of animals scattered from nine to twenty-one miles  
from Snake River proved to be a problem -- November 1879

some wells that were dug failed to produce water

water from a 127-foot well twenty-one miles northeast of Vancouver, Washington Territory  
that was operated by a windlass was hauled by teams of animals to the construction site  
between Ainsworth and Spokane Falls

#### LEGITIMATE THEATER BEGINS TO OPERATE IN WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Two buildings opened in Washington Territory -- 1879

- Seattle's first theater, Squire's Opera House, which seated 589 patrons  
opened on the east side of Commercial Street (1st Avenue S)

between Washington and Main streets -- November 24, 1879

- Fagan's Gaiety Theater in Walla Walla which could seat up to 500 people also opened -- 1879

#### TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR ELISHA P. FERRY GIVES HIS LAST ADDRESS TO LEGISLATORS

Governor Elisha P. Ferry complained that the passage of important laws

was generally deferred until the closing days of the legislative session

therefore, it was difficult if not impossible, for the governor to fairly consider these laws  
before determining whether or not to give them his approval -- December 1879

he pointed out the preceding legislature had enacted ninety-six laws in the last twelve hours

Territorial law allowed the governor five days after adjournment

to determine whether or not he should give or withhold his approval of all of these acts

it was not possible to have these bills properly engrossed (updated with amendments),

in that short period of time and many bills came to him full of erasures and additions

sometimes making the exact effect and meaning very difficult to determine

when this happened one of two courses was open to him -- neither of which was desirable:

- one was to withhold his approval,

- other was to approve without a proper understanding

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<sup>96</sup> American Indian Relief Council, "History and Culture: **Boarding Schools**,"  
[http://www.nrcprograms.org/site/PageServer?pagename=airc\\_hist\\_boardingschools](http://www.nrcprograms.org/site/PageServer?pagename=airc_hist_boardingschools)

Governor Ferry explained he had generally followed the latter course  
but he expressed the hope that the legislature would, so far as possible,  
make it unnecessary for him to continue to do this  
Governor Ferry also noted that delinquent taxes owed to the state by counties amounted to \$69,509.79  
he insisted that legislation to enforce payment was imperatively necessary  
as a result of this insistence the problem was finally resolved  
(four years later [1883] Territorial Governor William A. Newell  
reported the amount due from delinquent counties was less than \$7,000)

#### JIM HILL'S ST. PAUL, MINNEAPOLIS AND MANITOBA RAILROAD EXPANDS

Jim Hill connected his St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad  
with the Pembina Branch line linking St. Bonifacius, Minnesota  
and Emerson, Manitoba on the US-Canadian border -- December 1879  
Jim Hill now had access to the Canadian Pacific Railroad building across Canada  
he also had access to the province of Ontario

#### OIL LANTERN LIGHTHOUSES ARE ADDED TO THE COAST OF PUGET SOUND

Point Wilson marked the west entrance into Puget Sound -- however fog commonly shrouded the area  
(Captain J.W. Sheldon had donated a church bell to Port Townsends' St. Paul's Episcopal Church  
on the condition the bell be rung on foggy days  
several years later, a steamer used the sound of the bell as a guide into Port Townsend harbor  
John Yates, an evangelist on board, was so touched  
that he wrote the hymn, *The Harbor Bell*)  
eventually, a light station was built at Point Wilson, two miles northwest of Port Townsend  
this lighthouse marked the turning point from the Strait of Juan de Fuca into Admiralty Inlet  
original light was a 46-foot frame tower rising from the light keeper's house  
with a fog signal building nearby  
this lighthouse began operation -- December 15, 1879  
showing a fixed white light with a red flash every twenty seconds  
that could be seen for thirteen miles

Point-No-Point, at the northern tip of the Kitsap Peninsula,  
was named when Commander Charles Wilkes "drew near it and was disappointed"  
Wilkes sardonically gave the name which stuck [1841]  
need for a lighthouse at Point-No-Point became obvious  
when the Bark *Iconium* was stranded [1869]  
she was driven up on the beach in a thick fog -- but was successfully re-floated  
construction was begun on the Point-No-Point Lighthouse -- December 1879  
it was only twenty-seven feet high and also housed a fogbell  
(Point-No-Point lighthouse went into service [February 1880])

John Maggs and his wife served as the first Point-No-Point lighthouse keeper)

#### NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY CONSTRUCTS RAILROAD CARS IN TACOMA

One newspaper reported a Tacoma sawmill was producing lumber for 125 railroad cars

Northern Pacific Railway was constructing these cars in its Tacoma shops -- December 1879

they would be shipped up the Columbia River to Ainsworth

for the NPRY's Pend d'Oreille Division linking the Montana-Idaho border with Ainsworth