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## THE NISQUALLY JOURNAL

In the *Quarterly* for July, 1915-April, 1916, was published the first volume of the Nisqually Journals, edited by Clarence B. Bagley, assisted by the writer. At the time of publication it was generally understood that to reproduce all of the work was a task wholly beyond the capacity of the magazine, but as requests have come in for a reproduction of more of this material it has been decided to run one more portion.

Up to the year 1838, Fort Nisqually may be regarded as a semi-farming, semi-trading establishment; but in that year a certain event came to pass which was to change its character entirely. As early as 1833 Chief Trader Archibald McDonald had urged the Hudson's Bay Company to permit certain persons to form a subsidiary concern for the purpose of raising cattle and produce in the West. Older heads, however, frowned on the idea as likely to interfere with the fur business, and dropped the whole matter. But drop the matter as it would, the company was of necessity obliged to raise agricultural produce not only to meet its own demands, but the needs of its foreign markets, and thus certain of its establishments were turned into small farms. Nisqually was one of these, and went on for several years in this dual capacity. By 1838 the agricultural business had assumed such proportions that its prosecution by the company was deemed inadvisable, and a new company, the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, was planned to handle this end. On paper it was a separate organization, with a capital stock, etc., but its by-laws were so framed as to make it little else than a "set of books," wherein were recorded the agricultural operations of the fur company. Its officers were from that company, its shareholders persons interested in the fur trade; its direction in all affairs by it. Inasmuch as land and buildings were never carried on the books, the new company began business on December 23, 1840, by purchasing the fur company's cattle. Herds were driven in from east of the mountains and California, and soon Nisqually became the scene of operations on a grand scale. Here, and at the Cowlitz Farm and Vancouver, the two companies went on side by side, in reality as of old, but under a new bookkeeping arrangement. While Nisqually is the chief scene of operations the headquarters are at Vancouver. No complete inventories have as yet been compiled, but we know that from a small farm in 1838, Nisqually possessed in 1841 200 acres of land

under cultivation, with 3,000 sheep and 1,500 cattle; and in 1851 1,500 acres of land under cultivation with 10,000 sheep and 6,000 cattle.

The labor was performed entirely by servants and Indians. Only at one time did the Company depart from this system, in 1841-42, when some 18 Red River immigrants were settled upon those places since known as Steilacoom, Muck, Spanaway, etc., where they were expected to assist in the raising of produce, but when they had all departed to the valley of the Willamette, the Company resettled these places with servants, who continued on the former salary arrangement.

Although the Oregon Question had been settled in 1846 and the country American, expansion continued unabated. The pathfinder-settlers Simmons, et al., are here, but they offer no serious obstacle to the Company and seem to work to its advantage. It is the settler migration following on the Oregon Land Law which is to spell defeat to the Company.

VICTOR J. FARRAR.

[March, 1849]<sup>1</sup>

*Saturday 10th.* Fair all day, work as before.

*Sunday 11th.* Sleet, rain & snow most o[f t]he day.

*Monday 12th.* Cold, windy weather Wren, Cowie & two Indians, squaring wood for press shed. Slocum making saddle bags, Thibeault working about Marrons. Lowe brought in wild horses for thrashing tomorrow.

*Tuesday 13th.* Mild throughout the day. Slocum sowed 4½ bush. Oats, Beinston treading out wheat with horses. Steilacoom<sup>2</sup> & Squally sent out to Muck<sup>3</sup> to split rails for lambing Parks.

*Wednesday 14th.* Morning frosty. Day milder & Cloudy. Sowed 10 Bush. Oats—harrowed by 3 harrows. Adam winnowing wheat. The rest as before. Sent two Ox tumbrils to Tenalquot<sup>4</sup> with provisions. Slagomas arrived from Vancouver accompanied by a Kanaka; 3 old Milch Cows found dead.

<sup>1</sup> The *Nisqually Journals* which have come down to us cover the following periods: May 30, 1833, to April 25, 1835; April 26, 1835, to August 23, 1836; September 1, 1836, to October 31, 1837; November 1, 1837, to May 31, 1836; January 20, 1846, to April 30, 1847; March 10, 1849, to August 6, 1850; August 7, 1850, to August 31, 1851; September 1, 1851, to October 3, 1852; October 4, 1852, to May 28, 1854; May 29, 1854, to August 15, 1856; August 25, 1856, to August 23, 1857; September 26, 1857, to September 27, 1859. It will be seen that certain books are missing, having in some way been extracted from the series: some four or five journals covering the six odd years from May 31, 1839, to January 20, 1848; and one journal the two years from April 30, 1847, to March 10, 1849. In addition to the *Nisqually Journals* the collection includes *Muck Farm Journal* from April 22, 1853, to April 16, 1859; and *Tithlow Journal* from January 1, 1851, to August 2, 1851, and from November 19, 1856, to April 30, 1857.

<sup>2</sup> Not the Indian for whom the town of Steilacoom is named and whom we encountered in the *Journal* for 1833, but just a servant Indian, or halfbreed, bearing this cognomen. Compare, Squally (Nisqually), and Kalama, mentioned elsewhere in this *Journal*.

<sup>3</sup> A farmsite and herdsman's station maintained by the Company, situated near the present town of Roy, Pierce County. The creek of the same name was known to the Company as Douglas River.

<sup>4</sup> A farmsite and herdsman's station maintained by the Company on a prairie of the same name near McIntosh, Thurston County.

*Thursday 15th.* Weather as before. Wren, Cowie and Kalama, off in quest of wood for Cart wheel spokes. Sowed 13 bus. oats. Slocum & the Indian gang burning brush wood in swamp. Schooner *Cadboro*<sup>5</sup>, Capt. Sangster<sup>6</sup> arrived, with some supplies for this post. T. Linklater sent to Tinalquot to replace Nelson, during lambing. [Page 2.]

*Friday 16th.* Cloudy & overcast. All hands down the beach discharging salt.

*Saturday 17th.* Weather & work as before.

*Sunday 18th.* Rainy with a strong wind from SW.

*Monday 19th.* Cloudy, with occasional showers of rain. Slocum & Kalama, with 6 Indians loading schooner *Cadboro*. Wren fixing padlocks on Fort gates. Beinston, with 5 Indians skinning dead cattle of which numbers are dying now from starvation. M Nelson arrived from Tanalquot, for the lambing season. 80 Wedders sent by L'caille to Tinalquot for food for the herds, the remainder of the wedder band counted 526. Louis Ledoux left this [morning] for the Cowlitz,<sup>7</sup> in exchange for Kalama who remains here. Croaking of Frogs heard here for first time—heard at Macleod's<sup>8</sup> occasionally for the last month he says.

*Tuesday 20th.* Rainy, with strong breezes of wind Schooner laded, & ready for sailing tomorrow. Lambing commenced. Cowie sent to Lambing.

*Wednesday 21st.* Weather as yesterday. Schooner *Cadboro* left this morning with a fair wind. Slocum with 5 or 6 Indians, setting up fencing. Adam, treading out wheat with horses. Wren making shutters for new store. Cooper<sup>9</sup> sick.

<sup>5</sup> See, *ante*, volume vi, no. 3 (July, 1915), page 192, note 41.

<sup>6</sup> James Sangster, a native of Port Glasgow. He had entered the service of the Company as early as 1832, when we find him on the *Columbia* as a seaman. His rise was exceedingly rapid, and in 1837 he commanded the brig *Llama*. In 1848 he was captain of the *Cadboro*, which position he held until 1854, when he removed to Victoria. Here he held many positions—harbor master, collector of customs, postmaster, etc. He died at Esquimalt in 1858.

<sup>7</sup> The Cowlitz Farm, a separate post maintained by the Companies in townships 11 and 12 north, range 1, west of the Willamette meridian. About 1838 Simon Flomondon and another servant named Faincant went to this region to live out their days, it having been reserved by Dr. McLoughlin as a home for superannuated servants. Shortly after the formation of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, or somewhere between 1838 and 1839, it was taken over for a farm. All the land available for cultivation, some 1200 acres, was fenced in and eleven barns erected, together with a mill.

<sup>8</sup> A farmsite and herdsman's station near Steilacoom, known also as Whyatchite.

<sup>9</sup> Captain James Cooper. He was a native of England, and entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1844, and in 1849 commanded the bark *Columbia*. Owing to ill health, he left the sea for the purpose of engaging in practical farming on a large scale on Vancouver Island. He brought out from England a small iron ship, and secured the services of a Mr. Thomas Blinkhorn as superintendent and took up land at Metchosin, where operations were commenced. Trade connections were opened with San Francisco and the Sandwich Islands. The venture might have proved a success had it not been for the monopolistic tendencies of the Company, which brooked no competition. The farm was sold in 1856 soon after the death of Mr. Blinkhorn. In 1859 Mr. Cooper became harbor master for British Columbia and in 1860 harbor master for New Westminster. In 1879 he removed to California.

*Thursday 22nd.* Sleet & rain all the day. Noon Tomma the Inr. arrived from Victoria<sup>10</sup> with dispatches. The Bqn. *Columbia* arrived from England, Capt. Cooper in command. [Page 3.]

*Friday 23rd.* Snow fell during the night to the depth of about 5 ins. & More fell till noon after which, great part of it disappeared. horses brought in for the express tomorrow. Cooper laid up with a severe attack of inflammation. Tomma & party returned back.

*Saturday 24th.* Snow fell last night but all soon disappeared. Dr. Tolmie<sup>11</sup> started off with the express to Vancouver, accompanied by two Indn. lads. Squally came to me this evening & said that three Sinahomish<sup>12</sup> had killed a cow this morning, at the beach between the Salt Marsh & store & at present they were encamped near the mouth of the little river.<sup>13</sup>

*Sunday 25th.* Fine clear weather. Started to the beach with four hands & searched the Killer's lodge, we found the hide & part of the carcase and the meat appearing to be very sound & had some fat, we seized a gun and a few trifles & brought them up, but the Indians saying the cow was found dead, I promised to return the property on their bringing up the head of the animal to be examined & perceive if it was shot or not. Cooper much better.

*Monday 26th.* Windy with occasional storms of hail & Snow. Wren & Kalama planking up gable ends of new store. Slocum & mob setting up fenceing. A lot of women engaged cutting ladies fingers for seed. Jack replaced by Sam at plough who will hereafter overlook potatoe planting. Cooper rather worse. [Page 4.]

*Tuesday 27th.* Strong breezes & rainy. Wren & Kalama splitting oak for cart wheels, the rest as before. An Indn. brought up the head of the cow killed & bore no signs of being shot but I did not give up the gun, &c for having heard that they first knock down the cow with stone & then cut its throat.

*Wednesday 28th.* Cold & Windy. Wren, Kalama & Steilacoom off for two or three days to square wood for a new press, the others as before.

<sup>10</sup> Fort Victoria, at the site of the city of the same name on Vancouver Island. It was the last of the company forts erected on the Sound, and with the passing of Vancouver became the headquarters of the Company in these parts. The date of its founding was 1843, and besides its expected utility as a fur trading station and farm was so selected that it might serve as a refuge for British whalers. For several years it went by the Indian name of the roadsted, Camosum or Camosak, but was rechristened Victoria to honor the Queen. The city was laid out in 1852.

<sup>11</sup> William Fraser Tolmie, chief trader for the Hudson's Bay Company and superintendent for the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company. See, *ante*, volume vi, no. 3 (July, 1915), page 181, note 5, for a short biographical sketch.

<sup>12</sup> Snohomish. A Salish tribe living on the south end of Whidbey Island and on the mainland opposite at the mouth of the Snohomish River.

<sup>13</sup> The Sequalitchew Creek.

*Thursday 29th.* Fine & clear. Commenced planting early potatoes, at lower Mallard hollow. Oxen drawing the drills. Sowed 10 bus. oats, making a total of 40 Bushels. A cart with a yoke of oxen sent to Tinalquot to assist hauling out rails. A party of five horsemen tried to drive in some wild oxen for breaking in, but could not manage to get them closer than the entrance to the lane. Recd. a letter from Dr. Tolmie, dated Cowlitz 16th Ult. enclosing a counterfeit dollar palmed off on Mr. Roberts,<sup>14</sup>—examined all Cash on hand and found two that did bear the test, given by the Dr. in his letter.

*Friday 30th.* Fine and clear till Noon, when it overcast, rain towards evening. Jack at the head potato planters, Slocum sowed 16 bus. oats Thibeault at Marrons, Cooper much better today. [Page 5.]

*Saturday 31st.* Rainy all the day. Slocum, C. Jack and all the mob, men and women, shifting fenceing. Wren & Kalama setting XCut Saws & repairing wheel barrows.

[April, 1849]

*Sunday 1st.* Cloudy & cold with some little rain. Blue partridge & Geese seen.

*Monday 2nd.* Fair & cloudy. Oat sowing & potatoe planting resumed. Wren, Kalama & Squally setting up a shed behind kitchen for Indians to mess undis. Baptiste engaged for ploughing. Bill & Steilacoom treading out wheat with horses. Cooper comeing round nicely; two Yankees trading, Obriss<sup>15</sup> & Kindred.<sup>16</sup> Five head of cattle found today dead through starvation.

*Tuesday 3rd.* Fine, all the day. Wren, assisting Lowe & Thibeault driving in wild oxen for breaking in, of which 8 good ones, were brought in and parked, finished sowing oats Potat 84 bushels. The other work as before. Steilacoom treading out wheat.

*Wednesday 4th.* Rainy. Slocum commenced sowing pease. C. Jack with his gang planting potatoes in garden 8 variously. Wren, Thibeault, & the [page 6] hands catching, yokeing & working wild oxen and seem to do well, hauled firewood.

*Thursday 5th.* Rainy first part of the day, clear in the afternoon. Wren, Kalama & Squally, fixed the other half of straw shed for a stable for Cart horses; & making a gate for garden fence. Steilacoom, cleared up the wheat 2½ days thrashing 33 bushels, Slocum sowed 16½ bushels, pease last of big field, in the afternoon delving & garden

<sup>14</sup> George B. Roberts, at this time agent for the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company at the Cowlitz.

<sup>15</sup> C. Obriss, a settler of 1847.

<sup>16</sup> John Kindred, a settler of 1847 at Tumwater.

and sowed onions. Jack and his gang planting potatoes &c. Thibeault sent to the plains to assist Lowe killing Cattle for Shepherds; a large party of Snowqualmie's<sup>17</sup> arrived.

*Friday 6th.* Fair all the day. Work as yesterday. Ploughs plowing new land. Thibeault returned, having killed three Beaver. Sent 7½ bus. Wheat to Muck.

*Saturday 7th.* Weather as yesterday. Wren finished the gate. Jack with a part of the mob planting potatoes in garden, Slocum with the other part gardening.

*Sunday 8th.* Fine clear weather. No news.

*Monday 9th.* Cloudy. Slocum sowed 17 bus. wheat making a total of 47 bushels sown. All the spare hands setting up fenceing of new ground. Wren & his associates roofing Indian shed. Beinston running the Sheep over oat land. Seven Cattle found mired today at Squally lake.<sup>18</sup> [Page 7.]

*Tuesday 10th.* Cloudy, with strong breezes of wind. Hands employed as yesterday.

*Wednesday 11th.* Fine & clear. Slocum busied in gardening. C. Jack and his mob making drills for potatoes in garden. Oxen carting dung. The two horse carts brought in 27 bus. Wheat from Steilacoom, plough plg. new land.

*Thursday 17.* Weather as yesterday. Planted the patch in garden with Spanish potatoes. Wren finished covering Indian shed, the rest of the hands employed as before.

*Friday 13.* Weather still continues. Mob repairing fenceing, planting and other different jobs. Wren & assistants making a gate for garden. Thibeault & Lowe killing beef for the plainherd[ers].

*Saturday 14th.* Warm agreeable weather, sowed more pease. Mob variously employed. Wren assisted Lowe & Thibeault & brought in two wild oxen, one of them had his leg broke. Killed him for beef. Rainy toward night.

*Sunday 16th.* Fair. Slocum & Jack with the mob planting potatoes in Mallard Hollow. Wren laying a foundation of a new oven under indian shed. Thibeault, Adam & Lowe brought in some milch cows. A large party of Soquamish<sup>19</sup> here, traded 19 [ ] skins. [Page 8.]

*Tuesday 17th.* Hot weather. Work as yesterday. Dr. Tolmie returned from Vancouver. A Whale killed by the Soquamish down the beach.

<sup>17</sup> Snoqualmie (or Snoqualmu, the latter form being the "official" and "scientific" spelling), a Salish division on the upper branches of the river of the same name.

<sup>18</sup> Nisqually Lake.

<sup>19</sup> Suquamish. A Salish division on the west side of Puget Sound from Appletree Cove to Gig Harbor.

*Wednesday 18th.* Sultry in the afternoon. Wren & assistants enlarging wool press shed for the purpose of constructing a new Press. Indian Mob delving in Marsh & planting potatoes at South side of Fort; Thibeault, Beinston & Lowe brought in a few more milch Cows.

*Thursday 19th.* Cloudy most part of the day, people employed as yesterday. Linklater returned from Tenalquot. Gohome sent with an Express to Victoria.

*Friday 20th.* Weather as yesterday. Slocum and his gang setting up fencing round piece of land at Washington's lake, Linklater killing Sheep for tomorrow's Rations, the rest of the hands as yesterday.

*Sunday 22nd.* Showery.

*Monday 23d.* Showery. Mr. Ross<sup>20</sup> Inds. and Jacob off to repair road between Tinalquot and Grand Prairie.<sup>21</sup> Indian gang clearing land at Tyrrell's Lake.<sup>22</sup> Wren and Kanakas going on with press-house. Keanehaceow returned from shepherding.

*Tuesday 24th.* Showery Partial Sunshine Wren and others splitting wheel spokes. Mr. Forrest<sup>23</sup> arrived from Cowlitz about 2 P. M. No letters. [Page 9.]

*Wednesday 25th.* Showery. Wren and party squaring fitting logs for press-houses. Father Chirouse<sup>24</sup> [ ] Blanchet<sup>25</sup> arrived from [ ] in the afternoon. 17 bush pease sown.

*Thursday 26th.* Fine [ ] Two plows sent to Spanueh<sup>26</sup> and one to Muck. [ ] press-house placing couples &c.

*Friday 27th.* Fine. Mg. frosty. Wren and party splitting Oaks for felloes. Priests off. Reported this evening that Gohome is encamped at Kitsons<sup>27</sup> island with a passenger probably Mr. Fenton.

*Saturday 28th.* Fine. Mr. Fenton with Gohome arrived at breakfast time. Gohome in going to Victoria was robbed of a gun an axe and all the party's provisions by Snielam<sup>28</sup> and a party of Scadjets,<sup>29</sup> whom

<sup>20</sup> Mr. Walter Ross, clerk at Nisqually.

<sup>21</sup> Grand Prairie or Mound Prairie, a peculiar geological formation south of the present city of Olympia, once thought to be the handiwork of the mound builders.

<sup>22</sup> Long Lake, near Lacey, Thurston County. The name "Tyrrell" was evidently an honor for Treeman W. Tyrrell, a settler of 1849, who took a claim on what is now Hawk's Prairie.

<sup>23</sup> Mr. Charles Forrest, agent for the Puget Sound Agricultural Company at the Cowlitz.

<sup>24</sup> Eugene Casimir Chirouse, O. M. I., a Roman Catholic missionary to the Yakima Indians. For accounts of his life, together with the activities of other priests in these parts, see Charles M. Buchanan, "Evolution of an Indian Hero," *The Washington Historical Quarterly*, July, 1918; also, *The Indian Sentinel* (Chirouse Number), January, 1918.

<sup>25</sup> Probably Rev. A. M. A. Blanchet, of Walla Walla, rather than his brother, Archbishop Norbert Blanchet, of Oregon City.

<sup>26</sup> Spanaway, a farmsite and herdsman's station, near the lake of the same name in Pierce County.

<sup>27</sup> Ketron Island, in Puget Sound, opposite Steilacoom, named by Wilkes (1841) in honor of William Kitson, chief trader, and formerly in charge of Nisqually. The present spelling, due to an error on Wilkes' charts, has been perpetuated.

<sup>28</sup> Kwuss-ka-nam or George Snatelum, a Skagit chief, later one of the signers of the Governor Stevens' treaty on January 22, 1855. His residence was at the site of the present Watsak Point, south cape of Penns Cove, known locally as "Snakeland" Point. He died on or before December 19, 1852, of putrid sore throat. His son, Hel-mits, or George Snatelum, Jr., also a signer of the treaty, is the character so well known to early residents of the Island.

<sup>29</sup> Skagit. A body of Salish living on the river of the same name, particularly at its mouth, and on the middle portion of Whidbey Island.



he encountered while windbound at Pt. Partridge.<sup>30</sup> Mr. Finlayson<sup>31</sup> is to acquaint Mr. Yale<sup>32</sup> of Snielams misdemeanour, so that worthy will meet with an indifferent reception when next he visits any of the Coy's establishments. Mr. Ross and party returned about noon having rendered the road from Tinalquot to Grand Prairie passable for wag-gons.

*Sunday 29th.* Cloudy with occasional glimpses of sunshine.

*Monday 30th.* Slight rain throughout the day. Wren & his party at wool press. Slocum gardening. Jack in swamp with the mob burning brush. Lowe & Thibeault assisting Beinston getting in milch cows. Oxen hauling firewood. [Page 10.]

[May, 1849]

*Tuesday 1st.* Cloudy with a strong SW. breeze. About noon a large party of Snoqualmie & Skeywhamish<sup>33</sup> armed arrived & took up their position before the water-gate, where they had an affray with our people, in which the American, Wallace<sup>34</sup> was killed & Lewis<sup>35</sup> slightly wounded, one the enemy was killed & another slightly wounded, the cause and commencement are nearly as possible as follows:

As the horn blew for dinner a large party of Skeywhamish & Snoqualmie were reported to have arrived, our working & the other Indians immediately commenced running into the fort<sup>36</sup> bringing with them their moveables & when dinner was over a large party of them to the number of about a hundred, were observed advancing across the plain on the N. W. side of the Fort, when they arrived part went to Lahalet's<sup>37</sup> lodge & the others (the greater part) gathered round the watergate where they were soon after rejoined by the others, on being asked the reason why they came in such numbers, and making such a warlike demonstration, they replied that they had heard that young Lahalet (who is married to a daughter of one of their petty chiefs) was beating his wife brutally, and that they did not come with the in-

<sup>30</sup> A cape on the western shore of Whidbey Island.

<sup>31</sup> Roderick Finlayson, chief trader, in charge of Fort Victoria, since 1844.

<sup>32</sup> James Murray Yale, chief trader, in charge of Fort Langley.

<sup>33</sup> Skykomish. A body of Salish on the river of the same name.

<sup>34</sup> Leander C. Wallace, a settler of 1846.

<sup>35</sup> The christian name of Mr. Lewis has not been ascertained.

<sup>36</sup> Old Fort Nisqually, or the first fort, erected in 1833, was abandoned during the season of 1842-43, and the new Fort Nisqually built. The first fort, though large enough at the time, proved too small to accommodate the great agricultural expansion which took place after the formation of Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, besides being too far from available fresh water and too distant from the theatre of operations.

<sup>37</sup> Lahalet, chief of the Nisqually tribe. His successor was Leschi.

tention of harming any of the whites, the chief Patakynum<sup>38</sup> was then invited into the fort, and to the others were given tobacco to smoke in the pipe of peace, for which they retired to one of the deserted lodges. We took the precaution of placing two armed men at the gate, Thibeault & Gohome with orders to let none of them in. I also took my gun and knocked about our Indians, who in fear of the enemy, were engaged sweeping out the fort. I had just taken round them, when I heard a shot. I repaired immediately to the gate & learned that it had been fired by Gohome in jest. I reprov'd for his carelessness & told him to take good care. Soon after I [page 11] arrived at the gate four or five of the worst Snoqualmie's came rushing to the gate, provoked no doubt, by the shot unguardedly fired by Gohome, one of their number, Copass, more forward than the rest, rudly pushed Gohome—who was standing between the door posts into the fort & took his place. I went to him & demanded why he did that for, and told him to keep quiet, but answering only with insult, I put him out, upon which, he cocked his gun, & drew his dagger, making two or three threats at me with it. Wren standing a piece off at the time from the gate, he was called in. I called out to close the gate, which was done, but finding Wren shut out, it was again opened. Wren on entering seized one of their guns whereupon a scuffle ensued, and the gun falling between the door & the fort, prevented us from closing, during that time, I observed Copass pointing his gun at me. I at once presented mine, and as I thought fired first (but it is maintained by the friendly Indians outside that, one of the Sn' "Qullawood" provoked by a blow given by Wren, with the butt end of the gun, to one of their chiefs, fired at him, but missing, my shot followed (which is the right way I cant be positive, the noise excitement being too great) but missing him, wounded another, a good many shots then followed, the gate closed, we took to the bastions, but our people taking some time to get armed (the affair being rather sudden) by the time they were at their stations, most of the enemy were out of shot, running away full speed across the plain to their canoes. Patakynum who was in the fort at the commencement of the row, escaped after the closing of the gate, unperceived by none of

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<sup>38</sup> Patkanim, as the name is now generally spelled, chief of the Snoqualmie tribe. He was born about 1815, but does not come into prominence until the year 1848, when, according to accounts which have come down to us, he was the chief instigator in a general uprising against the whites. In that year he planned a great hunt on Whidbey Island, to which he invited all the Indians of the Sound, and to them unfolded his plans for ultimate attack. The move was abandoned, due to the action of certain Indians who lived at the upper Sound, who looked upon the Company and the few whites then in the country as the means of their economic and physical salvation. After the affair delineated in the *Journal*, Patkanim changed his attitude materially towards the whites, and while many doubted his sincerity his acts, nevertheless, were friendly. He was a signer of the Governor Stevens Treaty at Point Elliott in 1855, and during the so-called Yakima Indian War which followed in 1855-56, served in the capacity of soldier, the leader of some eighty odd braves. He died in the fall of 1858.

our people, young Lahalet showing him the way. Wallace & Lewis were unfortunately standing outside, when the affray commenced, they did not respond to the call of: "All hands come in and shut the gate", they perhaps thought themselves secure from harm [page 12] as they were Americans, and did not belong to the Fort, if this was the case they were sadly mistaken; They were also beckoned in by Simmons<sup>39</sup> & others there at the time, but unfortunately they either unheeded or did not perceive them. Copass is said to be the one that shot poor Wallace. Lewis escaped unhurt most wonderfully, one ball went through his Vest & trousers, another slightly grazed his left arm. Ssgeass an Indian received a flesh wound in the neck by the ball meant for Wren. A Medicine Man a Skeywhamish is the one killed, and a Snoqualmie wounded in the shoulder.

We do not suppose that the War party came here with the purpose of attacking us, but think they had some other object in view besides the affair with Lahalet, it was probably their design to kick up a row with the fort Indians and then kidnap as many of the women & Children as they could catch, and one circumstance also proves that they thought lightly of quarreling with the whites. When the tobacco was handed out to them, Qullawowt asked Wren, if it was not poisoned, and none of the Indians would smoke until Wren had previously smoked & chewed the tobacco in their presence. A good many yarns are told of them by the Indians here, what they were saying & going to do, but it will be to no purpose to mention any here, being only Indian stories more lies than truth. The Snoqualmich & Skeywhamish are the terror of all the tribes South of the Soquamish, and the tribes of the sound would rejoice to see the above chastized by the Whites, and would nearly assist if required. We sincerely hope they will soon get that Chastizement they so richly deserve.<sup>40</sup>

Two hours after the affray Bill [page 13] was dispatched to the Cowlitz with an Express for Vancouver, & a message from Mr. Sim-

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<sup>39</sup> Michael T. Simmons, a settler of 1845, and the possessor of the mill at Tumwater.

<sup>40</sup> Most writers see in Patkanim's attack the beginnings of a general war on the whites. Perhaps any settler would have so interpreted the movement. But with Tolmie it was different. He had been an almost continual resident since 1833 and never had he witnessed the slightest hostility on the part of the Indians toward this establishment. He had had personal encounters with rough characters, and certain individuals had at times been ejected physically by force of arms from the post; but this was not war. Moreover, the Fort had been for many years the scene of tribal brawls, some of which had been rather harmful to its interests, since the so-called Fort Indians had oftentimes been involved. If one does not imagine too much, the affair described here is not without precedent.

mons to Gov. Lane.<sup>41</sup> All the plain men came in by order in the evening. Watch kept

*Wednesday 2nd.* Fair. Very little work done. Fort swept clean out. Dr. Tolmie with the plain people & others in going out to Steilacoom swept round along the Snoqualmich wood in the Am. plain,<sup>42</sup> but saw no signs of the enemy, by all accounts they have gone clean off. Wallace buried.

*Thursday 3rd.* Cloudy but no rain. Work resumed as before. Indians re-encamped outside.

*Friday 4th.* Cloudy, rain towards night. Wren, Kiave, Kalama and Squally, roofing Wool Press Shed with three foot Shingles. Cowie pining down flooring of lower stories of Bastions.<sup>43</sup> Slocum & Jack in swamp making pits for Potatoes on undelved ground. Thibeault & Lowe butchering Sheep. Dr. Tolmie accompanied by Linklater on a visit to Mr. Chambers.<sup>44</sup> Bill returned from the Cowlitz bringing us two small Kegs of Powder, but no lead.

*Saturday 5th.* Light showers of rain. Work as yesterday.

*Sunday 6th.* Cloudy & overcast all the day.

*Monday 7th.* Light summer showers. Wren employed as before. Cowie finishing Bastions within, Linklater making two "arm Chests" Indian mob in Marsh. [Page 14.]

*Tuesday 8th.* Weather & work as before. Letters sent to Vancouver by Eilacaca giving a full and correct statement of the unfortunate affray of the 1st Inst.

*Wednesday 9th.* Cloudy, no change in the work.

*Thursday 10th.* Fine. Wren & his gang squared a new lever for wool press, the one squared before being too short. Slocum & his Indian Mob planting the patch in Tyrrels lake with 9½ bus. Potatoes. Cowie & Linklater furnishing Bastions inside setting up stands for Musketoons &c.

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<sup>41</sup> Governor Joseph Lane was appointed to his office by President Polk and arrived at Oregon City on March 2, 1849. In April he proceeded to The Dalles, where he distributed some \$200 worth of presents to the Indians and also brought about a peace between the Yakima and the Walla Walla, then engaged in tribal warfare. With the receipt of Mr. Simmon's letter he concluded to visit the Sound, and accordingly marched to Tumwater in company with Lieutenant G. W. Hawk's and five of the eight men, which constituted the entire United States force in the country. When he reached Mr. Simmon's at New Market he received the intelligence that Major Hathaway with two companies of the First Artillery had arrived at Vancouver on the transport Massachusetts on May 7.

<sup>42</sup> The American Plain, situated just north of the present fort, and on the right bank of the Sequatchew Creek. It is the "Mission Plain" of Wilkes, and undoubtedly took its name from the circumstance that it had been occupied by the Americans Richmond, Leslie, and Willson.

<sup>43</sup> The new fort had not been equipped with defenses as was the old, although it was rather thoroughly fenced in, more as a protection against theft than aggression.

<sup>44</sup> Mr. Thomas M. Chambers, a settler of 1847, living on Chambers Prairie, southeast of the present city of Olympia.

*Friday 11th.* Weather as before. Work mostly as before 40 Sheep butchered. Eilacaca returned from Cowlitz, bringing powder and lead, brought from Vancouver.

*Saturday 12th.* Mr. Ross started for Cowlitz to meet C F Douglass<sup>45</sup> and accompany him thence to this place. Wool Press finished and tried.

*Sunday 13th.* Dominique Farron from Cowlitz arrived with

*Monday 14th.* Fine. Wren arranging bastion roofs. Keva and Kalamama wedging and sawing off ends of picket pins—all employed about the establishment owing to the report that a large party of Scadjets and Snoqualmies were at the beach and were to be up in course of the day to talk about peacemaking. In the afternoon Snietlam the Scadjet chief came to exculpate himself i e make the best excuse possible for having taken a gun and axe from our late lettercarrier to Victoria. Huptiekynum a Snoqualimie man [page 15] of note, but not here on the 1st Inst. came to express his regret at the foolish conduct of the creators of the disturbance of the 1st and his resolution to have no part or lot with the guilty Snoqualimies. Had a note from Mr. Simmons of Newmarket for a supply of ammunition which was sent. Mr. S. appears to have been giving credence to the Indian rumors of invasion on the part of the Snoqualimies.

*Tuesday 15th.* Forenoon cloudy. Hail and rain P. M. Evg clear & cool. Traded some beaver from the Snoqualimie brothers Huptekynum and Qushqushum, all hands nearly employed during the forenoon in catching and yoking wild oxen.

*Wednesday 16th.* Mg foggy. Sunshine. Mr. Wm. MacNeill<sup>46</sup> arrived from Victoria with an Indian crew of eight bearing letters for the Bd. of Management announcing the arrival in Squimault Bay of H. M. S. "*Inconstant*" 36, Captain Shepherd.<sup>47</sup> Sent in different directions for a courier but did not obtain one. Wren making a four posted bedstead for Mr. Douglas's use Keva, with an Indian since Monday, wedging picket pins. Cowie making gates for Sheep parks.

*Thursday 17th.* Sunshine. Rode to Yelm Ferry<sup>48</sup> accompanied by Wm. Macneill and dispatched an Indian from thence with the letters for

<sup>45</sup> Chief Factor James Douglas, who in 1846 succeeded McLoughlin at Vancouver.

<sup>46</sup> Captain William McNeill. He was a native of Boston and was on the Coast trading on his own account at least as early as 1826. His opposition had been met by McLoughlin by the purchase of his ship the brig *Llama* and his appointment to the position of her commander. Thereafter he commanded several other ships and held other positions. McNeill Island, opposite the Fort, is named for him.

<sup>47</sup> One of the five vessels ordered to Fort Victoria from the South Seas to guard the British interests pending the settlement of the Oregon Question in 1846, of which the other four were: The *Cormorant*, Captain Gordon; the *Fisgard*, Captain Duntze; the *Constance*, Captain Courtney; and the *Pandora*, Captain Wood.

<sup>48</sup> Yelm, a farmsite and herdsman's station maintained by the Company at the present site of Yelm in Thurston County.

Vancouver. Edgar shearer and others assisting Sheep Macleod at the Fort and got the old Wedder band washed. Got some hints from an American Glasgow<sup>49</sup> about further improvements.

*Friday 18th.* Sunshine. Some threatenings of rain Wren finished bedsteads and afterwards putting a finishing touch to roof of Bastion. Cowie making a strong swing gate for ox park. [Page 16.] In the afternoon Wren assisted by Keva, Squally and Kalama preparing wood for improvements on Wool Press. Recd. a letter<sup>50</sup> fro Govr. Lane dated Newmarket [17th] May '49 requesting me particularly not to sell powder & ball to the hostile Indians, also a letter addressed to the principal Indian chiefs, which the Governor requested me to read to them, and I accordingly assembled all the natives about the Establishment and translated the letter to them in presence of Mr. Macalister<sup>51</sup> Govr. Lane states in his letter that he had intended visiting Ft. Nisqually but had abandoned the intention on learning that the American War Steamer "*Massachusetts*"<sup>52</sup> was at Vancouver whither he himself was immediately to proceed. 150 artillerymen have arrived in the Steamer, and 600 Dragoons are *en route* overland, and may be expected in August.<sup>53</sup>

*Saturday 19th.* Cloudy Partial Sunshine. Wren rather puzzled at press work, shall send for Glasgow tomorrow. Planted yesterday and to day 14 bushels potatoes in swamp land lately broken up. Cowie finished gate. Three flocks of sheep washed.

*Sunday 20th.* Cloudy, a Steady S W breeze a shower of hail & rain. Several of the garden and agricultural seeds lately received from England are coming up.

*Monday 21st.* Cloudy Partial Sunshine. Two showers of hail and rain and some peals of thunder. Wren and Kalama splitting Oak and P. M. making a table. Cowie making another swing Gate. Keva

<sup>49</sup> Thomas M. Glasgow, a settler of 1847. In 1848 he built a cabin on what is now Ebey Prairie, Whidbey Island, and lived there with the daughter of an Indian chief until driven away by demonstrations of hostility in the summer of that year. In the light of his past experience he undoubtedly influenced Mr. Simmons to send the note to Governor Lane.

<sup>50</sup> "New Market, May 17, 1849. Sir: I have just learned by express that two companies of artillery have arrived at Vancouver by the United States steamer *Massachusetts*. It was my intention to visit you at the fort, but owing to this fact I have deemed it necessary to return without delay. I have, therefore, to make the particular request of you not to furnish the Indians with ammunition, and to ask of you the favor to cause the hostile tribes who have committed the outrage to be informed that any repetition of the like conduct will be visited promptly with their complete destruction; that our force, which will be immediately increased, is at this time amply sufficient for an immediate expedition against them; and that the moment I am informed that any injury has been committed by them upon our people, they will be visited by sudden and severe chastisement. By making this communication you will greatly oblige."—Lane to Tolmie, *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, 31 Cong., 2d Ses., Doc. 1, E, Ser. No. 587, p. 157.

<sup>51</sup> James McAllister, a settler of 1845, one of the Simmons party, now settled in the vicinity of Tumwater, but who later took a claim on Medicine of McAllister Creek, just south of the Nisqually.

<sup>52</sup> For a fuller account of the arrival of these troops see the reference mentioned in foot note 50.

<sup>53</sup> An account of the overland march of Federal troops to Fort Vancouver is given in *Id.*, Doc. 1, pp. 123, 261-266.

finished wedging picket pins. Sheepshearing commenced. Shears scarce and fleeces light. Revd. Fathers Ricard<sup>54</sup> and Rempit<sup>55</sup> arrived today, the former with the view of seeing Mr. Douglas and the latter to go on a professional visit to Victoria by request of Mr. D.

*Tuesday 22nd.* Fine. The American Glasgow having arrived after breakfast Wren resumed work at the Press and by evening had it in working trim and commenced packing a bale of Fur [page 17] towards evening. Cowie at gate part of the day. Commenced ploughing lake adjoining Race course plain.

*Wednesday 23rd.* Fine. Sheepwashing and shearing going on. Wren and two islanders<sup>56</sup> superintended by Glasgow, making a Windlass for raising inner extremity of Wool Press lever. The press with this further improvement tried in the evening and found to answer well.

*Thursday 24th.* Cloudy light showers. Two bales of Wool pressed today six hands only employed exclusive of two sowing bales. The new press will thus be worked more economically and more safely than the old, and also somewhat more expeditiously. Wren at table. Cowei at Gate treading out wheat. Mr. D. Chambers<sup>57</sup> arrived in the evening.

*Friday 25th.* A refreshing shower at sunrise. Wren and Thibeault butchered three oxen. About 2 P. M. Mr. C. F. Douglas arrived on horseback accompanied by his three eldest daughters and followed in the course of the afternoon by five waggons containing cases of gold dust, bales of Furs and Mr. Ds private property. Mrs. Douglas and the two younger children arrived in the last waggon. Messrs. Macarthur<sup>58</sup> and W. Ross<sup>59</sup> also arrived.

*Saturday 26th.* Fine. Cowlitz men with their waggons started on their return. Sent 58 bushels Wheat by them to Tinalquot for the transport of which they received 20 cents per bushel. About forty dollars cash sales made to the Cowlitz men. Wren at table and afterwards arranging wood for frame of slaughter house.

*Sunday 27th.* Fine.

*Monday 28th.* Fine. Schooner *Cadboro* arrived about Nine A. M. and by evening had discharged her cargo. [Page 18.]

*Tuesday 29th.* Fine. Wren on board the *Cadboro* fitting up the hold for the reception of live stock. Kalama & Keva pressing wool. An

<sup>54</sup> Rev. Pascal Ricard, who, on June 14, 1848, had established St. Joseph's Mission on the site of the present Priest Point, Budd Inlet, near Olympia.

<sup>55</sup> Identity not ascertained.

<sup>56</sup> Natives of the Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands Called Kanakas.

<sup>57</sup> Mr. David Chambers, son of Mr. Thomas M. Chambers, a settler of 1847, on a small prairie near the present city of Olympia.

<sup>58</sup> Identity not ascertained.

<sup>59</sup> Mr. Walter Ross, clerk at Nisqually.

American Bull brought by Mr. Douglas from Ford's<sup>60</sup> escaped from the enclosure and has probably returned towards his former favorites.

*Wednesday 30th.* Fine. Sheepwashing and other operations connected with the wool-harvest going on satisfactorily. T. Linklater aided by some Indians commenced salting and cleaning the Hides. Fathers Ricard and Lempfrit arrived also Mr. Simmons and his brother.<sup>61</sup> Cowie returning from Tinalquot where he had been making a Wheat Bin found the lost Bull and drove him in.

*Thursday 31st.* Fine. All hands employed about the wool in one way or other. Wren and the Sandwich Islander Kahili ordered for Victoria. A quantity of grass cut in the salt marsh for the live stock to be shipped.

June, 1849

*Friday 1st.* Cloudy. Partly Sunshine. The live stock having been shipped in the morning, Mr. Douglas and family accompanied by Mr. Macarther and Father Lemfrit embarked after an early dinner, and the schooner dropped down with the tide in the afternoon. Jacob Lowe butcherd two cattle in the evening.

*Saturday 2nd.* Cloudy. Clear P. M. Work as on Thursday Lowe looking after an ox that had escaped with the yoke.

*Sunday 3rd.* Fine. [Page 19.]

*Monday 4th.* Cloudy & windy. Wren employed as last week. Cowie & Kalama sick.

*Tuesday 5th.* Weather as yesterday. Low[e] castrating young horses. Keve grinding axes. Cowie variously. Potatoo planting superintended by Jack. The rest as before.

*Wednesday 6th.* Weather cloudy, work as before. Killed two head Cattle for rations.

*Thursday 7th.* Weather as before, no sheep-shearing today, no band dry enough. All the spare Indian mob planting & weeding potatoes. Keva & Kalama squaring flooring for new slaughter house. Wool pressing going on well. Patakynum & a party of Snoqualmies reported to be at Steilacoom.

*Friday 8th.* Refreshing showers of rain. Wool pressing stopped. The rest of the hands as yesterday. A party of women, wives of the Snoqualmies at Steilacoom, came and traded a good many chev. skins & three or four Beavers. The S', having arrived in the course of the day at Kittson's Island, Patakynum being sent for came alone, to whom the Doctor delivered Govr. Lanes message; he made a good many professions of friendship, and said that his people were very sorry

<sup>60</sup> Sidney S. Ford, a settler of 1846, at the confluence of the Skookumchuck and the Chahalls, near the present town of Centralia, Lewis County.

<sup>61</sup> Michael T. Simmons and his brother, Andrew J. Simmons, who had located a claim on the Cowlitz.



for what they had done, & hoped that the whites would not harm them, but Dr. T. made answer that it was not for him, but for the Govr. to arrange all affairs and told them to be ready to come when he sent for them.<sup>62</sup> [Page 20.]

*Friday 9th.*<sup>63</sup> Showery. Work as before.

*Sunday 10th.* Fine & clear all the day.

*Monday 11th.* Sunshine, the sheep not being dry enough to clip, all the mob, under McLeod planting Potatoes in lazy beds.<sup>64</sup> Shearer assisting at Wool Press. Cowie Keva & Kalama squaring wood for flooring for new slaughter-house.

*Tuesday 12th.* Fine. Sheep shearing & washing resumed a band of the best ewes clipped, amongst the fleeces some weighed from 4 to 6 lbs. chiefly meringo Wool will press from 3 to 400 fleeces in a day 6 hands in all. Kalama again sick off duty. Nedpalu returned to duty. Lowe killed 3 Beeves, brought home by two ox tumbrels.

*Wednesday 13th.* Cloudy towards evening. Work as yesterday. Amongst the ewes clipped to day chiefly X bred<sup>65</sup> Cheviot and Leicester their fleeces averaged from 5 to 6 lbs. Some salt<sup>66</sup> Indians traded a few Skins, &c. Two of sheepwashers very ill of dystery.<sup>67</sup>

*Thursday 14th.* Incessant rain. Indian mob under Slocum. Shearer & Jack, weeding garden, hoeing potatoes, &c. Olen hauling flooring for slaughter house. Some Snoqualmie arrive for trade, they are in some numbers. [Page 21.]

*Friday 15th.* Showery. Hands employed as yesterday. Snoqualmies traded a good [ ] Chev. Skins. Patayknum the chief visited the Fort. Bush brought an American Bull of three years old, for which he received Five old Ewes [with] their lambs and Bush bought 5 others [with] their lambs, 4 at \$5 & 1 at \$6 each.

*Saturday 16th.* Showery all the day. Work as before.

*Sunday 17th.* Fair. Schooner Cadboro, reported to be in sight, sent a canoe off to her for the dispatches, the Chartered ship, Harpooner<sup>68</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Across the page in the Journal in Dr. Tolmie's handwriting is written the following: "Patakynum was informed that if on being called upon by Govr. Lane he did not bring the guilty Indians before the Govr. to answer for their misdeeds himself and the whole tribe of Snoqualmies would be held responsible and looked upon as participators in the crime of Copass and the others.—W. F. T."

<sup>63</sup> An error. Saturday.

<sup>64</sup> A bed in which potatoes are grown, made by placing the seed on the top of the row and covering them with earth obtained from between the rows.

<sup>65</sup> Crossbred.

<sup>66</sup> The Indians who dwelt on Puget Sound, or salt water.

<sup>67</sup> Dysentery, but probably enteritis.

<sup>68</sup> The first settlement under the crown grant on Vancouver Island was made by W. Colquhoun Grant, a former captain in the Scottish Guards, who fitted out a small colony at his own expense and shipped them via the chartered ship *Harpooner* to Soke Harbor. Here the settlers, eight in number, tilled the soil under the Captain's direction until 1851, when he became tired of his project and leased to a number of the men. But they, deprived of their leader, soon fell out, whereupon Grant, to save his property sold and left the country.

Capt. Morris, had arrived with 33 passengers, Miners & Settlers & a few mechanics.

*Monday 18th.* Fair clipped a band of ewes. At noon, Cadboro, anchored at the ground. She has a few things for us, and 203 bushels of wheat to be ground into flour at Simmon's Mill for Victoria. Capt. Sangster indisposed.

*Tuesday 19th.* Thick mist in the morning cloudy all the day. No sheep work. Cadboro discharged in the afternoon she left for Newmarket where she will take in lumber & get the wheat ground. The Spare mob under McLeod hoeing potatoes, pressed three Bales Wool 450 fleeces. In the evening Mr. Lewis, the Amern. & a Col. Taylor<sup>69</sup> & Mr. Wallace,<sup>70</sup> brother of the one shot, arrived. [Page 22.]

*Wednesday 20th.*—Fair. Cowie with two Indians getting filling wood for New Slaughterhouse. After breakfast Colonel Taylor and party started for Newmarket in quest of Mr. Simmons whom they had expected to have found there. Mr. Ross sent to Newmarket to see the lumber measured and shipped, the grain ground and flour shipped, and likewise to assist in endeavoring to apprehend any of the seamen who may desert.<sup>71</sup> Packet for Cadbo.<sup>72</sup> ford. to Vancr.

*Thursday 21st.* Fine. Work as yesterday. Wheat coming in ear and pease blossoming, a few blossoms appearing on potatoes.

*Friday 22nd.* Fine. Oxen hauling Cowie's filling pieces out into the plains where they are being barked and cut in lengths.

*Saturday 23.* Fine. Sultry. Cowie finished sawing and barking filling pieces. In the afternoon Mr. T. M. Chambers arrived with the view of assisting in the valuation of the buildings stock & on the farm lately occupied by the deceased I. T. Heath.<sup>73</sup>

*Sunday 24.* Fine. Rode out to Steilacoom along with Mr. Chambers.

*Monday 25th.* Cloudy Cowie with his indians getting rafters for slaughter house. Kalama still sick. Wool packing going on. Mr. D. Chambers arrived.

*Tuesday 26th.* Cloudy Partial Sunshine. Showery P. M. The Messrs. Chambers left after breakfast. Work as yesterday. Sheepshearing finish. [Page 23.]

*Wednesday 27th.* Showery. Sheepwashers and shearer mostly paid off. McLeod and Shearer took their departure for the plains.

<sup>69</sup> Probably Colonel James Taylor, comptroller of the mint for the Provisional Government of Oregon, and promoter. He is possibly on a visit to Mr. Simmons with a view to purchasing the mill at Tunwater.

<sup>70</sup> Possibly Mr. William Wallace.

<sup>71</sup> The wholesale desertions were brought about by the discovery of gold in California.

<sup>72</sup> This much abbreviated line may be read: Packet for Cadboro forwarded to Vancouver.

<sup>73</sup> A company settler at Steilacoom. Mr. T. M. Chambers and Dr. Tolmie were the executors.

*Thursday 28th.* Sunshine Evg. showery. Cowie with Indians preparing cedar blocks for slaughterhouse. The engaged gang of Indians hoeing and weeding potatoes in garden. Kalama repairing truck waggon.

*Friday 29th.* Showery. Work as yesterday. Rode out to Muck and Tiltlow<sup>74</sup>. Crops look well at both places. Kalama off on leave to look for his wife.

*Saturday 30th.* Showery Sunshine. Work as yesterday.

July, 1849

*Sunday 1st.* Cool. Showery. Loud Thunder claps.

*Monday 2nd.* Clear. Sunshine. Cowie finished preparing block. Kalama finished truck wagon which he has nearly made anew. A gang of Indians went to Muck and another to Sasluk<sup>75</sup> to weed potatoes. Slugmas [ ] Tuesday last earthing up potatoes with one horse plough at Muck, he to day commenced at McLeods. Cadboro arrived from the Falls<sup>76</sup> in the afternoon and Mr. Ross by land in the evening. *Tuesday 3rd.* Fine & sultry. Kalama & Keave repairing Carts &c. Cowie as before. First 5 or 6 bales of wool is being repressed. Indian gang hoeing potatoes at Tyrrells lake. The frost pretty severe last night on our potatoes. Schooner Cadboro off this morning, she took no live sheep for Victoria. [Page 24.]

*Wednesday 4th.* Cloudy with light drops of rain in the afternoon. Soholah returned from Vancouver with letters, those for Mr. Douglas were immediately dispatched in a canoe to endeavor to overhaul the Schooner.

*Thursday 5th.* Showery. Kiave and Kalama felling down trees near the intended slaughterhouse. Cowie & Kahannui repairing & making hand barrows, Linklater weighing wool, Slocum attending his wife, who [by] all appearances will not be much longer in this world. A party of Indians sent out to McLeod's to work about the potatoes the rest of the remaining gang weeding in garden. Dr. Tolmie on a visit to the Tinalquot. The party sent after the Schooner returned having fallen in with her at the Soquamish village.<sup>77</sup> Crops looking well, fine prospects of an abundant harvest.

*Friday 6th.* Weather as before. Work much as before. Keave sick off duty. Lowe & Beinston assisted by some of the plain people assayed to drive in a band of Cows, but were unsuccessful.

*Saturday 7th.* Light showers till evening, when it commenced raining in good earnest. No change in the work. Dr. Tolmie returned.

<sup>74</sup> A farmsite and herdsman's station.

<sup>75</sup> A farmsite and herdsman's station.

<sup>76</sup> At Tumwater.

<sup>77</sup> At site of Port Madison. Chief Seattle lived here.

The missing Sinahomish found murdered, now known by his partner Joe, for some trifling quarrel & Joe confesses that he cut his throat when asleep during the heat of the day. [Page 25.]

*Sunday 8th.* Cloudy, with a strong S.W. Breeze.

*Monday 9th.* Strong occasional showers of rain. Cowie & Kalama sorting shingles preparatory to covering the big store. Slocum & a party of Indians clearing water way of Stream<sup>78</sup> where the new Slaughterhouse is to be built. Cush with the women weeding & hoeing potatoes. Kahannui sent off with two Indians to Tinalquot to clear roads to the different watering places, for the sheep.

*Tuesday 10th.* Weather as yesterday. Slocum & Linklater with four Indians baling up Loose shingles at the beach. The other hands as before. Keave returned to duty.

*Wednesday 11th.*—Fine sunshiny weather, work as before. Keave again sick off duty. Mr. Chambers arrived to settle the affairs of the deceased I. T. Heath.

*Thursday 12.* Sultry. Kalama & Cowie commenced roofing the store 3 foot shingles. Dr. Tolmie accompanied by Mr. Chambers rode out to Mr. Heath's to value his stock.

*Friday 13th.* Weather very close and sultry. Work as before. Linklater and Slocum finished baling Shingles. Keave returned to duty. [Page 26.]

*Saturday 14th.* Weather as before. Link. with a gang dusting & beating Bullock & Cow Hides. Chambers off in the evening.

*Sunday 15th.*..Sultry.

*Monday 16th.* Weather as before. Cowie, Kalama & Keave engaged as before, one side of the roof finished. Cush and most of the Indian Mob sent out to Yanalacows park at the upper end of Muck to hoe potatoes. Cattle counting commenced, superintended by the Doctor.

*Tuesday 17th.* Sultry. Work as before. Mr. C. T. Todd<sup>79</sup> arrived from Victoria.

*Wednesday 18th.* Fresh breezes from the Northward. Mr. Todd left for the Cowlitz accompanied by Dr. Tolmie.

*Thursday 19.* Sultry. No change in the work. Some Snoqualmies<sup>80</sup> trading.

*Friday 20th.* Cloudy first part of the day, balance clear. Cowie and his assistants repairing barn roofs &c. Linklater & his gang cleaning

<sup>78</sup> The Sequelitchew Creek.

<sup>79</sup> A servant.

<sup>80</sup> Trade with the Snoqualmies increased materially after the affair at the Fort. This may be explained on the ground that the natives were keenly interested in the outcome of the affair, and adopted this method of keeping closely in touch with events.

out barns. Indian mob sweeping Fort. J. Ross<sup>81</sup> returned from Vancouver. [Page 27.]

*Sunday 22nd.* Rain first part of the day fine the balance. Dr. Tolmie returned from Cowlitz.

*Monday 23rd.* Fine. Cowie accompanied by myself<sup>82</sup> looked out some cedar trees for Shingles, some were found within half a mile of the Steilacoom river<sup>83</sup> in a convenient place. Kalama & Squally repairing rakes &c. Steilacoom and the spare hands cleaning out barns & sheds. Women weeding potatoes & thinning turnips.

*Tuesday 24th.* Weather cool. Cowie, Kalama & five Indians sent to cut & raft home some cedar for making shingles. Keavehaccow by permission left for Fort Vancouver to see his friends, before leaving he made an engagement for a further term of two years from 1st Novr. '49 wages £17 per annum.

*Wednesday 25th.* Sultry. An auction took place today, of the remaining effects of the deceased I. T. Heath, which went off at very good prices, little work done.

*Thursday 26th.* Sultry. Smoky from fires<sup>84</sup> in the neighborhood.

*Friday 27th.* Cloudy; light rain towards evening. Dr. Tolmie accompanied by Mr. Chambers gone on a visit to Newmarket; a sad accident happened to J. Ross out at his place by the falling of a piece of timber whilst setting up a corn shed, he got his left leg broken, a little above the ankle. [Page 28.]

*Saturday 28th.* First part of the day cloudy & windy. Towards evening clear & fine. Work as before. A good gang of Sinahomish & Skeywhamish about traded a few deer skins and provisions from them. Slocum's wife died last Wednesday.

*Sunday 29th.* Fine clear weather. Dr. Tolmie returned from his trip.

*Monday 30th.* Cloudy. Linklater & Steilacoom repairing roof of Pigsty. Slocum and 6 Indians assisted at J. Ross' to raise a corn shed. Cush & his gang of women doing various jobs.

*Tuesday 31st.* Signs of rain first part of the day, but clearer by noon. Slocum and all the Indian mob breaking up new land in swamps.

#### August, 1849

*Wednesday 1st.*—Sultry & rain. Slocum mowing grass in meadow, some women<sup>85</sup> also with sickles. Linklater with three hands & cleared

<sup>81</sup> Mr. John Ross, a servant.

<sup>82</sup> Mr. Walter Ross, clerk, who with Dr. Tolmie keeps the *Journal*.

<sup>83</sup> Chambers Creek at Stellacoom, set down as Chudley River by Inskip on Chart 1947, 1846.

<sup>84</sup> Forest fires.

<sup>85</sup> Indian women.

a spot down the Sequelitch Stream of brush wood & felling some trees as the commencement of a site for a saw mill.

*Thursday 2nd.* Weather as yesterday. Lowe, Slocum and Beinston commenced cradling oats. Indians variously employed. Cowie and party arrived in the evening with a raft of Shingles & cedar blocks. [Page 29.]

*Friday 3rd.* Weather as before, 4 Cradles cutting down oats. Mr. C. T. Todd returned from Vancouver, he is accompanied by Capt. Grant,<sup>86</sup> one of the Settlers for Fort Vancouver's Island.

*Saturday 4th.* Cowie, Kalama, Squally and David repairing Carts, cradles &c, the rest as before.

*Sunday 5th.* Weather very sultry.

*Monday 6th.* Two Canoes, one with Mr. Todd for Fort Langley, and the other for Victoria with Capt. Grant left this morning. Kalama, Keave, Slocum, Lowe, Linklater & Beinston cradling oats. A large gang of about 60 Indians engaged for harvest.

*Tuesday 7th.* Sultry. Cowie added to the number of Cradlers. A gang of Indians under Steilacoom pulling pease, the rest binding oats. Mr. Thornton<sup>87</sup> Sub-Indian agent arrived for the purpose [of] distributing some presents to the various Indian chiefs of the sound.

*Wednesday 8th.* No change in the weather. Work as before.

*Thursday 9th.* Weather & work as before.

*Friday 10th.* Harvest going on as well as might be expected. Oats finished.

*Saturday 11th.* Fine. The wheat not being perfectly ready for cutting, the mob partly sweeping out the fort, and the rest with Slocum breaking up land in swamp, then gave leave to the greater part of the Indian mob, until such time as the wheat would be ripe, those of the mob cutting patches amongst the wheat that is ripe. Cowie, Bastien & the other hands set to work about new slaughterhouse. [Page 30.]

*Sunday 12th.* Sultry.

*Monday 13th.* Smoky. Cowie resumed work as on Saturday. Mob breaking up land in swamp. McLeod & assistants in bathing lambs in Tobacco water.

*Tuesday 14th.* Weather as before. No change in the work.

*Wednesday 15th.* Sultry. Strong breezes of wind towards evening. All the Indian mob commenced cutting wheat with sickles. Cowie &

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<sup>86</sup> See *ante*, note 68.

<sup>87</sup> J. Quinn Thornton.

party continuing work on Slaughter house, two horse carts & a ox waggon carting in oats. Beinston stowing it.

*Thursday 16.* Weather. Slagomas returned from Victoria reported the Schooner to be at Port Orchard.

*Friday 17th.* Weather and work as before. [Page 31.]

*Saturday 18.* Sultry. Schooner Cadboro arrived, bringing a good supply of goods for us, and also the Servants Orders.

*Sunday 19th.* Sultry. Mr. Tod with his family arrived from F. River.<sup>88</sup>

*Monday 20th.* Cowie and party at work on slaughterhouse. Linklater with Indians discharging schooner. Mr. Ross off to Newmarket to see to the measurement of a cargo of Lumber for the Schooner Cadboro.

*Tuesday 21st.* Indians summoned by Judge Thornton Subindian Agent, beginning to arrive. In the afternoon he addressed representations of the Scadjet, Sinahomish, Soquamish, Stichasamish and Nisqually Tribes,<sup>89</sup> and made presents to the chiefs and principal men. Two blankets 3pt.<sup>90</sup> each to three of the former, 1 Blkt. 3pt. to one and a fm.<sup>91</sup> baize ea. to about 20 of the latter.

*Wednesday 22nd.* Smoky. Many more Indians arriving, Klalums, Skaywhamish, and others, and to these the Sub Indian Agents made presents on rather a more moderate scale than those of yesterday, the funds placed at his disposal by Govr. Lane (\$400) not admitting of greater liberality. Schooner Cadboro off for Newmarket in the morning, she having been beached yesterday and repaired in her false keel.

*Thursday 23rd.* Work much as on Monday. Wheatreapers advancing slowly. In the afternoon Major Hathaway of the U. S. Artillery arrived from Vancouver accompanied by Mr. Lattie formerly of the H. B. Co.'s marine. Major Hathaway<sup>92</sup> intends proceeding to survey some of the river estuaries and harbours along the continental shore of Puget Sound. About dusk Captain Hill<sup>93</sup> of the U. S. Artillery accompanied by several of the officers of his company arrived from the chartered barque Harpooner which anchored this evening in the roadstead. [Page 32.]

<sup>88</sup> Fraser River.

<sup>89</sup> These tribes of Salish, with their chief places of residence, were in 1849 as follows: Skagit, on Whidbey Island the Skagit River; Snohomish, on the Snohomish River; Suquamish, at Port Madison, and, including the Duwamish, at Elliott Bay; Stechass at Newmarket and Buddinlet; Nisqually, on the Nisqually River and in the vicinity of the Fort.

<sup>90</sup> Three point, a grade of blanket, so called because three lines were woven into the edge, which determined its width and value.

<sup>91</sup> Fathom.

<sup>92</sup> Commander of the 11th Military District, with headquarters then at Oregon City.

<sup>93</sup> Captain Bennett H. Hill, commanding officer at Stellacoom.

*Thursday 23rd.* Continued. Captain Morice of the Harpooner also up and the party remained till a late hour.

*Friday 24th.* Smoky. Rode<sup>94</sup> to Steilacoom this morning in company with Major Hathaway, and Captain Hill in order that they might judge for themselves as to whether Steilacoom, or Sequallitchew<sup>95</sup> would form the best winter quarters for the troops. Steilacoom received the preference on account of the number of buildings already erected there. On our return, Major Hathaway accompanied by Mr. Lattie went on board the Harpooner, and in the afternoon she dropped down towards Steilacoom. Snieltam the Scadjet chief engaged to convoy Major Hathaway on his exploring trip, the party to start from on board the Harpooner tomorrow morning. Mr. Thornton's account arranged, preparatory to his starting for Cowlitz tomorrow morning. Captain Morice of the Harpooner accompanied Mr. Thornton, he being accused of having smuggled goods and sold liquor to Indians, while in the Columbia River.

*Saturday 25th.* Smokey. Mr. Thornton signed an account today of 421 dollars 26 cents for Indian Presents and one of 20 Dollars for Traveling Expenses, both against Govr. Lane, as Indian Agent. I afterwards signed both accounts as correct, and forwarded them by Mr. Thornton under cover to Mr. C. Factor Ogden.<sup>96</sup> Messrs. Thornton and Morice started in the afternoon. Mr. Tod and I<sup>97</sup> rode out to Steilacoom to see how the Officers were getting on and whether they required any assistance.

*Sunday 26th.* Smokey. Had a visit from Mr. Wright chief officer of the Harpooner. In the forenoon arrived from Victoria Mr. R. Finlayson accompanied by Mr. Mowatt chief officer of the "Mary Dare" and Mr. Joseph Mackay<sup>98</sup> of Victoria with some engaged men and a number of Indians all in pursuit of 8 seamen and one Canadian (Champagne) runaways from the Steamer Beaver and Mary Dare. [Page 33.] Mr. Finlayson and companions started in the afternoon with fresh crews of Indians for Newmarket. Mr. Ross who had just arrived, returning thither on horseback accompanied by Mr. Mowatt.

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<sup>94</sup> Dr. Tolmie.

<sup>95</sup> The Military believed that the Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound Agricultural Companies would shortly remove and the site be given over to the army. The small buildings used by the Company at Mr. Heath's hardly warranted the expense in fixing over, and most of the quarters were built outright in the course of a few days. In the exploration tour down the Sound the site held most in favor was Dungeness, where Major Hathaway thought a fort might be built which would serve the Americans as Fort Victoria served the British.

<sup>96</sup> Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden, now at Fort Vancouver.

<sup>97</sup> Dr. Tolmie.

<sup>98</sup> Chief Factor Joseph William McKay, recently of Fort Simpson, soon to become famous because of his discovery of coal at Nanaimo.



*Monday 27th.* Still Smokey. News was sent from Mr. John Ross that four men supposed to be white men were seen prowling about his place. Mr. Finlayson, accompanied by Messrs. Mowatt & Mackay & myself<sup>99</sup> started off on horseback in search, but with no better success than before.

*Wednesday 29th.* Still Smoky, caused by a large fire in the wood between Steilacoom and Kitson's<sup>100</sup> Island. Mr. Finlayson & party left for Victoria. Cowie & gang employed about new slaughter house, Slocum at the head of Indians gleaning wheat fields two horses carting in oats & wheat.

*Thursday 30th.* Work as yesterday. News having heard of the run-aways being at Steilacoom Dr. Tolmie accompanied by Mr. Tod started off in a canoe with a crew of Indians to see them, and try by reasoning to persuade them to return to their duty, the Doctor returned later, saw some trace of them, but no men. Major Hathaway & Mr. Lattie returned from their trip down the sound not much satisfied as to capability of finding a fitting site for a dock yard or a town.<sup>101</sup> [Page 34.]

*Friday 31st.* Smoke not so dense, finished gleaning. Cowie & his gang employed as before.

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*Saturday 1st.* Mornings very cool, frosty rather in the evenings on the potatoes & vegetables. All the grain safely housed. Harvesting gang after sweeping off the fort were paid off. News of the Snoqualmies coming and making a settlement with the Bostons<sup>102</sup> for the affair of the 1st May last.

*Sunday 2nd.* Weather as yesterday, some Snowqualmies (Hatikynum) arrived they say that Patykynum & his gang will be here in a day or two.

*Monday 3rd.* Cowie, Slocum, & the others repairing flooring of new barn. Lowe & Beinston killed an ox for beef for the Soldiers. A large gang of Sinahomish traded a quantity of mats, Salmon &c. Paty-num arrived with his gang, Sending 80 3pt Blankets to Steilacoom to used as circumstances may require, at the time of the settlement for the Snoqualmie affair.

*Tuesday 4th.* Fine. Smoke pretty near cleared off. Cowie, Keave &

<sup>99</sup> Mr. Walter Ross.

<sup>100</sup> Ketron Island.

<sup>101</sup> See *ante*, note 95.

<sup>102</sup> Boston, a Chinook Jargon term applied to Americans because Americans first came from Boston. The English were called in the same tongue King George men.

Slocum sick off duty, with severe colds, Kalama & Squally planeing boards for lining Mr. Forrests room. A good trade done with the Snowqualmies in the way of Salmon, Baskets & a few skins. [Page 35.]

*Wednesday 5th.* Fine. Kalama & Keave lining Mr. Forrests room. All our engaged Indians off to Steilacoom to be present at the making up of the business with the Snowqualmies, which came off today. Dr. Tolmie & Mr. Todd present, it ended in 6 of the worst being seized and confined, the names of 6 are "Whyeek" "Qullawout" "Copass" "Tahawai" "Tatam & [ ]<sup>103</sup> all of the Snowqualmich. 80 Blankets were paid out to the different chiefs of the tribe.

*Thursday 6th.* Weather still continues smoky. Kalama & Kiave employed as yesterday. Beinston, Steilacoom, Bill and 1 or 2 others thrashing wheat with flails. Kahannui sent out to Steilacoom with a gang of Indians to cut the wheat there. Cowlitz Jack who accompanied Major Hathaway returned from Cowlitz. He reports of having seen the Victoria runaways at the "Skokoom Chuck"<sup>104</sup> on their way to Cowlitz, they were provided with horses.

*Friday 7th.* Sultry. Kalama & Kiave and David repairing a broken horse cart, the rest as before.

*Saturday 8th.* Cloudy most part of the day. Work much as before. Beinston cleaned his two days thrashing. Eight bushels. [Page 36.]

*Sunday 9th.* Cloudy & Cool. Morice of the Harpooner returned from Willamette.

*Monday 10th.* Fine, but still smoky. Kiave & Kalama repairing horse carts. Cowie and Gohome splitting Shingles. Commenced taking up potatoes, of which we will have but a poor crop this year.

*Tuesday 11th.* Fine. C. Jack with the Indian women taking up potatoes at Tyrrells lake, which turns out pretty well. Lowe sent with the beef cart to Steilacoom. Kiave & Kalama also sent there to assist Lahannui to cut the wheat; Capt. Morice gave in 11 thousand dollars for different debts.

*Wednesday 12th.* Cloudy, latter part of the day light drops of rain. Cowie Gohome, and Steilacoom splitting Shingles for new house. Beinston again installed in kitchen in place of Cooper who removed to Cow-

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<sup>103</sup> In the official account of the trial the Indians mentioned are: Kassas, Quallawort, Stulharrier, Tattau, Wyesk and Quatthlinkyne. See *Sen. Doc.*, 31 Cong., 2d Ses., Doc. 1, E, Serial No. 587.

<sup>104</sup> The Skookumchuck, a tributary of the Chehalis at Centralia, from the Chinook Jargon words "skookum," big, wild or rough, and "chuck" water. Compare Pilchuck "red water" and Saltchuck "Puget Sound."

litz. A large number of Snowqualmies said to have arrived at Steilacoom.

*Thursday 13th.* Rainy all the day. Steilacoom, Squally, Neopalu & Lowe thrashing oats with flails. Cowie & Gohome planeing boards preparatory to lining Mr. Todds rooms. Snowqualmies made a good trade in Dry Salmon, Baskets, & Mats. They are going to camp at Steilacoom till it is understood what is to be done with the Indian prisoners. [Page 37.]

*Friday 14* Fair, but cloudy. Jack and his gang taking up potatoes at Mallard Hollow which turns well, potatoes pretty numerous & large. The other hands employed as yesterday. 80 bus White. M. Hollow.

*Saturday 15th.* Weather fair & clear of smoke. Work as before. The three Kanakas returned from Steilacoom.

*Sunday 16th.* Cloudy but fair. Thlekatats<sup>105</sup> arrived at Steilacoom.

*Monday 17th.* Cloudy. Cowie, Keave, Kalama and three Indians setting up slaughter house. Kahannui sent off to Steilacoom with 5 or 6 Indians to bind the wheat. Mr. Tallmadge<sup>106</sup> the Quartermaster consented to take it as oats for fodder. C. Jack and his gang taking up potatoes in garden, which are of a superior kind & plentiful. Dr. Tolmie accompanied by Mr. Todd visited Newmarket.

*Tuesday 18th.* Fine & clear. Work as before. Potat quality of S. potatoes taken up in garden are 70 bush. large & 15 bush. Small, exclusive of what used for mess. Dr. Tolmie returned accompanied by Mr. Chambers.

<sup>105</sup> Kllikitat, a Shahaptian tribe living on the headwaters of the Cowlitz, Lewis, White Salmon and Kllikitat Rivers.

<sup>106</sup> Grier Tallmadge, acting assistant quartermaster at Steilacoom.

[To be continued]