



Part I,
*“Our Manifest Destiny Bids
Fair for Fulfillment”*:
An Historical Overview of
Vancouver Barracks, 1846-1898,
with suggestions for further
research



Military men and women pose for a group photo at Vancouver Barracks, circa 1880s Photo courtesy of Clark County Museum

written by

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This document is the first in a research partnership between the Center for Columbia River History (CCRH) and the National Park Service (NPS) at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site. The Park Service contracts with CCRH to encourage and support professional historical research, study, lectures and development in higher education programs related to the Fort Vancouver National Historic Site and the Vancouver National Historic Reserve (VNHR). CCRH is a consortium of the Washington State Historical Society, Portland State University, and Washington State University Vancouver. The mission of the Center for Columbia River History is to promote study of the history of the Columbia River Basin.

Introduction

For more than 150 years, Vancouver Barracks has been a site of strategic importance in the Pacific Northwest. Established in 1849, the post became a supply base for troops, goods, and services to the interior northwest and the western coast. Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century soldiers from Vancouver were deployed to explore the northwest, build regional transportation and communication systems, respond to Indian-settler conflicts, and control civil and labor unrest. A thriving community developed nearby, deeply connected economically and socially with the military base. From its inception through WWII, Vancouver was a distinctly military place, an integral part of the city's character. Officer's Row and the historic buildings of Vancouver Barracks still play a significant role in the community's identity on the 366-acre Vancouver National Historic Reserve.

Vancouver Barracks provides a rich social history that should be thoroughly researched. The following is the first in a series of multi-purpose interpretive documents. Five main periods of development on the Reserve have been identified: pre-1846; 1846-1898; 1898-1920; 1920-1943; and 1943-1960. The first period of inquiry, presented in this document, is from 1846-1898. This is when Vancouver Barracks established American control of the region. The post became headquarters for the Department of the Columbia, including what are now the states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and Alaska. By 1898, Vancouver Barracks sent the first regular army overseas expeditionary forces to the Philippines.

The purpose of this document is: (1) to provide a social history overview of Vancouver Barracks for National Park Service interpreters; (2) to provide directions for further research, both by NPS Interpretive staff and professional historians and their graduate students; (3) to make the history of Vancouver Barracks accessible to the general reader. Two questions provided the research foundation: (1) What were the relationships between Vancouver Barracks and the region, nation, and world? (2) What were the relationships between the barracks and the nearby community? As a social history, questions of race, class, and gender underscored the inquiry.

This document begins with an overview of the history of Vancouver Barracks in Part One, supplying a brief contextual summary of Euro-American discovery, exploration of the lower Columbia River, and the period of Hudson's Bay Company hegemony. There are four chronological sections. Section I examines the arrival of the first troops to Vancouver and the development of the post. The focus is on the transitional period, 1849-1860, from Hudson's Bay occupation to the firm establishment of an American presence. Section II is an overview of an era of international, regional, and national conflict, from the exit of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1860 and the Pig War in the San Juan Islands to the end of the Civil War. Section III outlines the major conflicts with native people in the region during the 1870s, as both the city of Vancouver and the regional American claim became more securely established. Section IV describes Washington's entry into statehood and the barracks' 1898 entry into the world military theatre. Part Two is a vignette titled "Cultural Transitions: Women and the Army in the Northwest, 1849-1865." Part Three is a set of seven appendices, each designed to provide information and to stimulate further research.

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Part One: Historical Overview of Vancouver Barracks, 1846-1898



A group of soldiers at Vancouver Barracks, circa 1905. Photo courtesy of Clark County Museum

SECTION I: ESTABLISHING AN AMERICAN PRESENCE

Laying Claim to the Lands of the Columbia

From the late eighteenth century through the mid-nineteenth century, many different groups contested ownership of the lands along the Pacific Coast. Contenders included the indigenous population,¹ Russia, Spain, France, England and the United States. Before the establishment of Fort Vancouver in 1824, a thriving indigenous site populated by the “Chinook” or *Tsi-nuk* peoples existed along the plains and forests of the Columbia at what is now Vancouver, Washington. Beginning around 1775, diseases such as smallpox, distemper, measles, pertussis, scarlatina, malaria and other respiratory infections swept the Northwest Coast. Although conflict between Indians and whites was ongoing throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, the loss of up to 90% of the indigenous populations made it easier for Euro-Americans to lay claim to the Pacific Northwest. On May 11, 1792, American Captain Robert Gray sailed his ship, the *Columbia Rediviva*, across the dangerous bar at the mouth of the river. He named the huge body of water “Columbia’s River,” and claimed the region for the United States of America. After trading with local Indians for nine days, Gray continued on to Nootka Sound.

Captain George Vancouver next laid claim to the river. Vancouver sailed to the site of Gray’s discovery intending to stake the region for Great Britain. However, crashing waters and a dangerous sand bar at the river’s mouth halted his efforts and he sent in a smaller vessel, the *Chatham*, commanded by Lt. William Broughton. After crossing the bar, Broughton and his men lowered a long boat into the river’s majestic waters, and sailed inland for over a hundred miles. Halting just

¹ Various terms have been used to describe the indigenous peoples of North America. A controversy exists over the previously accepted use of the term “Native American.” The term “American Indian,” or “Indian” is currently generally acceptable. Where it is stylistically possible, I will use the term indigenous; otherwise I will use the term Indian when referring to the indigenous peoples of North America.

above the mouth of the Willamette River, Broughton named the snow-capped peak of Mount Hood for the British Lord Hood, and claimed the region for Great Britain.

Thus began a territorial contest between the United States and Great Britain.² Twelve years later, after the 1803 Louisiana Purchase extended United States territory to the Rocky Mountains, the famous 1804-1806 journey of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark further staked the American claim to the interior northwest. Next came the American Fur Company, headed by John Jacob Astor who established Fort Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia in 1811. But, events during the War of 1812 intervened, and Fort Astoria was first sold, then almost immediately claimed and renamed Fort George, a captured British possession. Six years later the 1818 Convention of Joint Occupancy specified the return of captured possessions and the fort reverted to its earlier name, Astoria. The 1818 treaty also stated that until 1828 equal trade rights would exist for both U.S. and English vessels and citizens. At that time, the occupancy problem would be reviewed. The United States and Great Britain renewed the treaty agreement in 1828 with a proviso that each country could terminate the pact by giving the other country a year's notice.³

In 1824, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) abandoned Fort Astoria, relocating at present-day Vancouver, Washington. The HBC anticipated a Columbia River boundary between nations, and the indefinite joint occupancy allowed the company to transfer its Columbia Division to the north side of river. Vancouver was well situated to serve as the company's main supply depot and administrative fur

² David Lavendar, "Point of Genesis: Fort Vancouver and the Pacific Northwest," in *Fort Vancouver: Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, Washington*, National Park Handbook 113 (Washington D.C.: Division of Publications National Park Service, 1981), 33-34.

³ Richard Somerset Mackie, *Trading Beyond the Mountains: The British Fur Trade on the Pacific, 1793-1843* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998), 14; *Ibid*, 71; William Dietrich, *Northwest Passage: The Great Columbia River* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995), 93-94; For a history of Fort Astoria, see James P. Ronda, *Astoria & Empire* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990).

trade center. The river provided a prime transportation locale for trade, and the nearby Vancouver “plains” made agricultural and stock support not only possible, but lucrative. The green prairie along the river – “Prairie Jolie,” was “beautiful,” declared company governor, George Simpson. The Hudson’s Bay Company thrived on the banks of the Columbia at Vancouver, with grand and productive gardens, orchards, and an assorted community of transient fur traders. Employees of the company were a diverse group, including Hawaiians, known as “Kanakas” or “Sandwich Islanders,” Scots, French-Canadians, Iroquois, Orkney Islanders, Metis, and their Indian wives. The workers often lived outside the main fort in the “Kanaka Village,” segregated from the gentlemen’s quarters inside the fort walls. As more individuals traveled to the northwest, the bustling Fort Vancouver became a major trade center and way station for explorers, missionaries, and naturalists.⁴

In 1830, “fever and ague” broke out at the Hudson’s Bay Company’s Fort Vancouver. The disease decimated up to 90% of the population in native villages from the Cascades on the mid-Columbia to the river’s mouth. By the late 1830s, American missionaries arrived, converting and preaching to local indigenous populations, and later encouraging American settlement. Marcus and Narcissa Whitman established a mission among the Cayuse Indians at Waiilatpu, near Walla Walla, Washington, in 1836, while their traveling companions and Protestant brethren, Henry and Eliza Spalding, missionized among the Nez Perce in Lapwai, Idaho. To many, especially the women missionaries, the West seemed unsettled, wild, “heathen ground.” Narcissa Whitman and Eliza Spalding, often remembered as the first “white” women to cross the Rocky Mountains, reached their northwest destination through a series of existing indigenous trails traveled for a very long

⁴ *Ibid*, 55; John. A. Hussey, *The History of Fort Vancouver and its Physical Structure*, Published in cooperation with the National Park Service, Department of the Interior (Portland, Oregon: Abbott, Kerns & Bell Company, 1957), 44; Sister Mary De Sales McLellan, “Vancouver, Washington, 1846 to 1870, with an introduction covering the Hudson’s Bay Period,” (M.A. Thesis, University of Oregon, July 1935), 4.

time by native peoples. The significance of their well known journey lay not in the color of their skin. Rather, the two women stimulated American settlement of the far west by inspiring other Americans with families to duplicate their travels.

Before settling east of the Cascade Mountains, the Whitmans and Spaldings stopped at Fort Vancouver, described by Narcissa Whitman as “The New York of the Pacific Ocean. . . a delightful place.” At Fort Vancouver the small group found a contrast to:

the barren sand plains through which we had so recently passed. Here we find fruit of every description. Apples peaches grapes. Pear plum & Fig trees in abundance. Cucumbers melons beans peas beats cabbage, taumatoes, & every kind of vegitable, to numerous to be mentioned. Every part is very neat & tastefully arranged fine walks, eich side lined with strawberry vines.⁵

While Marcus Whitman and Henry Spalding located sites for the missions, Narcissa Whitman and Eliza Spalding remained at Fort Vancouver. While at the fort, Narcissa Whitman tutored Chief Factor John McLoughlin’s daughter, sang with the fort’s children in the evenings, and rode horses. Community activities at Fort Vancouver kept the young bride and fervent missionary “wholly occupied,” leaving her scarcely enough time for writing.⁶

Fort Vancouver was a busy place, and one of the more important provincial posts of the Hudson’s Bay Company. Despite the 7,000 mile distance from London, a yearly ship voyaged around Cape Horn, bringing supplies. Letters and other goods were carried to Montreal by a Columbia River route, and thence by land.⁷ Although the HBC fur trading posts were firmly established in the Northwest, the British did not promote colonization. The United States did. Backed by

⁵ Narcissa Whitman, *My Journal* (Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1994), 50.

⁶ Eugene S. Hunn, *Nch’i-Wana: “The Big River” Columbia Indians and Their Land*, with James Selam and Family (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), 27, 31; Whitman, *My Journal*, 48, 50, 55-56, 58.

⁷ Thomas M. Anderson, “Vancouver Barracks – Past and Present” *Journal of the Military Service Institution* 35 (July, September, and November 1904), 71-72.

exploration, missionization and the U.S. military, the United States successfully settled the region. Brevet⁸ General Benjamin Eulalie de Bonneville explored the region in 1834, and sent a report to President Jackson with maps of the Pacific Northwest, Great Salt Lake Basin, and Northern California. Bonneville's trip proved that wagons could cross the Continental Divide, and he established the route that became the Oregon Trail through what is now Idaho.⁹ His interest piqued, in 1837 President Jackson sent Lieutenant William A. Slacum to the Oregon country where the lieutenant reported there were fewer than 100 American citizens, most of whom were in the Willamette Valley. Slacum also observed a dependent relationship based on trade between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Indians, noting that the Company's holdings were strong north of the 49th parallel where they raised numerous crops, even exporting flour to Russia and lumber to Hawaii. Slacum recommended a boundary north of the Columbia River at the 49th parallel. Four years later, in 1841, the U.S. government sent naval Lieutenant Charles Wilkes on an exploratory expedition. Wilkes reported cordial relations between the Hudson's Bay Company and the regional Indians, recommending a boundary at the 54th parallel. In 1842 President Tyler asked Congress to place an international boundary at the 54th parallel.¹⁰

By 1843, as the U.S. and British vied for the lands north of the Columbia, Americans poured into the region. Fur trade at the well-established Fort Vancouver

⁸ A "brevet" rank is a promotion based on meritorious duty. A brevet rank was prestigious, but did not necessarily mean a raise in pay. An officer could be assigned at his regular rank or at the brevet rank, and only then would he receive the accompanying pay.

⁹ Washington Irving recorded Benjamin Bonneville's adventures in *The Rocky Mountains; or, Scenes, Incidents and Adventures in the Far West; Digested from the Journal of Captain B.L.E. Bonneville of the Army of the United States, and Illustrated from Various Other Sources*, published in Philadelphia in 1837. A later edition was published under the title *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*.

¹⁰ John A. Hemphill with Robert C. Cumbow, *West Pointers and Early Washington: The Contributions of U.S. Military Academy Graduates to the Development of the Washington Territory, from the Oregon Trail to the Civil War 1834-1862* (Seattle: The West Point Society of Puget Sound, Inc., 1992), 18-19, 91.

dwindled,¹¹ while American settlement increased. In May of that year approximately 100 American and French-Canadian settlers met at Champoege, Oregon, and voted to create a provisional government. Their object was “to take into consideration the propriety for taking measures for civil and military protection of this colony.” The provisional government was the first concrete step toward Americanization of the Oregon Country and settlement of the “Oregon Question,” giving political, and ultimately social and economic, dominance of the region to the United States. Chief Factor of the Hudson’s Bay Company, John McLoughlin, refused to acknowledge the provisional government and both English and Americans bristled with hostility. During the spring and summer of 1843, Americans began writing the Oregon Constitution. Although not adopted until 1857, this was a critical time. Crafting the Oregon Constitution and the Provisional Government coincided with a clash of cultures in the 1840s. As the social composition of Vancouver altered during the following decades, boundaries solidified between Americans and people of other races and cultures.¹²

Exclusionary clauses in the Oregon Constitution prohibited interracial marriage and excluded Chinese peoples and African Americans, free or slave. In a place where interracial and common law marriages were the norm, imposing an American political system drew new cultural boundaries. While the Hudson’s Bay Company promoted marriage between Indian women and fur traders to strengthen HBC trade, Americans perceived Indians as savage, dirty, and uncivilized. Such preconceived and unfounded notions shaped the way that Americans approached indigenous peoples and the reception they, in turn, received. The British, “King

¹¹ The dwindling fur trade had much to do with “trapping out” the Pacific Northwest.

¹² Hussey, *Fort Vancouver*, 97; Carlos Schwantes, *The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 97, 111.

George Men,” were generally liked and trusted, while Indians received the American “Bostons,” distrustfully.¹³

In 1845, an expansionist mood permeated the United States. James Polk won the presidential election on a manifest destiny platform. Polk called strongly for the “re-annexation” of Texas and the “re-occupation of Oregon,” and his provocative campaign ran on the fighting words, “Fifty-four Forty or Fight.” The slogan and accompanying political wrangling placed the Pacific Northwest, and especially Fort Vancouver, in the midst of a diplomatic drama. In the president’s 1845 inaugural address, as Congress debated boundaries and the Hudson’s Bay Company announced plans to move its regional headquarters to Vancouver Island, Polk declared American title to Oregon “clear and unquestionable.” However, the only truly unquestionable issue was the political urge to link the United States from coast to coast. Polk’s “manifest destiny” sanctioned transforming “wild” land into a settled agricultural empire achieved through the God-given rights and duties of Americans to expand the nation to the limits of the continent.¹⁴

¹³ To learn more about racial relations in the West and in Oregon Territory, see Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West, 1528-1990* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998); Elizabeth McLagan, *A Peculiar Paradise: a History of Blacks in Oregon, 1788-1940* (Portland, Oregon: The Georgian Press, 1980).

¹⁴ Schwantes, *The Pacific Northwest*, 99; Hemphill and Cumbow, *West Pointers*, 18.

Settling the Boundary Question

The following year, a treaty between Great Britain and the U.S. divided the Oregon Country along the 49th parallel. The Oregon Treaty of 1846 greatly affected the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company south of the 49th parallel, including the area around Fort Vancouver. The HBC had "possessory rights," meaning that under the earlier Treaty of Joint Occupation they had the right to operate, but did not hold title to the land. Thus, the Company found it increasingly difficult to function in what had become a foreign country. The U.S. government determined to reduce the firm's rights. The HBC, having claimed the region for over twenty years, wanted to sell its rights at a high price. Despite obstacles such as custom duties imposed by the U.S., the next few years were among the most profitable the HBC experienced in the region. Incoming settlers, the demand for goods to supply the California gold rush, and the role of Fort Vancouver as a regional trade center combined in 1849 for over 17,000 pounds in Company profits. However, U.S. custom duties on all goods entering Columbia River ports gradually weakened the HBC's commercial advantage. And, during the year of high profits, 1849, the HBC's Department of the Columbia moved to Vancouver Island while the U.S. military established a garrison at Vancouver.¹⁵

In the early 1840s, with the Company's hold on Fort Vancouver waning, Governor George Simpson forbade assisting U.S. immigrants. The governor repeatedly reprimanded Chief Factor John McLoughlin for helping the Americans obtain supplies. When McLoughlin retired from the HBC in 1846, he and his family, including his half-Cree wife Margeurite, settled at the Willamette Falls in Oregon. Three years later, in 1849, Chief Factor James Douglas went to Victoria, and a series of Chief Factors and Chief Traders managed Fort Vancouver until the

¹⁵ Hussey, *Fort Vancouver* 91-93. McLellan, *Vancouver*, 13-14.

HBC left Vancouver completely in June 1860.¹⁶ American expansionism combined with the actions of individuals like Dr. McLoughlin, missionaries like the Whitmans, and countless others, supported a stronger hold in the region by the United States. This period marked the beginning of an era of Americanization in which eastern values and culture met the western landscape.¹⁷

Cultural misunderstanding stemmed from two very different worldviews. The missionaries of Wailatpu established poor relations with the Cayuse Indians. While Catholic missionaries baptized “infidels,” thus saving their souls if not changing their earthly practice, Protestant missionaries like the Whitmans demanded adoption of “civilized,” meaning agrarian, culture. In addition to embracing Christian religious practices, missionaries expected Indians to “take up the plow,” live in monogamous households, and adhere to American concepts of private property. For the Cayuse, a Plateau group that hunted, fished, and gathered in seasonal rounds between mountains, prairies and river, the demands of the missionaries led to misunderstanding and frustration. In one case of misinterpreted values, some Cayuse, for whom sharing was the norm, took vegetables from the mission gardens. The missionaries accused the Cayuse of stealing, and retaliated by putting emetics in melons to discourage theft. The Cayuse, in turn, declared they could not understand “people who would poison the fruits of the earth.”¹⁸

The missionaries continued to change the Cayuse social landscape when in 1843, six years after establishing the mission at Wailatpu, Marcus Whitman traveled

¹⁶ *Ibid*; According to Hussey, when Douglas went to Fort Victoria in 1849, Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden remained in charge. John Ballenden followed on December 6, 1851. During the winter of 1852-53, Chief Trader Alexander Caulfield Anderson took over the command. He was relieved in March, 1853 with the return of Chief Factor Ogden. In September, 1853, Chief Factor Dugald MacTavish joined Ogden. Ogden died in September, 1854, and Mactavish remained in charge of Fort Vancouver until June, 1858 when he was succeeded by Chief Trader James Grahame. Between 1858 and 1860 when the HBC left Vancouver completely, Grahame served as both a member of the Board of Management and as a manager of the post, 95-96.

¹⁷ Schwantes, *The Pacific Northwest*, 73.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 73, 74.

east and returned to the Oregon Country with nearly 900 immigrants. Over the next four years the number of American settlers increased, and so did tensions at the mission. Although Wailatpu was not directly on the Oregon Trail, it became a way station for those needing assistance, and with the Americans came disease. Cholera and dysentery were serious problems for whites along the Oregon Trail, but even seemingly common ailments could be fatal to the Indians who lacked immunities to Euro-American diseases. In 1847 a measles epidemic struck the Whitman Mission, killing an estimated 50% of the Cayuse within two months. As Indian mothers and fathers watched their children die, tensions rose. The Indians, noting that most of the American children treated by Dr. Whitman recovered, became angry. On November 29, 1847, the situation exploded. A small band of Cayuse attacked the Whitman Mission, killing the Whitmans and eleven others. After burning the mission buildings and taking the mission personnel captive, the band retreated to an encampment near Mission, Oregon (Nicht-Yow-Way).¹⁹

The Cayuse aimed their hostility directly toward the Americans. A French Catholic Mission near the Cayuse encampment escaped harm, and the Hudson's Bay Company's Peter Skene Ogden arranged for the captives' release. Ogden successfully offered blankets, shirts, tobacco, handkerchiefs, muskets, flints, and several hundred musket balls in exchange for the forty-seven hostages. By December, a group of 500 volunteers formed to capture the offenders. Today the Cayuse recall the event as unjust, saying, "although the raid was performed by an individual band acting on its own, threat of an all-out war was issued against all Indian people." After two years spent evading volunteer soldiers, the Cayuse surrendered five men to placate the angry Americans. All were hanged. Tiloukaikt, one of those executed, compared his fate to that of the white Christian savior,

¹⁹ Schwantes, *Pacific Northwest*, 75-76. "Conflict, Change, and Religion," See Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation website, available from <http://www.umatilla.nsn.us/hist1.html#conflict>; Internet [accessed June 30, 1999].

asking, “Did not your missionaries teach us that Christ died to save his people? So die we to save our people.”²⁰

²⁰ *Ibid.*

The Military in the Wilderness

The Oregon Boundary Treaty of 1846, the Whitman Incident, and fear of Indian attack combined to spur the establishment of western outposts along the Oregon Trail. Military possession of the Pacific coast would complete the almost fifty year struggle for American occupation. All that remained was to extinguish Indian title to the lands, and the Pacific region would belong solely to the United States. On May 19, 1846, the U.S. Congress authorized the establishment of military posts along the road to Oregon. The route extended west from Independence, Missouri through Kansas and Nebraska Territory and into the Oregon Country. Establishing forts strategically on this trail would solidify U.S. possession of the west. In addition to allocating \$3,000 to defray the expenses of each post, and \$2,000 each to purchase occupation rights from the Indians, Congress appropriated \$76,500 to mount and equip a regiment of Mounted Riflemen. There would be ten companies of sixty-four privates each. Persifor F. Smith was colonel, and among the captains was William Wing Loring who later commanded the regiment that would be sent to Vancouver.

Despite the regiment's authorization for the specific purpose of garrisoning posts along the road to Oregon, in November, 1846, the U.S. government ordered it to the war in Mexico. In its place, during the summer of 1847, President Polk requisitioned the "Oregon Battalion of Mounted Volunteers." These volunteers marched with Colonel Ludwell E. Powell into present-day Nebraska to Table Creek, and built sixty or seventy straw-roofed log cabins from dirt and slab. While the Mounted Riflemen under William Wing Loring headed toward Mexico City, the Oregon Battalion of Volunteers spent the winter at Camp Kearny moving the following spring to Grand Island. By the end of the year the volunteers completed another new post, Fort Kearny, soon a main way-station on the Oregon Trail. After numerous honors and achievements in the Mexican American War, the Mounted

Rifles headed to their original assignment – establishing posts along the road to Oregon.²¹

Meanwhile, Companies “L” and “M” of the First Artillery Regiment were dispatched to establish military posts in Oregon. Captain and Brevet-Major Hatheway commanded Company “L,” and Captain Hill commanded Company “M.” They traveled by sea, via Honolulu, from New York around Cape Horn. A young lieutenant who later became Provost Marshal General, James B. Fry, recorded his experiences during the six-month long journey aboard the *Massachussetts*. Fry described the officers:

While the lieutenants of the command had well-defined characteristics, there was no one so peculiar as to be offensive, or even disagreeable, to the others. One was a practical joker, who put emetics in his whiskey when he found the steward was stealing it. Another was the wag, as far as we permitted that character to develop. Another still was the banker, who lent us money when we were hard up.²²

And, according to Fry, all were hard up for money except Bill, his African American servant, a fifteen year-old boy brought up in New York’s Church Street. The lieutenant complained that Bill was well-recommended, but did not know the difference between “*foraging* and *stealing*.” While the officers took advances in pay and promptly spent their money at the first port, Bill had better luck: “In Rio Janeiro Bill had plenty. In Valparaiso he was flush. In Honolulu he was positively lavish.” After Honolulu, the quartermaster found the treasury depleted, and everyone blamed Bill. Despite being whipped until he fainted, the servant denied the theft. Later when his room was searched, \$310.00 was found. As punishment,

²¹ Raymond W. Settle, ed., “Preface,” to *The March of the Mounted Riflemen: From Fort Leavenworth to Fort Vancouver, May to October, 1849* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968), 13-16.

²² James B. Fry, “Soldiers Afloat,” in *Army Sacrifices; or Briefs from Official Pigeon-Holes* (New York: D. Vancouver Nostrand, 1879), 77.

the commanders put the fifteen year-old boy ashore at the mouth of the Columbia River, “without a recommendation.”²³

These first American troops arrived in Astoria on a breezy, lovely spring day in May, 1849, six months after their journey began. Although fearful of the Columbia River bar, they welcomed the beckoning shoreline as they contemplated the mouth of the river. The “tall firs and patches of green sward [were] plainly visible to the naked eye; and through the glass [they] could see men and women (Indians) enjoying the freedom of the forest.” Despite trepidation, the soldiers were “tired of looking upon the sea, of smelling bilge-water, of eating corned beef and ‘plum-duff,” so over the bar they went, safely landing in Vancouver on May 13, 1849. Eight officers and 152 enlisted men, some with wives and children, debarked at the Hudson’s Bay Company site. Company “M,” under Captain Hill went to Puget Sound, establishing Fort Steilacoom, and Company “L,” under Brevet-Major Hatheway, remained in Vancouver. There they established “Camp Columbia,” “on a ridge in the edge of the wood; by great labor trimmed up all the branches from a straight fir-tree more than 150-foot height, fixed a pulley on the top, and hoisted the stars and stripes.”²⁴

The same month, the regiment of Mounted Riflemen prepared to march from Camp Sumner, about five miles west of Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. After much drilling, the train of 700 horses, 1,200 mules, a number of oxen, and 171 wagons assembled for the first military march to travel the length of the Oregon Trail. On May 10, 1849, five companies headed toward Oregon, joined by Major Osborne Cross, the official quartermaster and journalist of the expedition. Following the Mexican War and the acquisition of California, the U.S. Army created the Pacific

²³ *Ibid*, 80, 81. Theodore Talbot, *The Journals of Theodore Talbot, 1843 and 1849-52, With the Fremont Expedition and with the First Military Company in Oregon Territory*, ed. with notes by Charles H. Carey (Portland: Metropolitan Press, Publishers, 1931), 87. Hemphill & Cumbow, *West Pointers*, 22.

²⁴ *Ibid*, “Soldiers Afloat,” 92-93.

Division with its headquarters at Benicia Barracks near San Francisco. The Mounted Riflemen's old commander, Persifor F. Smith, became division commander with Vancouver Barracks under his command.²⁵

Good roads and access to water allowed the Mounted Riflemen to march as much as thirty miles on good days. Rocky terrain and river crossings prolonged their journey and at times they only made between six and ten miles a day. For the most part, though, from Fort Kearny along the plains the Mounted Riflemen averaged ten to eleven miles daily. It was a difficult trip. The large number of emigrants on the trail made game and firewood scarce, and the threat of cholera scared both soldiers and officers. At one point a wagon broke down and without quartermaster Cross' knowledge troops abandoned the sick with the wagon. Greatly annoyed, Cross directed the deserters to go back and retrieve the ill. "By this time," wrote Cross, "the man who had the cholera became entirely deranged and required the strength of one person to keep him in the wagon. His sufferings were very great and his cries most distressing, particularly as it was not in our power to render him any assistance or relief."²⁶

By the first day of June, 1849, 4,000 wagons had passed through Fort Kearny with as many as 8,000 to 10,000 people traversing the area. Most travelers headed toward the California gold fields.²⁷ George Gibbs, the naturalist and artist who accompanied the Mounted Riflemen, described the emigrants:

There are odd characters and odd vehicles among them too. Every profession and every class in society are represented, and every mode of conveyance from the Conestoga wagon and its lumbering oxen, and the light

²⁵ "The Journal of Major Osborne Cross," *The March of the Mounted Riflemen: From Fort Leavenworth to Fort Vancouver May to October, 1849*. ed. Raymond W. Settle (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 16-17. Cross kept his journal under orders of quartermaster general, Major Thomas S. Jesup. The journal was prepared for publication in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania after his return from Oregon in 1850 and was included in the report of the Secretary of War for that year. A private edition also exists, but there are only a few copies.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 48, 50-51.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 78-79.

draft mule-team, to the saddle horse. We even saw a doctor's buggy with a bell-pull fastened to the hinder axle.²⁸

By the time the soldiers reached Independence Rock, the cholera problem subsided.

Finally, on September 11, 1849, four months and eleven days after leaving

Washington City, Cross described reaching the Columbia River where it met the

Umatilla River:

I was at first somewhat disappointed in its appearance, expecting to see something more magnificent. The river is about six hundred yards wide where we struck it, and the banks are not more than six feet high, with a gentle, sandy slope to the water's edge. [It] quietly rolled along with but very little current. The whole country presented a scene of barrenness seldom met with, for not a tree was to be seen far or near. It was a delightful evening, quite calm and warm, though a little smoky.²⁹

As the troops passed through the Columbia River Gorge, Major Cross suggested to Colonel Loring that the Old Methodist Mission at The Dalles, abandoned during the Cayuse War, would be a prime location for a post:

From my own personal observation I know of no place that possesses more advantages for a post than this. Troops are able to move from here at all times, in any direction, either up the river towards the headwaters of Deschutes river or even towards Puget sound, as there is fine grazing and no very great obstruction direct from Fort Walla Walla by Mount St. Helens. As regards the trouble of getting supplies, this would not be attended with half the difficulty in the spring, when boats can come over the falls. The great trouble would be for mounted troops to move from [Fort] Vancouver in this direction.³⁰

The army later established a fort at The Dalles, while Vancouver became the regional headquarters under the Pacific Division in California. The troops headed toward Vancouver, first rafting the quartermaster's goods down the Columbia and portaging on the north side of the river at the Cascades. Indian laborers provided by Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden assisted the transport. The Cascades on the Columbia, near present day Stevenson, Washington, was an extremely important

²⁸ George Gibbs, "Diary of George Gibbs," in Cross, *Mounted Riflemen*, 286.

²⁹ Cross, *March of the Mounted Riflemen*, 230-231.

³⁰ *Ibid*, 236, 239.

place. No one could traverse the Columbia Gorge without portaging around this series of rapids, an effort requiring much labor and trade with the Indians. Within a year of the Mounted Riflemens' passage, Congress passed the 1850 Oregon Donation Land Claim Act, allowing settlers to claim up to 640 acres per couple, and power relations at the Cascades changed. As American settlers, bolstered by the military presence, claimed Columbia River lands, the Indians lost control of the portage.³¹

³¹ *Ibid*, 247-248; Stephen Dow Beckham, *This Place Is Romantic and Wild: An Historical Overview of the Cascades Area, Fort Cascades, and the Cascades Townsite, Washington Territory* (Eugene: Heritage Research Associates, 1984), 50-61; The Donation Land Act required that title to Indian land be extinguished, but settlers often laid claim to Indian lands long before treaties were ratified.

*Establishing Vancouver Barracks*³²

After passing through what is now Camas, Washington, the overland troops arrived in Vancouver on October 5, 1849. Cross described the HBC's fort, backed by a great fir forest to the north and Mt. Hood to the east:

Fort Vancouver, which is the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay company, is on the right bank of the river. It is situated on a beautiful plain about five miles long and probably three-quarters of a mile wide. The country gradually rises and runs back for ten or fifteen miles, passing through several plains, some of which are cultivated. On one of these plains there is an excellent seminary where the children from the fort and neighborhood are educated. Immediately in the rear of the fort and on the rising ground, the company of artillery under Brevet-major Hatheway have put up temporary quarters and have made themselves very comfortable. This place would be a fine location for troops. Indeed it is the only spot between here and the mouth of the river where the mountains will admit of it.³³

The Mounted Riflemen found Major Hatheway's troops living in tents. Those in charge at Vancouver in September of 1849, just before the Mounted Riflemen arrived, were: Captain and Brevet-Major John S. Hatheway; L.H. Holden of the General Staff, Acting Assistant Surgeon; First Lieutenant Theodore Talbot, Acting Assistant Quartermaster; First Sergeant Joseph L. Woods; and Second Lieutenant James B. Fry.³⁴

From May through September, prior to the arrival of the Mounted Riflemen, the small contingent from the *Massachusetts* had existed relatively quietly. Initially, HBC fur traders welcomed the U.S. military's presence, hoping they would dissuade squatters from taking over HBC lands. The officers dined intermittently at the fort with the HBC's Peter Skene Ogden, some attended the local Catholic and Protestant churches, they visited Oregon City, watched Kanaka and Indian horse

³² Vancouver Barracks was originally named Camp Vancouver in 1849. In 1850, the name was changed to Columbia Barracks, and in 1853 to Fort Vancouver. In 1879, its current title, Vancouver Barracks, was given. To avoid confusion, I will refer to the military post as Vancouver Barracks except when explaining its origins.

³³ Cross, *March of the Mounted Riflemen*, 266.

³⁴ U.S. Army, "Post Returns, Columbia Barracks, Fort Vancouver, Oregon, 1849 – July, 1857," General Services Administration, National Archives, Washington, 1952.

paces, and even called regularly on the local young women. A bugler called roll by playing reveille in the mornings and *tattoo* in the evenings, asserting the military presence on a daily basis. In September there were thirteen enlisted men, two non-commissioned officers and eleven privates on extra duty.³⁵ Extra duty meant extra pay, and soldiers went to work cutting logs and rafting them five miles down the Columbia River to the HBC sawmill near present day East Vancouver. Although the approximately seventy-six original soldiers lived in tents, they also leased about ten other buildings from the HBC for the quartermaster and commissary departments. For \$218 per month, the military also rented stables from the HBC.³⁶

In the meanwhile, the Mounted Riflemen lived in rented quarters in the capitol of Oregon Territory, Oregon City. To get there, wrote Major Osborne Cross in 1849, “one [must] be a good woodsman, as there is nothing but a crooked bridle-path through as dense a forest as can be found in any country.” With the arrival of over 300 more soldiers, the small, lulling frontier military post began to hum with action. When Quartermaster Captain Rufus Ingalls arrived, the troops went to work constructing barracks and quarters.³⁷ Soldiers built the present-day Grant House as the commanding officer’s residence in 1849. It was one of nine log houses built by soldiers that year. The army shipped a frame building prepared in Maine around Cape Horn and erected it for officer’s quarters on the lower plain. By January, 1851, the military was firmly entrenched in Vancouver and all soldiers moved to the recently constructed Columbia Barracks.³⁸

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ U.S. Senate, *Executive Documents*, 31 Congress, 2d Session, no. I, pt. 2, 184-189; Herbert Hart, *Old Forts of the West* (Seattle: Superior Publishing Company, 1963), 17; *Talbot Journals*, 88, 91.

³⁷ Rufus Ingalls later became Quartermaster of the Army.

³⁸ Cross, *Mounted Riflemen*, 265. Thomas T.M. Anderson, “Vancouver Barracks,” 267; Clark county Genealogical Society, *Clark County Census 1850 & 1860, Volume One, U.S. Census of Oregon Territory, 1850, Washington Territory, 1860* (Vancouver, WA: Clark County Genealogical Society, 1982).

Officers commonly shared a “mess,” which sometimes meant not only eating together, but combining households, expenses, and servants. Colonel Loring and Major George Crittendon shared a household, but probably “messed” with Captain Ingalls. Clerk John T. Noble, a young man from China named Ah-long, and a young woman named Margaret Lenet, lived with Ingalls.³⁹ Officers often brought their servants and families with them to new posts. Other army wives stayed in the east and some officers remained bachelors rather than bringing their wives into the wilds. Kathrine Jones accompanied her husband, Captain Llewellyn Jones with their daughters Katherine Jr. and Fradonia and their thirty-nine-year-old African American servant, Monimia Travers. Charles and Annie Ruff came to Vancouver with Mary, age six, and Margaret, age three, while Major John Simonsen and wife Elizabeth brought three nearly grown children, and eight-year-old James. During the first year in Vancouver three of twelve officers’ households had servants, whose duties usually revolved around cooking. Officers without servants either ate in the officers’ mess or were entertained in the homes of those with families.⁴⁰

³⁹ It appears that Margaret is a servant as she is listed third in the household; however, unlike most servants her occupation is not listed.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 1850 Census; Julia Dent Grant, *The Personal Memoirs of Julia Dent Grant* ed. and with notes and foreword by John Y. Simon, with introduction by Bruce Catton (New York: Putnam, 1975), 67.

Columbia City on the Plain

In 1850, the military surveyed the 2,560-acre military reservation, including Hudson's Bay operations. An eclectic group established the American presence in Vancouver. Just less than half of the 236 enlisted soldiers at the Barracks in 1850 were American born, the remainder ranging from predominantly German and Irish to English, Scots, French, Canadian, Swiss, and Swedish.⁴¹ Vancouver's first American settler was Henry Williamson who, in 1846, paid a \$5.00 filing fee in Oregon City and built a cabin west of Fort Vancouver at the foot of what became Esther street. Williamson soon left his claim to marry his sweetheart in Indiana, only to find she had died. When he returned in the fall of 1847, he found claim-jumper Amos M. Short on the land. When Short refused to leave, Williamson built another cabin at the foot of what became Columbia Street, and lived there with his partner, William Fellows. Fellows and Williamson hired Scottish surveyor P.W. Crawford who drew a plat in May and June of 1848. Starting at a balm of gilead⁴² tree at the foot of what became Main Street, Crawford drew a line northward to the rear of the HBC's Kanaka Town, for the eastern boundary. The surveyor then drew parallel lines at right angles to Kanaka Town and laid out 200 square foot blocks with fifty by one hundred foot lots. Eighth Street formed the northern boundary, and the western ends of the streets ran from the claim line, ending at the Columbia River. Theophilus Magruder of Oregon City recorded the establishment of the 500-lot town, Vancouver City. Williamson, like many others, including soldiers who attempted to desert from the army, was drawn to the California gold mines and left

⁴¹ 1850 Census; 112 soldiers living in the barracks in 1850 were born in the United States, 55 in Germany, 37 in Ireland, 10 in England, 4 in Scotland, 7 in France, 3 in Canada, 3 in Switzerland, 1 in Wal [sic], and 1 in Sweden. The 18 officers at the Fort in 1850 were all American born. Two soldiers lived in quarters with Lieutenant Colonel Andrew Porter, one born in Germany, the other in the United States.

⁴² The Balm of Gilead tree, later known as the "witness tree" was a form of cottonwood.

the claim. His partner, also lured by possible riches, soon followed, placing a man named Dr. Gardner in charge of the land.⁴³

Social relationships in mid-nineteenth century Vancouver were complex. Amos Short and his family stayed on the claim, and when the HBC ordered them off the land, they refused to go. In response, the Company tore down their fences and destroyed their fields, but still the Shorts refused to leave. Despite the conflict, Emmeline Short later recalled that the only social outlets during the late 1840s and early 1850s were Fort Vancouver and far away Oregon City. Her memories reflected the many interrelated connections between groups during this era. She recalled receiving beads and knick knacks at the fort, and being taken there to play with the disabled son of the Craigs. The entire Short family spoke Chinook Jargon, and Emmeline remembered a time when “there were more Indians than whites.”

Despite individual social relationships with employees of the Hudson’s Bay Company, international hostilities continued to reach into the home of the Shorts. One day while Amos was in Oregon City, some Kanaka and French-Canadian workers of the Company tore down the house, put Esther Short and the children into a bateaux and rowed them to Linnton, Oregon on the south side of the Columbia. Undaunted and determined to settle where he chose, Amos Short set up the framework of a shack and rowed back to Vancouver without his family. When the government laid out the four square mile military reservation on the property he claimed, Amos Short treated them as trespassers, adding the U.S. Army to his list of rivals that included the original native claimants and the Hudson’s Bay Company. The conflict continued, heightening in the spring of 1850 when Short shot and killed Dr. Gardner and a Kanaka servant of the HBC as they tried to eject him from the claim. The American was tried and acquitted, and remained on the land. Short then

⁴³ McLellan, “Vancouver,” 17-18.

had the land surveyed for a townsite, identifying a quarter section on the east for a county seat. However, further conflict over the land because Short had not filed his claim in Oregon City.⁴⁴

Congress granted each new state or territory one quarter-section of land for a county seat. On July 2, 1850 a newly-created Probate Court in Vancouver selected a site for Clarke's⁴⁵ county seat. The tract selected by the Probate Judges began at the same balm of gilead tree as the military reserve. This time the city lines ran north 160 rods,⁴⁶ then east the same distance, and due south to the river. Despite uncertain land title, the Court laid out twenty-two blocks for the county seat and took possession of the property, including all houses and enclosures except those held by the Hudson's Bay Company. George P. Porter made the survey and platted Columbia City, as the town was called, exacerbating already tense relations between the British and the United States. Dissension included three elements: the HBC held possessory rights over enclosed lands; the U.S. government claimed the land as a military reserve; and congressional declaration authorized establishing a county seat. Both the HBC's Chief Factor and the military reserve's commander refused to allow any buildings on the county site. However, in October, 1853, the army post was reduced to one square mile. The following year, at the original site of Columbia City, the County seat of Clarke was established.⁴⁷

Yet another claimant, the Catholic Church, contested the boundaries of the military land. On August 14, 1848 Bishop A.M.A. Blanchet filed under the Organic

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 19-20. Emmeline Short, "From An Interview With Miss Emmeline Short," *Told By the Pioneers: Tales of Frontier Life As Told by those Who remember the Days of the Territory and Early Statehood of Washington* (Printed under W.P.A. sponsored Federal Project No. 5841: U.S. Works Progress Administration, Washington Pioneer Project, 1937) Vol. I, 108. See Sister Mary DeSales McLellan and Bancroft's *History of Oregon* for a more detailed explanation of the land disputes between the Shorts, St. James Mission, the Hudson's Bay Company and the United States government.

⁴⁵ Clark County was spelled with an "e," Clarke, until after the turn of the century.

⁴⁶ A rod is a "unit of linear measure, 5 1/2 yards or 16 1/2 feet." *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language* (New York: Gramercy Books, 1986), 1240.

⁴⁷ McLellan, *Vancouver*, 23-25.

Act of Oregon for land overlapping both the townsite and the military reserve, where the St. James Mission stood. For years, intense conflict took place in Vancouver over this fifteen-degree-triangle of land, with unclear land title discouraging settlement and business investment. In 1853, Colonel B.L.E. Bonneville laid out the one mile boundary of the military reserve, “to protect the improvements of the H.B. Co” for later use by the U.S. military:

The Eastern and Western boundaries commencing at the river bank, the former about one hundred yards east of the pickets of the H.B. Company’s fort, and the latter about the same distance west of the wharf, and running about fifteen degrees east of north so as to pass the flank of the U.S. barracks at equal distances, and thus continue until six hundred and forty acres shall be embraced with them and the line connecting their northern extremities--the river bank being taken as the southern boundary. As it is probable that the northern boundary will not pass more than three hundred yards in rear of the barracks you will see that if we wish to include the barracks we cannot lay off a longer front on the river. Within the limits of the reserve will be embraced all the buildings of the H.B. Co. most likely to be used by the Government should the buildings and other improvements of the Company ever be sold.⁴⁸

Battles raged for the next twenty-five years between the townsite claim, the church claim, the HBC claim and the U.S. Army. On January 23, 1872 in lieu of the land claimed by the Catholics, the St. James Church received an award of a little less than half an acre where the church now stands, at 218 West 12th Street.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 28.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 25-28.

Vancouver Barracks in the early years

Churches and local settlers, in addition to the HBC's Fort Vancouver, provided social connections for the soldiers and officers at the barracks. Lieutenant Theodore Talbot, who arrived on the *Massachussets*, attended both Catholic and Protestant church services, and visited with the daughters of local settlers. In 1852, Brevet Captain Ulysses S. Grant, who arrived with the Fourth Infantry, also called on local settlers. As a young captain in the army, the soon-to-be famous military man and president was quartermaster in charge of building houses, repairing wagons and outfitting expeditions to survey military roads. Grant's wife, Julia, stayed in the east with their oldest son because she was seven months pregnant when the captain received transfer orders, and he felt that the journey would be too difficult for her.

The Fourth Infantry, having been ordered to establish posts and protect settlers, left Benicia near San Francisco in September, 1852, having endured an arduous crossing of the Isthmus of Panama. Between 100 and 150 soldiers died of cholera. Colonel B.L.E. Bonneville arrived the same month with the four companies of the Fourth Infantry Regiment and the Regimental Band. Upon arrival, Bonneville took possession of Vancouver Barracks and two other military posts, Forts Steilacoom and Dalles. The Fourth then began the work of military road construction to connect settlement areas.⁵⁰

Vancouver Barracks quickly became the base of military society as well as government explorations and Indian operations. In the early 1850s, the Fourth Infantry Band played reveille and *tattoo* morning and evening, and performed for parties at night. Officers and their "ladies," enlisted men and their wives, and civilians from all around, would dance "until the wee small hours of the morning." When Captain Grant arrived, settler protection was not a pressing issue. Few

⁵⁰ *Journals of Theodore Talbot*; Charles G. Ellington, *The Trial of U.S. Grant: The Pacific Coast Years, 1852-1854*, with a foreword by John Y. Simon (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1987), 21; Hemphill & Cumbow, *West Pointers*, 90.

Indians remained in the vicinity of the barracks. Grant noted some Klickitats and others passing through, and he commented that these Indians were “easily controlled and altogether too insignificant in prowess & numbers to need much care or attention, and even this poor remnant of a once powerful tribe is fast wasting away before those blessings of civilization whisky and Small pox.”⁵¹

There were no hostilities with native people during Grant’s year at Vancouver Barracks. The young officer stayed occupied with his military duties, hunting, fishing, visiting the Covingtons,⁵² and various entrepreneurial enterprises to make money. He lived with Rufus Ingalls, Brent, and three clerks in “Quartermaster Ranch,” the house sent round Cape Horn a few years earlier. The men of Quartermaster Ranch “messed” with the family of Sergeant Sheffield. They also played cards and entertained in the evenings, and the Quartermaster Ranch house, among the finest in Oregon Territory, became a center of regional society. Captains Grant, Ingalls, and Wallen also went into business together, attempting to capitalize on the shortage of goods along the Pacific Coast caused by the California Gold Rush. They tried raising potatoes, and selling chickens, cattle, pigs, and ice to California. But, as luck would have it, their potato field flooded, the chickens died

⁵¹ *Journals of Theodore Talbot*; Ellington, *Trial of U.S. Grant*, 110.

⁵² Richard Covington was brought to Vancouver by the Hudson’s Bay Company to teach the children of the Fort employees. In 1848, the Covingtons took up a homestead at Fourth Plain, near Orchards, conducting a school there (McLellan, *Vancouver*, 45). The Covingtons played an important role in early Vancouver society. Captain Grant was said to have often visited the family, and in a poem based on local legend and written in 1914, Grant is said to have “flirted with Indian lass, The bright-eyed Mary Looking-Glass: And oft he turned from Columbia’s main, And rode six miles to old Fourth Plain, thru forest-trails of Washington, To sing with Dolly Covington,” Glenn N. Ranck, “Young Grant at Vancouver,” in *Legends and Traditions of Northwest History* (Vancouver: American Printing and Stationery Company, 1914), 64. Local legend says that Grant fathered a child with an Indian woman while in Vancouver. Delia Sheffield, who arrived with the Fourth Infantry and lived near Grant, says it is “absolutely false, for this Indian girl was born a few months after our arrival in Vancouver.” William Lewis, editor of Sheffield’s reminiscences, attributes the story to a mix-up in identity. Richard Grant, an HBC trader at Fort Hall, was known as “Captain Grant,” and often visited Fort Vancouver. “Reminiscences of Delia B. Sheffield,” *Washington Historical Quarterly* 15, 1 (January, 1924), 62.

enroute, Wallen owed money to Grant, and the ice melted before reaching San Francisco.⁵³

⁵³ Mrs. D.G. Sheffield in J. Neilson Barry, "Honoring General U.S. Grant, Stationed at Columbia Barracks Vancouver, Washington. 1853," (Portland: Hill Military Academy, 1927), 2; Ellington, *The Trial of U.S. Grant*, 113-114.

Washington Territory in the late 1850s

On February 8, 1853, Washington became a territory, and West Point graduate Isaac Ingalls Stevens resigned from the army to accept an appointment as territorial governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Washington Territory. At the same time, the newly-appointed governor successfully lobbied to head the survey for a Northern Pacific Railroad route. Stevens gave the Northern Railway Survey first priority, taking nine months after his appointment as territorial governor to reach Washington Territory. To save time, he divided the survey into two routes. An eastern party, led by Stevens, surveyed between the 47th and 49th parallels across the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains. A western party under George B. McClellan, with quartermaster, Lieutenant Henry C. Hodges, left Vancouver on July 18, 1853 with sixty-six men and 173 horses, surveying north to the 49th parallel. Since the quartermaster didn't have enough horses and mules to outfit the party, he purchased Indian ponies, and contracted services and goods from the Hudson's Bay Company. In addition, he outfitted a pack train at Fort Dalles to meet the governor's party when it reached the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains. Steven's party passed the Continental Divide through Cadotte's Pass, and entered Washington Territory on September 24, 1853. Before traveling to Olympia in November 1853, Stevens stopped at the nexus of government operations, Vancouver Barracks. The territorial governor remained at the post for nearly two weeks, and dined with Colonel Bonneville while there.⁵⁴

Vancouver grew quietly during this period, and the military played an integral role in community development. The city lacked a prison, so the military boarded civil prisoners, confining them in the guardhouse at the barracks. The military also supplied early settlers with goods from the sutler's store and canteen

⁵⁴ Hemphill & Cumbow, *West Pointers*, 25-26; Philip Henry Overmeyer, "George B. McLellan and the Pacific Northwest," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 32, 1 (January, 1941), 48.

within the military reserve. The territory grew slowly, but steadily, with most of Washington's emigrants heading to the Puget Sound. Enough people, however, halted in Vancouver to build a small city. In April, 1854, the name Vancouver Precinct was changed to Columbia. A business district began at the waterfront and the commercial establishments, a saloon and a bowling alley, opened July 4, 1854. Two hotels also opened the summer of 1854, the Pacific House, built by Esther Short whose husband drowned the previous year, and the Alta House. When the city incorporated on January 23, 1857, it was "constituted and declared to be a municipal corporation by the name and style of the 'City of Vancouver.'" Thus, city officials could work toward municipal improvements such as street lights, "good and wholesome water," a city jail, establishing a police department, and keeping "vagrants and paupers" off the streets. The incorporation act authorized a number of other improvements, providing power and authority to organize, finance, and develop a city. Meanwhile, Colonel Bonneville developed the military reserve, soon considered among the most comfortable posts in the Pacific Northwest. Prior to the Indian Wars of 1855, a relatively calm period prevailed at the barracks. The Fourth Infantry built roads and did routine patrolling, but difficult transportation routes and few soldiers prevented them from penetrating the interior Columbia Plateau.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Legislature of Washington, Fifteenth Session, "An Act to Incorporate the City of Vancouver" (Charles Prosch, Public Printer, 1857), 7; McLellan, *Vancouver*, 35, 42, 44; Hemphill & Cumbow, *West Pointers*, 28.

The Yakima Indian Wars

From 1849 to 1881, Vancouver Barracks served as the regional base of operations for a variety of conflicts with indigenous peoples . . . Until the Whitman Incident of 1847, American relations with regional indigenous peoples were generally peaceful. Indians provided labor for the Hudson's Bay Company, for incoming migrants, and later for the military at Vancouver Barracks. Euro-American diseases severely impacted indigenous populations, but it was not until Americans tried to remove Indians from their homes in the quest for gold and land, that early hostilities magnified. The first major incidents involving the military were the Rogue River Wars. Trouble began along the Rogue River in 1851 when gold seekers and agrarians entered lands occupied by the Rogue River Indians. In 1853, the army sent troops to fight the Rogue River Indians. Although the Table Rock Treaty set aside a temporary reservation, the conflict continued, emerging by 1855 into full scale warfare east of the Cascade Mountains.

Neither American settlers, the civilian government, or the military questioned Indian removal as a policy. In June of 1855 approximately 5,000 Nez Perces, Yakamas, Cayuses, Walla Wallas, Umatillas, and other Columbia River bands attended a council with U.S. representatives at Walla Walla, Washington. Governor Stevens and Indian Agent Joel Palmer, with a military escort, held a series of meetings with Indian representatives. Stevens asked for their cooperation:

What shall we do at this council? We want you and ourselves to agree upon tracts of land where you shall live; in those tracts of land we want each man who will work to have his own land, his own horses, his own cattle, and his home for himself and his children. . . Now we want you to agree with us to such a state of things: You to have your tract with all these things; the rest to be the Great Father's for his white children. . . Besides all these things, these shops, these mills and these schools which I have mentioned, we must pay you for the land which you give to the Great Father.

Stevens assigned leaders or “chiefs” according to his own perceptions, granting them the authority to make decisions for large groups of people. The Indians listened suspiciously, and after much wrangling and coercion signed the treaties. Chief Lawyer signed for all the Nez Perce, although many disagreed. Peo-peo-mox-mox signed for the Walla Wallas. The Cayuse, Umatilla, and Walla Wallas received a reservation for the “Confederated Tribes” near the Blue Mountains. Kamiakin of the Yakamas signed the Yakima⁵⁶ Treaty reluctantly, becoming head chief of all the tribes and bands of the “Yakama, Palouse, Pisuose, Wenatshapam, Klicatat, Klinquit, Kow-was-say-ee, Li-ay-was, Skin-pah, Wish-ham, Shyiks, Oche-chotes, Kah-milt-pah, and Se-ap-cat.” The treaty declared the Indians of Washington confederated as one nation under the name of “Yakama.” The two largest tribes received sizable reservations, while some smaller tribes reluctantly agreed to the treaties. Indian leaders, under intense pressure, false promises of education, annual provisions, hundreds of thousands of dollars, and with little recourse, signed away 45,000 square miles of land in the Pacific Northwest.⁵⁷

Negotiations were one-sided, and before treaty ratification whites discovered gold on the Upper Columbia and trooped across Yakama Indian land leading to intense conflict in the Northwest. Some Yakamas became angry about the trespassing, and when Indian agent Andrew Bolon and some miners were caught on Indian land, the Indians killed them. The Bolon incident started the 1855 Indian Wars. Kamiakin revolted, aided by pro-war factions of some other groups, including the Palouse, Walla Wallas, and Klickitats. The Indians attacked a U.S. Army expedition near Toppenish and the soldiers retreated, building a blockhouse

⁵⁶ The treaty is titled “Yakima,” and most historical accounts spell the group’s name with an “i.” However, in the 1990s, the Yakama’s reclaimed the original spelling with an “a.” Unless otherwise noted, the “a” spelling will be used here.

⁵⁷ Alvin Josephy, *The Nez Perce Indians And the Opening of the Northwest* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997), 314-332. For information about the impact of disease on the Yakama Reservation, see Clifford Trafzer, *Death Stalks the Yakama*.

on the Klickitat River. Governor Stevens, treaty negotiator, Indian Agent, and railroad surveyor, declared martial law, temporarily closing the area to white settlement and raising volunteer armies once again. The Yakamas and Walla Wallas captured Fort Walla Walla. In retaliation, volunteer soldiers killed Peo-peo-mox-mox, scalped him, and stripped skin from his back to use for razor straps. Conflict between Indians and American volunteers resulted in trouble between General Wool and Governor Stevens. Wool felt that volunteers caused trouble and slowed the peace process, and Stevens became angry that the general refused provisions for volunteers. Conflict with the Yakamas halted briefly in 1856 with the defeat of Chief Kamiakin. However, several hostile incidents took place during the last half of the decade, including an Indian attack on the city of Seattle in 1856.⁵⁸

Throughout the mid-to-late 1850s a sense of urgency and instability pervaded the Pacific Northwest. The government charged the the U.S. military with implementing expansionist U.S. policies by ensuring safety for American settlers. With time, thought most whites, including army officers and civilians, the Indian problem would resolve itself. Native people would “gradually disappear, about the same time, from the different sections of the country.”⁵⁹ While the HBC had relatively peaceful relations with the Indians, instability, mistrust, and fear underscored American-Native relations. Governor Stevens revealed the pervasive sense of panic and frontier isolation in an 1856 letter to Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis:

The most melancholy feature of the war is, that the Indians who have taken the lead in murdering our men, our women and children, were those who received the most favors from the whites, and were held by them in the most

⁵⁸ Carlos Schwantes, *The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 117-119; “Appendix 5, The Yakama Treaty, June 9, 1855,” in Hunn, *Nch’i-Wana*, 363;

Williams, *Bridge of the Gods*, 105-106.

⁵⁹ George Rollie Adams, “General William Selby Harney: Frontier Soldier, 1800-1889” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona, 1983), 297.

consideration. Many cases have occurred of Indians killing their friends and benefactors. Are you surprised that a general distrust of all Indians pervades the public mind? . . .

In short, this whole country is a frontier, within a few hours of the camps of the hostile Indians, and with four thousand friendly Indians in our midst of whose faith we cannot be certain.

Our safety lies in two things. 1st. To carry the war against the hostile with the whole force of the Territory, and to bring them to unconditional submission. And 2nd. To give no cause of offense to the friendly Indians in our midst, even in the case of persons more than suspected.⁶⁰

In March of 1856, in a last ditch effort to retain their homes, some Cascade Indians near present-day Stevenson, Washington, struck out against local whites. Along with a group of Yakamas and Klickitats, they attacked and besieged the Bradford Store, killing one woman and eleven men. But, with military assistance the emigrants prevailed. Philip Sheridan, then a second lieutenant, left Vancouver with a detachment of forty dragoons to rescue the settlers held hostage in a blockhouse at the Cascades. Under Sheridan the troops successfully freed the settlers. Sheridan arrested thirteen Indians, and despite questionable culpability, 9th Infantry commander, Colonel Wright, ordered ten of them hanged.⁶¹ Colonel Wright felt the incident could be instructive to both whites and Indians. Whites would be aroused to “the necessity of always having their arms with them,” and as for the “Friendly” Indians:

. . . I have given them a lesson which they will long remember. Ten of these Indians, including their chief, have been hung by sentence of a military commission. The residue, some forty men, and seventy or eighty children have been placed on an island without any means of leaving it, and are under the observation of troops.⁶²

⁶⁰Isaac Ingalls Stevens, “Letter to Hon. Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War,” in *The Official History of the Washington National Guard, Volume 2, Washington Territorial Militia in the Indian Wars of 1855-56* (Tacoma: Office of the Adjutant General, 1961), 76.

⁶¹ Beckham, “*This Place Is Romantic and Wild*,” 57.

⁶²Colonel George Wright, “Letter to Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens,” in *National Guard Pamphlet, vol. 2*, 80-81.

The Yakima Indian Wars were a complex series of events involving both volunteer and regular troops in numerous, sometimes bloody conflicts throughout eastern Washington and southern Oregon from 1853 to late 1858. During this period, a blockhouse was built on the Vancouver post and in 1856 while soldiers were away on Indian campaigns a group of Clarke County Rangers, commanded by Judge William Strong, guarded the post. On the Fourth Plain, the military appointed Richard Covington sergeant of the Clarke county Rangers who built “Fort Sevastopool,” a blockhouse and stockade covering about three acres.⁶³

As the number of Oregon emigrants rose during the 1850s, fear of Indian attack and outright hysteria increased. Although the Indian population was larger than that of the American migrants, disease and cultural disruption fragmented many regional groups. In addition to the disintegrating effects of disease, advanced technology assisted Americans in ultimately winning the wars, if not all the battles. Colonel Wright attributed military success at the Battle of Four Lakes, September 1, 1858, to rifle-muskets which proved destructive at a much greater distance than the Indians’ smooth-bores. The army sustained no losses while the Indians, comprised of the Spokane, Coeur d’Alene, and Palouse, lost between eighteen and twenty men. A bloody battle at Spokane Plains followed four days later. This time, the Indians won. Three days later, after a seven-hour battle on the Spokane River, soldiers shot 900 Indian ponies, captured and hung the principal Indian leaders, and momentarily quelled the Indian Wars.⁶⁴

⁶³ Vancouver Barracks, WA, *Souvenir Vancouver Barracks* (Washington, 1921), 3-4; Elizabeth Gedney, “Folklore of Fourth Plain (near Vancouver, Washington) (Bachelor’s Thesis, Reed College, June 1938), 25.

⁶⁴ Lieutenant William E. Birkhimer, “The Third United States Artillery” *Journal of the Military Service Institution* 14 (Sept./Oct. 1904), 473-474; George Wright, Appendix, “Official Reports of Colonel Wright,” in Lawrence Kip, *Army Life on the Pacific* (New York: Redfield, 1859; reprint, Ye Galleon Press), 133, 138; For an in-depth account of the Inland Palouse Wars, see Clifford E. Trafzer and Richard D. Scheurman, *Renegade Tribe: The Palouse Indians and the Invasion of the Pacific Northwest* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1986).

SECTION II: INTERNATIONAL, NATIONAL, AND REGIONAL CONFLICT

The End of An Era: General Harney in Vancouver

By 1859, Vancouver sported saloons, stores, a blacksmith shop, livery stable, a drugstore, the Metropolis Hall for dances and theatricals, a hotel, and the Henry Weinhard Brewery. The community consisted of the military post and about 100 civilian homes. Nearby soldiers could find attorneys, architects, butchers, apiparians,⁶⁵ apothecaries, and D.H. Hendee even made daguerrotypes. Only two things marred the settlement era - ongoing Indian problems and boundary conflicts with Great Britain. Despite treaties, not all indigenous people remained contentedly on reservations, and it was the military's job to insure peaceful settlement. In 1858 William Selby Harney, a renowned Indian fighter, became commander of the Department of Oregon. His orders were to punish the belligerents by waging total war, to "capture" Indian families, "destroy" their animals, and make "no overture of friendship. . . to any tribes." Harney arrived October 25, 1858 as Vancouver citizens celebrated the outcome of the Indian campaigns. Without authorization, he rescinded a settlement ban east of the Cascades, declaring that the 42,000 remaining native peoples in Washington and Oregon Territories could be "easily controlled." The following year Harney met with a group of Indians from the Pend d'Oreille, lower Pend d'Oreille, Flathead, Spokane, Colville, and Coeur d'Alene tribes in Vancouver. Kamiakin of the Yakamas almost met with Harney, but fled enroute having been told that Harney would kill him.⁶⁶

With the Indian wars momentarily quieted, General Harney turned his efforts to the regional transportation system. Waterways and pack trails remained the most important travel means. A federal wagon road from Walla Walla to

⁶⁵ Beekeepers.

⁶⁶ McLellan, *Vancouver*, 44; George Rollie Adams, "General William Selby Harney: Frontier Soldier, 1800-1899" (University of Arizona: Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1983), 294 - 296, 300 - 302; VanArsdol, *Northwest Bastion*, 15.

Steilacoom and “mud-plagued” private and territorial roads provided the only alternatives. In 1857, overland passage from Olympia to Portland took three days and cost approximately \$20.00. In November of 1858, Assistant Quartermaster Rufus Ingalls presented a detailed plan for a military road between Fort Dalles and Salt Lake City. Another road from Fort Benton, on the Missouri River, to Fort Walla Walla, was proposed. Lieutenant John Mullan was assigned to build what would become the greatest of all road projects in the territory. Mullan began the road in the summer and fall of 1859, completing 633 miles by the end of the following season. The road’s purpose was to aid the movement of soldiers and emigrants and to provide a means for controlling Indians. But, the “Mullan Road,” like similar western military road projects, soon lost importance with the rapid quelling of Indian conflict, the War of Rebellion and the coming of the railroads. Military road projects provided a main source of activity until the Northern Pacific Railroad arrived in 1871-1872, connecting the Puget Sound to Kalama. Even later, small regional road projects kept troops occupied and assisted in opening transportation barriers.⁶⁷

Other barriers to Americanization existed during the territorial era. Although the Hudson’s Bay Company’s possessory rights ended in 1859, questions remained about international boundaries. During the previous two years, misunderstanding and hostility increased between military officials and the HBC. In 1857 Quartermaster Rufus Ingalls requested placement of a military wharf at the site of the HBC Salmon Store. Company officials James Douglas and John Work vehemently opposed the proposition. In a letter to Dugald MacTavish, the two claimed the company was:

. . . truly in the position of the lamb in the fables; -our lands have been occupied by squatters, the countless herds of cattle which constituted the

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, “Harney,” 298-299.

wealth of the establishment have disappeared and there now remains to us but the wreck of our once flourishing settlement at Vancouver.⁶⁸

The company demanded \$30,000 for the Salmon House, threatening to sell it to someone else if the U.S. government wouldn't pay. Ingalls responded angrily. The military would not appropriate the building, he declared. But, not only was the HBC inconsistent in its previous agreements, since the 1846 boundary treaty the military presence provided the only reason for HBC survival in the region. Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden, wrote Ingalls, was a "very shrewd businessman," who recognized the military's supportive role of the HBC through its purchase of lumber, other supplies and teams. "I have no idea that the United States will consent to buy its own soil," insisted Ingalls to Chief Factor Dugald MacTavish, proceeding to explain that others, including the Catholic Church, made claims to the site. "In the present instances," claimed Ingalls, "we clearly have as much right to put up the wharf and store houses on the bank of the river as we had to put up twenty-five houses on the slope in rear of your Fort, or to erect our stables, shops and my quarters, etc. in this vicinity." Commander T. Morris firmly endorsed the quartermaster's reply, both men reminding MacTavish that the HBC had only possessory rights and then, only to the land and buildings they actually used.⁶⁹

The combination of relationships -- the close proximity between the military and the HBC in Vancouver and General Harney's response to the San Juan conflict - - nearly led the two nations to war in the summer of 1859. The exact location of the international boundary remained unclear, and hostilities grew between the HBC and U.S. settlers as the term of occupation came to a close. By early 1859, nearly 20 Americans claimed land on San Juan Island. In July, General Harney visited the island after an American killed an HBC pig. The ensuing conflict, known as "The

⁶⁸ "Documents: Hudson's Bay Company Claims in the Northwest," *Washington Historical Quarterly* 19, 3 (July, 1928), 214-215.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 214-224.

Pig War,” led Americans on the island to request military protection from the northern Indians, and from the British. Without orders Harney sent troops - eventually nine companies - to the island, causing an official protest from Governor Douglas. Harney’s action led to a whirlwind tour by General-in-chief Winfield Scott who ordered all troops, except those under Captain Pickett (later a Major General in the Confederate Army), off of the island. Scott also ordered Harney to leave his post, but Harney refused.⁷⁰

By placing troops on San Juan Island, Harney brought the nation to the brink of war. Some accused the southern-born officer of having ulterior motives. George B. McClellan speculated that Harney intended drawing Great Britain into a war that would overshadow sectional conflict, thus uniting Americans to prevent a civil war. Others believed Harney wanted to provoke a foreign war so that the South could secede without opposition. The British thought he wanted to gain national attention and run for president, and others attributed his actions to antipathy toward the HBC. According to one biographer, Harney claimed “that he wanted only to protect American lives, property, and rights from northern Indians and the British.” Whatever the cause for Harney’s actions, his term on the West Coast was a heated period. In 1860, Chief Trader James Grahame and the few remaining HBC employees left Fort Vancouver. On July 5, 1860, General Harney left the northwest also, having received orders to “repair without delay to Washington City and report in person to the Secretary of War.” The San Juan Boundary conflict remained unsettled until 1871 when the Second Treaty of Washington declared Haro Strait the boundary, peacefully incorporating the San Juan Islands into American territory.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Adams, *Harney*, 311-325; House of Representatives, *Executive Document No. 98*, 36th Congress, 1st Session.

⁷¹ *Ibid*; VanArsdol, *Northwest Bastion*, 15.

The Army and the Community

During the Indian wars of the 1850s, a large number of troops came to the Pacific Northwest. As far-off events brought the nation to civil war, the Third Artillery Regiment composed the main troops at Vancouver Barracks. The Third Artillery had marched and scouted along the Pacific Coast and with the Ninth Infantry played a major role in the Yakama Indian Wars. Following the HBC's exit, the garrison at Vancouver dominated the landscape and the army used Company land to grow crops. With fewer Indian conflicts and a growing town nearby, the well-established garrison flourished. Many former HBC employees remained, sometimes working as servants for officers and their families in the diverse military community. In 1860 Henry C. Hodges and wife Anna lived with their small son, Henry C., and a Scottish servant named Margaret. Major Benjamin Alvord employed John Whitehead, a Frenchman, and Bridget Barnes of Ireland. Other high-ranking households employed Scottish and Irish servants during this period, and one, Lieutenant Robert McFeely and his wife Josephine, employed an Irish woman and thirteen year-old Jack, an Indian boy, to assist them. Everyday life in 1860 required intense human and animal labor. Water had to be hauled from the Columbia River or from nearby springs. Stables had to be maintained, horses fed, food grown, and soldiers' duties ranged from groom, to "artificer," (craftsman), to carriagemaker, to musician.⁷²

In 1860, Colonel George Wright, commander of the Department of Oregon, maintained his headquarters in Vancouver. Companies A, B, C, D, G, and M, of the Third Artillery were under the command of William Ketchum, with the Vancouver Ordnance Depot and detachment also at the barracks. Joining the military provided one way for immigrants to become established in the United States. Although all of

⁷² 1860 Census; Ted VanArsdol, "Clark County Medicine, Part II: U.S. Medical Department at Vancouver, 1849-1918;" *Northwest Bastion*, 16; *Clark County History* (Vancouver: Fort Vancouver Historical Society, 1980), 16.

the commissioned officers in Vancouver were born in the United States, many of the soldiers were foreign-born. Some non-commissioned officers and their wives, however, were Irish. Patrick McGuire, who lived with his Irish wife Grace and their five children, ran the Ordnance Department. Unlike commissioned officers' families, they had no servants. B.J. McMahon, the Ordnance Department blacksmith, and his Irish-born wife Jane, had three children under age four, all born in Oregon and Washington Territories. Fourteen men, all sharing quarters, comprised the musician's company. Only one was born in United States.

Despite close quarters, hard work, and other frontier difficulties, emigrants considered Vancouver a healthful place to live, particularly in comparison to the rest of the nation. Oregon's death rates were among the three lowest in the country, although typhoid fever, whooping cough, measles, malaria, and typhus appeared intermittently in mild and epidemic form. A form of dysentery also prevailed, probably springing from the waters of the Columbia, "which, when bottled for a day developed an unpleasant odor and rates a vast number of impurities." In the early years, post surgeons also served the community out of buildings rented from the HBC. Joseph K. Barnes, the forty-two-year-old company surgeon, one of the most famous men to serve in Vancouver,⁷³ came to the city in 1857. The following year, the Sisters of Providence founded St. Joseph's Hospital in Vancouver and the military built a hospital. A majority of people who went to hospitals in the nineteenth century ended their lives there. Since Vancouver had no public cemetery until the end of the decade, the deceased were often buried in the military cemetery

⁷³ 1860 Census.; *National Guard Pamphlet*, vol. 3, 179; Barnes entered the army as an assistant surgeon in 1840 and served in both California and the Pacific Northwest in the 1850s before leaving for Civil War duties. He became head of the U.S. Medical Department in 1864, serving in that position for 18 years (VanArsdol, "Clark County Medicine," 15-16).

near the west boundary of the post, directly across the street from the current Providence Academy.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Susan T.L. Courtney, “Democratic Ideology, the Frontier Ethos, Medical Practice and Hospital Culture: Pacific Northwest Health Seekers, Community Health and the Sisters of Providence, Vancouver, WA 1856-1879,” (MA Thesis: Portland State University, 1992), 106; Margaret Miller Wiswall, in VanArsdol, “Clark County Medicine,” 13; John C. Brougher, M.D., “Pioneer Medicine in Clarke County, Washington,” *Northwest Medicine* (1958), 1-2; McLellan, *Vancouver*, 81; For a discussion of nineteenth century medical practice and its relationship to the Pacific Northwest, including the establishment and practice of St. James Mission and St. Joseph’s Hospital, see Courtney, “Democratic Ideology.”

The Civil War comes to the Pacific Northwest

The Civil War's effect in the Pacific Northwest has been overlooked by many historians, but Sara Jane Richter describes it as the "single most important event of the territorial years (1853-1889) of Washington." With the development of controversy over slavery, the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, and the declaration of Chief Justice Roger B. Taney in the Dred Scott case, an idea brewed among some that the Pacific Northwest should be an independent republic.⁷⁵ Oregonians attempted to stay out of the fray by excluding blacks, either free or slave, from the territory. Washington Territory did not go to such lengths, but relied on isolation and a landscape more conducive to small farms than plantations, to inhibit slavery. Washingtonians were caught up in creating civil institutions, vying for capitol status, worrying about Indian hostilities, and developing communities, when in April of 1861, Civil War broke out at Fort Sumter, South Carolina. Most regular army troops were immediately removed from regional military posts.

Conflict, fear, confusion in the east, and sectional strife in the Pacific Northwest characterized the next four years. Most citizens of Washington Territory claimed they supported the Union. Some sympathized with the Confederacy. But, all followed the events of the war closely. By May, 1861, only one company of 50 men remained in Vancouver, but the garrison remained significant. As Colonel George Wright, commander of the Department of Oregon, pointed out, it was the main depot from which troops were supplied to the region.⁷⁶

On May 1, 1861, President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling forth the militia "of the several States of the Union to the aggregate number of 75,000." Two

⁷⁵ There were some who accused Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens, a pro-slavery democrat, of uniting with Oregon politicians to form a Pacific Republic, Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Vol. 31, History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana* (San Francisco: The History Club, Publishers), 207.

⁷⁶ Edgar I. Stewart, *Washington, Northwest Frontier*, Vol. II (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1957), 27.

days later, the president called for another 42,000 men to serve for three years. Based on the presidential proclamation, acting governor, Henry M. McGill, issued a proclamation in Washington Territory calling for men of arms-bearing age, between sixteen and sixty, to volunteer for service. The territory prepared for the possibility of war, inventorying howitzers, muskets, sabres, and rifles in the blockhouse at Olympia. In May and June of 1861, it appeared that perhaps all regular troops in Washington Territory would be replaced by volunteers. Two main fears dominated the citizenry and the military during wartime -- attacks by Indians and attacks by Confederates off the Pacific Coast. Concerned about possible Indian aggression, Colonel Wright ordered abandonment of Camp Pickett on San Juan Island, but then rescinded the order. He placed the steamer *Massachussetts* at readiness in case of Confederate assault off of the coast. Wright feared that any moment “a single hostile steamer could enter the Columbia River and lay waste all the settlements to the Cascades,” as well as the city of Portland. And the army had neither the troops nor the ordnance to defend the region from heavy guns.⁷⁷

In July of 1861, Congress passed the Volunteer Employment Bill to fill the gap left by regulars. Volunteers were to serve no less than six months and no more than three years, and they would receive the same treatment as regular soldiers. Only 6,000 men were of arm-bearing age in Washington Territory, and enlistment lagged. General Wright complained that “the newly discovered mines draw off a large portion of the able bodied men.” War combined with the 1858 discovery of gold on the Fraser River disrupted settlement patterns. Fields languished as men abandoned farms to seek riches, supply costs rose exorbitantly, and luxuries became scarce. A barrel of flour sold for \$20.00, “usually spoiled” beef for fifteen cents a pound, wood for \$30.00 a cord, potatoes at a dollar a bushel, and a gallon of

⁷⁷ *National Guard Pamphlet*, 184-185; Sara Jane Richter, “Washington and Idaho Territories,” *Journal of the New West* (16: 2), 29; VanArsdol, *Northwest Bastion*, 18.

whiskey -- the medicinal cure-all -- sold for \$17.60. Volunteers lived in log barracks, slept on hay mattresses, and received beans, pork, and sugar as staples. During the Civil War 964 men from Washington Territory became volunteers, and troops from California and Oregon also staffed regional posts.⁷⁸

In late October, 1861, five companies of California volunteers arrived in the Northwest and camped near Vancouver. Company E remained in Vancouver, and the rest went to other northwest posts. Many of the California volunteers, having sought Civil War glory, were dissatisfied with their assignments. Rather than experiencing bloody battles, northwestern volunteers garrisoned forts and on occasion pursued Indians, usually Shoshones. By 1862, Oregon furnished volunteer soldiers for the Pacific Northwest and the First Oregon Cavalry replaced Californians on frontier posts. The Oregon cavalrymen protected civilians from criminals, both Indian and white, who attacked Oregon Trail emigrants. Throughout the war, the cavalrymen were involved in Indian/government relations. Complex relations existed between Indians and whites. Each group feared the other, and whites were often the source of problems. Although some Indians attacked settlers who usurped their lands, many white men, capitalizing on a Euro-American cultural view of Indian inferiority, created tense relations by selling them whiskey, stealing their horses and raping their women.

In addition to coping with internal problems, northwestern volunteer soldiers defended the Pacific Coast from potential Confederate invasion. One of the major outcomes of the Civil War on Washington Territory was the beginning of fortifications for defending the Columbia River. A coastal attack could have meant loss of the entire Pacific coast. The army built Fort Canby at Cape Disappointment as part of the coastal defense system under the Congressional Northwest Coastal

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, "Washington and Idaho Territories," 29.

Defense Plan of July, 1862. Gold-laden ships from California, bound for the east coast and Europe, gave northwesterners and General George Wright reason to fear. On October 8, 1864, Captain James I. Wadell of the Confederate Navy left England bent on capturing Pacific Coast treasure ships. When he left England, Wadell lowered the Union Jack and raised the Confederate flag, changing the name of his ship from *Sea King* to *Shenandoah*. The pirate Confederate cruised the Pacific coast during the latter part of the war, capturing thirty-eight vessels, allowing eight to go free, and burning and scuttling the others.⁷⁹

Fear of Confederate and Indian attack kept territorial and state volunteers working during the war years. Vancouver continued as headquarters of activities in the northwest, directing the building of Forts Klamath, Boise, and Lapwai. Company I of the First Washington Territorial Infantry was stationed at Vancouver with Company A of the 9th Infantry under Major Pinkney Lugenbeel, with the Vancouver Arsenal under the command of Captain Theodore Eckerson of the Ordnance Corps. Throughout the war, volunteer soldiers signed up for duty, going through Vancouver as they moved on to other posts. Among these young men was William Hilleary, born in Des Moines County, Iowa in 1840. At the age of twenty-one, young William decided to try his luck in the West, paying \$20.00 for steerage from San Francisco to Portland. In November of 1864, William rode to the state fairgrounds in Salem, Oregon where recruiter Abner W. Waters of Linn County was speaking, and the local women sang songs such as “Stand up for Uncle Sam my boy.” A few days later, William decided it was his duty to give “service to the best government on the earth, that rebels were trying to overthrow.” So he rode to Albany and enlisted for three years, “unless sooner discharged.”⁸⁰

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 30-31.

⁸⁰ William Hilleary, “Diary, Vol. I,” May 5, 1865, MSS 919, Oregon Historical Society, Portland Oregon.

A Volunteer Soldier in Vancouver

Volunteer troops remained active until 1866, and Hilleary performed a number of duties during his stint as a soldier. His first duty was at Fort Hoskins, Oregon, and on April 16, 1865 he moved to Vancouver where he was struck by the beauty of the town. “But alas,” wrote the young diarist, “every alternate house . . . is a grog shop or house of ill fame.” When Hilleary arrived, the town still reeled from the April 14 assassination of Abraham Lincoln. One soldier, having declared, “Lincoln ought to have been shot 4 years ago,” was in the chokebox. The soldier received ten years hard labor and a ball and chain, “rather expensive rejoicing to that ‘blue’ coat,” decided Hilleary. That night, another soldier, Private Griffith, had the “horrors,” and the new arrivals took him to the nearby hospital. The following day, a gun fired every hour in honor of Lincoln, and two days later a twenty-one-gun funeral salute for the president took the place of daily drill. On April 27 Vancouver troops went to Portland for a memorial in honor of Lincoln. A squad from Company F participated, but “old soldiers” and the volunteers were an awkward combination when it came to battalion drill. Hilleary described a free dinner at a hotel given by the ladies of Portland as the highlight of the trip.⁸¹

Hilleary spent nine months in Vancouver. He spent most of his time as Corporal of the Guard at one of the three guard houses. Twenty one prisoners, dubbed “Company 2,” were confined at the principal guardhouse, a “comfortable two story house.” The young soldier complained often of hunger. Supplies were short and expensive and a soldier could “eat up all his wages and not be a glutton either,” wrote Hilleary in his diary. Hard tack and coffee, carrot soup, and rotten mutton were common fare. Some soldiers resorted to stealing food. One Sunday a group of men went fishing:

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

Some of the boys bait hooks for fish others bait them for chickens. the unsuspecting hen swallows the bait, when alas the soldier takes her under his arm, walks to quarters. a chicken with a hook on its throat neither squawks nor flutters.

The soldiers of Company F did not care for pay in depreciated greenbacks, nor did they like more personal government regulations. When the Company was formed, each soldier received two sets of blankets and chose his “bunkee.” But when they arrived in Vancouver, officers divided the company into squads, “compelling men to change the ‘bunkees’ for others ‘with the itch.’” After considerable protest, the captain, A.W. Waters, decided the men could sleep “just as we had heretofore.”⁸²

Nearby Portland provided some diversion for soldiers, as did card games, “catch dollar shows” at the Oak Grove Theater, and saving a young “Siwash” from coercion. When a young Indian girl was forced to accompany a white man to his home in April of 1865, her father appealed to the military. A corporal and four men went to the white man’s house and found the girl “under a bed in one corner of the house. The soldiers reprimanded the culprit and the father took his daughter and ‘skedaddled.’” A few days later Hilleary went on furlough, spending twenty-four free hours in Portland. Unlike earlier soldiers who had to troop along bridle paths, Hilleary reached the city in nearly an hour-and-a-half, first taking the steamer *Wilson S. Hunt*, then the *Fannie Troupe*. After a rough evening in a pub, then at the house of a “friend,” whose wife was none too pleased with his company, Hilleary spent the following day about town, having his photo taken to send home to mother and to his “girl.” Before leaving the army, the young soldier participated in military road explorations, caring for government animals, and the common dilemma of a soldier -- trying to make enough money to survive while serving his country. Although he received a clothing allowance,⁸³ soldier’s pay was low, \$108.00 for six months duty, and prices were high. During his first year as a soldier, Hilleary

⁸² *Ibid*

⁸³ Hilleary’s clothing allowance was \$8.44 for the first year and \$5.24 the second.

purchased infantry pants for \$4.75, a forage cap for a dollar, a shirt for \$1.50, two pair of shoes, one sewed, for \$2.70, the other pegged, for \$2.25, and suspenders for \$1.33.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Hilleary Diaries, Books 1 & 2.

The War Ends and the Battles Begin

With the surrender of General Robert E. Lee to U.S. Grant at Appamattox, Virginia on April 9, 1865, volunteer troops mustered out and the reassignment of regulars began.⁸⁵ Part of the 14th Infantry was stationed at Vancouver from 1865 to 1866. Known as the “Bloody” or the “Fighting” 14th because of their actions during the Civil War, townspeople initially considered them a rowdy bunch. Soon after their arrival the *Vancouver Register* complained there were more than the usual “drunken persons, supposed to be soldiers. . . roaming about town during the late hours of the night.” Thirteen soldiers were tried on various charges that year. One who had attacked an ordnance officer was sentenced to hard labor. He carried a fourteen pound ball and chain for a year and forfeited \$10 monthly from his pay. But the “boys in blue” eventually became part of the community. The community especially appreciated the 14ths band for sending “sweet music to our citizens along our principal streets.” When the soldiers left in 1866, the local newspaper lamented their loss.⁸⁶

At the war’s end Vancouver experienced an economic downturn, and an ongoing rivalry began with nearby Portland, Oregon. Although the territorial population doubled during the war years, from 11, 594 to 23,955, the local paper worried about development. The economy lagged and the barracks declined as the commissary and quartermaster depots conducted business from Portland. The Oregon Steam Navigation Company, with headquarters in Portland, was the root of the problem, claimed the *Vancouver Register*:

⁸⁵ Ted VanArsdol provides a detailed explanation of the comings and goings of troops at the end of the Civil War in *Northwest Bastion*, 24-27.

⁸⁶ VanArsdol, “The Famed Fourteenth, Vancouver’s Favorite, Part I,” *Clark County History* 12 (Fort Vancouver Historical Society, 1971), 74; The Fourteenth Infantry returned to Vancouver in 1884. The article is part 1 in a series highlighting the involvement of the Fourteenth at Vancouver Barracks during the turbulent years of 1884-1893.

Vancouver has superior natural advantages, but they have been neglected and thus harmed by a lack of enterprise. Business is active. Every house in town is occupied, and several new ones are in process of erection. A considerable number of emigrants are finding their way into our county, notwithstanding the obstacles thrown in their way. . . We want the Company's railroad and the wagon road both, across the portage. The former we have, and the latter we have no doubt can be had if the right steps be taken. . . The present condition of things amounts to an actual embargo upon our prosperity, and it is the duty of all interested to step unitedly forth and demand its removal.⁸⁷

The town needed a feed and provisions store, a place where family supplies such as vegetables, fruit, flour, butter, cheese, together with oats, barley, mill feed, and other things could be purchased at the same time; and a good new building for hotel purposes would benefit the city. Although people took land under the homestead act at \$1.25 per acre, including especially good land northeast of Vancouver, the paper declared the town was dying.

Shifting the military presence to Portland was partly to blame for Vancouver's demise. Although some soldiers remained on the Vancouver post, from 1867 through 1878 Department of Columbia commanders maintained their offices in Portland. Not only were the commanding officers gone, but the musicians of the 23rd Infantry became the pride of Portland.⁸⁸ When Brigadier General Crook recommended abandoning the dilapidated Vancouver post, local residents voiced concern. Citizens took pride in the community's military heritage, and the life of soon-to-be president Ulysses S. Grant, whose west coast business enterprises failed miserably, was lauded as a Vancouver success story. "Captain" Grant's life, claimed the *Vancouver Register* could teach young people "that in waiting there are exceeding great rewards. If need be one must wait his whole life and expect the time of opportunity in the next world. To learn to wait is the highest wisdom."⁸⁹

⁸⁷ *Vancouver Register*, November 11, 1865.

⁸⁸ VanArsdol, *Northwest Bastion*, 25, 29-33; Richter, "Washington and Idaho," 32.

⁸⁹ *Vancouver Register*, October 7, 21, 1865.

SECTION III: SECURING THE AMERICAN CLAIM

Hard Times for the Barracks

In 1870, Vancouver Barracks was in disrepair. Soldiers occupied two frame barracks on the east and west sides of the parade grounds. The east barracks, a two-story eighty-by-thirty-foot building, held enough double bunks to house 140 men. The seventy-five-by-thirty-foot one-story west barracks could hold about seventy men, each with a separate bed. But, few actually lived at the barracks. The Surgeon's General Office reported unhealthy conditions at the Vancouver post in 1870. No ventilation provisions existed in the barracks buildings, and although none of the soldiers were seriously ill, diarrhea due to bad water struck the year before. The basement of the larger barracks contained a kitchen and a mess room, and the kitchen and mess were in the rear of the smaller building. Sheds behind the barracks were used as lavatories, but soldiers used simple earth pits as latrines. Six buildings contained officer's quarters. Three of the buildings were log huts built of red fir, with crevices chinked and plastered, and the walls and ceilings dressed with lumber. The design, known as "four pens and a passage," had two rooms on either side of a corridor. Officers' quarters were lavish compared to those of enlisted men. They contained four rooms and two attics, with kitchen and servants' rooms in the rear. The Surgeon General's report described Vancouver officers' quarters as suitable for the climate and locale, while married soldiers lived in "much decayed, damp, and leaky" residences.

A hospital stood on the eastern line of the parade ground, facing west. It was fairly large, with three "capacious" wards, a surgery, store-room, and steward's room, and two large attics with high ceilings and large windows for convalescents in the main building. Prior to 1870, a hospital garden flourished, but "for the want of efficient gardeners," it languished. Some considered abandoning the dilapidated post, and commanders debated the value of the barracks at Vancouver. Department

commander General Canby estimated post repairs at \$1 million and recommended using troops for labor.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ War Department. Surgeon General's Office, *Circular No. 4* (Washington: Surgeon General's Office, December 5, 1870), 421-422.

The American Claim Guaranteed

While Vancouver lulled, the break in Indian hostilities came to an end with the Modoc War in Oregon. In 1872 the Modoc Indians, dispossessed of their lands by an unratified 1864 treaty, were sent by the U.S. government to live with their rivals on the Klamath Reservation. Trouble had brewed between Americans and Modocs from the first years of Oregon emigration. The Oregon Trail passed directly through Modoc land, and by the mid-1860s 150 newly arriving settlers had been killed. In 1863, under General Alvord the Department of the Columbia built a post at Fort Klamath to protect the emigrant road.

Although ordered to the Klamath Reservation, some Modocs attempted to stay on their land. One band known as Captain Jack's party went to the reservation reluctantly in late 1869, but refused to stay. Claiming poor treatment by both Indian agents and Klamath Indians, they soon returned to their traditional homelands on the Lost River. When they arrived, fearful settlers called for troops, and Captain James Jackson with troop B of the First Cavalry was ordered to route the Modoc camp. In late 1872, Jackson demanded the band's surrender, and when the Modocs refused, war broke out. The Indians retreated to the lava beds near Lost River, "an almost impregnable fortification," then killed between ten and twelve settlers along the Lost River. Further skirmishes followed, involving both volunteers and regulars, including Vancouver's newly-stationed 21st Infantry Regiment, and Klamath Indian Scouts. Finally, the War Department dispatched orders to pursue a more peaceable solution.⁹¹

In response, General Canby left his Portland headquarters on February 8, 1873, with a Peace Commission bound for the field. The troops waited in "tedious" winter weather for the negotiations to take place, and on April 11th Captain Jack

⁹¹ Jefferson Davis, "Report to the Assistant Adjutant-General's Office, Military Division of the Pacific," handwritten (November 1, 1872), 1, 4-5.

and General Canby met at a place between the two camps. Captain Jack has been described as jumping up, pistol in hand and sparking a violent melee in which General Canby and the Reverend Doctor E. Thomas were killed. Jefferson Davis, assigned commander of the Department in Canby's stead, went immediately to the lava beds, reaching the site on May 2, 1873. There he found the troops plagued by low morale and "great depression of spirit." After a further series of skirmishes, the Modocs laid down their arms on May 22, accompanied by their old men, women, and children, about 150 altogether. Another Modoc leader searched for Captain Jack and his band, and by June 5, the military contained the entire band at Tule Lake. Davis intended to execute eight or ten "ringleaders. . . on the spot," but the General of the Army instructed him to hold them, relieving Davis of his "stern duty." The prisoners were moved to Fort Klamath, where the military tried and convicted six men, including Captain Jack. The army immediately executed four of the Modoc men and two received life imprisonment. A few days later, the rest of the band was sent to Wyoming Territory and then to Indian Country, now Oklahoma. The cavalry marched through the countryside to demonstrate their power and put an end to sympathy toward the Modocs. With American rule established, Jefferson Davis reported the tribes throughout the Department were "perfectly quiet."⁹²

Throughout the remainder of the 1870s, the Department of the Columbia worked to seal the American presence by stamping out potential hostilities among regional Indians. In May, 1874, Brevet Major General Alfred Sully took over command of the 21st Infantry Regiment, one company of which was stationed in Vancouver. The same year General Oliver Otis Howard, a Christian zealot, Indian fighter, and former head of the Freedmen's Bureau became the new commander of

⁹² *Ibid*, 7, 10, 17-19.

the Department of the Columbia. After the Civil War, General Howard, bolstered by Christian morality, became committed to the education of Freedmen. Howard felt the nation failed to provide means for freed slaves to achieve economic viability: “Education was the key, because there would be no forty acres and a mule,” wrote one biographer. The general pushed for federal government provisions to educate Black teachers and develop academies, normal/high schools, colleges, and universities. Under the auspices of the Freedmen’s Bureau, Howard University, the general’s namesake, was created. Howard emphasized equal access to education in his summary of the university’s main goal: “to give intelligent youth at the nation’s capital, whatever might have been their previous condition, the benefits of a complete collegiate course and of a thorough professional training.”⁹³

Howard’s view of native peoples was complex, underscored by paternalism and pressure to solve “the Indian problem.” The general played an instrumental role in the campaigns against regional indigenous peoples, including subjugation of the Nez Perce, Paiute, Bannock and other resistant groups. The Nez Perce War of 1877 is the most well known of these conflicts. Howard confined the Nez Perce on a reservation at Fort Lapwai in Idaho, and sent Chief Joseph and his “non-treaty” band first to Indian Country in Oklahoma, and later to the Colville Reservation. As in the case of the Freedmen, Howard’s approach toward Indians was bolstered by Christian righteousness, a worldview that did not match the Indian way of life. The general, under pressure to place Native Americans on reservations, felt strongly that they must adopt agrarian values. As department commander he encountered the “drummers and dreamers” of the Columbia River Plateau whose practices promoted traditional ways of life, remaining on ancient lands, and being rid of the usurping Americans. Chief Joseph, although not a dreamer-prophet, adhered to the dreamers’

⁹³ Thomas C. Battle, “Oliver Otis Howard: A Man For His Times,” (unpublished paper given at Washington State University, November, 1994), 4, 8-9.

belief system. When ordered by Howard to leave the Wallowa region of northeastern Oregon by June of 1877, the Nez Perce leader declared, “The Creative Power, when he made the earth, made no marks, no lines of division or separation on it. . . We will not sell the land. We will not give up the land. We love the land. It is our home.” The outcome of Joseph’s refusal was a four-month-long, bloody war, creating factionalism between the Nez Perce, and placing both treaty and non-treaty groups on reservations.⁹⁴

From 1877-1881 a number of Indians, some resistant and others unlucky, were intermittently incarcerated at Vancouver Barracks. The prisoner’s room of the guard house was eighteen-and-a-half, by thirty-and-a-half, by ten feet, with nine cells, each six-and-a-half by ten feet. Skimiah, a Wishram dreamer prophet from the village of Skin-pah on the north side of the Columbia gorge was incarcerated in the spring of 1877 and released on May 30. Thirty-three members of Nez Perce Chief Red Heart’s band followed in August. This group stayed in the guardhouse for eight-and-a-half months before their April 22, 1878 release. Eleven Bannocks were brought to the barracks in 1878, and thirty-one more followed in May of that year. They were not released until September of 1879. A band of Sheepeater Indians (Shoshone) were incarcerated during that time, as were prisoners on their way to Alcatraz. Others followed, with 40 Indian prisoners captured in 1880 and released the following year when they were escorted to Fort Hall. General Miles, the new department commander arrived in 1881, and the Indians of the region were declared by Brevet Brigadier General Wheaton, “peaceably disposed.”⁹⁵

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 9; Donna Sinclair, “They Did Not Go To War: Chief Red Heart’s Band and Native American Incarceration at Fort Vancouver Barracks, 1877-1878,” *Columbia Magazine* (Fall, 1998), 26; For an in-depth discussion of the Nez Perce War, see Alvin Josephy, *The Nez Perce Indians And The Opening of the Northwest* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997); Ruby and Brown, *Dreamer Prophets of the Columbia Plateau* provides an overview of the lives of Smohalla and Skolaskin and the reaction to Christianity on the mid-Columbia River; Lucullus McWhorter’s *Hear Me, My Chiefs* and *Yellow Wolf: His Own Story* provide accounts of the Nez Perce experience based on interviews performed by McWhorter through an interpreter in the 1930s.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, Sinclair, 27; VanArsdol, *Northwest Bastion*, 43, 47-48.

Improvements Begin

Vancouver and the Pacific Northwest changed dramatically during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. From 1880 to 1893 Washington's population increased 365%, from a little over 75,000 to 349,390. Excluding the garrison, approximately 1,500 people lived in Vancouver, and by 1883 the *West Shore* described the town as "very handsome, and elegant." Settlers rapidly took up homesteads in the county, and the Vancouver land office bustled. The military benefited from the town's development, including the new water system described in the *West Shore*:

There are many stores, several of which are metropolitan in appearance and carry large stocks of goods. . . The water supply is excellent in the extreme. Cold, pure spring water is brought in pipes a distance of five miles to reservoirs near town, from which it is distributed by a system of mains and supply pipes. . . abundant for a city of 20,000 inhabitants. . . A two story and basement brick court house has just been completed at a cost of \$35,000. . . A splendid frame school house, two stories high with a basement beneath. . . is now ready for occupation. . . The town contains many fine residences. . . and a park adds to its beauty.

The military reservation, too, was "very attractive," offering a splendid view of the Columbia Gorge and the snowy crest of Mt. Hood. The local newspaper, however, described Vancouver as "infested with opium houses, gambling holes and houses of ill fame, in which wickedness and robbery go hand in hand." Post improvement began when, under army reorganization, General Howard and his family moved from Portland to Vancouver. Reorganization mandated that all military headquarters be maintained where the government's own buildings or barracks stood, and while Howard planned to move to Vancouver, he negotiated the construction of a grand new home, now known as the Oliver Otis Howard House.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Schwantes, *The Pacific Northwest*, 184-185; "Vancouver. The Oldest Town in Washington Territory," *The West Shore* (August, 1883), 189-190; VanArsdol, "The Famed Fourteenth, Part I," 93.

By January 16, 1879, Howard and family moved into the completed house.⁹⁷ When the 1880 census was taken, the home was occupied by General Howard, his wife Elizabeth, their twenty-four-year-old son Guy, a lieutenant in the army, thirteen-year-old John, and ten-year-old Harry. Also living with the Howards were their daughter, Grace, and her river captain husband from a prestigious Portland family, James Gray. A host of dignitaries visited the Howards during the following year, including the former “Captain Grant” and his family who spent the evening with the Howards in October of 1879. President Hayes, a lame duck at the time and the first president to visit the West Coast, also visited the barracks during Howard’s command. He arrived in Vancouver on the steamer *Lurline* on October 2, 1880, stepping off the plank at the military wharf where the officers of the 21st regiment lined up to greet him. A tardy train into Portland made the president an hour-and-a-half late, causing him to miss a group of small Vancouver children who waited for him at the dock. Hayes spent the evening with General Howard and family, and attended church services at the first Methodist Episcopal Church the following day. William Tecumseh Sherman, commanding general of the U.S. Army after the Civil War, accompanied the president on his west coast journey. Hayes left for Walla Walla on Monday morning, but promised to return to visit the schoolchildren. The following Thursday, October 7, 1880, Hayes again debarked at the military wharf. There, 300 children from Vancouver public schools -- Providence Academy, St. Luke’s School, and Holy Angels College, a Catholic prep school -- lined up to greet him, and publicly dedicated their lives to service of their country.⁹⁸

Vancouver remained a diverse community at the end of the nineteenth century. The visiting dignitaries were probably served by the two servants who

⁹⁷ *Vancouver Independent*, January 2, 1879, January 16, 1879.

⁹⁸ Milton Bona, “U.S. Presidents Visit Vancouver,” *Clark County History* (1978), 57-59; Sherman visited Vancouver Barracks at least three times, first in 1877 on an inspection tour, then in 1880 with President Hayes, and twice more, in 1883 and 1887, on tours of Pacific Northwest military installations.

occupied the upstairs quarters at the back of the Howard House, Kitty Traynor from Ireland, and the Chinese Mick Lai as cook. Irish servants had been common since the Hudson's Bay days, and although the Chinese "Ah-long" cooked for Captain Rufus Ingalls in 1850, the first large influx of Chinese into Washington occurred in connection with placer mining during the 1860s. Chinese miners who didn't strike it rich often turned to work as cooks and launderers. In the 1880s, 126 Chinese people lived in Clark County, ten of whom worked as servants at the barracks. Six of these Chinese men were employed on Officer's Row, but four of them worked for enlisted soldiers. Civilians, too, lived on the Row in the 1880s. The Irish Battersby Family worked hard to maintain a home, with father Michael laboring as a painter, the mother, Bridget "Keeping house," and the two eldest sons, Edward, age twenty, and Richard, seventeen, employed as waiters in one of the two city hotels, the Columbia or the Alta House. Fifteen year-old George also worked as an errand boy, probably helping to support the large family that also included two younger boys. Nearby officers included army surgeon Elisha Bailey, Assistant Adjutant General Oliver Greene, who lived with wife Kate, six children, seventeen year-old house servant Mary Birtch, and Ah Din and Ah You, respectively cook and laundryman. Charles Sawtelle and family lived near Charles E.S. Wood and wife Nanny, with son Erskine, servant Moy Dock, and Erskine's nurse, Mattie Palmer. General Howard's aide de camp, Lieutenant Joseph Sladen, lived next door with wife Martha, their three children, and house servant, Joe Sing.⁹⁹

The officers commanded three companies of the 21st Infantry, Companies K, G, and E, with each company assigned a barracks. The toast of Portland was the

⁹⁹ "Howard House Project: History of the House" (National Park Service Files, O.O. Howard House); Art Chin, *Golden Tassles: A History of the Chinese In Washington, 1857-1992* (United States of America: Art Chin, 1992), 20; "Vancouver in 1883-From *West Shore Magazine*," *Clark County History* (1978), 452; *Clark County Washington 1880 Census, Vol. 3* compiled by Ralph and Betty Korff (Vancouver, WA: Clark County Genealogical Society, 1986), 68, 77; A group of 25 Chinese woodcutters also lived in the county.

twenty-five-man band of the 21st Infantry led by William Thompson of England, and still all but three of the band were foreign-born. They occupied their own barracks, sharing quarters with two sergeant majors and a quartermaster sergeant. One detachment of casuals, numbering eighty-eight men, lived in a separate barracks. Married soldiers and their families occupied nearby homes. So did numerous laundresses despite the 1878 army reorganization regulation stating that “hereafter women shall not be allowed to accompany troops as laundresses.” The many soldiers and families at the garrison made for lively times in the late 1870s and throughout the following decades. Soldiers and civilians alike enjoyed garrison concerts, winter lectures, parades, and Fourth of July celebrations. A “canteen,” the first in the army, provided a well lighted room, sandwiches and coffee for a nickel, and reading and writing material for lonely soldiers. With reorganization of the peacetime army, posts scaled down. The army abandoned some smaller posts like Fort Dalles, improving those they chose to keep.¹⁰⁰

Vancouver Barracks remained active, and soldiers stayed busy throughout the 1880s with building projects, military road construction, and quelling civil disturbances. The mid-1880s was a time of turbulence and activity. Improvements at Vancouver Barracks included hooking up to the city water system, installing the first telephone line, and building a new hospital, among other activities. Some trouble with Indians still brewed, with two companies commanded by Captain William H. Boyle setting out for the Moses Reservation to prevent a possible outbreak among the Columbia Sinkiuse Indians. Like other regional groups, the Sinkiuse were prey to broken promises, and after an 1883 visit to Washington D.C., their reservation was abolished and they were sent to the Colville Reservation --

¹⁰⁰ VanArsdol, *Northwest Bastion*, 47; 1880 census.

without a fight.¹⁰¹ The Northern Pacific Railroad finally completed the tracks for the second transcontinental railroad line in 1883, nearly ending northwestern isolation. The military was instrumental in the long process. The Northern Railroad Survey, directed by Isaac Ingalls Stevens nearly thirty years earlier, identified the route west from St. Paul, Minnesota, while Lieutenant George B. McClellan explored the Cascade Range for suitable passes. The government published the surveys between 1856 and 1861, and in 1864 chartered the railroad. Finally, after a series of financial struggles, the western section was built from Tacoma to Kalama. For the next twenty years passengers and goods moved upriver from Kalama, but the period of western isolation was nearly over. Henry Villard gained control of the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1881, and by September 8, 1883 at Gold Creek, Montana, the railroad's eastern section meet the West. A three to five month wagon trip now took only five or six days.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ For more information about the struggles of Chief Moses and the Columbia Sinkiuse, see Ruby and Brown, *Half-Sun on the Columbia: a biography of Chief Moses*; Center for Columbia River History Moses Lake Community History Website available from <http://www.ccrh.org/comm/moses/inhab1.html>.

¹⁰² Schwantes, *Pacific Northwest*, 139-147.

Civil Disturbance and Vancouver Barracks

The Pacific Northwest faced hard times in the mid-1880s, with a short but severe depression sparking social unrest. Railroad building, mining, lumbering and agriculture brought large groups of Chinese to the region, and racism, an unstable economy, and the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act led to northwestern conflict. In 1884, the 14th Infantry returned to Vancouver Barracks, relieving the 21st Infantry. While at the Barracks the 14th participated in parades, marches, athletic competitions, regimental balls, field trips, and were considered an orderly group of soldiers by Vancouver residents. Commanders provided activities for soldiers, including lyceums,¹⁰³ a post library, a post school, and lectures ranging from military science to mental arithmetic.

As the soldiers enjoyed improved conditions at Vancouver Barracks, unemployed workers agitated to expel Chinese workers from the region, with anti-Chinese legislation finding its counterpart in physical violence. Miners attacked Chinese workers in Wyoming in September of 1885, beginning a six-month chain of anti-Chinese agitation in the Pacific Northwest. The Rock Springs, Wyoming murders left twenty-eight Chinese dead, eleven of them burned to death and others dismembered. A village of 700 to 900 Chinese was also destroyed. Throughout the Puget Sound that September, a series of attacks on Chinese people resulted in death, fires, and expulsion attempts. In Tacoma on September 7, a local Council of the Knights of Labor formed, increasing hostility against Chinese and resulting in the dismissal of Chinese laborers from mines and lumber mills. Chinese individuals were placed on steamers and trains and cleared out of Tacoma and nearby towns by November. Reflecting public sentiment, a *Seattle Call* cartoon showed a white man with a club chasing a pig-tailed Chinese man. The caption read, "The Chinese Must

¹⁰³ A lyceum is defined by *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary* as 1) an institution for popular education providing discussions, lectures, concerts, etc. 2) a building, hall, or the like, devoted to instruction by lectures or to public discussions, meetings, etc.

Go.” Businessmen and residents attended mass meetings in Seattle, discussing various methods to eliminate the Chinese, including depriving them of work, Christianizing, and expulsion. M. McMillan, a representative of the Knights of Labor, proposed a popular solution: “I for one will go into the Chinese quarters. . . and lead down to the steamer two or three Chinamen, and ask them peacefully and politely ‘to go.’” Frightened by the atmosphere, 150 Chinese left the city by boat and train.¹⁰⁴

On November 8, 1885, the Secretary of War issued an order for federal troops. The ten companies of Vancouver’s 14th Infantry headed immediately to Seattle, arriving at 1:30 a.m. the following morning. Nearly 300 residents, some curious, others carrying guns, greeted these first federal troops ever stationed in Seattle. As the conflict subsided, six companies returned to Vancouver by November 17. The other four companies went to Tacoma, returning with prisoners. The *Seattle Call* reported that the remaining uniformed visitors committed a number of brutal assaults on the Chinese, six of which were formally reported. Seemingly unprovoked, soldiers assaulted four Chinese. One had his queue cut off, one was thrown down a flight of stairs, and another was thrown into the bay. In addition, a group of soldiers collected a “special tax” from the Chinese quarters on the night of November 9 with the *Call* reporting a net income of about \$150. The newspaper declared it likely that “the people will be called on to protect the Chinese.” Still, anti-Chinese sentiment raged on all sides. On February 7, 1886, Seattle citizens hauled 350 Chinese to the city’s docks in a successful deportation effort. They sent one group of 196 to San Francisco on the 7th, and another group of 110 to Port

¹⁰⁴ VanArsdol, “The Famed Fourteenth, Part I,” 96; Art Chin, *Golden Tassel: A History of the Chinese in Washington, 1857-1892* (pub. Art Chin, 1992), 65-69.

Townsend. Military troops arrived too late to prevent the expulsion of Chinese from the city.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ Schwantes, *Pacific Northwest*, 184; VanArsdol, *Northwest Bastion*, 54-55; Chin, *Golden Tassel*, 65-69; Jules Alexander Karlin, "The Anti-Chinese Outbreaks in Seattle, 1885-1886" *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 39, 2 (April, 1948), 105; *Seattle Call*, November 10, 1885, in Chin, 69, Karlin, 114.

SECTION IV: CULTURAL CONQUEST

Welcoming Statehood

During this period of civil unrest, Washington Territory marched toward statehood. It had been thirty years since Oregon joined the Union in 1859, and no states had been admitted since Colorado in 1876. Some thought anti-Chinese agitation and the enfranchisement of women set back efforts to attain Washington's statehood.¹⁰⁶ In 1887, Congress approved a plan placing present-day northern Idaho in Washington, and assigning the southern portion to Nevada, but protests by Idaho's territorial governor, Edward A. Stevenson, killed the bill. Politics on Capitol Hill slowed statehood for both Washington and Idaho because Democrats did not want to admit states likely to vote Republican. In 1888, Republicans captured both House and Senate, and President Cleveland signed an omnibus bill, setting in motion the admission process for Washington, Montana, and the two Dakotas. This "enabling act" required the newly formed states to pledge themselves to national standards, which meant assuming federal debts, and maintaining public schools, a republican form of government, racial equality, and religious toleration.¹⁰⁷

On July 4, 1889, the framers of Washington State's constitution met in Olympia. A speaker at the Fourth of July celebration in Vancouver that day declared the achievement of statehood a triumph of American culture and government. Statehood arrived through the "modern annihilation of time and space," wrought by the marvels of steam and electricity, "connecting west to east." The speaker exuberantly welcomed the addition of Washington State, "the *ne plus ultra* of the Northwest." Later that day troops traveled to Portland to take part in

¹⁰⁶ Women's suffrage has a complex history in Washington beginning with the right of "American citizens" to vote in the State in 1867. The right to vote was given, then taken away from women in Washington three separate times.

¹⁰⁷ Schwantes, *Pacific Northwest*, 209-211.

Independence Day festivities, but first they were reminded of the sequence of events leading to statehood: settlement of the “Oregon question” by American emigration; resolution of the boundary dispute in the San Juans; and the subsequent development of the region west of the Cascades “from an almost unbroken forest to a populous and prosperous community, with towns and cities scattered along the shores of its wonderful inland sea.” The speaker credited the “indomitable American Pioneer” for the success of American government, and the American military for fulfilling U.S. destiny. Since 1849 Vancouver’s military post waved the American stars and stripes across the landscape, floating the “sound of the martial music of the Union. . . to waken the echoes of the surrounding country.” Citizens of Vancouver took great pride in previous military residents, publicly commemorating the trio of Ulysses S. Grant, Rufus Ingalls, and Phil Sheridan. General John Gibbon, present that day, was honored. Even General Harney, the impetuous commander who nearly incited war with Great Britain, was commended for bringing General of the Army Winfield Scott to the region.¹⁰⁸

By 1886, when the Army sent Colonel Thomas M. Anderson to command Vancouver Barracks, it was considered a “prestige post” and he and his family remained in the town for the next fourteen years. Anderson’s long tenure, his role in Portland and Vancouver society, and his involvement in the Spanish American War make him an important figure in the barrack’s history. As commander of the barracks from 1886 - 1898, Anderson directed nearly every event during the late 1880s and 1890s, from court martials of alcoholic officers to entertaining Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce at the post. Known among the troops as “Little Thunder,” because he was a small man with a booming voice, the colonel used his oratory talent to advantage in the community. Anderson spoke at Fourth of July

¹⁰⁸ Address at Vancouver, Washington, July 4, 1889, 27, 34-35. The speaker’s name is not given in the address.

celebrations in Esther Short Park and at other gatherings in Portland and Vancouver. The Anderson children attended Vancouver schools and the family formed long-lasting relations with the local upper class, including the Biddle family of Vancouver and the Montgomery family of Portland. Among his most important contributions was concluding the debate over land on the military post. Formerly an attorney, Anderson, with department commander General John Gibbon, brought suit against the Catholic Church which continued to claim lands on the military reservation. In 1894 the Supreme Court confirmed the military's claim leaving the church with only the land upon which stood the recently built St. James Catholic Church.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ Charles A. Gauld, "Thomas M. Anderson: First U.S. General Overseas," *Clark County History* 14 (1973), 250-252.

Recreation and Society

Vancouver Barracks was the center of local high society during the 1890s. Community members from Vancouver and Portland attended many military social events and the post commander and the military's band played important social roles. The 14th Infantry Band performed regularly at theatricals, hops, and parties, entertaining the public and the regiment. They also played in parades for the many official visitors of the period, including President Benjamin Harrison and Major General John M. Schofield. The band, led by German composer Gustav Mueller, dedicated "Under the Starry Banner," to post commander, Colonel Thomas M. Anderson.¹¹⁰

Marches, drills, and explorations also occupied troops at the garrison. Soldiers drilled regularly on the Vancouver Barracks parade grounds where local citizens could observe them. Exploratory trips included Second Lieutenant Joseph P. O'Neil's investigation of the Olympic Mountains in 1890. O'Neil imprinted the military presence on the region when he named mountain peaks for Generals Crook, Gibbons, and Miles, and a double peaked mountain for Thomas M. Anderson and his wife Lizzie.

The nearby town of Vancouver burgeoned during the last decade of the century, with four sawmills, a flour mill, foundry and machine shop, two large brickyards, a match factory, and a growing fruit industry. Nearly 200 horses found a home at a racetrack in Vancouver Heights, between East 33rd and East 39th streets. Many expected Vancouver to become a "great racing center," and Portland fans ferried across the Columbia or arrived in Vancouver on the steamer *Ondine*.

¹¹⁰ VanArsdol, *Northwest Bastion*, 58-59; Arline Anderson Cairns, "The Gay Nineties In Vancouver" (Vancouver National Historic Reserve Trust File, Vancouver National Historic Reserve Trust), 33; "Military and Civil Record of Thomas M. Anderson, Colonel, 14th Infantry, U.S.A" (Vancouver Barracks File: Clark County Museum), 6. Gauld, "Thomas M. Anderson," 252.

Fans then boarded a car on the Vancouver, Klickitat and Yakima Railroad¹¹¹ for the one-mile ride to the racetrack. Vancouver's reputation as a very "horsey" city, extended from early day Hudson's Bay races between Kanakas and Indians to 1890s races in which officers, soldiers, and civilians attended "the best racing track in the West." On the Vancouver Racetrack's opening day, August 30, 1892, the 14th Infantry Band "was discoursing sweet music between the heats."¹¹²

In September of 1891, Brigadier General A.V. Kautz became commander of the Department of the Columbia. During his early years, Kautz, who had been to the northwest with the Fourth Infantry in 1852, spent time at Vancouver. At that time he was stationed at Fort Steilacoom where he lived with a Native American "friend," a woman he called Kate, with whom he had two children. When Kautz left for Europe in 1857, he sent Kate and his children to the Nisqually Reservation, making additional arrangements with William Tolmie of the Hudson's Bay Company to care for them. The Second Lieutenant returned to the U.S. as part of the Blake Expedition of 1860, the only large-scale military movement over the Mullan Road. Called away from the northwest again during the Civil War, Kautz rose in rank, married, and only returned to the Pacific Northwest when nearly ready to retire. Recreational activities abounded during this period, and Kautz and his wife attended dinners, operas in Portland and Vancouver, and rode horses along the Vancouver plains. In 1892, the general retired from Vancouver to Seattle, where he died three years later on September 4, 1895.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Dorothy Carlson, "A Brave Attempt: Vancouver's First Racetrack," *Clark County History* (Fort Vancouver Historical Society, 1974, 384, n. 4); The Vancouver, Klickitat and Yakama Railroad began in 1888 with W.S. Brown as president, L.M. Hidden, vice president, Charles Brown, secretary, and First National Bank treasurer. The line extended as far as Brush Prairie before money ran out and it was discontinued.

¹¹² *Ibid*, 383-384. The Racetrack was short lived. Competition with the nearby Portland races led to its demise in 1910 (389).

¹¹³ Kautz, *Nothing Worthy of Note*, 330; Martin F. Schmitt, ed. "From Missouri to Oregon in 1860: The Diary of August V. Kautz" *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 37, 3 (July, 1946); VanArsdol, *Northwest Bastion*, 60-61.

Disaster, Depression, Insurrection and Vancouver Barracks

Troops at the barracks during the 1890s often dispatched to areas of civil unrest and disaster. When fire ravaged more than thirty blocks in Seattle in June of 1889, Lieutenant William E. Kimball headed north with 500 tents from Vancouver to assist civilians. The same summer, Second Lieutenant Henry C. Cabell took tents to Spokane Falls where a major fire raged.

During Kautz's command, troops again set out to quell civil unrest. A "state of insurrection" brought soldiers from Forts Sherman, Spokane and Vancouver to the Coeur d'Alene mining area of Idaho. An economic depression in the early 1890s contributed to agitation among labor unions in the mining districts of Idaho. As silver prices fell and banks failed, mine owners implemented sliding wage scales and wage reductions for miners. Secret unions formed throughout the Idaho mining districts, providing both community services and political organization.

Hard rock miners called for the Populist free silver movement and sometimes fought violently against wage reductions. Mine owners responded by forming a protective association, cutting wages, hiring Pinkerton spies and armed guards, firing union members, and using scab labor from outside the region. At the Frisco Mine and the Bunker Hill and Sullivan complex near Wardner, Idaho, violent unrest convinced union owners to discharge scabs. The Frisco Mine was dynamited, resulting in death for one worker and injury to others. Miners forcibly marched scabs out of the valley. At Bunker Hill and Sullivan, 600 men seized a \$250,000 concentrator, threatening to destroy it if managers wouldn't discharge scabs. The strikebreakers soon left the Coeur d'Alene region by train. Governor Norman Wilson cut short the miners' jubilation when he ordered martial law in the region, calling for state and federal troops to stop the violence. Five companies of the 14th Infantry from Vancouver under Lieutenant Colonel Hugh Theaker went to Idaho to quell the labor insurrection. The Vancouver soldiers assisted in placing

300 people, including anyone sympathetic to the union, into prisons at Wallace and Wardner.¹¹⁴

The 1890s were difficult times throughout the nation. After half a decade of rapid growth, a financial panic that began in 1893 with eastern bank closures and failed railroads tore through the Northwest. Unemployment rocked the nation as never before. People in the Puget Sound area lived on berries and clams, and those able to keep their jobs lived with the effects of wage reductions. Wheat prices declined in the Palouse region of Washington, and as prices fell further, some farmers committed suicide. Labor unrest in the 1890s infiltrated not only the mines, but also the timber, fishing, farming, and railroad industries. “Hard times,” says historian Carlos Schwantes, “had set the stage for insurgent politics.” While some people turned to the Populist Party, with the Pacific Northwest among the leaders of the nation’s Free Silver Movement, others sought more radical solutions.

The troops from Vancouver were involved in quelling two national disturbances, Coxey’s Army and the Pullman Strike. Low wages, high prices, and a sense of injustice in a system that created large disparities between rich and poor, prompted hundreds of unemployed workers from the Pacific Coast to pirate freight trains from Oregon, Idaho, and Montana. Coxey’s Army planned to march to Washington D.C. to demand jobs and public works. When a group of insurgents tried to steal a train in May, 1894, troops from Vancouver headed to Seattle. “Hops, theatricals, parties, club and other social arrangements” at the barracks were “disorganized” by the troops’ sudden departure. The following month, troops under Colonel Anderson left to quell the famous Pullman Strike.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Mark Wyman, *Hard Rock Epic: western miners and the industrial revolution, 1860-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 167-168; VanArsdol, *Northwest Bastion*, 61, 241-242.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, *Pacific Northwest*, 270-271; *Ibid*, *Northwest Bastion*, 61-62; See Ted VanArsdol, “The Famed Fourteenth, Part I, 95-96; *Report of the Secretary of War, 1892*, 106-112.

As the end of the century neared, unrest continued. The Alaska gold rush was the big news of 1897. Again, the army was involved in international relations, this time with Canada. All parties destined for the Skagway gold mines had to pass through the United States, and Vancouver's Colonel Anderson was asked to keep an eye on Canadian Mounties planning to occupy Lynn Canal. The canal afforded access from the Yukon to the Pacific and when the U.S. demanded withdrawal of the Mounties, Great Britain, then handling Canadian affairs, agreed, angering the Canadians. With cities springing up virtually overnight, the Alaskan gold rush produced disorder and a demand for goods. A government pack train used in a relief expedition passed through Vancouver, and fifty troops of the 14th Infantry, commanded by Captain Bogardus Eldridge and Lieutenant Elmer W. Clark, provided a government escort. The possibility of disorder at the mines in Skagway prompted the War Department to order four companies of the 14th Infantry regiment to Alaska, and to keep two more in readiness at a moment's notice. Colonel Anderson was to place his headquarters at Dyea and troops would police the region from bases at Skagway and Dyea. As the end of 1898 approached, exploring expeditions and outfitting for duty in Alaska continued. At the same time, relations between Spain and the United States worsened, and the nation prepared for yet another war.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, *Northwest Bastion*, 65-66. Gauld, "Thomas M. Anderson," 256.

Vancouver Barracks and U.S. Expansion Overseas

U.S. expansionist policies took troops overseas from Vancouver. In February 1898, after the *U.S.S. Maine* exploded in Havana Harbor, Congress debated a resolution recognizing Cuban independence. On April 11, 1898, President McKinley asked Congress to go to war on behalf of American interests, to end hostilities, and to secure a stable government. Admiral George Dewey headed to Manila Bay when Congress declared war on April 22, 1898. McKinley immediately called for 125,000 volunteer troops. The troops were “to serve for two years unless sooner discharged,” and the First Washington Regiment, United States Volunteers formed.¹¹⁷

Vancouver became a training and departure station for Washington Volunteers and the regular army through the next few months. Captain Frank Taylor of the 14th U.S. Infantry mustered troops at the state rendezvous, Camp John Rogers near Tacoma. Other volunteer companies reported to Colonel John H. Wholley, First Lieutenant, 24th U.S. Infantry, at Camp John Rogers, including a company of infantry from Vancouver. On May 25, 1898, the president called for additional troops, and on June 20 the state of Washington received notification to provide one battalion of Infantry. The additional troops, composed of two companies of infantry from Pomeroy and New Whatcom and two volunteer companies from Tacoma and Waterville, were ordered to Vancouver Barracks for further training. They remained in Vancouver, garrisoning the post following the withdrawal of regular troops until they mustered out of service in October, 1898.¹¹⁸ Meanwhile, during the summer of 1898 volunteer soldiers trained at Vancouver, and many troops returned from Alaska ready for new assignments. During this high

¹¹⁷ Virgil F Field, *Washington National Guard Pamphlet: The Official History of the Washington National Guard*, Vol. 4. (Camp Murray, Tacoma: Headquarters Military Department State of Washington Office of the Adjutant General, 1961), 403; Van Arsdol, *Northwest Bastion*, 68.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, Field, *National Guard Pamphlet*, 403-404.

turnover period more soldiers were stationed at Vancouver than at anytime before or after, until World War I.¹¹⁹

On May 1, 1898 a United States fleet commanded by Admiral George Dewey defeated the Spanish in Manila Bay. Troops, including numerous regular army and volunteer soldiers, were sent from the U.S. to help Dewey take Manila. In May, 1898, Anderson and the soldiers at Skagway and Dyea traveled from Alaska to the Presidio in San Francisco, joined by soldiers from Vancouver Barracks and volunteers of Oregon, Washington, and other western states. Three chartered army transports sailed out of the Golden Gates under the command of Brigadier General Thomas M. Anderson. Van Anderson, the general's son, stowed away on his father's vessel, emerging when the ship was too far out to sea to set him ashore. He then served in the U.S. Customs Service in Manila from 1899-1900. After passing through Hawaii, where Hawaiian royalty entertained Anderson at Honolulu's Iolani Palace and Hawaiian music enchanted the soldiers, the three ships headed toward Guam, then to Manila Bay where they disembarked at the former Spanish navy base at Cavite.

This war was the first large-scale overseas military campaign, undertaken by a military staff, administration, and army built to fight Indians. Without experience in the tropics, Anderson's expedition left San Francisco poorly prepared, with no mules, wagons, or landing boats. General Anderson later commented on his own ignorance of Philippine conditions, declaring: "I had not yet heard of Emilio Aguinaldo. All I knew of the Philippines was that they were famous for hemp, earthquakes, tropical diseases and rebellion."¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Gauld, "Thomas M. Anderson," 260; VanArsdol, *Northwest Bastion*, 68; *National Guard Pamphlets*, vol. 4, 403-404; Emilio Aguinaldo, "Aguinaldo's True Report of the Philippine Insurrection" *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* 57, 196 (July-August, 1915), 5.

¹²⁰ Gauld, "Thomas M. Anderson," 257-258.

The U.S. fought the Spanish with the support of Emilio Aguinaldo, the revolutionary Filipino leader. Aguinaldo thought that the U.S. would first remove the Spanish from Cuba, and then from the Philippines. In July 1898, General Anderson and Admiral Dewey met with Aguinaldo. The Filipino leader requested U.S. assistance in achieving Filipino Independence and relief from Spanish rule.¹²¹ However, Anderson captured Manila placing the city under American rule and alienating Aguinaldo. When the U.S. refused to relinquish control of the Philippines Aguinaldo protested, claiming the Americans had agreed to support Filipino Independence. Aguinaldo claimed a breach of negotiations with his revolutionary government:

Oh! Beloved Philippines, your riches and beauty are to blame for the misfortunes that your faithful sons are now suffering. You have awakened the greed of the Imperialists and Expansionists of North America, and they both fixed their sharpened claws into the Motherland.¹²²

These events set the stage for the Philippine Insurrection of 1899.

¹²¹ There is a wide body of literature pertaining to the Spanish American War. To gain a general perspective see, PBS Home Video, “Crucible of Empire: The Spanish American War” (Great Projects Film Co., 1999). For a more academic understanding of the development of United States imperialist policies and the Spanish American War see, Louis Perez Jr., *The War of 1898: the United States and Cuba in history and historiography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and revolution, 1868-1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

¹²² Aguinaldo, “Aguinaldo’s True Report,” 17.

Conclusion

By the end of the nineteenth century, the military reserve at Vancouver had proven its importance regionally, nationally, and internationally. The post's location on the banks of the Columbia, with access to both the Pacific and the Interior Northwest made it a critical base for supplying goods and soldiers. Troops from Vancouver explored, built military roads, Americanized the region by controlling indigenous peoples, and quelled internal and international conflict. A thriving community grew up around the military reserve, creating an interactive social and economic structure that contributed to the community's character. The many famous and ordinary men and women, their families, and the numerous soldiers stationed on the banks of the Columbia between 1849 and 1898 lived through an era of intense and rapid change. Their actions were not always commendable, but they were an integral part of the American experience, an experience that included singing and dancing, riches and poverty, banquets and rotten meat, as well as wars, oppression, and community building. By 1898, as troops headed away from Vancouver to the first U.S. overseas imperialist action, it was clear that as General Oliver Otis Howard declared in 1878, Vancouver was "by far the most important" post in the region.

Part Two
Cultural Transitions: Women and the Army in the
Northwest, 1849-1865



Julia Gilliss and her daughter, Julia Melville Gilliss. Image based on original in the Gilliss Collection. Courtesy of Oregon Historical Society Press

The young woman stepped down the gangway, heart beating with anticipation. With eyes lifted toward shore, she noted the stark wildness of the fir forest to the north dwarfing the place she must soon call home. She was an army wife, arriving in Vancouver in 1852, and like most army wives she hopefully faced a world of uncertainty and adventure. The Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Vancouver stood in the foreground, with the buildings of the U.S. military on the northern hillside just above the trading post. A few small "dilapidated log huts" of Indians and Metis workers of the Hudson's Bay Company were scattered near the Fort, and a muddy road greeted the new arrival. The young bride's spirits soared as she reached the garrison. From Vancouver she realized she could view "the grand old Columbia river and the snow-clad peaks of Mt. St. Helens, Mt. Adams and Mt. Hood, looking like giant sentries." Inspired by the landscape, the woman later declared, "I felt as if I could battle with the pioneer life of a new country."¹²³

Seventeen year-old Delia Sheffield was part of a vast westward movement that ultimately changed the landscape and culture of the Pacific Northwest beyond recognition. While the mountains remain in the distance, and the row of officer's homes still stand, roads and homes have replaced the great fir forest, and the Columbia River no longer meanders freely. Women played a significant role in effecting these changes, and women associated with the military, like Delia Sheffield, were part of a broad cultural transformation across the west. The transformation in Vancouver was a slow one as people of different classes and ethnicities formed a community, with army wives at the social helm.

Most of the literature regarding army wives focuses on the midwestern and southwestern frontiers during the period of "Indian Wars" in the 1860s and 1870s.

¹²³ William S. Lewis, ed. "Reminiscences of Delia B. Sheffield," *Washington Historical Quarterly* 15, 1 (January, 1924): 58.

These accounts often highlight eastern “ladies” as the conservators of culture and civilization, disregarding the interactive roles of native women, the wives of enlisted men, and laundresses. A look at the early years of northwest military occupation, from 1849-1865, offers important insights into regional and national history. While officers’ wives set the standards of conduct on military posts, other women also formed an integral part of the community at Vancouver Barracks. Their stories demonstrate the diversity of the burgeoning post and the challenges faced by women associated with the military during the isolated years of early northwestern settlement.

Racial and cultural diversity challenged the values and attitudes of women who journeyed to the northwest with the military in the 1850s and 1860s. The first military troops in Vancouver encountered a setting dominated by the Hudson’s Bay Company and recently impacted by an onslaught of American settlers. Women played a notable part in this scene. Before western European contact, native women lived, raised families, and influenced culture along the Columbia River. When the Hudson’s Bay Company’s Fort Vancouver was established, a new set of relationships emerged. Fur traders rarely lacked female company and women of English, Scottish, French, and indigenous origin helped to create a distinctive culture in Vancouver. The Kanakas, Scots, French-Canadians, and Englishmen often married native women *à la facon du pays* – “in the fashion of the country” - through common law marriage. When the Catholic Church came to Vancouver in the 1830s, some participated in legal marriages sanctioned by the church, as did John McLoughlin and Margaret Wadin McKay. But others, like Peter Skene Ogden who had lived for many years with his Nez Perce wife Julia, adamantly refused legal sanction.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ John A. Hussey, “The Women of Fort Vancouver” *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 92, 3 (Fall, 1991): 299; Sylvia Van Kirk, *The Role of Native Women in the Creation of Fur Trade Society in*

The arrival of military troops and American settlers, bolstered by Christian ethics, racial prejudice, and fear of what they did not understand, made marriage between Indians and whites less acceptable than it had been during the previous twenty years. As the first soldiers prepared to sail from New York in 1848, questions arose regarding the marital status of officers. Should married or only unmarried officers be selected to staff the wilds of Oregon? According to Lieutenant Fry, among the officers who first came to Vancouver, “the tour of duty was to be a protracted one in a field where it was supposed no marriageable ladies could be found.” The married men, claimed Fry, voted the journey should be made by single officers, and “six, if not seven, of the nine ‘flowers’ who constituted this command ‘wasted their sweetness on the desert air’ and remained bachelor soldiers.”¹²⁵

Although most of the officers remained unmarried, some enlisted men of the First Artillery did bring their wives aboard the *Massachusetts*, and laundresses accompanied the troops. The ship sailed out of the New York harbor on November 10, 1848, with companies “L” and “M,” the first bound for Fort Vancouver, the second for Astoria. They stopped at ports in Rio de Janeiro, sailing through the Straits of Magellan, and on to Valparaiso and the Sandwich Islands where they were wined and dined by the royal Hawaiian family. For Julia Given, who was pregnant when the trip began, morning sickness combined with the sway of the ship probably made the six-month journey unpleasant. But the young woman arrived safely at Vancouver, and within a month after the ship’s arrival in May, 1849, she gave birth to John William Dowling, his father’s namesake. Theodore Talbot, the journey’s

Western Canada, 1670-1830” in *The Women’s West*, ed. and with an introduction by Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987): 55.

¹²⁵ James B. Fry, *Army Sacrifices; or Briefs from Official Pigeon-Holes* (New York: D. Vancouver Nostrand, 1879), 73.

diarist, was present when Catholic priest Patrick J. McCormick baptized the newborn in the presence of his Irish family and godparents.¹²⁶

The diary and letters of Theodore Talbot reveal that the men may have been pleasantly surprised -- they would not waste away from a complete lack of female companionship. A few days after the ship's arrival, the officers called on James Douglas and Peter Skene Ogden and were introduced to his daughter, "a half breed," Sarah Julia Ogden McKinlay. During the following month, the officers attended church, hunted pigeons, dined at the Fort, and visited settlers. The young officers soon became acquainted with the local women. Talbot took notice of the beauty of "Mrs. Switzler Jr," and called on Miss Nancy Short and Misses E. & Nancy Findlay in Oregon City. The single soldier commented more than once on those who were "quite pretty." Talbot stayed busy while in Vancouver, obtaining supplies, hunting, walking through the woods, writing letters to his mother, and attending both the Catholic and Protestant Churches.

Although he often sought the company of "ladies," the only women viewed as marriageable, Talbot and the other officers did not lack female companionship. The nearby Hudson's Bay Company provided social activities such as horse racing, and the churches provided community association. Talbot attended the Catholic Church regularly, and was among those who witnessed baptisms, marriages, and deaths.¹²⁷ On November 28, 1852, J.B.A. Brouillet baptized three-month-old John Brooke Talbot. The priest declared the child the "natural son of Nancy Indian

¹²⁶ *Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest: Vancouver, Volumes I and II, and Stella Maris Mission*, trans. Mikell De Lores Wormell Wormer, annotated by Harriet Duncan Munnick (St. Paul, Oregon: French Prairie Press, 1972), 104, B-14.

¹²⁷ Theodore Talbot, *The Journals of Theodore Talbot, 1843 and 1849-52. With the Fremont Expedition of 1843 and With the First Military Company in Oregon Territory, 1849-1852* (Portland: Metropolitan Press, 1931), 88, 133, n. 113, 91.

woman of this mission.” Talbot’s active involvement with the church and search for female companionship make it likely that he was the child’s natural father.¹²⁸

Officers often had ambivalent feelings toward Indian women, which may be why John’s father remained unnamed. According to historian Sherry Smith, images of the “Indian Princess” vied with those of the “ignoble squaw.” The princess was “childlike, naturally innocent, beautiful, and inclined toward civilization” through Christianization and an association with white men. The ignoble squaw was viewed as a “squat, haggard, ugly, pappoose-lugging drudge.” These images were the counterpart of the Indian man as noble savage or fiendish barbarian. None of these representations fit the experiences of real people on the western frontier; however, they shaped officers’ behaviors and white women’s perceptions. It is difficult to determine the frequency of intimate relationships between American soldiers and Indian women, but more than one officer, and probably enlisted men as well, fathered children with their Indian “friends.” George Pickett of Gettysburg and San Juan fame had a child with a native woman of the Haida while stationed at Fort Bellingham. Unlike most American officers, Pickett married her, participating in both tribal and civil ceremonies. James Tilton Pickett was born on December 31, 1857, but his mother soon died. When the child was a year old, Pickett arranged for a family from Mason County to care for him. James Pickett later attended Union Academy in Olympia and an art school in California, becoming an artist for the *Seattle Post Intelligencer* and later for the *Oregonian*. Although he knew who his father was, he never met him.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ *Catholic Church Records*, 132, B-20. This assertion is also made in the *Catholic Church Records*, 103.

¹²⁹ Sherry L. Smith, “Beyond Princess and Squaw: Army Officers’ Perceptions of Indian Women,” in *The Women’s West*, ed. and with introductions by Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 65; John A. Hemphill & Robert C. Cumbow, *West Pointers and Early Washington* (Seattle: The West Point Society of Puget Sound, Inc., 1992), 186.

Such familial relationships, associating abandoned women and children with the coming of white men, were not uncommon. The westward movement with the military in the lead was a time of rapid and incontrovertible change. For native women and their families, relationships with military men meant security amidst changing power structures. American officers brought status, protection, and greater access to goods for indigenous women.

Mutual attraction also played a role in relations between native women and military men. The diaries of August V. Kautz, stationed at Fort Steilacoom in 1858, contain numerous references to his relationship with Kate, with whom he had several children. According to Kautz, such relationships were widespread, but sometimes fraught with difficulty, reflecting a clash of cultural values. Kautz could not understand his friend, “the doctor,” whom he described as “full of regret and absurd remorse for having indulged himself in his natural desires.” The doctor, wrote Kautz, felt he was not living the way he “ought to live.” Kautz could not comprehend “such inconsistency,” and blamed the doctor’s dilemma on a feeling of religious conflict.¹³⁰

This sense of disturbed morality on the part of white men, in addition to differing cultural values, sometimes produced discord. Indian women had not been subjected to the American Cult of Domesticity in which women as nurterers and submissive voices would sustain the democratic social order. The result was sometimes violence. Kautz strategized about how to produce compliance when he had a “row” with his friend. It was “nothing serious. Simply a little impudence repaid by a slap;” he wrote, “and I went off, depending more on a system of coldness to produce subordination than by force.” Producing subordination was not an easy task. Indian women often had community support from their families. At

¹³⁰ Hussey, “Women of Fort Vancouver,” 267; Gary Fuller Reese, ed., *Nothing Worthy of Note Transpired Today: The Northwest Journals of August V. Kautz* (Tacoma, WA: The Tacoma Pulic Library, 1978), 64, n.2.

times, to the dismay of their American counterparts, a woman might leave the military post to participate in annual events like berry picking. George Gibbs, the naturalist who accompanied the Mounted Riflemen, became irritated when his “friend” wanted to spend time at the Indian camp. Relations between native women and their American lovers were also shadowed by American perceptions of propriety. Kautz initially “dislike[d] the breaking up very much” when he transferred from Steilacoom, and he worried over how his “dependants” would be raised. But, he did not consider marrying Kate. Kautz considered educating his children, yet when he spoke to a fellow American about it, the lieutenant lamented, “He laughs at my propositions to have the little ones brought up as Boston children and ridicules the idea of them turning out like others.” A sense of morality, borne of racist social constructs, precluded such possibilities.¹³¹

In the nineteenth century only white women were viewed as suitable partners, and some soldiers were able to find both solace and heartache in the white women of the Hudson’s Bay Company. Twenty-two year old John T. Noble, the quartermaster’s clerk for Rufus Ingalls in 1850, met and married Catherine, “Kitty” McIntosh of Fort Vancouver in 1851. Kitty McIntosh, from the fur-trading family of John and Charlotte Robertson McIntosh, converted to Catholicism in June of 1848. John Noble was not a Catholic, but on November 13, 1851, a dispensation of marriage was granted to the Pennsylvania-born John Noble and Kitty McIntosh. The young man promised that he would always allow Kitty to practice Catholicism, and if she were to die any children born of the marriage would be reared in the Catholic faith. JBA Brouillet married the couple at the St. James Mission in what would now be called a “shotgun wedding.” Rufus Ingalls, James Birnie, and others from both the military post and the Hudson’s Bay Company attended the ceremony.

¹³¹ *Ibid*, 42, 208-209, 300-301, 306.

Three months later Julia Catherine Noble arrived. But the family's life together was brief. Mother and baby soon died. This time members of the Fort and of the barracks attended what must have been a grim service.¹³²

Death during childbirth was common in the nineteenth century. Like most women, those who accompanied their husbands to the military frontiers of the 1850s and 1860s faced the possibility of encountering death while giving life. Homesickness, lack of experience, youth, and lack of services sometimes made the life of a frontier army wife a test of courage and endurance. The wife of Lieutenant Charles Denman gave birth to a child at Fort Kearny on April 18, 1849, without either a doctor or a midwife to assist her.¹³³ Julia Gilliss, the wife of an army captain stationed in the northwest in 1865, displayed her apprehension preceding her first child's birth in a letter to her mother. "Pray for me Mama darling," she wrote. ". . . and for my husband. If God should see best to take me to Himself it will be a severe blow to him." Although Julia claimed she was unafraid, as the time of birth approached she prepared for the worst. "If I am taken," she wrote:

. . . teach my baby to be a Christian . . . How I long for its little form alive and well. My nurse is a very experienced one, but I feel as if no one however careful can think of all the comforts and necessities for a little stranger as a mother can. . . and although *now* I look forward with a slight dread mingled with the fluttering of hope and joy, yet I have no doubt that in the hour of my trial grace will be given me to bear it.

Oh! if you could be with me Mama.¹³⁴

Some women like Julia Dent Grant, the bride of president-to-be Ulysses S. Grant, stayed in the east when childbirth was imminent. Others insisted on going with their husbands no matter the circumstances. These determined women who accompanied their husbands to frontier posts consciously chose to do so despite

¹³² *Catholic Church Records*, 96, 106, 111, 113, 121, 127, 130.

¹³³ Louise M. Clark, "The Great March of the Rifles (Part V)," *Clark County History* 14 (1973), 335.

¹³⁴ Priscilla Knuth, ed., *So Far From Home: An Army Bride on the Western Frontier, 1865-1869* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1993), 126-127.

numerous obstacles. Romantic notions, loyalty to one's husband, the challenges of the frontier, and a sense of adventure often underscored a woman's choice to travel west.

Although these women were far from security and concerned with establishing homes and raising families, many were also educated and curious about the Great American West. Removal from the niceties of the east and family connections presented difficulties, but many women took pleasure in a sense of independence sometimes generated by the westward movement. "Little did I think," wrote Julia Gilliss "when at school I used to make out with a pencil and map this western country, that I should ever become a traveler and trace with footprints on the land itself, the same places. But I enjoy it all."¹³⁵

Some have argued that the women who came West did so to escape eastern strictures associated with the Cult of True Womanhood. While the wives of officers who came to Vancouver demonstrated a sense of independence, theirs was a temporary removal from eastern society. Western women were still expected to adhere to a set of cultural standards, but the one value of "true womanhood" that suffered at frontier posts was submissiveness. Initiative and independence, neither conducive to submission, were necessary traits among army wives who were removed from the securities of eastern culture and family and often spent long periods of time separated from their husbands.

Among the first women associated with the military to arrive in Vancouver were those with the Mounted Riflemen. They included the wives of officers, and some laundresses. Like other female overland migrants, these women coped with the challenges of outdoor travel for months at a time. Women associated with the military were in a paradoxical situation, having some advantages over the average

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, 14; Sandra L. Myers, "Romance and Reality on the American Frontier: Views of Army Wives" *Washington Historical Quarterly* 92, 3 (Fall, 1991): 411.

pioneer woman as well as some disadvantages. The wives and families of military men were not officially recognized. While the *Army Regulations* contained details about the performance of domestic duties and provided quarters, rations, and medical services for laundresses, army wives, like prostitutes, held the status of “camp followers.”¹³⁶

Since, as Lieutenant Fry pointed out, women were discouraged from accompanying their husbands to the far western posts in the 1850s, some tenacious females who refused to separate from their husbands signed up as laundresses. The military typically employed many types of women as laundresses, from the socialite daughters of wealthy eastern families to humble Irish immigrants. By acting as laundresses, the wives of officers who accompanied the first troops to Vancouver Barracks acquired legal status. This status gave them access to daily rations, fuel, and the services of the post surgeon, as well as pay. It is likely that these women, among the elite of society, had their own servants to assist them in their military duties. The wife of Mr. Llewellyn Jones brought Mommia Travers, a recently freed slave, and Mommia’s ten year old daughter Frederica. Annie Ruff hired an emigrant woman with four children to do the Ruffs’ washing. In return, the woman received board for herself and her children, and \$1.00 per week.

Some single women also acted as laundresses. There were at least a few laundresses in Vancouver caring for the troops from the *Massachussetts* when the Mounted Rifles arrived. Single laundresses on army posts lived in areas almost universally deemed “Soapsud’s Row.” In 1850 at Vancouver, two fifty-foot by forty-foot buildings housed the laundresses, hospital matron, company “L” of the First Artillery, the company store room, and the commissary depot. Single laundresses and female servants shared the affections of the enlisted men of the

¹³⁶ Christi A. Gillam, “‘The Girl I Left Behind Me’: Images of the Frontier Army Officer’s Wife” (unpublished MA Thesis, University of Wyoming, August 1990), 115.

post, and regardless of physical attributes, often very quickly married. In 1850, two sisters, Emily and Mary Porter, both Irish and in their mid-twenties, acted as laundresses for the 234 enlisted soldiers at Vancouver Barracks.¹³⁷

Only five or six families traveled with the “reckless dare-devils,” as the Mounted Riflemen were known. Among them were twenty-five year-old Annie Ruff, Mrs. Jacob B. Backenstos, Mrs. Charles Denman, and Mrs. Llewellyn Jones. Mrs. Denman had one child under age two and still in diapers when her next was born at Fort Kearny. Three year-old Margaret and six year-old Mary Ruff accompanied the troops as well. Little Mary Ruff must have been a favorite of the soldiers, as Camp Mary was established a week away from Fort Leavenworth where “another merry evening” was passed at the tent of a soldier with a bottle of whiskey. Reveille the following morning was heard with the “usual regret,” recorded George Gibbs.

Traveling overland or by sea with small children was one of the hardships faced by army wives. Like soldiers, families lived in tents and struggled with the elements; however, unlike the average female overland traveler, army wives had help. Enlisted men often set up camp at the end of the day, tore it down in the morning, and did the cooking. Still, traveling from Fort Leavenworth, Missouri, to Vancouver was no easy task. The journey was beset by fear of cholera, and the women of the Mounted Rifles must have feared for both their own and their children’s lives. When the families reached The Dalles, they awaited the transport

¹³⁷ Patricia Y. Stallard, *Glittering Misery: Dependents of the Indian Fighting Army* (United States: Old Army Press, 1978), 16, 23, 13; Ted VanArsdol, *Northwest Bastion: The U.S. Army Barracks at Vancouver, 1849-1916* (Vancouver, Washington: Heritage Trust of Clark County, 1991), 4; Clark, “The Great March,” 336; In 1878, laundresses were no longer authorized to accompany troops, causing a major furor among officers and Congressional debates. John R. Sibbald, “Washers and Waltzers: Camp Followers All,” *The American West* 3, 2 (Spring, 1966), 61, 65; *Annual Report of the Quartermaster General of the Operations of The Quartermaster’s Department For the Fiscal Year Ending on the 30th June, 1850* (Washington: C. Alexander Printer, 1851), 170; Clark County Genealogical Society, *Clark County Census 1850 & 1860, Volume One, U.S. Census of Oregon Territory, 1850, Washington Territory, 1860* (Vancouver, WA: Clark County Genealogical Society, 1982).

of soldiers and goods before venturing on to Vancouver. The rapids of the Columbia provided a fearful hindrance, and the family of Lieutenant Denman, with their five-month old baby, walked to the foot of the rapids, “as they were at this time considered dangerous to venture even a boat.”¹³⁸

Most of the troops and families descended a crooked bridlepath through a dense forest from Vancouver to Oregon City. Quarters were scarce and of poor quality, but sufficient. Some settlers turned goldseekers abandoned homes and the Mounted Rifles and their families moved in. Families received houses, enlisted soldiers stayed in a bachelors’ building, and the single officers temporarily stayed two to a room. There were two types of military buildings in Vancouver, those taken over from the Hudson’s Bay Company and some newly constructed, “. . . all built of logs, and of the most temporary character.” Labor was scarce in 1849, and prices high due to the California goldrush. Unlike many of their later counterparts, the women who arrived in Vancouver in the 1850s were likely responsible for much of their own cooking, cleaning, and childcare.¹³⁹

Through the winter and spring of 1849-1850 troops and citizen carpenters labored to build the military post at Vancouver. By the end of the year, 26 buildings ringed what is now the parade grounds, with some buildings in Fort Vancouver’s Kanaka Village and others near the river. More troops arrived in the spring of 1850, and in 1852 a larger contingent, the Fourth Infantry, journeyed to staff the growing post. Delia Sheffield, the hopeful bride, was among those accompanying the Fourth. Her experiences reflected an attitude of adventure and determination held by many young army wives. She later wrote that as a sixteen year-old bride faced

¹³⁸ “Notes compiled from records stored at the post headquarters,” Vancouver Barracks File, Clark County Museum; Raymond W. Settle, ed., *The March of the Mounted Riflemen From Fort Leavenworth to Fort Vancouver, May to October, 1849 as recorded in the journals of Major Osborne Cross and George Gibbs and the official report of Colonel Loring*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), Osborne Cross, 249, George Gibbs, 287; Clark, “The Great March,” 335; *Catholic Church Records*, 110, B-9; *1850 Quartermaster’s Report*, 110.

¹³⁹ *1850 Quartermaster’s Report*, 120, 146.

with the choice of “enduring my husband’s absence for a year, or a journey to Fort Vancouver, then in Oregon Territory, I was ‘wild to go;’ as girls say.” Although she contemplated staying in the east, the youthful bride felt a year-long separation was an “eternity,” and “besides,” she wrote, “I wanted to see the wonderful West, of which we had heard so much about.”

On July 5, 1852, approximately 700 passengers, including soldiers, wives, and families of the Fourth boarded the *Ohio*, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin Bonneville. The ship’s passengers were bound for Aspinwall on the Isthmus of Panama and thence to Vancouver.¹⁴⁰ Sheffield’s account reflects some of the unexpected difficulties, fears, and cultural differences facing army wives on their frontier journeys. These eastern “ladies” encountered situations that seemed strange, often challenging their social perceptions and Victorian values. Delia’s journey began pleasantly enough, but the adventure soon turned into a nightmare:

How little did we realize what awaited us on this journey! Had we known a tithe of the perils of the trip and that nearly one-half of the brave fellows, who took the trip with us, with such pleasant anticipations and high hopes, would not live to reach their journey’s end, we would have shrunk in horror for the embarkation.¹⁴¹

In addition to the soldiers and their companions, civilians bound for the California gold fields crowded the ship. Some of the women bunked in what were called the Second cabins, and most occupied their days with fishing and whale watching. They devoted nights to dancing, card playing, and speculations of adventure. When the group reached Aspinwall during the rainy season on the 13th of July, water-filled streets and contrived sidewalks of planks raised on stakes greeted them.

Unlike Julia Gillis who thirteen years later described the “quaint, red-roofed houses

¹⁴⁰ Patricia C. Erigero, *Cultural Landscape Report: Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, Volume II, Vancouver, Washington* (Seattle, WA: National Park Service, Department of the Interior, Cultural Resources Division, Pacific Northwest Region, 1992), 213; Lewis, “Reminiscences,” 50-51.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, “Reminiscences,” 51.

of the station rising among the groves of cocoa nuts and bananas,” this was the “worst” climate Delia had ever known. A railroad was under construction and the officers’ families took the train for the Chagres River. From the Chagres they traveled toward Gorgona in boats poled by indigenous Panamanian boatmen. After a day long journey, the families spent the night in boats tied to the bank of the river.

Despite the fact that the natives were hired to transport them, fear of the unknown contributed to a sense of terror. The group, fearing attack, lay awake all night listening to the unfamiliar sounds of the village above the river.¹⁴² By 9:00 a.m., the group reached Gorgona, escorted by the feared boatmen, and found respite in “a rather large and very comfortable hotel,” whose Scot proprietor furnished them with “good meals and comfortable beds.” The next morning Delia Sheffield laughed to herself as the other women mounted mules, compelled to ride “astride” to Panama. One of the ladies, Mrs. Keeley, had difficulty settling upon her mule, and “sat up with the cool assurance of an old cavalryman, but, when the mule kicked up his heels, and tearing away from the native who held him dashed down the train at a gallop, poor Mrs. Keeley seized the mule around the neck and screamed for help at the top of her voice.” After halting the mule, the group set out on their “tedious and dusty ride over a rough trail.” The trail, wide enough for only a single mule to travel, passed over rocks and mountains, “and all expecting at times to be thrown over the mule’s head.”

Amusement met with anxiety as further cultural misunderstanding plagued the group. When the travelers reached Panama at 9 P.M. they realized that four year-old Nannie Wallen, who spent the day in a hammock carried by two native men, was missing. “Not any of us slept that night,” wrote Delia Sheffield, “poor Mrs. Wallin [sic] had hysterics and, despite the words of comfort we tried to give

¹⁴² Gillis, *So Far From Home*, 7; Lewis, “Reminiscences,” 52-53.

her, we never expected to see little Nannie again.” When morning came, little Nannie arrived safe and sound. Her caretakers had reached their own village as night fell and stayed overnight rather than pushing on to Panama in the darkness.¹⁴³

Cultural and racial difference again shocked the ladies when they arrived in Panama. In 1865 Julia Gillis described the scenery as “enchanted.” There was a “universal feeling of admiration” for “the old town, quaint and moss grown with sunlight darting through the openings and windows of the ruined buildings. Towers and spires pointing their taper fingers up to Heaven. . . in bold relief against the evening sky.” Delia Sheffield and her companions viewed the town with a sense of repugnance. The small, thatch-roofed adobe homes were “old and dilapidated,” with an alien population, consisting “mostly of mestizos or ‘greasers’ as the Americans called them.” The women saw little of the town, but “wished to see less, because it was so dirty and disagreeable.” Despite their aversion to the town, the “ripe fresh and delicious fruits” delighted the travelers. They purchased large quantities of fruit before barges carried them to the steamer *Golden Gate* where the regiment awaited them. It had been an arduous journey, especially for the women. While Julia Gilliss enjoyed a “delightful” train trip little more than a decade later, many of these first army wives bound for Vancouver walked with bleeding feet, carrying their babies across the Isthmus.¹⁴⁴

The journey did not become easier when the women reached the ship. By the time Julia Gilliss traversed Panama it was “always customary” to medicate with quinine for two days before the crossing. The experiences of the Fourth Infantry in 1852 helped establish this precedent. Asiatic cholera struck the regiment “and it grew to be a common sight to see strong men, walking along the deck, be taken with cramps and die within a short time.” Most of the women, and all of the children,

¹⁴³ *Ibid*, “Reminiscences,” 53-55.

¹⁴⁴ Gillis, *So Far From Home*, 9, 7; Lewis, “Reminiscences,” 55-56.

were spared, although the disease tore families apart. The parents of the three Lynch children were among the 100-150 who died on the trip. The army sent the orphaned children to the U.S. consul in Panama, and from there to relatives in the United States.¹⁴⁵

When the disease abated, the regiment headed toward Vancouver. They stopped in San Francisco and remained at Benicia Barracks until joined by those who had stayed behind to convalesce. Finally, on September 20, 1852, the group arrived in Vancouver aboard the *Columbia*. Julia Gilliss described the usual sentiment toward sea travel between San Francisco and Vancouver:

Such a voyage! Rain, wind, a rolling, pitching old tub of a vessel, always on one end or the other, waves always sweeping the decks, staterooms and cabins full of spray, damp berths, moist everything. . . Ugh! I'm glad that trip is over.¹⁴⁶

During the first decade of garrison growth, as the town of Vancouver sprouted, Delia Sheffield described life at the barracks as “very simple and primitive,” with few luxuries. Housing was crude, furniture homemade, and innovation the key to success. During the “long rainy winter” of 1852-53 soldiers and their families hungered for vegetables. When spring arrived, women and men of all ranks turned the soil as soon as possible, planting gardens for much needed greens. Food prices were high. Eggs cost a dollar a dozen, potatoes sold for nine dollars a sack, and \$24.00 bought a barrel of flour. Wild game, fish, and garden produce were welcome additions to military rations.

A close-knit community developed in Vancouver, with women an integral part of its formation, and the military played an important social role in pioneer

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 6; *Ibid*, 56-57.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, *So Far*, 17.

society. Ladies from Oregon City and Portland, nearby settlers, and enlisted men and their wives, attended the many social events hosted by the army. People came from around the region to attend military theatricals and dance to the music of the Fourth Infantry Band.

Women associated with the military had clearly defined roles, including providing female, and thus civilizing, companionship for officers. Officers, in turn, provided entertainment and companionship for ladies. The captains, Grant, Brent, McLellan, and Lieutenant Phil Sheridan and Mr. Eastman, Grant's clerk, spent the winter of 1852-53 as bachelors in the house known as "Quartermaster Ranch." Early in the spring of 1853, Delia Sheffield and her non-commissioned officer husband were asked to board with them so that Delia could grace them with her domestic presence. Her husband protested, fearing she was too young for the responsibility of such a large household. Captain Grant assured the NCO that Mrs. Sheffield would have help. Grant would share in the cooking and detail a soldier as well. Despite the captain's good intentions, the young woman encountered difficulty in her domestic role. Although soldiers usually relied on the Metis wives of the Hudson's Bay Company for butter, Grant asked the inexperienced housewife for some "sweet" butter. Delia Sheffield later recalled her friendship with the future president fondly as she described saving cream and churning it, then incorrectly added sugar rather than salt to insure the butter's sweet taste.¹⁴⁷

Army wives on the frontier commonly shared housing and group responsibilities. They were also subject to a military rank-based system that in many ways reflected the eastern-based money system. Womens' status and living

conditions hinged on their husbands' rank. A second lieutenant was at the bottom of the hierarchy. When a senior officer arrived on post the lower ranking officer and his family could be "ranked-out" if their quarters were chosen. Or, as in the case of the Sheffields, families shared their quarters with single officers, providing them with the benefits of female influence. Julia Gilliss and her husband also shared their home, the household at The Dalles consisting of the Gillisses, Colonel Coppinger, and James Gilliss' clerk. A soldier, and later an Irish housekeeper, abandoned by her enlisted husband, cooked under Julia Gilliss' supervision and with her participation.¹⁴⁸

As military society expanded, the social strictures between groups compressed as eastern values transferred to the western front. August Kautz complained in 1858:

The ladies have got the upper hand and control almost everything. The time of the gentlemen is no longer their own. The women fix the programme for each day as soon or before the present has concluded. They get up parties and snub us severely if we fail to attend and reprove us whenever we (do) that is not approved by them.¹⁴⁹

Julia Gilliss, too, protested the influence of the "ladies." Their lunch parties:

. . . predominate throughout the country, and as much expense and trouble is occasioned in getting up the lunch table as would furnish a dinner party. *Only* ladies, sometimes forty & fifty in number are invited to bring their work. No gentlemen are admitted then, and the picture of so many forlorn damsels sitting around, working with fingers and tongues so busily, savors too much of old time country tea-drinkings. . .¹⁵⁰

Women associated with the military did more than host tea parties, however. They provided support for one another when husbands were absent, worked to provide

¹⁴⁷ Lewis, "Reminiscences," 59-60.

¹⁴⁸ Stallard, *Glittering Misery*, 23.

¹⁴⁹ Gillis, *So Far From Home*, 84; Kautz, *Nothing Worthy of Note*, 293.

¹⁵⁰ Gillis, *So Far From Home*, 38-39.

food and health care for their families, cared for lonely soldiers, and created comfortable homes under difficult circumstances. Officers and soldiers found solace in the companionship of many different kinds of women, all of whom played a role in building the military and civiliam communities in Vancouver. As Lawrence Kip recalled the barracks in 1858, he decided it was:

probably the most pleasant of our posts on the Pacific coast. . . The place is healthy and the scenery around beautiful, furnishing opportunities of fishing, hunting, and riding, while its nearness to Portland and Oregon City prevents the young officers from being, as at many other western posts, deprived of the refining influence of female society. . . numerous, therefore, are the parties of pleasure which come from these towns to enliven the solitude of the garrison. On these occasions they are welcomed by balls, and night after night music is heard floating over the waters of the Columbia River. . . ¹⁵¹

Associations between military men and the women in their lives often cemented alliances, friendships, and enmities among groups in the 1850s. The early part of the decade was a time of community growth. The sparse population and regional isolation created situations in which people from many groups interacted regularly, including native people, individuals of various ethic groups, and upper class military society. A growing white population changed the social milieu so that relationships soon became defined by American standards. The forging of a new community in Vancouver was influenced by the military presence, with an associated transfer of values. The non-commissioned Sheffields became attached to “the free life and the glowing possibilities and hopes of the future,” and stayed in the northwest. By 1865, the houses at Fort Vancouver all had little gardens in front of them and about twenty families, officers and wives under the age of 30, lived at the post. The band played each evening, and billiards, hops, croquet, and walks

occupied the ladies, prompting Julia Gilliss to declare Vancouver “the pleasantest Post on this side of the Rocky Mountains, except for the constant rain.”¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ Lawrence Kip, *Army Life on the Pacific: a Journal* (New York: Ye Galleon Press; Redfield, 1859), 17.

¹⁵² Lewis, “Reminiscences,” 62; Gillis, *So Far From Home*, 84-85.

Part Three: Appendices



Soldiers in uniform at Vancouver Barracks, circa 1898. Photo courtesy of Clark County Museum

The purpose of the following appendices is twofold, to provide information and to stimulate further research. The appendices are not inclusive and some are more comprehensive than others. When pertinent, each appendix provides suggestions for research, suggested readings, and points in the direction of available source material. General readings are suggested at the end of the first four appendices.

- **Appendix 1, “The Indians and the Army in the 1850s - Allies and Enemies in the Pacific Northwest,”** outlines general and specific research topics and provides a list of significant individuals from this period.
- **Appendix 2, “A Soldier’s Life,”** provides a more general overview of the lives of enlisted men, a topic which should be researched further.
- **Appendix 3, “The Indian Wars of the 1870s,”** includes suggested readings, topics, and information about individuals, but does not contain a list of individuals.
- **Appendix 4, “Land Squabbles and Community,”** is an overview of Vancouver’s land conflicts with suggestions for future research.
- **Appendix 5, “Topics For Future Research,”** is a list of general topics with some specific suggestions, and suggested readings are contained in the footnotes. Many of the soldiers profiled in
- **Appendix 6, “Profiles of Soldiers at Vancouver Barracks”** contains a list of soldiers, many of whom could be included in other sections. It is not meant to provide a comprehensive list of important individuals. Rather, it should acquaint the NPS Interpreter with some of the people who have served at Vancouver, as well as stimulating further research.
- **Appendix 7** provides a list of commanders at Vancouver Barracks.

Appendix 1: The Indians and the Army in the 1850s - Allies and Enemies in the Pacific Northwest

Settlement of the Pacific Northwest often relied on indigenous assistance. Indians became friends as well as foes to the settlers and soldiers in Vancouver. When the Mounted Riflemen descended the Cascades, Indian laborers assisted them. Scouts and guides helped Americans find their way in unfamiliar terrain, and to obtain food and shelter during the exploration and settlement era. It was no easy feat for large groups to traverse the forests of the Pacific Northwest, and the Native American trail system was instrumental to explorers, as were food and horses traded by the Indians. Alliances formed between Indians and the military, sometimes creating divisions within and between groups. As in the fur trade, the army used various means to create alliances. Trading goods, weapons, monetary compensation, and volunteer service actively involved indigenous peoples in the changing cultural and economic systems of the Pacific Northwest. Military men, too, interacted with Indian women, although they rarely married them. In 1857, August V. Kautz, who became commander of Vancouver Barracks in the 1880s, lived with Kate at Fort Steilacoom where they had two small children. He attempted to insure her safety on the Nisqually Reservation when he transferred, sending money after he left, but did not provide for their children in his will.¹⁵³

Indians also assisted settlement by providing campsites for explorers, horses for travels, and by negotiating trade relations with other groups. Few tales of American exploits during the early years of settlement lack Indians participants. While relations between Indians and whites has been traditionally viewed in terms of conflict, the influence of indigenous peoples in American settlement of the Pacific Northwest and alliances between individuals and groups was significant.

¹⁵³ *Nothing Worthy of Note Transpired Today: The Northwest Journals of August V. Kautz.* ed. Gary Fuller Reese (The Tacoma Public Library, August, 1978), 64.

While it may seem incongruous that Indians were often allies to whites, historian Thomas Dunlay points out that it makes sense in both a cultural and pragmatic sense. Many, but not all, indigenous peoples took advantage of a monetary economy and desired Euro-American trade goods. For men whose most significant roles were provider and warrior, military participation was respected, and alliances with the U.S. Army were sometimes formed based on past enmities as well as contemporary needs. The 1850s were a rapidly shifting era in the Pacific Northwest and Indian leaders made choices as active agents in a changing world.¹⁵⁴

Each group involved in the series of conflicts throughout the 1850s had a story to tell, yet there are some unifying features. While some conformed more readily to white culture, others strongly opposed any cooperation, justifiably fearing that whites would take over their lands. Despite superior numbers, factionalism caused difficulties within and between Indian groups. For example, the incident at the Cascades¹⁵⁵ has historically been attributed to the Klickitats and some Yakamas, yet the military blamed and executed local Cascades Indians, creating bitterness not only against whites, but against other Indians as well.

Indians were also significant to relations between the Hudson's Bay Company and the U.S. Military. How did the remaining members of the Hudson's Bay Company react during the Indian Wars? Some homesteaders accused employees of the company of aiding and abetting hostilities. During the conflicts of the 1850s, Governor Stevens set up three military investigative commissions.¹⁵⁶ The first of the commissions established a precedent for jurisdiction of a court

¹⁵⁴ Thomas W. Dunlay, *Wolves for the Blue Soldiers: Indian Scouts and Auxiliaries with the United States Army, 1860-90* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 1-3.

¹⁵⁵ See topics for future research at the end of Appendix 1 to learn more about the Cascades Incident.

¹⁵⁶ Isaac I. Stevens, *National Guard Pamphlet*, 93.

martial or military commission for citizens, beginning with the incarceration of “old time employees of the Hudson’s Bay Company.”¹⁵⁷

During the 1856 campaigns, the military became suspicious that Charles Wren, John McCloud, L.A. Smith, Henry Smith, and John McField, who were all married to or living with Indian women, were furnishing hostile Indian bands with food and arms. Governor Stevens ordered them to move away from their claims and into settlements. For a short time, the men adhered to the order, but in late March, probably to plant crops, they returned to their claims, were arrested by Captain Maxon and sent to Fort Steilacoom where a Military Commission was held at Camp Montgomery. Charles Wren, Lyon A. Smith, and John McCleod were charged with, “Relieving the Enemy. . . Knowingly Harboring the Enemy. . . .Knowingly Protecting the Enemy. . . Holding Correspondence with the Enemy. . . [and] Giving Intelligence to the Enemy.”¹⁵⁸ Their main offenses were giving “victuals and ammunition,” receiving known hostiles in their homes, claiming and pretending “a right to live on their farms (situated in a locally infested and frequented by said hostile Indians),” and remaining neutral when it was their duty to aid and assist the Military of the United States.¹⁵⁹ The mens’ defense was that a military commission had no authority to hold the proceedings; however, Judge Advocate Victor Monroe declared the proceedings a “legally constituted tribunal,” a “general tribunal,” which constituted a legal military court. Significantly, the trial established Governor Stevens’ military authority during wartime.¹⁶⁰ The governor convened a second commission in Seattle for the trial of the fifteen Indians suspected of participating in the city’s attack, and a third at The Dalles on June 18,

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 88, 91.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 88-89.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 89-90.

¹⁶⁰ This topic should be further researched as the outcome of the trial is unclear based on information in the *National Guard Pamphlets, Vol. I*.

1856. The Dalles Commission tried two Indians accused of murdering settlers. One of the offenders was hanged and the other confined at Fort Dalles for the duration of the war.¹⁶¹

Serious historical research regarding relationships during the Indian Wars is recommended. What alliances, pressures, or enmities contributed to either success or defeat in encounters between the military and groups of Indians? What relationships stemmed from contact between the military and indigenous peoples? Indians often fought alongside the military troops, acting as volunteer soldiers and scouts. Scouts played key roles in securing access to goods, translation, and in developing friendships and enmities. For example, thirty Nez Perce volunteers formed a portion of the forces of the Washington Territorial Militia, receiving special thanks from territorial governor, Isaac Ingalls Stevens, for their “cheerful obedience to orders, and exemplary deportment, whilst in the service of the Territory.” Measures were taken for the protection of these Nez Perce against other potentially threatening groups.¹⁶²

During the early 1850s, the same Indians who later fought the military forces, often assisted them and were instrumental in exploration. Kamiakin and Skloom of the Yakamas, and Wee-ni-nah of the Deschutes Indians, met with George McClellan in the winter of 1854-1855 as he explored the Cascades for a Northern Pacific Railroad Route. Some of Skloom’s group came to the camp near Fort Simcoe to trade potatoes and corn. McClellan gave them food and tobacco, explaining that they had no reason to fear an emigrant road through the mountains. The survey party also purchased beef from Skloom. Later McClellan purchased potatoes from another Indian who told him of a pass through the mountains. McClellan did not listen and so did not locate the Snoqualmie Pass. Another native

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, *National Guard Pamphlets*, Vol. I., 93.

¹⁶² *National Guard Pamphlet*, Vol. 2, 57.

leader, Quiltanee of the Spokanes, told McClellan of a trail which would have helped him to locate the Cascade Pass, but again the Lieutenant paid little attention. Governor Stevens learned from Peo-peo-mox-mox, the Walla Walla leader, that a pass did indeed exist at Naches, and two Yakama Indians led Abiel W. Tinkham through the Yakama Pass the following month.

Relationships between Indians and the military should be explored further. A wide body of literature exists regarding the Indians of the Columbia River, the impact of treaties, and indigenous culture. Much of the literature focuses on conflict or culture separately; however, Indians, the Hudson's Bay Company, American settlers, and government soldiers often worked, loved, and fought together. Indians did not disappear from Vancouver in 1850, although disease decimated the Chinook. Other groups gathered near the HBC Fort Vancouver and the military barracks to gain access to the benefits of Euro-American goods and services. The nearby Klickitats and Cascades had a strong presence in the region after mid-century. Their numbers were smaller, but a look at the census data from 1850 - 1880, in addition to newspaper accounts and reminiscences, demonstrates a strong Indian presence in the area long after establishment of the military in Vancouver. Interaction with Vancouver was unavoidable for most regional indigenous peoples. For many it was a place to be feared or at least avoided. For Indians allied with the fur traders and the military, it was a place of refuge. The military presence in Vancouver reached into the gullies, canyons, forests, and mountains of the Puget Sound and the Columbia Plateau, affecting indigenous people in multiple ways. The significance of the place to regional Indians is an important topic for future research.

In addition to the above topics, some suggestions for future research focusing on economic, political, and social relationships between the military and Indians are: the relationship of the military to the Hudson's Bay Company during

the conflicts of the 1850s; the role of Indian labor at Vancouver Barracks; military participation in the Walla Walla Councils and treaty-making; Indian participation in military exploration as scouts and traders; Indians as scouts and volunteers in the militia; social relationships between military men and Indians (both male and female); relationships between army wives and Indian women; changes in indigenous communities after 1850; the Indian view of Vancouver as a source of control and retribution.

Topics For Future Research

The following is an overview of the Cascades Conflict and the Clarke County Rangers, and a list of significant military and Native American figures during the Indian Wars of the 1850s.

Cascades Conflict and the Clarke County Rangers

The incident at the Cascades in April of 1856 is a heroic legend to many residents of the Columbia River Gorge, but Native Americans tell a different story, one of disease, displacement, and animosity sparked by greed. Further research should be done to identify the role of the American military in this conflict as well as the regional interpretation of the incident.

The Clarke County Rangers formed during an era of internal conflict in the Puget Sound area and east of the Cascade Mountains, with the attack on the Cascades of the Columbia creating tremendous fear on the part Lewis and Clarke County settlers. The incident was close to home, and the number of people killed at the Cascades ranges in the historical literature from nine to sixteen. Colonel Wright, rather than proceeding to the Puget Sound as ordered, stayed at The Dalles at the behest of local settlers and to the irritation of Department commander, John E. Wool. Governor Stevens wrote to Colonel Wright on April 2, 1856, suggesting a “thorough understanding between the regular and volunteer service. . . The recent attack on the Cascades must convince all persons that this is no time for forms, but for vigorous, energetic, and united action.” This was the second largest loss of settlers lives in the Pacific Northwest, and Colonel Wright was placed squarely in the middle. Stevens worried that the approaching summer months would allow the conflict to go on indefinitely as an “inexhaustible” supply of food was available to the Indians in the mountains. The governor proposed that the company of Rangers in Clarke County be mounted, if possible, and focus on keeping farmers on their claims, since many had already fled to Vancouver and St. Helens.¹⁶³

Judge William Strong was named commander of the volunteer Clarke County Rangers. During the 1855 Yakima Indian Wars, he also commanded Vancouver Barracks while the regulars set out for the region east of the Cascades. During this time a blockhouse was built on the post at Vancouver. As commander of the post, Strong was involved in the “battle” (or “non-battle” as it has been called) from which the name Battle Ground stems. With the regular army away, Strong negotiated with local Indian groups to come to the Fort for protection. Chief Umtuch of the Klickitat agreed, but a small band of younger men disagreed. The stories vary, but all agree that the Indians left the fort during the night and that Captain Strong and the Rangers went after them. After negotiating, according to one version, as a token of friendship they agreed to fire off their guns. The Klickitats fired about 70 shots, and the volunteers about fifty. A little while later, three more shots were heard, and a short distance away Chief Umtuch was found shot in the head. The Rangers claimed an Indian who disagreed with returning to Vancouver shot Umtuch, but others say it was a white man. Further research into

¹⁶³ *National Guard Pamphlets, vol. 2, 79-80.*

this incident and the role of the Clark County Rangers could examine the relationships between the military, local Native Americans and nearby communities, as well as the location of the blockhouse at the post (near Colonel Blatchford's house in 1921), and the reaction of settlers and the military to Native American conflict in the 1850s.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ Marilee Shroll, "Story of a Town Named for a 'Non-Battle,'" *Clark County History* 13 (Fort Vancouver Historical Society, 1972), 234-235. This essay is based on an interview with Mary Elizabeth Cresap Stoddard and was written by her 9 year-old grand-daughter. Royce E. Pollard, "The Presence and Missions of the United States Army at Vancouver Barracks, Vancouver, Washington, 1849-1898" *Clark County History* 30 (Fort Vancouver Historical Society), 35. For another version of this story, see. Elizabeth Gedney, "Folklore of Fourth Plain (near Vancouver, Washington)" (B.A. Thesis: Reed College, 1938), 25-26. Vancouver Barracks, WA, *Souvenir Vancouver Barracks* (Washington, 1921), 3-4. See. Stephen Dow Beckham, *This Place Is Romantic and Wild: An Historical Overview of the Cascades Area, Fort Cascades, and the Cascades Townsite, Washington Territory*; For first person accounts of the Cascades Conflict, see. Margaret Iman, "My Arrival in Washington in 1852," *Washington Historical Quarterly* 18, 4 (October, 1927), 254-267. Jehu Switzler, "A Newly Revealed Account of the Blockhouse Siege" *Clark County History* 13 (Fort Vancouver Historical Society, 1972), 149-157. Anna Griswold Corum, "Memories of My Childhood" *Washington Historical Quarterly* 18, 1 (January, 1927), 28-31. For a Native American perspective of the incident, see. Chuck Williams, *Bridge of the Gods, Mountains of Fire*.

Important Figures in Military and Native American Relations of the 1850s:

The following is a brief list of some of the important Indian and military figures during the Yakama Indian Wars. The list points to the development of a more comprehensive account of Indian/military relationships in the 1850s.

Kamiakin - Kamiakin signed the Yakama Treaty of 1855 and was named headman of all the tribes of the Confederated Yakama Nation. Born around 1800, Kamiakin was a respected Yakama leader, but was also related to the Palouse, Spokanes and Nez Perces through his father, Tsiyiak. Thus, he exerted some influence among these groups. His mother, Kamoshnite, was the daughter of Weowikt, a powerful chief of the upper Yakamas, and Kamiakin was raised with his mother's people in the Yakama Valley. As a young man, Kamiakin married his cousin, Sal-kow, the grand daughter of Weowikt, consolidating political, social, and economic power within the family. He later had five wives and intermittently enjoyed both strong political support and experienced divisions due to extended family ties. As Kamiakin grew older, he became wealthy and powerful among the Yakamas, emerging as one of the most prominent leaders in the region. Although he wielded considerable influence, no one man was a "head chief" of any group on the Columbia Plateau, and his designation as such during the treaty councils was a cultural misrepresentation.

During the Cayuse War, Kamiakin and the Yakamas remained neutral and he welcomed some whites into Yakama country attempting to learn aspects of white culture that could be advantageous. Kamiakin also met with George McClellan as he surveyed for a railroad route to the Puget Sound in 1854. The chief camped with McClellan who deemed him the "principle chief of this country." After speaking with McClellan, although the military man claimed there was no cause for concern, that only a road would come through the region, Kamiakin became worried about the coming of white settlers. He then proposed a novel idea, an alliance among both Salish and Sahaptin-speaking Plateau groups.

Despite mistrust and ambivalence, Kamiakin signed the Yakama Treaty. He was assigned the role of head chief for many who were not present and some who had not signed. He claimed that he had signed only for the welfare of his people, not for his own benefit. According to historian Clifford Trafzer, the lumping together of other groups under Kamiakin was done as a measure of convenience for the treaty-makers, not because Kamiakin assumed the role as head chief. When miners and settlers crossed the lands of the Yakamas, destroying Indian property and raping Indian women, Kamiakin organized a loose confederacy of Plateau groups to repel white invasion. Kamiakin was a very important and controversial figure in the Yakama Wars and his relationship to the military, settlers, and the impact of factionalism among and between groups should be investigated further.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ Trafzer, *Renegade Tribe*, 33-34, 40. See Lawrence Kip, *Army Life on the Pacific* for an account of the Walla Walla Council; Kent D. Richards, *Isaac I. Stevens, Young Man in a Hurry* for a biography of Stevens and his approach to treaty-making; Clifford Trafzer, *Yakama, Palouse. . . an*

Lawrence Kip - Lawrence Kip, born in 1836, became an army officer, although he was only temporarily a cadet at West Point. He traveled to Oregon around 1854 where, not yet eighteen years old, he joined the Third Artillery and participated in the Yakama Indian Wars. As a member of the staff of Governor Stevens, he attended the Walla Walla council of 1855 and kept a journal of the Council. He also fought in the Steptoe-Wright campaigns of 1858, keeping a journal of that conflict as well. Kip's journal provides important descriptions of these events.¹⁶⁶

Chief Lawyer – of the Nez Perce. Lawyer signed the Yakama Treaty agreeing to the creation of a Nez Perce Reservation. Lawyer's agreement allowed the Nez Perce, unlike other groups, to retain a large part of their homelands. Some Nez Perce disagreed with the treaty, creating an ongoing division between treaty and non-treaty Nez Perce.

Owhi – Kamiakin's uncle - he was the leader of the Yakamas living upstream along the Yakama River. After Kamiakin spoke with George McClellan, Owhi decided to ride with the army to see if he could gain more intelligence about the intentions of the military. With Quiltenock of the Columbia Sinkiuse, he learned that the "Great White Father" planned to take their lands "and if they refused to sell, soldiers would be sent to drive them off and seize their lands."¹⁶⁷

Peopeo Moxmox – leader of the Walla Wallas; signed the Cayuse, Walla Walla and Umatilla Treaty of 1855 reserving the lands now known as the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation. Peopeo Moxmox was an important leader and a visible figure in the 1850s. He rebelled against the reservation system, joining the Yakamas to capture Fort Walla Walla in 1855. He was killed by volunteers during the conflict.

Qualchin – the son of Owhi

Major G.J. Rains - In 1854, Rains led a party of regulars and volunteers to the Yakama country, declaring the military forces had scared the Indians so much that they were scattered.¹⁶⁸

Lieutenant Philip H. Sheridan - was commended by General Winfield Scott from army headquarters for his distinguishing service in quelling the Cascade uprising.

historical bibliography; idem, Renegade Tribe for an account of Kamiakin's role in the Walla Walla Council and the Yakama Indian Wars; A.J. Splawn, *Ka-mi-akin, the last hero of the Yakamas* for a biography of the Yakama leader.

¹⁶⁶ Lawrence Kip, *Army Life on the Pacific: a journal* (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1986; reprint New York: Redfield, 1859). The reprinted version contains three appendices: "Colonel Wright's Official Report After the Battle of the Four Lakes"; "Colonel Wright's Official Report After The Battle of The Spokane Plains"; "Extract From the 'General Orders.'"

¹⁶⁷ Trafzer, *Renegade Tribe*, 34.

¹⁶⁸ Ted VanArsdol, *Northwest Bastion: The U.S. Army Barracks at Vancouver, 1849-1916* (Vancouver, Washington: Heritage Trust of Clark County, 1991), 9.

He rose to fame during the Civil War in a bold charge up Missionary Ridge, securing General Grant's esteem and insuring his own future. Abraham Lincoln appointed him to the position of major general in the army and with his troops he blocked General Lee's final line of retreat, compelling his surrender at Appamattox. Appointed head of the Department of the Missouri in 1867, Sheridan became the chief Indian fighter of the nation, quelling rebellion on the part of the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches. He also participated in the Red River War of 1874-75 and the Great Sioux War of 1876-77. Sheridan's views regarding Native Americans were harsh and sometimes contradictory. He believed in the reservation system and segregation, but thought that Indians received mild treatment on reservations. At the same time, he blamed the U.S. government for not delivering necessary food and clothing to Indians, thus causing outbreaks of violence. He understood the dilemma for indigenous peoples posed by American occupation, but took the cause of settlers and had little sympathy for the Indian situation, feeling it was his duty to save Americans.¹⁶⁹

Skloom – the younger brother of Kamiakin. The Yakama leader sent him to talk with George McClellan while surveying for the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1854. A visible figure during the 1850s, but little has been written about him.

Edward Jevnor Steptoe- Edward Steptoe, born in Virginia in 1816, attended West Point, graduating in 1837. He served in both the Florida Seminole Wars and the Mexican American War before being sent to the northwest in 1856 as a Brevet Lieutenant Colonel of the 9th Infantry in 1855. Steptoe was an important figure in the 1850s conflicts. He accompanied Colonel George Wright across the Isthmus of Panama, arriving at Fort Vancouver on January 21, 1856. He was stationed at The Dalles during the Cascade Conflict, and closed in on the middle section of the Cascades as Phil Sheridan approached from Vancouver in the West. During the summer of 1856, he was in charge of the construction of a military post at Walla Walla, "an American foothold in the heart of Indian country." Under pressure from local miners, Steptoe responded to a petition for military troops by preparing an ill-equipped march from Fort Walla Walla through Palouse country to the Colville. Steptoe and his men were embarrassingly defeated in what is known as the Battle of Steptoe Butte when they were met by an unexpected number of Palouse, Spokanes, and Coeur d'Alenes near Rosalia, Washington. The incident was the first major conflict of the Steptoe-Wright campaigns of 1858. He returned to his home in Virginia in 1859 and died in 1865 at the age of 49.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ Paul Andrew Hutton, ed. *Soldiers West: Biographies from the Military Frontier* with an introduction by Robert M. Utley (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987; *Soldiers West* also includes brief biographies of William Clark, William S. Harney, George A. Custer, George Crook, and Nelson A. Miles, among others.

¹⁷⁰ Hemphill & Cumbow, *West Pointers* 166-180. Hemphill & Cumbow provide a simplified version of the 1850s conflicts, but their biographical information is useful. For a more accurate account of the Steptoe Wright Campaigns, see. Trafzer, *Renegade Tribe*, 76-92. Also see. Kip, *Army Life on the Pacific* which includes an appendix by Colonel Wright, but does not address Steptoe's defeat.

Isaac Ingalls Stevens - Washington Territorial Governor, Superintendent of Indian Affairs and head of the Northern Pacific Railroad Survey. Isaac Ingalls Stevens, the third of seven children, was born March 25, 1818 at North Andover, Massachusetts. Stevens, a child prodigy, came from a family of modest means and at age fifteen he entered Phillips Academy, paying his own expenses. There, he studied mathematics, engineering, and surveying. At age seventeen, Stevens received an appointment at West Point, the U.S. Military Academy. He entered the Academy in 1835 and graduated first in his class in 1839, receiving a commission as second lieutenant of engineers in the U.S. Army. As an engineer, Stevens built fortifications along the New England coast while carrying out diverse assignments. With the outbreak of the Mexican War in 1846, Stevens found new military opportunities, serving as Adjutant of Engineers on Major General Winfield Scott's staff and participating in all major battles of the Mexican War. During the war he served with Captain Robert E. Lee, Second Lieutenant George B. McClellan, and future president Franklin Pierce. After the war, Stevens gained experience as Assistant-in-Charge of the United States Coast Survey Office in Washington, later the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. The young officer's next move was into politics and he helped his former war comrade, Franklin Pierce, win the election of 1852 against his former commander, Winfield Scott, on a platform of Manifest Destiny.

Two days before Pierce's inauguration, March 2, 1853, Washington Territory was created and Isaac Ingalls Stevens sought and won the joint appointment as the territorial governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, tendering his resignation from the army. First on Stevens' agenda was the Northern Pacific Railroad Survey. A railroad to the Puget Sound, felt Stevens, would bring national prominence to himself and to the northwest and exert influence on U.S. trade with the Orient. Stevens led the eastern survey from Saint Paul in June, 1853, arriving at Fort Vancouver in November, 1853, where he stayed temporarily with Colonel B.L.E. Bonneville.

During his time first as governor and then Washington Territorial delegate, Stevens provided a stimulus for development of the northwest as he pushed for the Northern Pacific Railroad. He also met with Sir James Douglas of the Hudson's Bay Company regarding HBC holdings in Washington Territory. Stevens was responsible for the negotiation of ten treaties. The first treaties were negotiated on the Puget Sound with the Nisqually, Steilacoom and neighbors, and the Puyallup in the Medicine Creek Treaty. Because the 14,000 indigenous inhabitants who lived east of the Cascades shared lands in the territories of Washington and Oregon, responsibility for the Walla Walla Treaties, signed June 9, 1855, was shared by Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Joel Palmer. Stevens next treated with the Flatheads, Pend d'Oreille, and Kutenai in July and the Blackfoot in October. Stevens considered his treaty-making a success, but his jubilation was short-lived when on October 29, 1855, as he returned from meeting the Blackfeet he learned that hostilities had begun with the Yakama Indians.

Stevens' role as treaty-maker is deserving of further research. Although he followed established U.S. Indian policy, he has been hailed as both hero and villain for his role in treaty-making. He designated Kamiakin as headman of the Yakamas,

but agreed to the reservation rights for tribes to fish and hunt at all the “usual and accustomed places, in common with the citizens of the Territory.” The treaties developed by Stevens continue to play a critical role in the development of the northwest, and Stevens’ role in the region’s growth is a significant topic for further research. In addition, his actions as commander of the territorial militia during the Indian Wars and the controversy with General John E. Wool over the deployment of the militia, known as the Stevens-Wool controversy, should be addressed. Stevens also served two terms as territorial delegate to Congress, and chaired the National Democratic Party’s National Executive Committee canvassing for presidential candidate John C. Breckenridge, later a Confederate General. Stevens was firmly against secession and served on the side of the Union in the Civil War. As his biographer has claimed, Stevens was a “young man in a hurry.” He was killed at the age of 44 at the Battle of Chantilly after insuring his wounded son, Hazard Stevens, was removed from the field.¹⁷¹

Teias - Both uncle and father-in-law to Kamiakin, he was the leader of a portion of the Lower Yakamas.

Tilcoax – a Palouse Chief who was at the Walla Walla Council with Kahlotus and Slyotze, but did not sign the treaty.

John E. Wool – Major General John Wool served in the Mexican American War and commanded the Department of the Pacific during the Indian Wars. He and Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens were involved in a serious disagreement about the use of volunteers during the conflicts. Wool, as the commander of the Department of the Pacific, believed that the governors of Oregon and Washington, had wronged the Indians. At the same time, he felt it was the duty of the military to subdue the Rogue River and Yakama conflicts. Oregon volunteers and the U.S. Army together crushed the Rogue River outbreak and exiled the peoples to areas along the Coast Ranges. Wool’s impact as department commander should be researched further as should the Stevens-Wool controversy.¹⁷²

George Wright - George Wright was born in Vermont in 1803. At fifteen years old he was admitted to the military academy at West Point, graduating in 1822. Wright served in the Seminole Indian Wars and the Mexican American War, as well as other conflicts. He crossed the Isthmus of Panama on the deadly trip with Colonel Bonneville and the Fourth Infantry in 1852, and was stationed at Benicia Barracks in San Francisco. He returned to Fort Monroe, Virginia in 1855 as a full colonel, and came to the west in January, 1856 as commander of the 9th Infantry Fort

¹⁷¹ Hemphill & Cumbow, *West Pointers*, 93-125; See Kent Richards, *Isaac I. Stevens: Young Man in a Hurry*; for Stevens’ perspective on the importance of the Northern Pacific Railroad, see “Pacific railroad--northern route. Letter of Hon. Isaac I. Stevens ... to the railroad convention of Washington and Oregon, called to meet at Vancouver, W. T., May 20, 1860.”

¹⁷² See John Simpson, “A reexamination of General John E. Wool’s role in the Stevens-Wool controversy”; Kent Richards, *Isaac Ingalls Stevens: young man in a hurry*; U.S. War Department, *Correspondence Between the Secretary of War and Major General John E. Wool*; Field, *Washington National Guard Pamphlets, vols. I and II*.

Vancouver. Wright was involved in charging the Indians at the Cascades, bringing 250 soldiers to the area aboard the river steamers, *Wasco* and *Mary*. Under intense pressure from local settlers, Wright approved the sentence for the hanging of ten Cascades Indians. Wright was an important figure in the Yakama campaigns in 1856 and the later battles of 1858 against the Palouse, Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes. He led both the Battle of Four Lakes and the Battle at Spokane Plains. Wright operated under pressure from local settlers, Governor Stevens, and General Wool, the commander of the Department of Pacific, at times using harsh methods to attain peace. Wright commanded the Department of Oregon, replacing General Harney in 1860, transferring from Fort Vancouver as commander of the Department of the Pacific during the Civil War. He was later replaced by Major General Irvin McDowell and transferred to Sacramento. In 1865, Wright was appointed commander of the Department of the Columbia at Fort Vancouver, but he never arrived. He and his wife set sail from San Francisco on July 28, 1865 for Fort Vancouver. The ship, *Brother Jonathon*, hit a storm and turned toward Crescent City where it struck a reef and sank. Only one lifeboat was launched, and both Wright and his wife Margaret were drowned.¹⁷³

Recommended Reading

Sherry Smith, *The View From Officer's Row: Army Perceptions of Western Indians*; James Swan, *The Northwest Coast*; Melissa Cole Darby, *Wapato for the People*; Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, *The Chinook Indians: traders of the Lower Columbia River, Civilization of the American Indian Series, v. 138*; idem, *Indians of the Pacific Northwest*; Franz Boas, *Chinook Texts*; Alvin Josephy, *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest*; Clifford Trafzer, *Renegade Tribe*;

¹⁷³ Hemphill & Cumbow, *West Pointers*, 139-165. For more information about the Steptoe-Wright Campaigns, see Trafzer, *Renegade Tribe*; Kip, *Army Life on the Pacific*.

Clifford Trafzer, *Indians, Superintendents, And Councils: Northwestern Indian Policy, 1850-1855*; Ted Van Arsdol, *Northwest Bastion*.

Recommended Sources for Research

In addition to the slim list above, the Handbook of North American Indians is an invaluable resource for Indian Research. See Vol. 7 for the Northwest Coast and Vol. 12 for the Plateau. Useful bibliographies include, Clifford Trafzer, *Yakama, Palouse, Cayuse, Umatilla, Walla Walla, and Wanapum Indians: an historical bibliography* and Helen Schuster, *The Yakamas: a critical bibliography*. Official records are indispensable for research involving Indians. A wide variety of information can be obtained from Congressional documents available at the Multnomah County Library and military reports and records in the National Archives. Army Corps of Engineers archaeological reports available at the Portland District Corps of Engineers Library or through Interlibrary loan are invaluable. Volume 2 of the *Washington National Guard Pamphlets* deals specifically with the Indians Wars of 1855 and 1856. Also useful to the researcher are diaries, reminiscences, and local newspaper accounts, which can often be obtained through interlibrary loan.

Appendix 2: A Soldier's Life

The life of a frontier soldier in the United States Army during the latter half of the nineteenth century was at times exciting, and often monotonous. A frontier soldier had to be prepared to take action against Indians at every moment, while he remained busy with the sometimes challenging, often tedious tasks of building military posts in isolated regions. Edward Coffman defines the army prior to World War II as the “Old Army,” an institution that evolved during longer intervals of peace than of war.¹⁷⁴ The officers and soldiers who made up the peace-time army, as well as the Indian-fighting army, all acted as frontiersmen and U.S. trailblazers. These soldiers and officers operated under different circumstances depending on their duty stations, yet they were all subject to the same regimental military rules. The local environment, access to supplies, and the types and number of nearby communities also affected the everyday lives of soldiers.

Soldiers at Vancouver Barracks were subject to the same mandates as soldiers everywhere. Much of an enlisted man's time was taken up with caring for a large group of people rather than fighting Indians. William Hilleary of the First Oregon Volunteers stationed at Fort Vancouver in 1865 “cast aside the citizen's attire and donned a suit of blue,” the previous year. While in Vancouver, he spent most of his time on duty at one of the three guard houses, with ten days on kitchen duty during which he decided that rotten mutton and pork were not the blame of the government, but of “incompetent and rascally officers who handle[d] the rations.”¹⁷⁵

As an enlisted man, Hilleary was detailed for kitchen duty for not more than ten days. More than ten days in the kitchen would constitute extra-duty at twenty cents per day. Everyone labored to keep the garrison running smoothly. Soldiers'

¹⁷⁴ Edward Coffman, *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784-1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), vii.

¹⁷⁵ Hilleary, “Diary, I,” May 5, 1865.

duties ranged from work as artificers (craftsman) and laborers on permanent military works and public roads to employment as nurses, cook, blacksmiths, and farriers. Or, as in the case of William Hilleary, a soldier could be employed as a Corporal of the Guard, a policeman, or in the Kitchen. Hilleary welcomed the end to kitchen duty, complaining that the soldiers were dissatisfied: the cooks stole the food, “the bread tastes of soap,” and “the coffee is as weak as water.”¹⁷⁶ Food was very important and the military provided little variety. The mainstays of the mess hall were “bread for dinner, coffee, meat and bread for supper. The variations were bean soup and stewed carrots,” and much of the time, according to Hilleary, he was deemed a “copperhead” by his fellow soldiers because he preferred not eating at all to eating the “rotten” meat that was served much of the time.¹⁷⁷

Such was the life of a soldier in Vancouver, who like all enlisted men, swore this oath upon joining the military:

I, A.B, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America; that I will serve them honestly and faithfully against all their enemies whomsoever; and that I will obey the orders of the President of the United States, and the orders of the officers appointed over me, according to the rules and articles of war.¹⁷⁸

The oath bound the men to a set of rules governed by the Adjutant-General’s Office in Washington D.C. Everything a soldier did, from bathing to sleeping habits, dress, and care of his horse, was prescribed by superiors. A soldier received a yearly clothing allowance and in the 1884 *Soldier’s Manual*, enlisted men were told they must “wear the prescribed uniform in camp or garrison, and will not be permitted to keep in their possession any other clothing.”¹⁷⁹ At the end of the Civil War, soldiers

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*, May 8, 1865.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*; William Hilleary, “Recollections of the Service,” published in *The Disseminator*, 1883, MSS 919, scrapbook, Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon; A “copperhead” is a derogatory term given to Confederates.

¹⁷⁸ N. Herscher, *The Soldier’s Handbook for The Use of The Enlisted Men of the Army* [pamphlet online] (Washington: Adjutant General’s Office, 1884, accessed July 30, 1999); available from <http://carlisle-www.army.mil/cgi-bin/usamhi/DL/showdoc.pl?docnum=1>; Internet.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 7.

were told they must wear their uniform hats, and no others, to downtown Vancouver. William Hilleary couldn't figure out why the regulation was passed, but he complied as all soldiers must.¹⁸⁰

The everyday duties and actions of a soldier were key to a smoothly functioning peacetime army, and even more significant in the war time military. Research on the following topics would provide a vivid picture of the military at Vancouver Barracks during the Indian Wars, and during the intermittent periods of peace and community building in the last half of the nineteenth century:

- Departmental occupations at the garrison such as quartermaster, adjutant, ordnance, aide de camp, commissary, paymaster, artificer, farrier, and blacksmith.
- Military regulations affecting soldier's lives such as enlistment, clothing, furloughs, supplies issued, family life, re-enlistment, retirement, dismissal/court-martial, duels, punishment for misconduct, imprisonment, and pay.
- Social status of enlisted soldiers. Researchers should investigate the ethnicity, education levels, and social status of soldiers. What forces prompted men to join the army? How did the military contribute to acculturation in a largely immigrant army? Did immigrant status affect rank? How was culture preserved? Was the military an interim occupation for many immigrants? How did they interact at Vancouver Barracks?
- Women at Vancouver Barracks: Part Two, "Cultural Transitions: Women and the Army in the Northwest, 1849-1865" provides an overview of women's roles in Vancouver as the wives of officers, enlisted men, and laundresses. It also explores relations between military men, native women, and women of the Hudson's Bay Company. Further in-depth research on these topics is suggested.

Recommended Reading

Edward Coffman, *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army In Peacetime, 1784-1898*; William Hilleary, *A Webfoot Volunteer, the diary of William Hilleary; The Soldier's Handbook For The Use of The Enlisted Men of the Army*; H.R. Misc,

¹⁸⁰ Hilleary, "Diary I," April 30, 1865.

Doc. No. 56, "The Reorganization of the Army, 1878; Don Rickey, Jr., *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay*; Patricia Stallard, *Glittering Misery: Dependents of the Indian Fighting Army*.

Recommended Sources for Research

In addition to secondary literature regarding soldiers' lives, serious research on the lives of soldiers at Vancouver Barracks would include journals, reminiscences, and records held at the Oregon Historical Society and elsewhere, census records, quartermaster reports, a review of local newspaper accounts, Congressional Documents and National Archives Records, and a review of military regulations contained in government documents and pamphlets produced for soldiers.

Appendix 3: The Indian Wars of the 1870s

Relations with indigenous peoples were tense but temporarily contained between the Yakama Wars of the 1850s and the Civil War. The complexities of the Indian wars of the 1870s preclude a detailed analysis here, but a broad overview of events involving Vancouver Barracks during this period should suggest possibilities for future research. The events of the Modoc War of 1872-1873, the Nez Perce War of 1877, the Bannock and Paiute War of 1878, and conflicts with the Shoshone in 1879 have been documented elsewhere. The results of these conflicts, however, have common themes as well as individual impacts at Vancouver Barracks which are deserving of further research.¹⁸¹

The treaties of the 1850s and 1860s in Oregon and Washington assigned groups to reservations, some on or near their original homelands, others far from traditional sites. As precious metals were discovered and emigrants poured into the northwest, subsequent treaties and executive orders often shifted original boundaries, shrinking reservations to fit the needs of Anglo settlers, miners, and stockmen. The withdrawal of military troops during the Civil War allowed some native groups to remain in their homelands throughout the 1860s. At the same time, increased settlement during this period caused small scale conflict as settlers were sometimes attacked while passing through Native American lands. As the post-Civil War military reorganized, the U.S. Army turned its attention to fighting and subduing the Indians of the trans-Mississippi West. Settlement of the “Indian question” in the region now comprising the states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho and northern California was the main role of Vancouver Barracks during the 1870s. Small army posts throughout the northwest, with Vancouver at the helm, were

¹⁸¹ See recommended readings at the end of Appendix 3 for overview materials for these topics and recommended sources for research to make connections between Vancouver Barracks and the Indian Wars of the 1870s.

expected to keep peace in the midst of conflicting demands from Indian agents, settlers, stockmen, and miners.

The discovery of gold and the desire for land hastened Indian removal, causing U.S. promises to a number of Indian groups to be repeatedly made and broken. Military and civil relations were fraught with divisions about how to handle indigenous peoples, much as intratribal relations were plagued by disagreement about whether to conform to or resist Anglo occupation. Civil authorities engaged in treaty-making to extinguish Indian title to lands and those who wanted access to rich resources on Indian lands called for the immediate removal of groups standing in their way. The duty of the army was twofold, to maintain peace and enforce removal. The outcome of these conflicting mandates was a number of conflicts in the 1870s and the removal of a majority of Pacific Northwest Indians to reservations.

Relations between the military and Indians were teeming with social, economic, and political complexities. As native groups were exposed to Anglo culture and goods, some chose willingly to cooperate, while others chose resistance. Captain Jack of the Modocs was among those who chose to take a stand, and General E.R.S. Canby was a military leader charged with enforcing peaceful relations under complicated conditions. The Modocs traditionally lived on the banks of Tule Lake and along the Lost River in the Klamath Basin. Hostility between the Modocs and whites stemmed from contact along the Oregon Trail. As the southern route led directly through their lands, the Modocs frequently attacked wagon trains, sometimes appropriating goods, killing emigrants, and taking female captives. In retaliation, the Modocs were subject to attack by volunteer forces, and settlers demanded their removal. In 1864, the Modocs signed a treaty assigning them to the Klamath Reservation. Schonchin, an older leader, was more amenable to settling on the reservation than Keintpoos, known as Captain Jack. Keintpoos

watched as his people moved to the Klamath Reservation, becoming increasingly dependent on the Indian Agency for subsistence. He decided that living traditionally was preferable and refused to go to the reservation.¹⁸²

In 1869, Alfred B. Meacham was appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon by President Ulysses S. Grant. His first duty was to induce treaty Indians to return to the reservation. After a tenuous encounter involving drunken military troops and the threat of coercion, Meacham convinced the Modoc leader and his small band to go to the Klamath Reservation. Less than a year on the reservation, where native practices such as gambling, polygamy, and ritual dancing were banned, was enough for Keintpoos. The reservation encompassed the homelands of the Klamath Indians, but not the Modocs, and Keintpoos also reported conflict between the groups to the Indian agent. More than once he claimed the Klamaths ridiculed the Modocs with sarcastic accusations that the Modocs existed on the reservation only through the good will of the Klamaths. Keintpoos left in late 1869, taking 317 Modocs with him. The group of Modocs settled in their traditional lands on the Lost River, demanding rent from farmers and harassing those who wouldn't pay. Settlers petitioned the government to remove the Indians and at the same time Keintpoos petitioned for the creation of a separate Modoc Reservation on the Lost River. The Indian petition was denied and Keintpoos was ordered back to the Klamath Reservation.¹⁸³

Like many of the major conflicts between indigenous peoples and the military in the nineteenth century, efforts to force the Modocs to return to the reservation were bungled by decentralized authority and misunderstanding. Orders from the Indian Service to remove the Modocs peaceably if possible, forcibly if

¹⁸² Keith Murray, *The Modocs and Their War* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), 32-33.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, 45-47, 57-58.

necessary, resulted in an unsanctioned call for troops. The result was the Modoc War, the death of General Canby, and the hanging of Keintpoos. The events of the Modoc War have been documented, but further research should identify the social relationships that contributed to conflict on the reservation, relationships between agency officials, the Modocs and the military, and the death of General Canby. Like others, Modoc culture was rapidly transformed by contact with American culture in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Within a period of forty years, they were subjected to the impacts of disease, new trade relations, Christianity, and were quickly squeezed out of their lands. Individuals like Keintpoos, Schonchin, the Shaman leader Curly Headed Doctor, and interpreters Frank and Toby Winema Riddle, coped with rapidly shifting circumstances determined by divergent Indian policies both far and near.¹⁸⁴

At the same time that Indians were subjected to conflicting and controversial policies stemming from decisions made in Washington D.C., Indian agents under the Department of Interior often had free rein to determine reservation administration. The War Department leaders, charged with ending the Indian Wars, felt that most conflicts were started by greedy white men and often had difficulty coping with the demands of civilians and the actions of Indian agents. A third thread of influence, sometimes known as Grant's "Quaker Policies," ran through Indian Affairs. The policy, advocated by President Grant and many military and Indian agency leaders, was that of turning indigenous peoples over to missionaries in the belief that the plow follows the church. Indians would first become Christians and a change in folkways, habits, and economic systems would follow.¹⁸⁵ The conflict between traditional native practices and Christianity was among the

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 78-79.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 43-44.

many justifications for the removal of Indians to reservations, and thus from perceived savagery to civilization.

The clash of social systems was particularly apparent under General Oliver Otis Howard, commander of the Department of the Columbia from 1874-1880. Howard was known as the “Christian general,” and had a strong aversion to native religious practices, especially the shamanistic practices of the Dreamers of the Columbia Plateau. In 1877 when Howard took command, efforts to remove Indians to reservations were concentrated on the Nez Perce and other pockets of resistance. Many who had not signed earlier treaties refused to move to reservations, and pressure for removal from settlers and miners increased. This pressure led to the famous 1,700 mile “flight of the Nez Perce” from northeastern Oregon to Montana from June - October of 1877, an unprecedented feat in the history of Indian Wars. Fighting all the way, the groups of non-treaty Nez Perce came within forty miles of the Canadian border before Chief Joseph surrendered to Nelson Miles and General Howard at Bear Paw after days of bombardment, starvation, and cold in the chill air of the Montana autumn. The followers of White Bird and Looking Glass made their way into Canada.¹⁸⁶

The Nez Perce, whose reservation originally encompassed seven million acres, had attempted to impart understanding of their culture and views toward the land as part of a “Creative Power” which could not be sold. Toohoolhoolzote, the leader of a small non-treaty band and a thorn in General Howard’s side, refused to acknowledge any agreements dividing the land. He was especially adamant that the treaty of 1855, signed by James Lawyer as representative of the Nez Perce, and the subsequent “Thief Treaty” of 1863 reducing the reservation, were non-binding. “I belong to the land out of which I came. The Earth is my mother,” said

¹⁸⁶ Alvin Josephy, *The Nez Perce Indians*, 632.

Toohoolhoolzote to General Howard during a series of councils prior to the outbreak of the 1877 war. “The Great Spirit Chief made the world as it is and as he wanted it, and he made a part of it for us to live upon. I do not see where you get the authority to say that we shall not live where he placed us.”¹⁸⁷

Toohoolhoolzote’s philosophies reflected a native socio-religious system that advocated a return to traditional practices. The dreamer religion incorporated elements of both Christianity and traditionalism, prophesying the complete removal of whites from the lands. Among the leaders of dreamers on the Columbia were Smohalla of the Wanapum and Skolaskin of the Sanpoil. Smohalla’s practices of drumming, flag raising, and ritual trances were transmitted throughout the Columbia Plateau as part of a widespread revivalism of traditional living combined with resistance. The dreamers’ encouragement of resistance made them targets for General Howard when he met with the Nez Perce and other Columbia River groups during the spring councils of 1877. Native groups attending these councils were induced to go to reservations after a show of force involving the imprisonment of Skimiah, a dreamer-leader of the village of Sk’in on the north side of the Columbia who was incarcerated at Vancouver Barracks for two months in the spring of 1877.

At the councils, General Howard threatened to imprison other trouble-making prophets who adhered to native beliefs, including Toohoolhoolzote who was imprisoned to the dismay of other Nez Perce leaders. On May 30, 1877 Skimiah was released from the guardhouse in Vancouver and taken to Fort Simcoe. Howard described him as “peaceably disposed,” and with his influence was able to convince at least 500 discontented men to go to reservations. The relationship of General Howard to the dreamer prophets of the Columbia Plateau is a topic for serious research. Although some academic work has been completed regarding the

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 500-501.

influence of Smohalla and Skolaskin, little is known about the socio-religious roles of lesser known prophets such as Skimiah, Thomas, One-Eyed John, and Colwash, all of whom attended the councils with General Howard. Toohoolhoolzote was referred to as a dreamer by General Howard, but Alvin Josephy describes him as “a fiery orator, and a proud man, whose intense spiritual beliefs caused whites to regard him as a hostile Dreamer medicine man.” The influence of Toohoolhoolzote and others referred to as dreamers should be investigated, as should the impact of the dreamer religion on resistance throughout the Columbia Plateau.¹⁸⁸

Other influences contributed to Indian resistance during the early reservation period. Although the numerous treaties implemented in the 1850s and 1860s promised Indians farming tools, schools, and agricultural provisions, the realities of life under the Bureau of Indian Affairs strayed far from the promises of civil authorities like Isaac Ingalls Stevens. Congressional appropriations were sporadic, making distribution of provisions infrequent and sparse. Indian agents were important figures on reservations and their roles in the conflict and acculturation of the 1870s deserve further research. The Paiutes of northern Nevada who were moved to the Malheur Reservation in southeastern Oregon, for example, revered their agent, Major Sam Parrish. But in 1876, Parrish was replaced by Major W.V. Rinehart, who was in turn, reviled and suspected of dishonesty. Reservations hemmed Indians in, leaving them without access to resources and dependent on agents for the distribution of food and clothing. They were sometimes left with no alternative but to steal, starve, or leave as whites encroached upon even the reservation lands.

The year following the Nez Perce War, in 1878, the Bannocks and Shoshones of the Fort Hall Reservation (established June 14, 1867 by executive

¹⁸⁸ Sinclair, “They Did Not Go To War,” 27; Josephy, *The Nez Perce Indians*, 464.

order) rebelled. Soon afterward, a number of Paiutes left the Malheur Reservation where white trespassers had pastured 1,400 horses and 10,839 cattle. General George Crook reflected the views of some in the western army:

It was a matter of surprise to no one acquainted with the facts that some of the Indians should so soon afterwards break out into hostility; the great wonder is that so many have remained on the reservation. With the Bannocks and Shoshones our Indian policy has resolved itself into a question of war-path or starvation, and being merely human, many of them will always choose the former alternative, where death shall at least be glorious.¹⁸⁹

Chief Buffalo Horn of the Bannocks and Egan of the Paiutes chose rebellion, not for glory, but in the interest of physical as well as cultural survival. Buffalo Horn was killed at the Battle of South Mountain as the Bannocks headed toward the Malheur Reservation to recruit Paiute assistance. The involvement of the Paiutes in this conflict demonstrates pressures emanating both within indigenous culture and externally. Oytes, a medicine man influenced by Smohalla, led the Paiutes into the conflict. Egan, born a Cayuse, but raised as a captive of the Paiutes, was under pressure to join the rebels and after Buffalo Horn's death he became the leader of the short-lived three-and-a-half month war against the whites. As Egan headed toward the Columbia River during the summer of 1878, a number of engagements took place. Some Umatillas and other Columbia River Indians joined the Bannock and Paiutes and the war moved into the Department of the Columbia. General Howard was once again charged to institute peace and he ordered artillery and infantry troops into the field from Fort Vancouver. Troops from military installations all around headed for eastern Oregon as the Indians attempted to cross the Columbia River near Umatilla, Oregon and flee to Canada. The conflicts in eastern Oregon resulted in the death of Egan through the betrayal of the Columbia

¹⁸⁹ George Crook, in J.F. Santee, "Egan of the Piutes," *Washington Historical Quarterly* 26, 1 (January, 1935), 18-19.

River Indians who had joined his forces. It is not clear exactly who is responsible for his death, but Homily of the Walla Walla took responsibility, as did the Cayuse, Umapine, Five Crows, and Wahshack. Egan's murder is a horrific example of the military tactic of divide and conquer. The Umatillas, surrounded by troops, apparently made a deal with Nelson Miles that if they delivered Egan, they would escape retribution. Egan, duped by earlier efforts of assistance, was taken prisoner, shot, killed, scalped, and decapitated. Some, including General Howard, believed that Egan's head was sent to the Army Medical Museum at Washington D.C. In 1934, the Army Medical Museum claimed the Smithsonian held Egan's head, but the Smithsonian said otherwise. There is no doubt that Egan was decapitated, his head placed in alcohol by army doctor Fitzgerald, but its whereabouts are unknown. The chief's death virtually ended the war, and the trials of those who remained continued.¹⁹⁰

To Indians on the reservations, it seemed that agents sometimes favored one group over another, at times exacerbating previous enmities. The Paiutes, many of whom did not participate in the war, were sent to the Yakama Reservation. Sarah Winnemucca decried the treatment of the Paiutes on the reservation in her book, *Life among the Piutes*, an appeal for the return of her people to the "well watered and timbered" Malheur Reservation. Winnemucca painted a picture of Paiute misery as her band was led against their will through the snow, in a march of death to the eastern Washington reservation in 1878. There, she says, they were turned over to agent Wilbur and his "civilized Indians" like "so many horses or cattle." At the reservation, wrote Winnemucca, the Paiutes lived in tents without enough blankets or clothing to keep them warm, and many, including her sister, died. When they worked, the men were paid in army issue clothing and government rations

¹⁹⁰ Robert Ruby and John Brown, *Indians of the Pacific Northwest*, fwd. by Alvin Josephy, Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), 252-253; Santee, "Egan," 23-25.

intended for their subsistence, while the women had barely enough covering to keep them warm. At one point, Winnemucca paraded a group of naked Indians in front of Agent Wilbur and a group of visiting missionaries to demonstrate their poverty. Illness and despair struck the Paiutes as they struggled to survive without enough rations far from their homelands.¹⁹¹

Such accounts of mistreatment are not uncommon, however Sarah Winnemucca's articulation of her people's plight is rare. Sarah Winnemucca disliked the treatment of her people by Indian agents, reviled the Yakamas as ancient enemies of the Paiutes, and was among the few who were able to express the injustices of her people in written form. At the same time she benefited from her association with the military, claiming that only the military authority ever paid her well for acting as an interpreter. While working for Indian agents she had to pay room and board. When working for the military, she received rations as did the soldiers. Her association with the military and position as a guide and interpreter made her a controversial figure to whites, Indians, and even to herself. She recognized the negative view some of her people held toward her, and insisted that she had always been honest with them to the best of her knowledge. Winnemucca acted as a spokesperson for both sides, Indian and white, and was often placed in the midst of difficulties which found her at once vying for her people and attempting to earn a living as a woman in an era of change. Some military men were sympathetic to the plight of Indians. Generals Howard and Miles advocated for the better treatment of the Bannocks and Paiutes, but whether sympathetic or uncompassionate, their job had been to keep the peace in the interests of American expansion.¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims*, ed. Mrs. Horace Mann, fwd. by Catherine S. Fowler (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1994), 247, 209.

¹⁹² *Ibid*, 215.

Howard did, after a plea for assistance from Sarah Winnemucca, provide her with employment and vouch for her character. She came to Vancouver Barracks to act as an interpreter for Bannock prisoners, mainly women and children, who were kept as prisoners of war. At Vancouver, the men were put in uniforms and made to perform road work and the women sewed, attended Sunday School, and performed other duties. In 1880, fifty-one Indian prisoners were still being held at Vancouver Barracks. The census for that year lists 17 adult male Indian prisoners at Vancouver Barracks: Ah-Ba-day, Bay-ard, Ca-wa-wa, Dr-twm-ga, Doc-an-wan, Ga-wa, War-cowth, Ter-ge-con-pe, Ter-ce-birth, Tem-no-no, Too-ham-reif, Wolf, Wher-gon, Pe-take, Be-bit-le, To-get-se, Be-ce-ti-bo. Seventeen adult females and 16 unnamed minors are listed, with the qualification for all that “ages and other statistics are not obtainable in the absence of Lt. Farrow,” who must have been an interpreter.¹⁹³

In March of 1881 Sarah Winnemucca, who was running a school for the prisoners, pled for their release. They were living in tents and had just finished their second winter in Vancouver. At that time there were fifty-three prisoners, thirteen men, and eight boys from three to sixteen years old, twenty-one women, and eleven girls, ages three to fourteen. Twenty-three were Sheepeaters (a mountain Shoshonean group), thirteen were Weisers (from the Weiser River area of Idaho), and seven were from Boise. The men were working for the military, and Sarah Winnemucca said they would prefer to remain under military authority. Her plea was mainly on behalf of the women. Although she wrote they were entirely provided for by the military, receiving government rations:

the only way they have to provide for the women is by what they make out of selling the savings of some of their rations, and from what castaway clothing I can collect from employés here. . . If they could only have a place, or a bit of land given them to use for themselves, yes, a place for their own benefit, and where they could work for themselves, I would teach them

¹⁹³ Clark County Genealogical Society, *Clark County Washington 1880 Census*, compiled by Ralph & Betty Korff (Vancouver, WA: Genealogical Society, 1986), 79.

habits of industry, and it would help much in supporting them; and it is necessary that there should be, at least for the present, some appropriation made for them, in order to provide clothing for the women and children, and a proper place to live in.¹⁹⁴

The group was released and escorted to the Fort Hall Reservation that year.

Thus, Vancouver Barracks became a significant place to regional Indians, both as a symbol of retribution and salvation. From Vancouver stemmed severe chastisement for rebellion. At the same time, incarceration and military protection had become in some ways preferable to the whims and inconsistencies of settlers, miners, civil authorities, and life under the Indian Agency on reservations. Future research regarding the varying relationships of indigenous groups to Vancouver Barracks, and the many individuals who participated in the ever-changing relations with Indians during the 1870s is suggested.

¹⁹⁴ Hopkins, *Life*, 245-246.

The following are some specific topics for future research regarding the Indian

Wars of the 1870s.

- Indian campaigns commanded from Vancouver Barracks: What role did Vancouver Barracks play in treaties, negotiations and command of other military outposts during the Indian campaigns of the 1870s?
- Incarceration of indigenous people at Vancouver Barracks: Many groups and individual Indians were held at the barracks from its early years through the 1880s. Who were they? Where were they held? Why? How were they treated while in Vancouver? What did they do on a daily basis?
- What role did Native Americans play in the general population mix at Vancouver Barracks? What associations did they have with the military? Did the military continue to employ native people? Did soldiers live with or marry native women?

Recommended Reading

In addition to the citations for the Nez Perce and other regional Native Americans listed in Appendix 1, see, Clifford Trafzer, *Northwestern Tribes in Exile: Modoc, Nez Perce and Palouse Removal to the Indian Territory*; Lucullus McWhorter, *Hear Me My Chiefs!*, and *Yellow Wolf*; Keith Murray, *The Modocs and Their War*; Brigham Madsen, *The Bannock of Idaho*; J.F. Santee, "Egan of the Paiutes"; Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims*; Gae Whitney Canfield, *Sarah Winnemucca of the Northern Paiutes*.

Recommended Sources for Research

The general resources for Native American research are listed in Appendix 1. Further research on social relationships would be accomplished by piecing together information from secondary sources, government documents, including Congressional reports, Bureau of Indian Affairs records, military records, National Archives records, newspaper accounts, diaries, letters, and census information. General Howard also generated a lot of material pertaining to the Indian Wars. In addition to annual reports and telegrams from the Department of the Columbia, he wrote extensively about his experiences in the Pacific Northwest, including *Nez Perce Joseph: an account of his ancestors, his lands, his confederates, his enemies, his murders, his war, his pursuit and capture*; also *My Life and Experiences Among Our Hostile Indians*; and *Famous Indian Chiefs I have known*.

- Conducting serious historical research on the complex relationships between Vancouver Barracks and the Tribes would include contacting cultural resource committees of the four main treaty tribes, the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Indian Reservation, the Nez Perce Tribe, the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, and the Yakima Indian Reservation. In addition, numerous smaller groups have reservations throughout the northwest and serious researchers should contact them. See the Columbia Basin River Indian Web Site

available at <http://www.ccrh.org/comm/index.htm> for information about native groups in the Columbia River Basin.

Appendix 4: Land Squabbles and Community

The history of Vancouver Barracks is one of contests over land as well as American settlement and conflict with indigenous peoples. Claimants to the land on the military reserve included the Hudson's Bay Company, the Catholic Church, and American settlers.¹⁹⁵ In 1838, the Hudson's Bay Company authorized two Catholic missionaries, Francois Norbert Blanchet and Modeste Demers, to establish missions between the Rocky Mountains on the East, the Pacific Ocean on the West, the Russian possessions in the North and the Territory of Mexico to the South. Fort Vancouver became the headquarters for Catholic missions on the Cowlitz, at Nisqually, and in the Willamette Valley. Although the priests were given quarters at the Fort, they were not employees of the Company. They did, however, service the Catholic employees of the HBC as well as later caring for the Catholic population of the military, many of them Irish. A church, dedicated May 31, 1846, was built west and north of the stockade. While at Fort Vancouver, the Catholic missionaries tended the ill, buried the dead, and ministered to the spiritual needs of the diverse Hudson's Bay Company community.

Between January 11, 1839 and January 16, 1856, the priests recorded in the Catholic Church Records 208 burials in a cemetery on the northeast hillside of the church - 108 adults, 87 children, and 12 unidentified.¹⁹⁶ On October 27, 1850, Bishop Magliore Blanchet, brother of Norbert, came to Vancouver, and in May of 1853 he filed a 640 acre land claim for the Catholic Mission, resulting in a fifty year conflict with the U.S. government. The cemetery's treatment by U.S. soldiers is

¹⁹⁵ The claims made by American settlers are more fully developed in the body of the narrative. Useful sources for further research include: Sister Mary DeSales McLellan, *Vancouver*; Pat Jollata, "The Mysterious Vancouver Triangle."

¹⁹⁶ Bryn Thomas and Linda Freidenburg, "A Review of Data Relating to Cemeteries, Human Remains, Burials, and Grave Markers Associated with Fort Vancouver," Short Report 543, Archaeological and Historical Services (Eastern Washington University, 1998),4. According to the authors, this is not an inclusive number as it does not cover burials between 1829 and 1839, nor some burials mentioned in other period documents.

indicative of the increasingly tense relationship between the Church, the Hudson's Bay Company and the military. Dr. Tuzo, the HBC Fort Vancouver physician between 1853 and 1858 noted a lack of respect by the military for the HBC cemetery:

The fences, and some of the head boards in the co's [HBC] graveyard, were removed by some of the soldiers of the garrison at various times, and portions were used as fuel at their quarters. The graveyard became gradually almost obliterated. The authorities ran a fence though it, enclosing a portion within the parade ground, and excluded the rest.¹⁹⁷

The desecration of the HBC Catholic cemetery may be one factor contributing to later conflict between the military, the Church, and the Hudson's Bay Company.

Although relations were tense between groups, the Catholic Church also met many of the social needs of the military and the community of Vancouver. In 1856, a small group of nuns from the Sisters of Charity of Providence arrived in Vancouver, expanding the mission and providing much needed community services, including an orphanage, a home for the aged, schools, including the College of the Holy Angels on the military reservation, Providence Academy, and St. Joseph's Hospital. Abbe Louis Rossi arrived with the Sisters to serve as a missionary for a year while Blanchet traveled to Europe. Rossi described the congregation as being composed of French Canadians, their native wives, Irish citizens and soldiers, and some other Catholics of diverse heritage. Reflecting the presence of the military and American settlers, he decided that in the future preaching would be in English. Among Rossi's first tasks was to decorate the church for Easter, and emulating Italian ornamentation, he draped the building with colored cotton. With his task completed, he soon learned that even Irish politics extended to the northwest. "An Irish sister," said to him:

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 5.

‘One can see that you’re not Irish’ [she was] alluding to the color orange, which is the hue of the banner of the Orangemen, sworn enemies of the Irish Catholics. Finally, where the cotton cloth did not reach [Rossi] placed branches of trees and greenery, so that, thanks to these labors, the church presented a much smarter appearance than formerly.¹⁹⁸

In 1870, the army ordered the St. James Mission ordered to evacuate the military reservation and remove all of the buildings except for the church. But church leaders refused. In 1872, the army offered the Mission a half-acre site on the military reservation, but again the Church refused. The Bishop of Nisqually¹⁹⁹ filed a suit against the U.S. Army in 1887 after the military ordered expulsion of the students of the Holy Angels College and the tearing down of fences around its enclosure. The case was not settled until 1895, after Colonel Thomas M. Anderson, a former attorney, prepared a complex case against the church, resulting in a final award for the U.S military. The church received a one-half acre award and St. James Cathedral was built.²⁰⁰

The conflict with the church centered around questions of ownership stemming from the possessory rights of the Hudson’s Bay Company. For over fifty years, battles over possession influenced the development of Vancouver. In a boosterish 1883 article, the *West Shore* advertised Vancouver as having, “. . . the finest site and most natural advantages for a large inland commercial and distributing city to be found on the Columbia.” Why then, many wondered, didn’t Vancouver become the regional metropolis instead of Portland? Part of the reason lies in early settlement. The British occupied the north side of the river, with early emigrants settling in the Willamette Valley.

¹⁹⁸ “The First Cathedral: An account from an obscure French book written in 1863 by Abbe Rossi,” fwd by John A. Hussey, translator *Clark County History* (Fort Vancouver Historical Society, 1974), 416, 420.

¹⁹⁹ In 1887, the Bishop was referred to as the Bishop of “Nesqually,” however I have chosen to use the contemporary spelling, with an “i” to avoid confusion.

²⁰⁰ Victoria L. Ransom, “St. James Mission, Cathedral and Church: A history of St. James Parish and the Diocese of the ‘Square Noses,’” *Clark County History* (Fort Vancouver Historical Society, 1974), 391-397.

Large cargo vessels went to Vancouver regularly until 1858 for the Hudson's Bay Company and for the government. Around 1858, government goods were delivered on the regular line of steamers between San Francisco and Portland. According to the *West Shore*, it would have cost less to maintain Vancouver as the "great shipping and receiving point she was designed by nature to be," than it was to keep the Willamette River open to Portland through dredging. But conflict between the Company, early settlers, and the U.S. military hindered Vancouver's early development.

Colonel B.L.E. Bonneville had deliberately insured that Company land was contained in the military reserve, and subsequent use of buildings on Hudson's Bay land became a problem as the time neared for HBC possessory rights to end. In addition, he and early post commanders allowed the expansion of the Church on the reserve. The HBC rights became a heated issue between the Company and the army in 1857. Dugald MacTavish responded angrily to an application by Captain Rufus Ingalls to occupy the site of the HBC Salmon House in order to build a government wharf. He declared, "Since the United States occupation of Oregon in the year 1848, one concession of right has followed another until little more remains for us to concede." Ingalls responded, backed by commanding officer, Lieutenant Colonel T. Morris, that the military would not purchase land it already owned.

The military and the Hudson's Bay Company co-existed reasonably peacefully for a decade, but there were conflicts, most of which had to do with land use. American settlers added complexity to the situation. Henry Williamson and Amos and Esther Short filed on lands claimed by the military, the HBC, and the Catholic Church, resulting in land battles that have been blamed for problems in community development. Land controversies between the Company, the military, the church and American settlers should be seriously investigated, as they were significant to relations between Great Britain and the United States. Vancouver's

status as a failed regional metropolis is also deserving of further research. In addition, social, economic and political relations between the HBC, the military, the community, and the church, need further investigation.²⁰¹

Recommended Reading

McLellan, Sister Mary DeSales, "Vancouver"; John Hussey, *Fort Vancouver and Its Physical Structure*; John A. Hussey, fwd.; "Documents" in *Washington Historical Quarterly*; Alley & Munro-Fraser, *Clarke County, Washington Territory*; Thomas Anderson, "St. James Mission"; David Lavender, *Fort Vancouver National Historic Site*; Pat Jollata, "The Mysterious Vancouver Triangle"; "Vancouver in 1883-From *West Shore Magazine*.

Recommended Sources for Research:

Serious investigation of the topic would include territorial records, National Archives Records, legislative documents, military records, and the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in Manitoba (finding guides available on-line at <http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/>). The following is a list of general sources that have been identified pertaining to the conflicts over possession of the U.S. military reservation in Vancouver: Annual Reports of the Quartermaster General, 1851; National Archives, War Records Division, Department of the Interior Land Office Records; United States, 58th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Bill 343, United States Senate, Office of the Secretary, Papers in the Case of Mission of St. James in the State of Washington, Referred to the Committee on Private Land Claims; United States, 58th Congress, 3d Session, House of Representatives, Report No. 3766, Mission of St. James in the State of Washington; Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville U.S.A. in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West, Vols. I & II*; "The First Cathedral: An account from an obscure French book written in 1863 by Abbe Rossi"; Victoria L. Ransom, "St. James Mission, Cathedral and Church: A history of St. James Parish and the Diocese of the 'Square Noses,'""; Charles Wilkes, *Report Upon the Territory of Oregon; Claim of the missionary station of St. James, at Vancouver, Washington Territory, to 640 acres of land; The U.S. government versus the Catholic mission of Vancouver, W.T.; In the matter of the Mission of St. James at Vancouver, Washington, under the act of August 14, 1848; Decision against the St. James' mission at Vancouver its appreciation.*

²⁰¹ "Documents" *Washington Historical Quarterly* 19, 3 (July, 1928), 214 - 227.

Appendix 5: Topics for Future Research

The following is a list of general topics regarding Vancouver Barracks and the development of the Pacific Northwest during the 1846-1898 period. Broad topics in large bold print are listed alphabetically and are sometimes followed by subtopics with information regarding significant individuals. For example, the section on Exploration, Transportation, and Communication lists subtopics and individuals who played instrumental roles in exploration and transportation. The section on Civil Insurrection is followed by events related to the subject, and the section on Civilians and the military lists some information about various individuals related to the military in Vancouver. Suggested reading material for each topic is contained in the footnotes.

African Americans in the Pacific Northwest

The 1850s were a time of civil unrest in the United States, with the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Dred Scott decision of 1854 making slavery an important issue in settlement of the west. The territory of Oregon attempted to keep the slavery issue at bay by writing exclusionary clauses prohibiting Black settlement - free or slave. Military accounts refer to previously undocumented African Americans in the Pacific Northwest. James B. Fry mentions Bill, who was dropped ashore in Astoria in 1849 “without a recommendation,” having been caught stealing aboard the *Massachusetts*; Theodore Talbot mentions hiring a “negro from today as a bricklayer” for the army while in Oregon City on June 27, 1849; and Llewellyn Jones and his family were accompanied by Monimia Travers, an African American slave, who was manumitted by Jones while in Vancouver in 1851. Part of the 24th Infantry, with African American soldiers, was stationed in Vancouver in 1898. Their experiences in Vancouver and in the Spanish American War should be investigated. In addition, further research of military documents may provide a more inclusive history of the settlement of the Pacific Northwest.²⁰²

Army Corps of Engineers

The Army Corps of Engineers was involved in the development of the Pacific Northwest in the early settlement period, participating in the surveys for a Pacific railroad under Isaac Ingalls Stevens in 1853. They also participated in other exploratory and topographical surveys throughout the nineteenth century with their primary role to build roads connecting isolated outposts. By the 1870s, the corps was mounting river surveys in preparation for blasting of rocks and construction of locks. In 1878, the federal government funded the building of the Cascades Locks at the Upper Cascades. Further research on the involvement of the Corps of

²⁰² Fry, *Army Sacrifices*; Talbot, *Journals*; 1850 Census; Mary Rose, “Life of an army wife,” *The Columbian*, March 28, 1999 [newspaper on-line]; available from <http://www.columbian.com/special/vancouverbarracks/armywife.html>; Internet; accessed June 29, 1999; For an early history of African Americans in Oregon, see Elizabeth McLagan, *A Peculiar Paradise: a History of Blacks in Oregon, 1788-1940*, The Oregon Black History Project (Portland: Georgian Press, 1980); For comparative purposes, see, Quintard Taylor’s *In Search of The Racial Frontier: African Americans in the West, 1528-1990*.

Engineers in the development of the northwest is an important topic for future research.²⁰³

Chinese labor in Vancouver

In addition to the Chinese servants employed at Vancouver Barracks, the 1880 census lists a group of twenty-five Chinese woodcutters in the mountainous regions - “no villages” - of Clark County. An 1883 assessor’s report lists 126 Chinese in the county. What drew Chinese people to the area and how did they fare?

Churches in Vancouver

Reverend Herbert Beaver of the Episcopal Church spent time at Fort Vancouver between 1836 and 1838, but his rigid rules did not appeal to the populace and he soon left. The Catholic Church was first to be established, with Catholic priests arriving at Fort Vancouver in 1838. During the 1840s all church services were held at the Fort and the Catholic Church was built there in 1845. An Owyhee Church, headed by Kanaka William, also held services for the Hawaiians at the Fort. Vancouver’s First Episcopal Church, St. Luke’s, was organized in 1853 by Reverend John McCarty who came to the northwest as the first post chaplain for Vancouver (Columbia) Barracks. He conducted services for both soldiers and civilians around the region for over twenty years. McCarty started duty at Vancouver Barracks as schoolmaster on February 1, 1853, and was chaplain preacher until 1867, retiring as the rector of St. Luke’s Episcopal Church in 1868. He was also the rector of the Trinity Episcopal Church in Portland. McCarty became known as the “Vancouver’s Fighting Chaplain,” as he went into the field with troops during the Rogue River War and the Yakama War of 1855.

Vancouver was the region’s religious base during this period because of the establishment of the Catholic Church and protestant organizations. Harvey K. Hines, a Methodist minister in the 1860s, was among the many itinerant preachers, including John McCarty, who traveled around the region to hold church services. In the 1870s, church services were held in the newly built guardhouse, and James Reuben acted as interpreter for the Nez Perce prisoners. In the late 1890s, the Salvation Army held street corner services, converting civilians and soldiers alike. Churches played significant roles in education and maintaining the cultural values of the population of Vancouver. Soldiers often attended services, making church one of the main meeting places for the military and civilian populations. Military and civilian diarists alike refer often to church attendance, with Vancouver sometimes described as a “Catholic town.” The post chaplain played a significant role during periods of conflict as well as peace. Further research regarding chaplains at Vancouver Barracks is needed. In addition, the social impacts of the

²⁰³ For a history of the Portland District Army Corps of Engineers, see William Willingham, *Army Engineers and the Development of Oregon: A History of the Portland District U.S. Army Corps of Engineers* (Washington D.C.: G.P.O., 1983).

various church institutions and their relationships to those on the military reserve should be investigated.²⁰⁴

Civil Insurrections

The Alaska Gold Rush of 1897

The first activity of the army at Vancouver Barracks during the Alaska Gold Rush was outfitting government pack trains for miners' relief. Trains of animals began to arrive from other posts in the West at the end of 1897 and troops were sent out that year to Dyea and Skagway. Klondike clothing for troops ordered to Alaska was authorized by the Quartermaster General of the Army and included sheepskin coats and trousers, with pelt on the inside. The outfits consisted of coats equipped with hoods, German stockings, and Arctic overshoes. Troops and their families worried that the role of the soldier in Alaska would change from protector to explorer, and young men were concerned because there were few women in the wild frontier.

Among the first incidents to take place when troops arrived in Skagway, was the protection of Indian laborers who were being paid to unload the ship, *Queen* in Juneau. The company hiring them refused to pay the .50-.75 per hour demanded by Caucasian workers and the Indians had been hired to unload the ship for .25 per hour. When soldiers arrived, the Indians descended the gangplank and were greeted by gunshot from unsuspecting stevedores who did not know the army was aboard ship. After quelling the disturbance, a patrol was formed and none were allowed to pass without credentials. Soldiers faced high prices, freezing conditions, lawlessness, exploring expeditions, and conflict with Canada while in Alaska. Their experiences in the Arctic should be investigated further.²⁰⁵

Chinese Expulsion from Seattle

The Chinese expulsion from Seattle was discussed in the main narrative. Future research could address the reactions of volunteer and regular soldiers in addition to the charges by the *Seattle Call* that soldiers were hostile toward the Chinese. Research should also address the events preceding and following the invocation of martial law in the city and the specific movements of troops from

²⁰⁴ Ted VanArsdol, *Vancouver on the Columbia*, (U.S.: Windsor Publications, Inc., 1986), 13, 31; Glenn N. Ranck, "Typical Pioneers and Builders of Clarke County" *Clark County History* 22 (Fort Vancouver Historical Society, 1981), 56-57; For an overview of church institutions in Vancouver, see VanArsdol, *Vancouver*, 29-35; VanArsdol provides a one-page vignette about McCarty, a very important figure both at the barracks and within the community. For more information about McCarty and St. Luke's Church, see: John McCarty, *St. Luke's parish register: the diaries of Rev. John McCarty, 1853-1868, and Rev. Albert S. Nicholson, 1868-1886* (Vancouver: Clark County Genealogical Society, 1987); Thomas E. Jessett, *Pioneer Builders for Christ* (New York: Seabury Press, c. 1958).

²⁰⁵ See: Ted VanArsdol, "The Famed Fourteenth," 204-208, 210, 214-215, for an account of the Alaska experience; Researchers should look at VanArsdol's bibliography for dates and newspapers mentioning troops in Alaska; Quartermaster's reports, annual departmental reports and diaries may also be useful.

Vancouver Barracks. Other anti-Chinese events, such as the Snake River Massacre, should also be investigated.²⁰⁶

Coxey's Army

The “industrial army” under Jacob Coxey was the source of a lot of trouble for the U.S. government and the military in 1894. Troops of the 14th Infantry and various stations in the northwest were dispatched when the Coxeyites attempted to steal trains from Portland and Seattle in mid-May. Lieutenant Colonel H.A. Theaker with nearly 240 men in five companies of the 14th Infantry was sent to Seattle after a judge called for federal troops, returning home at the end of May. Company C was dispatched to Wallace, Idaho, due to trouble with miners and stayed nearly two weeks. Company D went to Umatilla, Oregon for a short time, and few troops were left at Vancouver Barracks. Members of Company G escorted the majority of industrial army prisoners from Boise, Idaho to a prison in western Idaho, near Huntington, Oregon, providing protection to deputy marshals and preventing escape. Further investigation of the troops’ movements and involvement with Coxey’s Army is needed.²⁰⁷

Pullman Strike

Interstate commerce and all mail service was forcibly obstructed and suspended when the American Railway Union brought about a national railway tie-up in sympathy with striking workers of the Pullman Company. Eugene Debs, the union president, was jailed and prosecuted as a result of the strike. On July 7, 1894, President Grover Cleveland ordered departments of the army to “open up and maintain free communication over the transcontinental railroad lines from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean.” Four companies of the 14th infantry were dispatched to Tacoma where strikers in “an ugly mood” had given the railroad master 24 hours to stop the engines. Crowds gathered, but there was no violence. In the next several days, Troop E of the Fourth Cavalry arrived from Vancouver Barracks with Captain Fred Wheeler in command. By the end of July, troops had returned, “brightening up” the city of Vancouver. Further investigation of the troops’ movement and involvement in the Pullman Strike is needed.²⁰⁸

Civilians and the Military in Vancouver

²⁰⁶ See: Chin, *Golden Tassles*; Jules Alexander Karlin, “The Anti-Chinese Outbreaks in Seattle, 1885-1886”; *Seattle Call*, November 10, 1885, in Chin, 69, Karlin, 114; *National Guard Pamphlets, vol. 4*; Carlos Schwantes, *Radical Heritage*; Eugene Semple, “Martial Law at Seattle, W.T.”; Duane Smith, “The Snake River Massacre of Chinese Miners, 1887”; Ted VanArsdol, “The Famed Fourteenth.”

²⁰⁷ See: Ted VanArsdol, “The Famed Fourteenth, Vancouver’s Favorite, 1893-1917” *Clark County History* 13 (Fort Vancouver Historical Society, 1972), 193-194; Carlos Schwantes, *Coxey’s Army*.

²⁰⁸ See Ted VanArsdol, “The Famed Fourteenth, Vancouver’s Favorite, 1893-1917” *Clark County History* 13 (Fort Vancouver Historical Society, 1972), 194-195; for more information about labor movements in the Pacific Northwest, see Carlos Schwantes, *Radical Heritage: labor, socialism and reform in Washington and British Columbia, 1885-1917*; Nick Salvatore, *Eugene V. Debs: citizen and socialist*

The military played an important role in regional economic and social development, through the purchase of goods and services as well as the employment and entertainment of civilians. Civilians, in turn, often assisted the military by providing transportation, other services, and various types of expertise. Some soldiers who came to Vancouver with the military remained as part of the community. In addition to the possibility that more information may be available about these soldiers than for transient occupants, their impact on the community is deserving of further research. The following is a brief list of civilians and former soldiers who had relationships with the military in Vancouver:

Philip Christ - Philip Christ was among the enlisted men who arrived with the First Artillery in 1849. His job was to supply the new camp with water, using a two-wheeled hand-drawn cart. He later became a long time resident of Clark county.

Michael Damphoffer - Damphoffer was born in France and served in the French army from 1846 to 1852. He came to America in 1852 and enlisted in the Ninth Infantry on January 12, 1856, participating in the Indian campaigns of that year. He also took part in the campaigns under General George Wright in 1858, and served in the Civil War. Damphoffer was honorably discharged in 1865, becoming a citizen of Vancouver and taking part in parades and exercises during Fourth of July celebrations.²⁰⁹

John McNeil Eddings - Born near Belfast, Ireland, Eddings came to America with his parents when he was eleven years old, living in New York and St. Louis for several years. As a first sergeant in the Fourth Infantry, Eddings crossed the Isthmus of Panama with Grant, Bonneville, and Louis Sohns and was also a contemporary of Henry C. Hodges. He participated in regional conflicts with Native Americans, including the Rogue River Battle. In 1857, John Eddings was appointed by Rufus Ingalls as storekeeper at Vancouver Barracks, where he worked for thirty years. Eddings was also the city's second postmaster, serving for three terms. When Grant came to Vancouver in 1879, the former president visited with both Louis Sohns and John Eddings. When Eddings died on March 31, 1896, his was one of the most highly attended funerals in the history of Vancouver. The 14th Infantry Band led a procession stretching nearly a half mile in addition to a large contingent of carriages with relatives and friends. A file at the Clark County Museum contains correspondence between Eddings and Henry C. Hodges, biographical articles, and the reminiscences of Eddings' grand-daughter, who described walks through the post on her grandfather's arm to visit the old post cemetery.²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ Ranck, "Typical Pioneers," 75.

²¹⁰ Rose Marie Harshman, *Clark County Pioneers Through the Turn of the Century* (Vancouver: Clark County Genealogical Society, 1993), 420.

Herman C. Funk - Funk, born in Natzic, Germany in 1849, came to the U.S. when very young. His father was a surgeon in the army during the Civil War, and Herman Funk enlisted in the navy in 1863. He re-enlisted in the First U.S. Cavalry, going to Arizona and participating in indigenous conflicts. He was discharged in 1868 and became a clerk in the subsistence department of the army in Portland, Oregon. He was transferred to Vancouver Barracks in 1878, and remained a resident of the city until his death in 1913. Funk was an active member of Ellsworth Post of the Grand Army of the Republic, of which he was post commander.

George Gibbs – Gibbs was a civilian artist and naturalist who accompanied the 1849 mounted expedition. Gibbs, from a distinguished lineage, was intended for the army, but became a lawyer because he was not appointed to the military academy. He studied in Europe and at Yale, and was an artist with a passion for the outdoors. When he heard about the California gold rush, he left his law practice and attached himself to the Mounted Riflemen, making numerous drawings along the way. In addition, he sent two installments of his journal to eastern newspapers. The first went to the daily *Journal of Commerce*, New York, July 25, 1849, and the second to the New York *Mercury and Weekly Journal of Commerce*, July 26 and September 6, 1849. For unknown reasons, the remainder was never published. Gibbs stayed in the area until 1860 and was a prominent figure in the Yakama Indian Wars. He not only served as a linguist with Governor Stevens' Treaty parties, he was commander of the Washington Territorial Militia. He also played a role in the Northern Pacific Railroad Survey, providing George McClellan with ethnographic information. Gibbs published a number of ethnological and linguistic works on regional Indians after his return to the east. Although he intended to return to the northwest, he never did, dying in 1873.²¹¹

J.J. Henrichsen - Henrichsen, Vancouver's pioneer cabinet-maker, was born at Utland, Denmark, November 12, 1832, learning his trade as an apprentice in Apperdee, Denmark. Henrichsen served in the Danish army during the Schleswig-Holstein War, leaving his native country in 1858. He came to Vancouver via Cape Horn the same year and established a cabinet-making shop. Henrichsen also worked as a cabinet-maker and cooper at Vancouver Barracks for several years.²¹²

J.R. Hunt – Hunt was an Oregon businessman who furnished supplies to the military during the Indian Wars.

Judge William Ranck - Ranck was born in Butler County, Pennsylvania, July 30, 1829. He came across the plains in a "prairie schooner" to the California gold mines in 1852, and then to Vancouver in 1858. In Vancouver he established a

²¹¹ Settle, ed. *March of the Mounted Riflemen*, 24-27. See: Stephen Dow Beckham, "George Gibbs, 1815-1873, historian and ethnologist"; There is also correspondence from Gibbs in the William Tolmie papers at the University of Washington; Works by Gibbs include, *A Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon, or Trade Language of Oregon* and *Tribes of western Washington and northwestern Oregon*.

²¹² Ranck, "Typical Pioneers," 62-63.

wagon-making shop and planted one of the early prune orchards. Ranck was a prominent Clark County citizen and also worked at Vancouver Barracks as a wheelwright for a number of years.²¹³

Amos and Esther Short - The names of Amos and Esther Short are two of the most prominent in Vancouver's history. The family crossed the plains in 1845, first settling in Linnton, Oregon, then jumping the Williamson claim after the Oregon Treaty of 1846 was signed. The Shorts built a log cabin and moved in, but were soon ordered off of the land by the Hudson's Bay Company. When they refused to go, the Company retaliated by tearing down the fences, digging up their potatoes, and forcibly placing the mother and children on a bateau while Amos Short was away. Amos Short returned in spite of the Company, and the family was back by 1848. When the military reserve was laid out in 1850, part of it was on Short's claim. In the spring of 1850, Amos Short shot and killed Dr. Gardner and a Kanaka man who accompanied him when they tried to evict the family once again. Short was tried and acquitted, remaining on the land. He attempted to have the military reserve restricted, but was not successful as he had not filed under the 1850 Donation Land Act. In January, 1853 while returning from a trip to San Francisco, Amos Short was drowned and the ship *Vandalia* was lost crossing the Columbia River bar. The following month, Esther Short filed for the land, but the St. James Mission claim had been filed earlier that year. At the same time, the military reservation was reduced to one square mile, leaving Short's claim outside the new limits.²¹⁴

Charles and Laura Slocum - Slocum was in the general merchandising business. He contracted with the army to provide supplies to camps where troops were stationed while fighting the Snake Indians in eastern Oregon and southern Idaho Territory in the 1860s.²¹⁵

Louis Sohns - Sohns was a member of the Fourth Infantry, crossing the Isthmus of Panama with Grant, Bonneville, and John Eddings. When his term of duty was over he became a permanent resident of Vancouver. Sohns was mayor of Vancouver in 1879, when President Grant visited and he delivered a greeting of welcome from the city to the former president.²¹⁶

Jehu Switzler - Jehu's father, John Switzler operated a ferry in Vancouver. The family arrived in 1845 from Missouri and was active in business along the Columbia River. Jehu was present during the Cascades conflict, and was frequently employed by the commander of the post in carrying messages through Indian country, as he was familiar with the language and customs of local Indians. He acted as interpreter between Governor Lane of Oregon and Chief Yellow Hawk

²¹³ *Ibid*, 60.

²¹⁴ McLellan, *Vancouver*, 19-21; Information about the Shorts is available at the Clark County Museum, in VanArsdol, *Vancouver on the Columbia*; and in regional literature.

²¹⁵ Ranck, "Typical Pioneers," 59; VanArsdol provides a one-page vignette about Charles Slocum.

²¹⁶ *Ibid*, 66; VanArsdol provides a one-page vignette about Louis Sohns.

in 1850 when the governor demanded that the chief disclose the names of the Whitman murderers.²¹⁷

Talentire – Talentire was a civilian who furnished hogs to the Quartermaster Department.

Robert Williams – Glenn Ranck writes about Robert Williams in *Typical Pioneers of Clark County*. According to Ranck, Williams was born in Wales, England, May 13, 1834. He was stationed with the Fourth Infantry at Vancouver in 1855, and participated in the Indian Wars of 1855-1856, including the Cascades conflict. He was honorably discharged from the army in 1860, but re-enlisted to serve in the Civil War the following year, being taken as prisoner at Shiloh. At the end of the war, Williams retired to his farm, but again enlisted at Fort Vancouver for nearly twenty more years. Ranck claims Williams retired in 1896 having received a Medal of Honor, but Williams is not listed in *America's Medal of Honor Recipients, 1980*. Because of his long-term service at Vancouver Barracks and residency in Clark County, Williams' life should be researched.²¹⁸

Henry Williamson – Williamson was the first actual settler to stake a claim in Vancouver, sparking conflict with the Hudson's Bay Company. Williams built a cabin near the foot of what became Esther Street, paying the legal fee to the recorder at Oregon City in 1846. He placed Isaac W. Alderman in the position of guarding his claim so that he could return to Indiana to marry his sweetheart, but found that she had died. When he returned in 1847, Alderman was gone and Amos Short had jumped the claim. Williamson refused to relinquish the site and with a new partner, William Fellowes, built a cabin at the foot of what became Columbia Street. They platted the site of "Vancouver City," in June 1848, but when gold was discovered in California in 1849 Williamson headed for the gold fields never to return. Fellowes soon followed, placing a man named Kellogg in charge of the claim. When Kellogg too, departed, he placed a Dr. Gardner in charge of the property. Dr. Gardner was shot by Amos Short in the spring of 1850 when he attempted to drive Short off of the claim.²¹⁹

Civil War in the Pacific Northwest

The Civil War has been called "the most important event" of the territorial era. Although the seat of the war was far off, sectional conflict in the region stemmed from slavery debates and proposals for a Pacific Empire separated from the rest of the nation. The Civil War influenced politics in the northwest, with Governor William Pickering influencing political battles in Oregon. Pickering sent a telegram to the president in April, 1864, assuring him of the territory's blessings. The war also reached into the homes of individuals, as young men enlisted in the

²¹⁷ "A Newly Revealed Account of the Blockhouse Siege," *Clark County History* 13 (Fort Vancouver Historical Society, 1972), 156; Switzler's first hand account of the incident is in this issue. He is also mentioned in McLellan, *Vancouver*, and VanArsdol, *Vancouver on the Columbia*.

²¹⁸ Ranck, "Typical Pioneers," 58.

²¹⁹ McLellan, *Vancouver*, 17-19.

military and regular troops were sent away. Many were stationed within the region, protecting settlers from Confederate attack and conflict with Indians in addition to continuing road building and post construction. During this time the army's volunteer soldiers built Fort Canby, known as Cape Disappointment. Fort Lapwai, too, was built through the efforts of volunteer soldiers. The war also hit the pocketbooks of volunteer and regular soldiers, as they were paid by the government in depreciating greenbacks.

Despite the isolation of the northwest, the Civil War was a very real event, and local citizens watched it closely, following the careers of those who had once been stationed at Vancouver Barracks, such as Phil Sheridan, George B. McClellan, and Ulysses S. Grant. The war also brought grief to the Territory of Washington when former governor, Isaac Ingalls Stevens, among the most influential figures in the region, was killed at the Battle of Chantilly. The impact of the Civil War in the northwest has been neglected until recently, and an in-depth study of Vancouver Barracks during the war years would illuminate the role played by volunteers and the connections of the region, despite isolation, to the rest of the nation. The perceived possibility of Confederate attack by sea and the relationship of Fort Canby and Fort Stevens to Vancouver should also be researched fully.²²⁰

Court Martials

Court martials were common in the army during the nineteenth century. Officers often spent time attending court-martials for both minor and significant infractions. Even Ulysses S. Grant was up for court-martial at Benicia Barracks in San Francisco in 1854, although he was not convicted. As at all military posts, a number of court-martials took place in Vancouver, and officers of the barracks attended court-martials at other regional posts. Thomas M. Anderson is known for having court-martialed a number of "alcoholic" service members. One court-martial that is referred to on a bibliographic database is the trial of Daniel Shea. A book titled *Jurisdiction of general court-martial in case of United States v. Shea, Daniel (late Private of Battery "E," 1st Artillery)* intimates that there was a murder trial at Vancouver Barracks in 1883. The book, 47 pages, is available at the Connecticut State Library and was unavailable for interlibrary loan. This is one among potentially numerous court-martials that may reveal a rich social and military history at Vancouver Barracks. Research of court-martials at Vancouver Barracks and in the region could be undertaken through official military records, court records, newspaper accounts, diaries and letters, and should be explored.²²¹

Desertion

²²⁰ Sara Jane Richter, "Washington and Idaho Territories," *Journal of the New West* (16: 2), 26-27; See: *Washington National Guard Pamphlet: The Official History of the Washington National Guard, vol. 3; A webfoot volunteer; the diary of William M. Hilleary, 1864-1866*; Thomas Edwards, "Six Oregon Leaders and the Far-Reaching Impact of America's Civil War" *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (Spring, 1999), 4-31; David Hansen, "Public Response to the Civil War in Washington Territory and Oregon, 1861-1865,"; Ted VanArsdol, "The Press in the Civil War era," *Clark County History* 30 (1989), 15-29, surveys regional newspapers during the Civil War era.

²²¹ Daniel Shea, *Jurisdiction of general court-martial in case of United States v. Shea, Daniel*.

Desertion was a serious problem during early army days, especially on the western frontier. The experiences of the second group of troops to come to Vancouver provide a good example of the difficulties faced by the military organization. As troops of the Mounted Rifles neared the Platte River in June of 1849, Osborne Cross noted that desertion was rapidly increasing, “. . . whether from the alarm of the cholera or a distaste for soldiering, I am unable to say. Four men ran off last night, taking a complete outfit with them. This was not very unexpected to us when we considered the material of which the regiment was composed. [Many men] merely enlisted, it is well known, for the purpose of getting comfortably transported to California at the expense of the government, and not from any partiality for the profession of a soldier.” By July 10, Cross wrote, “Desertion had become so frequent of late. . . that it became very necessary some course should be adopted to put a stop to their running off. We had ample proof that many of these men had enlisted for no other purpose than to get the means of reaching California. There was no portion of this regiment now with it who had served with so much honor to themselves while in Mexico, as they had been disbanded immediately after the termination of the war. The regiment at this time was composed of raw recruits, many of them foreigners who scarcely knew enough of the English language to understand an order when given to them.”²²²

At Fort Laramie, Colonel Loring reported forty desertions, and by the time the regiment reached Independence Rock, the colonel offered a reward of \$200 for the arrest and return of any deserter. This financial incentive, in addition to the capture of many, put a stop to desertions on the trail. Upon reaching Oregon, the men heard tales of riches in California where laborers earned five to ten dollars a day. Gold had also been discovered along the Klamath and Rogue Rivers. To enlisted men who earned between \$11.00 and \$21.00 per month desertion must have been tempting. By March 1, 1850, about 100 deserters headed toward a predetermined place in the Calapooya mountains, 160 miles south of Oregon City. On March 1, Colonel Loring set out after the renegade soldiers, seizing 56 of them in the Umpqua River Valley. There, he met Governor Joseph Lane, who with volunteers, was also chasing the deserters. Lane took charge of the captured soldiers and Loring persevered in capturing 17 more men before returning to Oregon City about the first of May. The other 35 built a canoe and fled.

Punishment for deserters varied depending on the circumstances. Labor was hard to come by, and often deserters would be chased down, confined for a short period, and sent back to work with little repercussion but a loss of pay. They were also expected to serve extra time in the military in addition to the enlistment term of duty to make up for the period of desertion. In more extreme cases, deserters were flogged and branded with the letter “D” to mark them for the future.

While Vancouver was a desired assignment for many officers, military enlistment for regular soldiers was often merely the means to travel West. Gold and other precious metals discovered in the northwest created an economy plagued by high prices, and blessed by high wages. The lure of the gold mining western frontier could easily be stronger than loyalty to the United States. Major mining rushes, such as the discovery of gold in the Colville in 1855 and on the Powder

²²² Cross, *Mounted Riflemen*, 69.

River in 1862, were accompanied by periods in which there are more references to desertion than usual. Further research should be done regarding the impact of desertion at Vancouver and in the West during the latter half of the nineteenth century. References to desertion throughout the 1890s abound in the literature related to Vancouver Barracks, but there are no studies or narratives specifically related to this subject.²²³

Dispute over Land Ownership at the Cascades

The military established Fort Cascades in 1855 for strategic reasons. The Fort embraced all of the Johnson Donation Land Claim and portions of nearby claims. From 1855-1861, the post at the Cascades “hummed with activity.” Four shelters were erected for the quartermaster department, and in 1858 Charles and Ellen McNatt built a hotel near the fort. Throughout the years of the military presence at the Cascades, title to the land remained unclear. Johnson had met the letter of the law when filing, but the military appropriated the land. A battle between Johnson and the army ensued, with Johnson winning a \$45,000 certificate of judgment in 1867, a year after post abandonment. The short life of Fort Cascades should be researched further, as this was a critical transportation route and for a brief time hosted a thriving, but small, military community directly related to Vancouver Barracks. All goods headed east of the mountains from the base in Vancouver had to pass through this route.²²⁴

The Economic Impact of the Military in Vancouver

The city of Vancouver prospered in relation to the military. An article in the *Portland Evening Telegram* declared as troops were sent to the Spanish American War, that “Without the soldier’s pay, it does not take a very keen observer [sic] to see that the place would be as dead as a doornail, even with the fine farms which it has to draw upon . . . Pay day is a gala event in the life of the town. All debts are squared and money jingles on every side.” The economic relationship between the community and the military should be explored, as should the political ramifications of the military reserve and conflict over land, as pointed out in Appendix 4.²²⁵

Exploration, Transportation, and Communication

Vancouver was an important point of traffic due to the HBC and military occupations. As early as 1850, the steamer *Columbia* stopped at Vancouver, and later the *Lot Whitcomb* and others called at the port. In 1852-53, the *Multnomah*, with Captain Hoyt at the helm, brought mail twice a week from Astoria. The *Fashion* and the *Belle* also ran between Portland and the Cascades. Not until 1857

²²³ *Ibid*, 128-129; Settle, *Mounted Riflemen*, 21-22.

²²⁴ Stephen Dow Beckham, “*This Place Is Romantic and Wild: An Historical Overview of the Cascades Area, Fort Cascades, and the Cascades Townsite, Washington Territory* (Eugene: Heritage Research Associates, 1984), 131-133. See Beckham bibliography for references to helpful National Archives records.

²²⁵ VanArsdol, “The Famed Fourteenth,” 214; Quartermaster reports, annual departmental reports, and local newspaper articles in addition to the secondary literature would be useful to the researcher exploring local transportation and communication issues.

did Vancouver become the terminus of a steamer operating on a regular schedule when Captain James Turnbull built the *Vancouver* at Milwaukee in partnership with his son-in-law. In 1865, the stern-wheeler *Fannie Troup*, built in Vancouver and much larger and faster than the *Vancouver*, replaced her, making regular trips between Vancouver and Portland.

Steamboats calling at Vancouver had to run a gang plank to the shore as there were no landing facilities in the 1850s. In 1855, two wharf-boats anchored by the river, one at the foot of Main Street, and the other at the foot of “B,” later Washington Street. These “floating wharves” were large, flat and surrounded by gunwale. Vessels moored at one end, and at the other was a saloon and store with a twelve-foot passage in between. In 1857, these floating wharves gave way to permanent structures, one of them the government wharf built by the army.

The army was instrumental in exploration and the development of regional transportation and communication networks in the Pacific Northwest. Not only did the military explore railway routes, build wagon roads, and map the region, soldiers also strung most telegraph lines throughout the northwest, and placed the first telephone lines from Portland to Vancouver in 1879. Various officers designed bridges and other forms of transportation, including Generals Harney, Canby, Howard, Miles, Gibbon, Kautz, and Goethals. The following subtopics are some of the more significant nineteenth century exploration and transportation involvement of the military at Vancouver Barracks.²²⁶

Cowlitz Corridor

During the mid-nineteenth century, the Cowlitz River provided a natural water arterial north to the Prairies and served as a main transportation route first for indigenous peoples, and later for the Hudson’s Bay Company, American settlers and the U.S. Army. Running west from the Cascade Mountains, the river turned south at Cowlitz Plains, reaching the Columbia River near Monticello, Washington. In 1833, the HBC built Fort Nisqually to serve the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, an HBC subsidiary that operated farms at Cowlitz Plains and at Nisqually. A combined river and overland route allowed the transportation of goods from the sea to the Puget Sound, via the Cowlitz corridor. The portage from Cowlitz Landing to Nisqually was a crude road traversed on horseback with no bridges to cross streams and no ferry at Nisqually.

This was the transportation route used by the military from Vancouver to Fort Steilacoom in the first years of northwest occupation. A road had been cut by American settlers Michael T. Simmons, W.O. Bush, and others when they settled the Puget Sound in 1845. Getting over it was difficult, and its condition remained the same for more than ten years. A military road, built under Lieutenant George H. Mendell, was begun in 1856. The road, completed in 1857 at a cost of \$40,000, ran from Cowlitz Landing to Ford’s Prairie and then to Yelm Prairie. Only in dry weather was it a passable way from Cowlitz Plains to the Puget Sound. Traffic slowly increased along the road, with four and six-horse stages carrying mail and passengers at a cost of \$20 - \$30 for a three day trip. In 1858, seventeen more miles

²²⁶ McLellan, *Vancouver*, 40-41; Mary Rose, “Discontent, discovery, restlessness, and development” *Columbian*, May 13, 1999.

of road were built on the west bank of the Cowlitz River and Congress was petitioned to provide \$10,000 more to complete the road to Monticello. Another \$40,000 was requested to continue it to Vancouver. Only the smaller appropriation was granted, and it wasn't until the building of the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1871-1872 that conditions improved for travel between the Puget Sound and the Columbia River. Other military roads throughout the region were built to connect army posts and communities to the main lines of transportation from the Columbia River. Transportation was a critical issue to early settlers and the military, and in addition to the importance of the Cowlitz Corridor, the role of the army in developing northwestern transportation systems is a significant topic for future research.²²⁷

Lieutenant Derby and the Military Portage Road

A military portage road constructed at the Cascades in 1855-56 was one of several U.S. Topographical Engineers projects of the decade. Lieutenant George H. Derby, a West Point graduate, came to the region to carry out surveys and let contracts for the construction of roads in 1855. Derby's projects involved three roads, a military wagon road from Astoria to Salem through Oregon's Coast Range, a military wagon road from Fort Vancouver to Fort Steilacoom on Puget Sound, and a military road from Vancouver to Fort Dalles. Of the three, the Vancouver – Fort Dalles road was probably the most challenging. When Derby arrived in the Pacific Northwest, he was beset by difficulties due to the California gold rush. Labor and supplies, including horses and mules, were hard to come by and expensive. He also found that a military road on the north side of the river was impracticable due to the canyons of the gorge and spring freshets in the lowlands. A road on the south side would mean using a ferry, also impracticable for military use. As an alternative, Derby decided to build a four-and-a-half to five-mile road across the portage at the Cascades. Work began in May of 1856, shortly after the conflict between settlers and Indians at the Cascades. The recent conflict created a labor shortage and unstable conditions, with civilian laborers demanding their pay in order to leave and Derby refusing in order to continue road building.

The road itself was a wagon road, planked, and in wet places corduroyed and graveled, with some cribwork supporting it against the river. A six-mule team could haul two tons over it. Completed in October, 1856, the road became increasingly important as a regular route for shipment of government supplies to the Pacific Northwest Interior and to the development of the Cascades. It also represented the first major commitment of federal funds for the construction of an east-west road through the Cascade Mountains in the Pacific Northwest.²²⁸

²²⁷ William Lang, *Confederacy of Ambition: William Winlock Miller and the Making of Washington Territory* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996), 25, 27-28; Thomas Prosch, "Military Roads," 123-124; For more information about the Cowlitz Corridor, see John McClelland, *Cowlitz Corridor* (Longview: Longview Publishing Co., 1953); Margot Coleman Vaughan, "Cowlitz Corridor: the passage through time," (unpublished M.A. Thesis, Portland State University, 1986).

²²⁸ Stephen Dow Beckham, *This Place is Romantic and Wild*, 87-106; Thomas Prosch, "The Military Roads," 123; Beckham's account of building the military road includes a discussion of labor conditions and provisions; Derby's records of building the military portage road at the Cascades can be found in Record Group 77: Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, National Archives;

George W. Goethals, Explorer and Engineer

Goethals is best known for his role as Chairman and Chief Engineer in the construction of the Panama Canal, acting as governor of the Panama Canal until a few months prior to U.S. entry into World War I. During the war, he served as general manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation and became Quartermaster General and Chief of the Division of Purchase, Storage and Traffic. As a young lieutenant, two years out of West Point, from 1882-1884 Goethals served at Vancouver Barracks. While on the frontier post he engaged in a number of explorations and was the guide for the commanding general of the army, William Tecumseh Sherman, as Sherman toured the northwest wilderness. Among Goethal's explorations were the territory between Old Fort Colville and Lake Osoyoos on the Canadian boundary. He was accompanied by Topographical Assistant Charles A. Homan, and a detachment commanded by Second-Lieutenant William R. Abercrombie. The exploration led General Miles to desire the construction of a wagon road and on June 10, 1883, Goethals left Vancouver Barracks to hastily survey the area before the arrival of General Sherman. Topographical Assistant Alfred Downing accompanied him. Deciding that it would be impossible to build the road before Sherman arrived, Goethals prepared a line of march with designated campsites from Coeur d'Alene to Fort Hope. In July, 1883, Goethals served as a general guide for the party that included Associate Supreme Court Justice Horace Gray, Colonel Richard I. Dodge, and Colonel John C. Tidball. On the journey from Coeur d'Alene to Fort Hope, Goethals led 81 people, 66 horses, and 79 mules. The party experienced much difficulty as they passed through the terrain of the Pacific Northwest, and Goethals left the main branch when it reached Lake Osoyoos.

From there he undertook a reconnaissance expedition to find a pass through the Cascade Mountains. Goethals accompanied a small scouting expedition under the command of First-Lieutenant George B. Backus, First Cavalry, an 1875 West Point graduate. In addition to Backus and Goethals, the party consisted of one corporal, one private, a packer, and Arthur J. Chapman who served as Indian interpreter. In less than a month, the party covered approximately 297 miles of reconnaissances, exploring extensively both the Twisp and the "Papoose Methow" rivers to their heads, and locating a major pass through the Cascade Range (Twisp Pass).

Goethal's next assignment was to locate a bridge over the Spokane River in October of 1883. He later declared, "It is time, place, and circumstance that fix the quality of engineering achievement. The hardest task I ever had, for instance, was not the [Panama] canal, or anything that anyone knows about. It was a bridge that I built over the Spokane River. . . ." Other assignments included assisting in a map of the territory through which the Cape Flattery Telegraph line passed, a failed trip to explore the Pend d'Oreille River, and advising the construction of the Fort Canby breakwater. He also planned the headquarters building and the new post cemetery, and designed a map of the Department of the Columbia showing telegraph lines, a

see Jackson W. Turrentin, "Federal road building grants for early Oregon" *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 50: 3-29.

map of Clark County, and a table showing distances between all posts in the department. While in Vancouver, the famous general-to-be met his wife, Effie Rodman. Goethals played an important role in transportation, exploration, and communications in the Department of the Columbia, and his contributions should be examined further as part of a broader effort to create regional and national connections.²²⁹

James Gray and the Oregon Steam Navigation Company

The Oregon Steam Navigation Company, chartered in 1860 by a group of Portland investors, operated steamboats and portages along the Columbia River, soon dominating Columbia River transportation. Taking advantage of the Idaho mining rush in the 1860s, OSN investors, including W.H. Gray, were soon wealthy. High shipping rates and monopolistic practices prompted an outcry against the OSN in the 1860s, and a battle ensued over control of the portage at The Dalles and the two portages at the Cascades on the Washington and Oregon sides of the river. Attempts were made, but failed, to restrict the company's control of portages when the OSN reincorporated in Oregon. A deal was made with the People's Transportation Company, a steamboat line on the Willamette running between Portland and Eugene, to allow the PTC to operate on the Willamette if it wouldn't challenge OSN dominance of Columbia River traffic. By the 1870s, Vancouverites protested the dominance of OSN steamboat traffic with its headquarters in Portland. Territorial communities either thrived or failed based on transportation systems, and in 1878, Henry Villard took control of the OSN, eventually combining it with the Northern Pacific Railroad. The terminus of the railroad was placed in Tacoma, much to the dismay of the citizens of Vancouver and other territorial communities. The combination of the OSN and the NPRR created a powerful monopoly, controlling both river and rail transport, with the only real access to Portland and Vancouver through direct connections with San Francisco.

The military provided a significant source of income for transportation systems, through the shipping of mail, supplies, and people. Both W.H. Gray and Henry Villard were entertained in Vancouver by General Oliver Otis Howard. Gray's son, Captain James Gray, also a major investor in the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, married General Howard's daughter, Grace, and the couple resided at the Howard House in Vancouver. Gray and his brother were also steamboat captains in the OSN, holding the federal contracts for transport of supplies, personnel, and mail between the mouth of the Columbia and the Inland Empire. Through such alliances, the OSN was guaranteed that vessels would run even without passengers, despite economic trends. The relationship between the OSN and the military as well as relations between the army and the Portland business community are important topics for future research.²³⁰

²²⁹ Walter R. Griffin, "Our Greatest U.S. Engineer," *Clark County History* 12 (Fort Vancouver Historical Society, 1971), 103-128.

²³⁰ Mary Rose, "Discontent, discovery, restlessness, and development"; Schwantes, *Pacific Northwest*, 152; Lang, *Confederacy of Ambition*, 161-162; For a history of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, see: Dorothy Johansen, *Capitalism on the far-western frontier: the Oregon Steam Navigation Company*; John Commigers Ainsworth, *Steamboating on the Columbia River: the*

George B. McClellan and the Northern Pacific Railroad Survey

McClellan was a Mexican War veteran who went on to command the Union Armies in the Civil War. He was replaced by Ulysses S. Grant, and was a presidential candidate in 1864, losing to Abraham Lincoln. McClellan commanded the Western portion of the Northern Pacific Railroad Survey in 1854 and served in Washington Territory from 1853 to 1855, living with Captain Grant during the winter of 1853. He surveyed railway routes in the Oregon country, but was not very successful, spending more time in camp than exploring. Henry C. Hodges was the quartermaster for the party which left in July, striking north and passing through Fourth Plain, Yacolt Prairie, and through the timber to the Cascade Mountains, near Mt. Adams. They then went into the Simcoe Valley, through the Naches Pass to Fort Steilacoom, Puget Sound, back to the Yakima Valley and again east to the Columbia at Fort Colville of the Hudson's Bay Company, where they met Governor Stevens. After crossing the Spokane Plains and the mouth of the Snake River at the mouth of the Palouse, they went through Wallula and down the left bank of the Columbia to Fort Dalles. From the Dalles, the party traveled by water down the Columbia, arriving just in time to say goodbye to Captain Grant. "In our trip there was not a vestige of civilization. Now how different! Cities, towns, villages, farms, railroads, electric lights, mines, smelters, etc.," wrote Henry C. Hodges of a later trip to the northwest.

During the expedition, McClellan encountered Kamiakin, Skloom, and other Indians, paving the way for Governor Stevens by telling them there was no cause for concern and that the governor would soon meet with them to discuss their lands. Despite his disclaimer, McClellan's discussions with regional Indians alarmed them, and word was sent out among the Palouses, Cayuses, Walla Wallas, Umatillas, Yakamas, Columbias, Spokanes, and Wenatchees, that there were soldiers marching through the land and that white settlers might soon be coming to take their lands by force. McClellan's experiences in the northwest have been documented, but the relationship to Vancouver Barracks, the broader transportation relationships with other posts and his impact on Indian relations have not been explored.²³¹

John Mullan and the Mullan Road

John Mullan (1830-1909) was the son of an Irish immigrant father and a Virginian woman. He received his appointment to West Point by visiting President Polk and telling him he wanted to be an officer. Polk got the appointment for him, and Mullan graduated from West Point, 15th in his class. He was appointed to the First Artillery as a brevet second lieutenant. Mullan participated in the 1853 Northern Pacific Railroad surveys under Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens, returning east in 1855 to complete a Master of Arts degree from St. Johns College in Maryland. In 1857 he was appointed Officer in Charge of the military wagon road survey, beginning construction in 1858. When he returned to the northwest, he

pioneer journal of Captain J.C. Ainsworth; collections pertaining to the OSN are available at the Oregon Historical Society.

²³¹ Henry C. Hodges Letter, Vancouver National Historic Reserve Trust, O.O. Howard House; Trafzer, *Renegade Tribe*, 35. See Philip Henry Overmeyer, "George B. McClellan and the Pacific Northwest."

served as Colonel Wright's topographical officer and chief of scouts, commanding 33 Nez Perce volunteers and participating in the Battles of Four Lakes and Spokane Plains. Six months later he was ordered to proceed with the military road from the old Hudson's Bay Fort Walla Walla, now called Wallula, to Fort Benton in Montana, the head of steamboat navigation on the Missouri River. The road's purposes were to convey troops quickly to the northwest, to provide a highway for emigrants, and to serve as a convenient transportation route to supply the building of the trans-continental railroad. The 624 mile road was completed in 1862 and cost the government \$230,000. Mullan encountered opposition from the Coeur d'Alene Indians and threatened obstructers with hanging. The major crisis of the road-building trip was when a soldier discovered gold. Fearing desertion, Mullan told the soldier he was sure it was worthless and promptly had him transferred to avoid potentially leaking the news.

A tide of emigration to the northwest along the Mullan Road during the Civil War is one of the little known aspects of the War Between the States. The Mullan Road was the first road built on scientific engineering principles, and like all earlier roads, it followed long-established Indian trails. John Mullan was among the explorers who had early contact with indigenous peoples of the region. His encounters with regional Indians, events along the Mullan Road, and Civil War migration to the northwest are important topics for further research.²³²

Joseph Patrick O'Neil and the Olympic Mountains

Joseph Patrick O'Neil (1862-1938) was the son of an Irish soldier and grew up on western army posts. He, too, joined the military and attended West Point. In April 1885, he was assigned to Vancouver Barracks with the 14th Infantry. Inspired by a previous trip down Puget Sound, O'Neil convinced Brigadier General Miles of the Department of the Columbia to allow him to explore the Olympic Mountains. O'Neil led two military expeditions into the Olympics, the first in July, 1885, departing Vancouver with five men: Sergeant Richard D. Green; Sergeant Henry C. Weagraff; Private John Johnson, the cook; Harry Hawgood, civilian engineer; and Richard Habersham, engineer/artist. The expedition was exciting, but incomplete; however O'Neil left the military's mark when he named mountain peaks for Mary H. Sherman, for Thomas M. Anderson, and Mount Arline, for the colonel's daughter, Arline Anderson.

The second expedition organized under Brigadier General John Gibbon took place from June to October, 1890. Funding and scientific support came from the Oregon Alpine Club, and the army's contribution was Lt. O'Neil, some enlisted

²³² Hemphill & Cumbow, *West Pointers*, 199-203; Edgar Stewart, *Washington: Northwest Frontier, vol. II* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing, Inc, 1957), 35-37; For more information on the Mullan Road, see: U.S. War Department, Report of the Secretary of War, Senate, Special Session, Ex. Doc., No. 2; John Mullan, *Report on the construction of a military road from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Benton*; Oregon, complainant, *Before the Hon. Secretary of the Interior, United States Land Department*. . . ; T.C. Elliot, "The Mullan Road" *Washington Historical Quarterly* 14 (July, 1923), 206-209; Samuel Flagg Bemis, *Captain John Mullan and the engineer's frontier*; U.S. War Department, Report of the Secretary of War. . . December 3, 1860; Louis C. Coleman, *Captain John Mullan; his life. Building the Mullan Road; as it is today and interesting tales of occurrences along the road*.

men, and mules. This time the expedition was more successful. O'Neil and his companions mapped the Olympics which he earlier described as "gloomy forests of fir, cedar, hemlock, obscured windfalls, precipices and canyons." He later served in the Spanish-American War, the Philippine Insurrection, and as a lieutenant colonel he surveyed and explored in Alaska in 1912-1914, being promoted to Brigadier General during WWI.²³³

Frontier and Military Health

Health was a major concern for the military as well as for civilians. Many settlers were drawn to the "healthful" climate of the northwest from the mid-west, where "fever and ague," and malaria were both common and deadly. The situation in nineteenth century medical practice was one of competing sects and contradictions. Mainline professional medicine often failed to meet the needs of patients, and the licensing and training of "regular" doctors was at times suspect. Becoming a doctor meant a three year apprenticeship, but no general rules regulated the training of apprentices. Coursework included anatomy, physiology, surgery and multifaceted classes covering midwife practices, diseases of women and children, materia medica, and theory, practice and legal aspects of medicine. However, after the first term of coursework doctors sometimes left medical school and began practicing, often without licenses. As the American Medical Association was not created until 1847, others did not attend medical school at all, instead apprenticing with physicians. Many who used the title, "Doctor," were people who claimed medical knowledge and there were a variety of types of practices in the 19th century.

Regular physicians practiced "heroic" or allopathic medicine, often characterized by violent procedures such as bloodletting, purgatives, and emetics. Medical theory promoted the idea of "active" therapy, and those methods which produced the most immediate reaction in patients were believed the most successful. "Puke-and-purge" treatments cleansed the bowels and stomach, using tartar emetic and mercury-containing drugs such as calomel. Other dangerous treatments included the use of quinine and opium for fever and ague.

Alternative therapies also existed in the nineteenth century. Thomsonianism, relying on steambath and botanical remedies, was a source of irritation to regular doctors and was common among "frontier types." Homeopathy, advocated a common sense approach to daily life including good personal hygiene, exercise, fresh air, a balanced diet, and appealed to the urban upper class and the wealthy. Homeopathic medicine was developed in response to the cholera outbreaks of the 1830s and 1840s, and by the outbreak of the Civil War, homeopathic doctors were denied admission into the Army Medical Corps.

Cholera was a serious problem for settlers and the army on the journey west. The Asiatic cholera came to the U.S. by way of Irish emigrants in 1832, spreading across the Great Lakes and down the Mississippi River to Jefferson Barracks,

²³³ "Young Lieutenant Leads exploration of Olympics" *Columbian*, May 13, 1999; see 34th Congress, 1st Session. Senate Document No. 59, "Letter From the Assistant Adjutant General, Transmitting copy of the Report of Lieut. Joseph O'Neil, Fourteenth Infantry, of his exploration of the Olympic Mountains, Washington, From June to October, 1890.

reaching St. Louis in May, 1833. It was introduced again from Canada and Europe in 1834, and from Cuba in 1835. After a ten year interim, it again moved to St. Louis in April of 1849, killing approximately 5,285 in the city that year. Estimates of the number of deaths on the Oregon Trail in 1849 range from four to five thousand.

The Mounted Riflemen, who came to Vancouver Barracks in 1849, were appalled by the epidemic of cholera as they made their way west. Soldiers feared that cholera would increase when they came across an emigrant party in which six people of fourteen had died since the previous day. Near the Platte River, Major Cross wrote, "Within the last four days the command had lost several men by cholera, and it had every indication of increasing among them." As of June 9, eleven men had died of the disease, one of them the company farrier. The two doctors, Moses and Smith, were attacked by the disease also, making it necessary to employ a citizen surgeon, Dr. Thomas J. White of St. Louis. Death accompanied the long journey to the very end. Within the next month, nine more men died, two of drowning. Between Fort Laramie and the portage at the Cascades, four more men died, and on October 2, 1849, nearly at the end of the journey, six men were buried in the whirlpools of the Cascades, having attempted to raft the river at night. Two survived.

How did the military on the northwestern frontier cope with health and medical issues? What services were available in Vancouver? Did officers, soldiers, and their families rely on military doctors or did they, like many in the nineteenth century, turn to alternative therapies despite the availability of military doctors? Other options presented by what are now known as "snake doctors," were often patent medicines containing high amounts of alcohol. Publishing health literature was a thriving business, most of which supported exercise, diet, good food and cleanliness. Health writers also addressed issues of moral and spiritual health as well, and pushed for temperance. Often women played the roles of nurses and healers for family and neighbors, growing herbs and relying on traditional therapies. What types of medical practice were common in Vancouver, especially before the Civil War when alternative doctors were banned from the Army Medical Corps? Research regarding medical practice in Vancouver and among soldiers in the field, would be a useful social history topic. In addition, the impact of cholera on the U.S. Army in the western frontier should be addressed.²³⁴

Government Island

In 1850, the military reserved the island now known as Government Island, raising hay on it. In the Hudson's Bay era it was "Goose Grass Island," later known as Miller's Island, then acquiring the name Government Island, which it still has. The island was once inhabited by six families, including the A.F. Jacob family. It later became a wildlife refuge, and now, although an anchor for the I-205 bridge, cattle still forage. Prior to the building of federal dams, numerous islands were

²³⁴ Courtney, *Democratic Ideology*, 48-66; Settle, ed. *Mounted Riflemen*, 33-34, n. 33, 75, 116, n. 31, 261; For further research on medicine in Clark County, see: John C. Brougher, "Pioneer Medicine in Clark County"; Ted VanArsdol, "Clark County Medicine"; War Department, *Circular No. 4, Report on Barracks and Hospitals*; Charles Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years*.

extensively used in the Columbia River. The use of Government Island by the military and the community is a prime topic for future research as very little has been written about it.²³⁵

The Government Wharf

When the military wharf was proposed in 1857 at the site of the Hudson's Bay Company's Salmon House, it became a topic of conflict between the HBC and the military. Although a nearby site was chosen, conflict over land and buildings occupied by the HBC or its employees continued until the Company left Vancouver in 1860. The newly built government wharf became the scene of much activity during the nineteenth century. Not only did troops arrive and depart from the wharf, but the Quartermaster Depot of the Department of the Columbia was situated close to the wharf on the river. As it served other military posts in the region, draft animals, transportation equipment and building materials were shipped from it. Further research should be completed on the government wharf, including its exact location, how long it was used, and what happened to it. Numerous official documents, especially quartermaster and annual reports, should be associated with this place.²³⁶

Recreation and Community

Recreation played an important role in the physical and mental fitness of soldiers and their families. In addition, it provided a means of interaction between the military and the community. The following is a brief list of potential recreational topics for further investigation:

Athletic recreation

The first organized baseball game played by a Vancouver team took place on May 29, 1862. Soldiers from the garrison participated, fans came from far and near, and the Vancouver Occidentals lost to the Portland Pioneers, 79-62. In 1896, a new quarter-mile athletic and bicycle race track was constructed in the rear of the officer's quarters. Late in the summer, athletic entertainment at the Standard Theater in Vancouver was sponsored by the 14th Infantry, and included wrestling, sparring, club-swinging, song and dance, and tumbling, concluding with a dance. Other forms of athletic recreation included horseback riding. Races were an important outlet for soldiers and officers played polo on the parade grounds. Investigation of athletic recreation and its connections to the military and community life are good social history topics.²³⁷

²³⁵ Gregg Beecher, "Life On Government Island" *Clark County History* 12 (Fort Vancouver Historical Society, 1971), 134-135; The article is the transcript of an interview with Margaret Eldred who was born on the island and is the winning essay in the historical society's 1970 annual contest. Information about the island comes from the editor's notes.

²³⁶ Hussey, *Fort Vancouver*, 105-107; David H. and Jennifer V. Chance, *Kanaka Village/Vancouver Barracks, 1974* (Seattle: Office of Public Archaeology Institute for Environmental Studies, University of Washington, 1974), Reports in Highway Archaeology No. 3, 3.

²³⁷ Mary Rose, "Batter Up," *Clark County Chronicle* 1, 5 (Vancouver: Rose Wind Press, 1998), 1; See VanArsdol, "The Famed Fourteenth," 200. Local newspapers and quartermaster reports would be of use to the researcher.

Fourth of July Celebrations

In the early years Vancouver was famous for its Independence Day celebrations. People traveled from Portland and from miles around to hear the Army Band and to see the Fourth of July Parade. The first Fourth of July celebration in Vancouver took place in 1855 with an oration given by Lieutenant Derby, who was also known as “John Phoenix.” According to B.F. Alley and J.P. Munroe-Fraser, it was a “humorous” speech, with Indians comprising at least half the audience and the remainder divided between Kanakas, Metis, French-Canadians, Scotsmen, a few Englishmen and about a dozen Americans. The chief officers of the Hudson’s Bay Company were invited and to them “the giving vent to traditional [American] pent-up patriotism on each national anniversary, appeared, no doubt, vain-glorious and ridiculous.” Alley and Munroe claim that Derby made reference to the end of the HBC tenure, “which was regarded as a gratuitous insult.”

Grand Independence Day celebrations have been a mark of Vancouver’s character from the time the military arrived to the present day. In 1889, the Fourth of July celebration at Vancouver was a place to recall the events that led to statehood. Although the military band no longer plays at Fourth of July celebrations, since 1962 Vancouver has had one of the largest fireworks displays West of the Mississippi. This holiday has historically provided a meeting place for various groups in the community, a day when the populace, including military members, gathers together. The social significance of these celebrations on Officers Row should be explored.²³⁸

The Post Canteen and Post Exchange

The Post Canteen, the first in the army, established in 1880, started a national military trend of canteens at military posts. The canteen provided a place, besides the barracks and saloons, for soldiers to gather socially. The Post Exchange opened in February, 1896 and was used as a place of recreation. Profits were used to benefit the company messes.²³⁹ Additional research on the role played by the post Canteen and Exchange would be useful.²⁴⁰

Post Newspapers and Literary Societies

The *Sport* was published in 1896 by members of the 14th Infantry. William B. Hilleary mentions a soldier’s literary society forming in January, 1865. Joseph A. Palmer was president, William Hilleary, Secretary, and William H. McCartney was editor. Meetings were held on Saturday nights. Were there other newspapers or literary journals from this period? These could be an important source for understanding social activities and contemporary thought.²⁴¹

²³⁸ See: B.F. Alley and J.P. Munro-Fraser, *Clarke County, Washington Territory*, 55-56; VanArsdol, *Northwest Bastion*; VanArsdol, “The Famed Fourteenth,” 200.

²³⁹ See: VanArsdol, “The Famed Fourteenth,” 199, 201; VanArsdol, *Northwest Bastion*.

²⁴⁰ See: VanArsdol, *Northwest Bastion*, 47; VanArsdol, “The Famed Fourteenth,” 199.

²⁴¹ A November 23, 1896 copy of the *Sport* is now part of the Clark County Museum collection with the original edition currently on exhibit at the Historic Reserve Visitor Center (O.O. Howard House).

The Relationship of Vancouver Barracks to regional military posts

The Vancouver post was part of the Department of the Pacific until 1858 when Oregon and Washington territory split into the Department of Oregon. At that time, General Harney became both post commander and department commander. The relationship of Vancouver Barracks to Benicia Barracks in San Francisco between 1849 and 1858 should be investigated.

Vancouver was the base of supply operations to regional military posts throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. The oldest posts in the Pacific Northwest are Fort Steilacoom, Vancouver Barracks, Fort Stevens, and Fort Dalles. Other regional garrisons by the end of the century included Forts Walla Walla, Canby, Spokane, Sherman, Lapwai, and Boise Barracks. Each of these posts was headquartered by the Department of the Columbia at Vancouver and troops were sent between them, expeditions were mounted, and they provided reinforcement for one another. Vancouver was the center of social as well as economic activity for the regional posts. Additional research should focus on the development of military posts of the region, and their relationship to Vancouver Barracks. An historical map project demonstrating the relationship of regional posts to Vancouver would be useful.

The Spanish American War

Troops from Vancouver were among the first to go overseas. In 1898 many of the soldiers of the 14th Infantry, headquartered in Vancouver, were temporarily stationed in Alaska. They went from freezing Alaskan conditions to the tropics of the Philippines and Cuba, and many died of diseases such as typhoid rather than armed conflict. Conditions aboard the ships on their way to the islands were poor. One soldier on the *City of Sydney* wrote, “we are so crowded that bunks are made four high and five wide. The heat is terrible at night. On board we get two meals a day and have to sit on our knees or lie down to eat. . . .” As the Philippine Insurrection began, the once enthusiastic troops were sobered. Possession of the island before the war was not expected, and “certainly not desired.” Corporal Crabb decided it was “an inglorious war.” In the meanwhile, Vancouver experienced a rapid turnover of troops, and once again volunteers were trained and stationed at the barracks. The experiences and attitudes of soldiers in the frontlines as well as those in Vancouver should be researched.²⁴²

The Sisters of Charity of Providence

The Catholic Church was active in the Pacific Northwest, with the addition of the Sisters of Charity of Providence, led by Sister Joseph of the Sacred Heart, to Vancouver’s St. James Mission in 1856. The Sisters of Providence were located on the military reservation, interacting with both the military and civilian community. The Sisters brought more than religious philosophy to Vancouver. They created social institutions, many of which were the first in the region. Their express

²⁴² VanArsdol, “The Famed Fourteenth, Part II” 208-215; Gauld, “First U.S. General Overseas,” 214-215; See: Sorley’s *History of the Fourteenth Infantry, January 1890 to December, 1908* (Chicago: 1909); *Lest We Forget: Clark County, Washington War Casualties*.

purpose was “relief of the needy and suffering humanity. . . the care of orphans, invalids, sick and poor, and . . . the education of youth.” The diocesan priests of the Mission had established the College of the Holy Angels, a boy’s school, and within six months after their arrival, the Sisters started a school for girls, Providence Academy, operating in Vancouver until 1966. They also established the first care facility for orphans in the region, a home for the elderly and homeless, and an insane asylum. In 1858, St. Joseph’s Hospital was established by the Sisters with the assistance of the Vancouver Ladies of Charity who agreed to install four beds, some chairs and tables in the hospital. The hospital itself was half of a recently completed building on the Mission grounds; the other half was the bakery. Mother Joseph, a young nun in 1856, has become a legendary figure in Vancouver. The impact of the Sisters of Charity of Providence, especially in light of their residence on the military reservation for over thirty years, is a topic of extreme importance on the National Historic Reserve.²⁴³

Volunteers, National Guard and the Washington Territorial Militia

Volunteers have played an extremely important role in military service throughout the nation’s history. From the Revolutionary era through the twentieth century, men (and now women) have served their country on a volunteer basis in times of crisis. The regular army in the Pacific Northwest had a close relationship with volunteers throughout the nineteenth century, with Vancouver as the base of organization for volunteer forces. Sometimes the relationship was contentious, as during the Indian Wars of the 1850s when intense conflict between Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens and General John E. Wool resulted in outright accusations on the parts of both, an important topic for future research. A number of issues sparked hostility between the two, ranging from requests for supplies on the part of Stevens to admonitions about the behaviors of volunteers on the part of Wool.

At other times the relationship was more amenable, as during the assignment of volunteers at Vancouver during the Civil War. Volunteers played a critical role in northwest history, first in conflicts with Indians, then as the only military troops protecting northwest shores in the Civil War, and later participating in quelling civil unrest in the 1880s and 1890s. In 1887, the Washington National Guard was formed, making Vancouver the central training base for the volunteer army. The evolution of the volunteer army leading to the creation of the National Guard and the later deployment of numerous troops in the Spanish American War, deserves further research. The military could not have functioned as effectively without the efforts of these men, who often provided their own arms and supplies, acted as

²⁴³ Courtney, *Democratic Ideology*, 24, 38; Courtney provides a good discussion of the institutions created by the Sisters of Providence as well as an analysis of frontier health, population statistics, male and female labor, and the role of women in the nineteenth century; For further research regarding the Sisters of Charity of Providence in Vancouver, see: Mary McCrosson, *The Bell and the River*; Wilfred Schoenberg, *A History of the Catholic Church in the Pacific Northwest*; “A Brief Historical Sketch of the Academy,” (The Academy and Hidden Brick Company, 1977); Manuscripts, including the “Chronicles of St. Joseph Hospital,” by Dorothy Lenz, are available at the Sisters of Providence Archives in Seattle.

guides and interpreters, and gave their time and often their lives in the service of causes they believed in.²⁴⁴

²⁴⁴ Field, *National Guard Pamphlet, vol. 1*, 19-22; See *National Guard Pamphlets* for a history of the territorial militia, their involvement in regional conflicts, and primary documents relating to the Stevens-Wool controversy as well as other pertinent topics; Military documents and reports in addition to newspaper articles and general biographies would be useful for further research.

Appendix 6: Profiles of Soldiers at Vancouver Barracks

A number of famous soldiers who became famous in the Mexican War, the frontier Indian Wars, the Civil War, and the Spanish American War, served at or visited Vancouver. The experiences of Ulysses S. Grant and Oliver Otis Howard have been extensively recorded, but the experiences of the everyday lives and contributions of a number of other officers during their terms in Vancouver are lacking and deserve further research. The following is a list of many famous, and some not so well-known, military men who have served at Vancouver. It is not meant to be a comprehensive list of important individuals. Rather, it should acquaint the NPS Ranger with some of the significant people who have served at Vancouver, as well as stimulating further research.²⁴⁵

Benjamin Alvord – Alvord commanded the Oregon Military District during the Civil War. He was a West Point graduate and served with the 4th Infantry in the Northwest from 1852 to 1864. He later served as Paymaster General of the Army.

Thomas M. Anderson - Thomas Anderson was the commander of Vancouver Barracks from 1886 until 1898. As a colonel, he commanded the 14th Infantry Regiment and had one of the longest tenures of commanding officers at Vancouver. Anderson lived in the older Department Commander's house built in 1879, now known as the Howard House, and was an important military and social figure in the region. As a former attorney, Anderson was able to put together a case that finally settled the conflict between the military and the Catholic Church. The Anderson family were among the elite of the Portland area, providing entertainment at Vancouver and attending local functions. He was commander during the period of civil unrest and gold strikes of the 1880s and 1890s. In 1898, Anderson was named commander of the first expeditionary forces sent overseas by the U.S. government, sailing from San Francisco to Manila to participate in the Spanish American War. He met and negotiated with Aguinaldo in the Philippines prior to the Philippine Insurrection. After the Philippine Insurrection, Anderson and his family returned to the Vancouver/Portland area, spending winters in Portland and summers in the Ellsworth area of Vancouver. When the general died on May 8, 1917, the commandant of Vancouver Barracks offered to have soldiers of the 7th Infantry march the coffin to the Scottish Rite Temple on S.W. Morrison St. The country had just entered WWI, and his children declined in the interests of the barracks.

²⁴⁵ Unless otherwise noted, the information contained in this Appendix has been compiled from the following sources: Hemphill & Cumbow, *West Pointers*; Mary Rose, "The Medal of Honor and Department of Columbia, vol. 3," (Vancouver: Heritage Trust of Clark County, 1991); Ted VanArsdol, "Biographical Sketches," Vancouver Barracks File, Clark County Museum; *idem*, *Northwest Bastion*.

Anderson's role as commander of Vancouver Barracks and in the Philippines should be investigated further as should his later community involvement.²⁴⁶

Edwin B. Babbitt – Major Babbitt, a West Pointer, served as the quartermaster at Fort Vancouver early in the Civil War.

Benjamin Eulalie deBonneville - Bonneville explored the west beyond the Rocky Mountains in 1834, returning with four companies and the band of the 4th Infantry Regiment on September 20, 1852. He traveled across the Isthmus of Panama with Captain Grant among others, including the families of officers and soldiers. Between 100 and 150 people were lost to cholera during the fateful crossing. Bonneville commanded the post from 1853 until 1855 when Gabriel Rains arrived. Bonneville was responsible for establishing the boundaries of the military reservation at Vancouver.

Henry Coulter Cabell, Jr. - Lieutenant Cabell shared quarters with Colonel McConihe in quarters 31 on Officer's Row in 1887. Cabell was sent with troops to Spokane following the 1889 fire. They took tents to the displaced citizens. In 1891, Cabell took 15 soldiers of the 14th Infantry to the Puyallup Indian Reservation to evict squatters from Indian lands. The Puyallups didn't take any action against squatters, but resolved to prevent the railroads from coming through their lands. Cabell served at Vancouver as Adjutant with the 14th Infantry from 1894 to 1896, and again in 1905-06. He was later a prominent Portland businessman.

Edward Richard Sprigg Canby - Canby was the commander of the Department of the Columbia from the summer of 1870 until his death while negotiating with the Modoc as part of a Peace Commission in April, 1873.²⁴⁷

George Crook - at a later date, Crook took part in the Civil War and fought against Apache Chief, Geronimo. Crook was a contemporary of August V. Kautz, having attended the military academy of West Point with him, and is mentioned by Kautz in his diaries.

Osborne Cross – Major Cross was the official quartermaster of the expedition from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Vancouver in 1849 - the March of the Mounted Riflemen.

²⁴⁶ See. Gauld, Charles Anderson, "Thomas M. Anderson: America's First General Overseas"; Thomas M. Anderson, "Remarks on the Philippines" (O.O. Howard House, Anderson Files); Anderson also wrote a history of Vancouver Barracks - "Vancouver Barracks - Past and Present" and various articles regarding the St. James Mission conflict for *The West Shore*, all of which are listed in the bibliography.

²⁴⁷ Canby is mentioned in most works regarding the Modoc War. A ten-cent popular novel regarding the death of Canby was written in 1873, and is housed at Yale University. The U.S. Army also published a biography of the general in 1873, *Brigadier General Edward Richard Spriggs Canby*, United States Army. General Orders no. 3 (Washington, April 14, 1873), housed at Berkeley. Also see. Max L. Heyman, *Prudent Soldier; a biography of Major General E.R.S. Canby, 1817-1873; his military service in the Indian campaigns, in the Mexican War, in California, New Mexico, Utah, and Oregon; in the Civil War in the trans-Mississippi West, and as a military governor in the post-war South*, Frontier Military series, 3 (Glendale, CA: A.H. Clark Co., 1959).

He was born in Prince George county, Maryland in 1803. His mother was a cousin of U.S president Zachary Taylor. Cross graduated from the U.S. military academy in 1825 and was assigned to the First infantry as brevet-second-lieutenant. On July 1 of 1825, he was transferred to the Fourth infantry as first-lieutenant. Cross served as a quartermaster in the Mexican War and was the chief quartermaster for the March of the Mounted Riflemen. Cross only stayed in the northwest long enough to see the soldiers settled into quarters, but his account of the journey, contained in the *March of the Mounted Riflemen*, provides a good perspective on the trials of the overland journey in addition to his analysis of the region. More information regarding the difficulties of the journey is contained in the Quartermaster's Report for 1850.²⁴⁸

Jefferson Davis – Davis assumed command of the Department following the death of General Canby in 1873. Jefferson Columbus Davis was born in Clark County, Indiana in 1828. He served in both the Mexican American War and the Civil War. In 1862, he killed General Nelson in a quarrel, but returned to service unpunished. He was promoted to colonel in 1866. When Davis died in December, 1879, the flag at the Vancouver garrison was flown at half mast.²⁴⁹

Charles Lewis Deneman - Deneman was from New York and came to Vancouver as a First Lieutenant with the Mounted Riflemen. His family was also with him on the 1849 trip. He resigned from the army November 30, 1850.

Theodore J. Eckerson – Eckerson was a captain of ordnance and commanded the Arsenal at Vancouver from 1853 to 1865. He was involved with the Catholic community in Vancouver, acting as witness for a number of births and deaths. His wife was Eliza McCabe and two sons were born at Vancouver Barracks.²⁵⁰

James B. Fry – Fry was among the first officers to come to Vancouver. He described the journey aboard the *Massachussetts* and the events of the Modoc War in *Army Sacrifices*. He later became Provost Marshal General in the Adjutant General's Office. More information about Fry should be obtained.²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ Settle, *March of the Mounted Riflemen*, 18-20. *Annual Report of the Quartermaster General of the Operations of the Quartermaster's Department For the Fiscal Year Ending on the 30th of June, 1850* (Washington: C. Alexander Printer, 1851).

²⁴⁹ Mary Rose, *Clark County Chronicle*, I.

²⁵⁰ Eckerson arrived on the *Massachussetts*. According to the Catholic Church Records, he had a son, born in 1850 who died at the age of 9 months in Astoria.

²⁵¹ See James B. Fry, *Army Sacrifices; or, briefs from official pigeon-holes*; Works by Fry include, James B. Fry, *A Sketch of the Adjutant General's Department*; James B. Fry, *The Command of the Army*.

Rodney Glisan – A doctor in the army from 1850 – 1860. Glisan participated in the Rogue River War and went on to make important contributions to the medical community in the Portland area.²⁵²

Ulysses S. Grant - Grant stayed in Vancouver as a young man during the post's early years, and his experiences are typical of young officers during that period. He was stationed at Vancouver from 1852-1853 as a First Lieutenant, brevet Captain, and as Regimental Quartermaster. He came across the Isthmus of Panama with Colonel Bonneville and the Fourth Infantry in 1852. While in Vancouver, Grant did not live in the house now known as the Grant House. He lived with Captains Ingalls and Brent in a house known as "Quartermaster's Ranch" near the river. The house was the same one that Henry C. Hodges lived in during from 1868-69. It was sent round Cape Horn to Vancouver. Ingalls left in the spring of 1853 for Fort Yuma and Brent went overland to take care of some business, transferring his duties to "Captain Grant" who performed both regiment and post duties. As depot quartermaster, Grant "fitted out" the expedition of the Northern Pacific Railroad Survey for Captain McClellan who arrived from the east in May of 1853. Hodges was quartermaster of the expedition and his estimates were quickly filled by Grant. He resigned from the military on 31 July 1854 after serving at Benicia Barracks in San Francisco, but was re-commissioned during the Civil War and went on to command the Union forces in the Civil War, then became U.S. president from 1869 to 1877.²⁵³

John Gibbon – At the time of the Nez Perce War, Gibbon was a colonel in command of the 7th Infantry at Fort Shaw on the Sun River in Montana. A leader of forces in the Civil War "Iron Brigade," Gibbon accepted the surrender of the south at Appamattox. More recently he participated in the campaign against the Sioux and was known as an Indian fighter. At the end of July, 1877, Gibbon gathered forces from Forts Benton and Baker to join the pursuit of the Nez Perce. Volunteer forces from the settlers of Montana joined the troops, and Gibbon and his command reached the valley of Big Hole where the Nez Perce were camped near dawn on August 9. A fiery, bloody battle ensued when an old man named Natalekin headed toward the Nez Perce horse herd and was struck by bullets from four volunteers. Troops swept into the sleepy Nez Perce village, killing everyone they encountered, including women and children.

The Battle of Big Hole left a major scar on Nez Perce culture. Nearly every family had a loss; Hahtalekin, the Palouse leader was killed, Wahlitits, the young warrior who started the war by avenging his father, died, and the wives of both Ollokot and Joseph were wounded. Between sixty and ninety Nez Perce lost their

²⁵² See Rodney Glisan, *Journal of Army Life*; Glisan's papers are available at the University of California Berkeley.

²⁵³ Ulysses S. Grant's term of duty in Vancouver has been well-documented. A few of the most useful works are: Milton Bona, "The Truth About U.S. Grant at Vancouver" *Clark County History* 15 (1974); Charles G. Ellington, *The Trial of U.S. Grant: The Pacific Coast Years, 1852-1854*, with a foreword by John Y. Simon (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clarke Co., 1987); Barry J. Neilson, "Honoring General U.S. Grant: stationed at Columbia Barracks, Vancouver, Washington, 1853" (Portland: Hill Military Academy, 1927).

lives, most of them women and children who were killed during the initial attack on their tipis. The military did not fare well either. Twenty-nine soldiers and volunteers were killed, forty were wounded, and of the seventeen officers, seven were casualties. Gibbon later claimed that women and children were not killed until the soldiers saw that the women, too, were fighting. Historian Alvin Josephy says that before the attack volunteers asked whether they should take prisoners. “The reply,” writes Josephy, “they understood, was that Gibbon wanted no Indian prisoners. He had not come to parley, to try to persuade the Indians to surrender, or to take captives. He had come to kill.”

In 1885, Gibbon became the commander of the Department of the Columbia, living in the newly constructed commanding officer’s quarters, today’s Marshall House. During his term of duty at Vancouver, Gibbon organized the troops into the first fire companies at the Barracks and from that time forward the troops worked with the local volunteer fire department to arrest fires at the post. Gibbon’s role in the Nez Perce War and as department commander should be investigated further.²⁵⁴

Granville O. Haller – Major 9th Infantry – commanded Fort Dalles during the Indian Wars, leading a small force into the Yakama Country and skirmishing in 1855. He was the first commander at Fort Townsend in 1858 and was involved in the Pig War. Haller served on the Staff of Governor Squire during the Seattle Chinese Incident. He was a significant figure during the Yakama Indian Wars, and was later dismissed from the military for disloyalty by direction of President Lincoln.²⁵⁵

John S. Hatheway – Hatheway commanded the first troops from the *Massachusetts* in 1849. He lived in the post commander’s house, now known as the Grant House. Hatheway attempted suicide while in the northwest, and was finally successful taking his own life in May, 1853 at Astoria, New York.

Marshal R. Hatheway – Marshal Hatheway served as the quartermaster at Vancouver and later served as the Adjutant General of the territory from 1880-81.

William Selby Harney - Harney was born in 1800, the son of a Tennessee pioneer. He served in the army from 1818-1863 and was known as a renowned Indian fighter. He has been described by one biographer as resembling the “stereotypical, hell-raising, blood-and-guts Indian fighter of modern day novelists and movie makers. He was quarrelsome, quick-tempered, and sometimes vicious, and his frequent bickering typified the entire officer corps.” As commander of the Department of the Columbia in 1859, Harney was involved in improving transportation, meeting with regional Indian leaders, and nearly thrusting the U.S. into war with Great Britain by occupying jointly claimed San Juan Island. Harney’s

²⁵⁴ Josephy, *The Nez Perce*, 561, 578-587.

²⁵⁵ Information about Haller should be available in military historical biographies, records pertaining to the Yakama Wars, and other official records including the *National Guard Pamphlets*. The Yale Pamphlet Collection at the Library of Congress contains the reply of Lt. Com. C.H. Wells to a pamphlet issued by Haller regarding his Civil War dismissal.

short term of duty at Vancouver took place during a time of major change. He carried out the demolition of old Fort Vancouver, and although there was no major conflict with Indians during this period, he met with regional indigenous leaders at the barracks. His time at Vancouver is deserving of further research.²⁵⁶

James Madison Hill – Hill was the Commissary Sergeant at Vancouver until he retired in 1899. He was born, April 25, 1845, and died in Vancouver on Sept. 17, 1919 of “arterio sclerosis.”

Henry C. Hodges – Hodges was stationed at Vancouver Barracks in 1852, crossing the Isthmus of Panama with Grant and Bonneville. Hodges was a 1st Lieutenant, of the U.S. Army and a member of the 4th Infantry. He lived with Grant and Ingalls at “Quartermaster Ranch.” Hodges served with Grant as the quartermaster of the McClellan expedition and was later the Adjutant at Ft. Dalles in 1861. Hodges also maintained correspondence with John Eddings, store keeper at the barracks for nearly thirty years. Hodges was an active member of events during the 1850s and 1860s and he rose to the rank of Colonel during the Civil War.

Oliver Otis Howard - Howard was born in 1830 and rose to fame as a Civil War general. In addition to being called the “Christian general,” he is known as the “one-armed general,” having lost his arm in the Civil War. Brigadier General Howard arrived to command the Department of the Columbia on July 3, 1874 and stayed until 1881. He was ordered to transfer the headquarters of the Department of the Columbia from Portland to Vancouver, and moved into the newly built Howard House where he had a telephone line installed, in 1879. Under Howard, post renovations began and he contended with eastern misunderstanding of the regional conflict with Indians, letting officials in Washington know that he considered Vancouver Barracks the most important military post in the region. He was a well known Indian fighter and was an instrumental figure in conflicts between Native American groups and the military in the late 1870s. He is perhaps best known in the region for his role in the Nez Perce War. Howard was a prominent figure at the barracks, and although much research has already been done, a better understanding of the relationship between the “Christian General” and regional indigenous peoples is desirable in addition to investigating his role at the post during this critical period of change.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁶ George Rollie Adams, “General William Selby Harney, Frontier Soldier, 1800-1889” (Ph.D. diss, University of Arizona, 1983). There are numerous biographies about Harney. For further information about his involvement in the Department of the Columbia, see. 34th Congress, 2d Session, Ex. Doc. No. 29, Indian Depradations in Oregon; 36th Congress, 1st Session, Ex. Doc. No. 98, Correspondence with General Harney; 36th Congress, 2d Session, Ex. Doc. No. 51, General Harney’s Administration in Oregon.

²⁵⁷ See Thomas C. Battle, “Oliver Otis Howard, A Man For His Times,”; Works by Howard pertaining to the Pacific Northwest include: Oliver Otis Howard, *Famous Indian Chiefs I Have Known*; *My Life and Experience Among Our Hostile Indians*; *Nez Perce Joseph*; An address by Howard at the decoration of soldier’s grave in the Military Cemetery at Vancouver Barracks, May 31, 1880 is available in the YA Pamphlet Collection, Library of Congress.

Rufus Ingalls (1818-1893) - Rufus Ingalls was the quartermaster at Vancouver and was in charge of constructing the first buildings at Camp Vancouver in 1849. He was a captain at the time, and lived at "Quartermaster Ranch." Ingalls was relieved by Captain Brent in Sept. 1852, but he was ordered to wait until spring to set out for Fort Yuma and stayed with Captains Grant and Brent, and Henry C. Hodges. Ingalls was one of Vancouver's first Masons and was prominent in the leadership of the post from 1849 to 1852 and from 1856-1860. Ingalls was a significant person in the relationship between the Hudson's Bay Company and the military. As quartermaster, he negotiated with HBC officials, renting housing, purchasing supplies, and wrangling over land as the end of the HBC tenure approached. Further research on Ingalls' military and civil life would be an important contribution to the history of Vancouver Barracks. He also served as a member of a Commission from the War Department to settle accounts and claims of the Indian Wars and was later Quartermaster General of the Army under Ulysses Grant.

August Valentine Kautz - August Kautz was born January 5, 1828 at Ispringen, Baden, Germany, and his parents emigrated to the United States the same year. Kautz entered the military in June, 1846, serving in the Mexican War after which he was mustered out as a private in 1847. He joined the military academy in 1852, and was assigned a brevet second lieutenant rank at Fort Columbia in March, 1853. He was then assigned to the Fourth Infantry stationed on the West Coast and sailed from New York, crossing the Isthmus, and on to Columbia Barracks. Kautz served at Fort Steilacoom during the early 1850s, leaving the Pacific Northwest to fight in the Civil War. He later reached the rank of brigadier general and returned to the northwest to command the Department of the Columbia, retiring in 1892. He and his wife then moved to Seattle, where he died in 1895. Kautz was party to conflicts on the Puget Sound in the 1850s and recorded in his journals the experiences of the Blake Expedition, the only large military expedition to use the Mullan Road from Fort Benton to Fort Dalles in 1860. Kautz's journal provide an unusual glimpse at the everyday life of soldiers, the communities that made up the posts of the Pacific Northwest and the relationships between Indians, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the military.²⁵⁸

Philip Kearny - Captain Kearny headed a remnant of Mounted Riflemen on a trip to join the Dragoons in California after they were asked to leave Oregon City. His troops were engaged in skirmishes with the Indians of southern Oregon, a precursor to campaigning for troops from Vancouver. Kearny was killed in the Civil War.

William Kelly – Kelly was a captain of the Washington Volunteers. He commanded the volunteer company, the Clarke County Rangers, in the Vancouver Area during the Indian Wars.

²⁵⁸ Gary Fuller Reese, ed. *Nothing Worthy of Note Transpired Today: The Northwest Journals of August V. Kautz* (The Tacoma Public Library, August, 1978), iii-vi. Also see. Martin F. Schmitt, ed. "From Missouri to Oregon in 1860, The Diary of August V. Kautz" *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 37, 3 (July, 1946), also available in book form; Kautz's full diaries are available in the manuscript division of the Library of Congress.

William Wing Loring - William Wing Loring was born at Wilmington, Delaware December 4, 1818. Loring fought in the Florida Indian Wars as a member of the Second Florida Volunteers and was commissioned as a second lieutenant at nineteen years old. He studied law at Georgetown College and practiced law in Florida, becoming a member of the Florida legislature. He served in the Mexican War, and having lost his arm, was called the “one-armed captain.” Loring was the commander of the Mounted Riflemen, among the first troops to be stationed at Vancouver. He became commandant of the Department of New Mexico from 1860-61, but resigned to join the Confederate army. He surrendered to W.T. Sherman in April 1865. He lived in New York for the next four years, but then joined the Egyptian army, becoming a decorated general of division with the rank of Pasha. He died in New York City in 1896.²⁵⁹

Lieutenant Charles Henry Martin – Martin lived in Quarters 17 in 1887. He was later elected to Congress and then became governor of Oregon. He was born in Illinois in 1863, graduating from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1887. His first assignment was at Vancouver Barracks as a Second Lieutenant, 14th Infantry. Martin went to the Philippines in 1899 where he organized and supervised street sanitation in Manila during the military occupation. He participated in the expedition to Peking, China, during the Boxer Rebellion, and was commander of the Oregon National Guard from 1913 – 1915. Martin retired as a Major General in 1927 and became a Democratic Congressman, 73rd Congress, Third District of Oregon from 1931-35. From 1934-39, Martin served as governor of Oregon and was a close friend and fishing companion to George C. Marshall, commander at Vancouver from 1936-38, with whom he had served in China.

Nelson Miles – Miles was a well known Indian fighter who commanded the Department of the Columbia, with headquarters at the O.O. Howard House in 1881. He was involved in the Nez Perce War, accepting the surrender of Chief Joseph at Bear Paw in Montana. Miles later became an advocate of the Nez Perce. As commander of the Department of the Columbia, he was responsible for planting the trees that still stand along the side of the road through Officer’s Row. Miles also ordered an examination of the Upper Columbia River in 1881 to determine its navigability. He was a Medal of Honor recipient for service in the Civil War at Chancellorsville and fought in all but one of the battles that led to the Court House at Appamattox. Miles was known as “Bear Coat Miles” because of the large coat of bear skins he wore in winter campaigns. Chief Geronimo also surrendered to him.

Herman Pfisterer - Pfisterer was a bugler with the 21st Infantry and served in Company D, 14th U.S. Infantry while at Vancouver Barracks. He was awarded the Medal of Honor for action at Santiago, Cuba on 1 Jul. 1898 during the Spanish-

²⁵⁹ For further information about Loring, see. Louise M. Clark, “‘Blood and Steel’ - the Story of a Colonel and his regiment”; Raymond Settle, *The March of the Mounted Riflemen*; James W. Raab, *W.W. Loring--a biography*.

American War. Pfisterer died at the age of 42 and was interred at the Post Cemetery in Vancouver.

George Edward Pickett (1825-1875) - George Pickett became famous for his rebel charge at cemetery ridge at the Battle of Gettysburg. He served in the Mexican American War, going to the northwest in 1855 with the 9th Infantry. While in the Northwest, Pickett and his company operated out of Fort Steilacoom, establishing Fort Bellingham in 1856. In July, 1859, Pickett was ordered by General Harney to establish his company on San Juan Island, both to protect the inhabitants from Indians and to establish American occupation on the islands. Pickett sailed to Griffin Bay on July 26, 1859, where he issued a proclamation that San Juan Island was U.S. territory. Despite subsequent events, Pickett remained on the island until shots were fired at Fort Sumter. He then left the northwest to join the Confederacy.²⁶⁰

Gabriel J. Rains – Rains commanded Fort Vancouver in October, 1855, relieving B.L.E. Bonneville of the command. He was appointed Brigadier General of the Washington Territorial Militia and was a significant participant in the Yakama Indian Wars. A West Pointer, Rains resigned on 31 July 1861 and served as a Brigadier General with the Confederacy.

Major Frederick Ruff – Ruff was with the First regiment Missouri volunteers resigning to become captain in the Mounted Rifles in July, 1846. He came to the northwest with the Mounted Riflemen, bringing his family.

Frederick Schwatka – Schwatka was lieutenant at Vancouver in the 1880s, later becoming a noted Arctic explorer. His term of duty at Vancouver should be investigated.

Philip Henry Sheridan - (1831-1888) As a lieutenant in 1855, Sheridan camped on the south side of the Columbia River due to crowded conditions at Fort Vancouver. He rushed to the aid of the settlers at the Cascades in 1856, and in addition to his Civil War fame he is remembered as a regional hero. His term of duty in Vancouver should be researched.²⁶¹

Alfred Sully – Sully was the post commander at Vancouver Barracks from 1874 until his death in 1879. He was best known as an Indian fighter, having fought against the Sioux in the 1860s. During the period that Sully was in Vancouver, he investigated the Fetterman Massacre and was at General Howard's base headquarters in Lewiston, Idaho, during the Nez Perce War pacifying the Idahoan settlers. Sully was a prolific artist and has become known for art as well as war. When he died at Vancouver in 1879, he was given the honors of a general officer

²⁶⁰ Hemphill & Cumbow, *West Pointers*, 180-198.

²⁶¹ See Philip Henry Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs of P.H. Sheridan*; Paul Hutton, *Phil Sheridan and his army*; Sheridan's papers are on microfilm at Kansas State University and at the U.S. Army Military History Institute in Pennsylvania.

and his body was shipped east to Philadelphia. Flags were flown at half mast and officers at Vancouver Barracks wore badges of mourning for thirty days.²⁶²

Theodore Talbot – Talbot was a first lieutenant when he arrived as a member of the First Artillery troops on board the *Massachussets*. His journal and letters provides an account of the arrival of the first troops to Vancouver and their relationship with the Hudson's Bay Company and Oregon City. He also noted many trying to desert for the California gold fields.²⁶³

E.J. Taylor – Taylor was a 1st Lieutenant of the Washington volunteers and was a member of Maxon's Company from Clarke County.

Lewis Taylor – Lewis Taylor was the assistant surgeon with the Mullan Road Party.

Amos G. Tripp – Tripp was the Adjutant General of the Washington Territorial Militia from 1866 to 1869. He was later mayor of Vancouver.

William T. Welcker – A 1st Lieutenant, Welcker commanded the Vancouver Ordnance Depot in 1860. He was dismissed from service July 22, 1861 and served with the Confederates in the Civil War as Captain of Artillery.

Nathaniel Wickliffe – A 1st lieutenant, Wickliffe served with Mullan's Detachment in 1861. He resigned May 17, 1861 and joined the Confederates rising to lieutenant colonel.

Justin Willard – Willard was a major in the Washington Territorial Volunteers. He served as surgeon at Vancouver during the Indian Wars.

Charles Erskine Scott Wood - C.E.S. Wood, as he was known, was born February 20, 1852 at a naval base on Lake Erie, Pennsylvania. His father, Secretary of the Navy William Maxwell Wood, gained a West Point appointment in the 1870s for the rebellious C.E.S. Wood. Best known for recording the surrender speech of Chief Joseph at the Battle of Bear Paw, Wood was also involved in the Bannock Wars and exploration of Alaska. A prominent attorney, Wood also became a well-known regional writer, poet, liberal philosopher, and pacifist. As Aide de Camp to General Oliver Otis Howard, C.E.S. Wood lived temporarily at the Howard House, becoming friends with Grace Howard who recalls him in her reminiscences, acting as best man during her marriage to James Gray in 1879. Wood soon married Nannie Moale and the two had a son, Erskine Scott Wood, born on Officer's Row. When young Erskine was 13, he was sent to spend the summer with Chief Joseph. At age 98, Erskine wrote a biography of his father, *Life of Charles Erskine Scott*

²⁶² Langdon Sully, *No Tears for the general: the life of Alfred Sully, 1821-1879* (Palo Alto, CA: American West Publishing Company, 1974), 233.

²⁶³ See Theodore Talbot, *The journals of Theodore Talbot*; Theodore Talbot, *Soldier in the West*. A new book regarding Talbot's service in the Pacific Northwest, by Ted VanArsdol and Lois Mack, will soon be available.

Wood. Robert Hamburger recently published an article, “Two Episodes from the Life of a Respectable Rebel,” in the Fall, 1999 issue of *Columbia Magazine*. Records related to C.E.S. Wood are available at the Huntington Library in San Marino County, California, and at the Oregon Historical Society. C.E.S. Wood was a controversial figure due to his liberal philosophies, while at the same time he attained prominence in Vancouver and Portland society through his work as an attorney. Further research on his life and military duty should be undertaken.²⁶⁴

²⁶⁴ Erskine Wood, *Life of Charles Erskine Scott Wood* (Vancouver: Rose Wind Press, 1991). See also Robert Hamburger, “Two episodes from the Life of a Respectable Rebel,” *Columbia: The Magazine of Northwest History* (Fall, 1999). National Archives military records may highlight information about C.E.S. Wood that has not yet been documented.

Appendix 7: Commanders At Vancouver Barracks, 1849 – 1898

The Vancouver post was part of the Department of the Pacific until 1858 when Oregon and Washington territory split into the Department of Oregon. At that time, General Harney became both post commander and department commander. Under army reorganization in 1865 at the end of the Civil War, the Department of the Columbia (encompassing Oregon, Washington, and Idaho) was created, with headquarters in Portland, Oregon. In 1879, the department headquarters moved back to Vancouver. The following list of commanders comes from the National Archives and was collected by Ted VanArsdol.²⁶⁵ The list includes acting commanders (appointed commanders when a commander was briefly out of the area).

Name	Grade and Organization	Beginning Command Date
John Shadrack Hatheway	Bvt. Maj., 1st Artillery	May 13, 1849
William W. Loring	Col., Rmr	September, 1849
Phillip Kearney	Maj., 1st Drag.	May 4, 1851
Theodore Talbot	1 Lt., 1 Art.	October 11, 1851
John S. Hatheway	Capt. Maj. L., 1 Art.	May 4, 1852
Benjamin L.E. Bonneville	Lt. Col., 4th Infantry	September 21, 1852
Gabriel Jones Rains	Maj., 4th Infantry	May 20, 1855; June 23, 1855; Dec. 1, 1855
Henry D. Wallen	Capt., 4th Infantry	May 29, 1855; Jan. 27, 1857; Oct. 24, 1859
John Withers	1 Lt., Capt., 4th Infantry	October 11, 1855
Wright, George	Col., 9th Infantry	Jan.22, 1856; Aug. 13, 1856
Thompson Morris	Lt. Col., 4th Infantry	Feb-Mar, 1856; Sept. 29, 1856; Nov. 28, 1856; July2, 1857; Nov., 1857; March 15, 1858; April 7, 1859; Aug. 1, 1859; Aug. 12, 1859; Nov. 1, 1859
Henry C. Hodges	1 Lt., 4th Infantry	June, 1857

²⁶⁵ List adapted from National Archives list of commanders.

Robert McFeely	1 Lt., 4th Infantry	Oct. 19, 1857; Jan. 20, 1858
Oliver Hazard Perry Taylor	1 Lt. Capt. 1 Drag.	March 12, 1858
Henry M. Judah	Capt., 4th Infantry	March 23, 1859; July 22, 1859
John C. Bonnycastle	1 Lt., 4th Infantry	August 5, 1859
Andrew J. Smith	Capt. 1 Drag.	December 29, 1859
George Nauman	Maj., Lt. Col., 3rd Art.	March 26, 1861
James A. Hardie	Capt., 3rd Art.	January 11, 1861
Edward O.C. Ord	Capt., 3rd Art.	March 31, 1861
John S. Mason	1 Lt., 3rd Art.	May 7, 1861
Henry M. Black	Capt., 9th Infantry	June 11, 1861
Eugene B. Gibbs	Capt., 2 Cal. Vols.	Nov. 7, 1861
Pinkney Lugenbeel	Maj., 9th Infantry	Dec. 29, 1861; Dec. 19, 1862
Paul B. Ryan	1 Lt., 1 Wash T. Inf.	Dec. 8, 1862
Andrew W. Bowman	Maj., 9th Infantry	Mar. 2, 1863; June 21, 1863
Fred Mears	1 Lt., 9th Infantry	June 3, 1863
H.C. Small	Capt., Ore, Cav.	Sept. 2, 1863
R. S. Caldwell	Capt., Ore, Cav.	Oct. 6, 1863
Philipp Albert Owen	Capt., 9th Infantry	Feb. 9, 1864; March 24, 1865; May 14, 1865
William Henry Jordan	Capt., 9th Infantry	March 10, 1864
R.F. Maury	Col., Ore, Cav.	Dec. 1, 1864
Charles Lafollett	Capt., 1 Ore Inf.	April 3, 1865
Louis Henry Marshall	Maj., 14th Infantry	Sept. 25, 1865; Oct. 20,

		1865
Samuel Ross	Capt., Col., 14th Infantry	Oct. 10, 1865
Charles S. Lovell	Col., 14th Infantry	Feb. 28, 1866; May 20, 1866
Reuben F. Bernard	1 Lt., 1 Cav.	April 24, 1866
George A.H. Blake	Col., 1 Cav.	June 20, 1866; Nov. 30, 1866; Sept. 26, 1868; March 23, 1869
Albert A. Vincent	1 Lt., Lt. Col., 2 Art.	Nov. 10, 1866
William Kelly	Capt., 8 Cav.	Dec. 18, 1866; May 20, 1867
Louis H. Marshall	Maj., Lt. Col. 23rd Infantry	Jan. 8, 1867
Washington L. Elliott	Lt. Col., Maj. Gen. 1 Cav.	Feb. 5, 1867; July 9, 1868
John McGilvray	1 Lt., Capt., 2 Art.	July 30, 1867; Dec., 1867
Joel Graham Trimble	1 Lt., 1 Cav.	Nov. 15, 1867
Albert G. Brackett	Maj., Col. 1 Cav.	April 6, 1868
Henry D.B. Clay	Capt., 23rd Infantry	Feb. 20, 1869; March 8, 1870
David Perry	Capt., Col. 1 Cav.	May 20, 1870
John R. Esdenburg	1 Lt., 23rd Infantry	July 25, 1870
Alexander J. Dallas	Maj., 23rd Infantry	Jan. 4, 1871
Robert Pollock	1 Lt., 21st Infantry	Feb. 3, 1872
Valentine Mott Cugler Silva	1 Lt., 21st Infantry	May 7, 1872
Edward C. Mason	Maj., 21st Infantry	July 21, 1872; Oct. 9, 1873; Oct. 21, 1876; April 21, 1879

Robert Seamen Granger	Col., Maj. Gen., 21st Infantry	July 28, 1872
Alfred Sully	Col., 21st Infantry	May 13, 1874; Nov. 1, 1874; Apr. 1, 1876; Sept. 1, 1876; May 3, 1877; Sept. 22, 1877; May 8, 1878
William F. Spurgin	1 Lt., 21st Infantry	Oct. 31, 1874; Mar. 29, 1876
Evan Miles	Capt., 21st Infantry	Aug. 30, 1876; Sept. 7, 1876; Mar. 22, 1877; April 30, 1878; Jan. 8, 1881; Apr. 30, 1881; May 8, 1881; June 7, 1881; July 30, 1881; Aug. 15, 1881; Sept. 14, 1881; June 24, 1882; Sept. 29, 1882
George W. Evans	1 Lt., 21st Infantry	June 25, 1877; May 29, 1883
Alexander Chambers	Lt. Col., 21st Infantry	May 16, 1879; Feb. 13, 1881; May 1, 1881; May 13, 1881; June 18, 1881; Aug. 1, 1881; Aug. 16, 1881; Sept. 16, 1881
Henry A. Morrow	Col., 21st Infantry	Sept. 3, 1879; Sept. 30, 1879; Sept. 9, 1880; Oct. 12, 1881; July 1, 1882; Oct. 3, 1882; May 31, 1883
George M. Downey	Capt., 21st Infantry	Sept. 29, 1879; Aug. 30, 1880
Frank E. Taylor	Capt., 1 Art.	June 25, 1884; July 3, 1885; Nov. 16, 1885; Feb. 9, 1886; Oct. 22, 1886
Lewis C. Hunt	Col. 14th Infantry	July 6, 1884; July 29, 1885; Sept. 14, 1885
Isaac D. De Russy	Lt. Col., 14th Infantry	Aug. 6, 1885; Nov. 18, 1885; Feb. 26, 1886; Oct. 26, 1886; May 24, 1891
Thomas M. Anderson	Col., 14th Infantry	Nov. 1, 1886; Aug. 25, 1887; Oct. 8, 1888; Apr. 28, 1889; July 22, 1889; Oct. 15, 1889; Apr. 28, 1890; July 6, 1890; Aug. 8,

		1890; Oct. 11, 1890; Jan. 14, 1891; Apr. 25, 1891; May 26, 1891; Sept. 6, 1891; Nov. 1, 1891; Nov. 20, 1891; Jan. 9, 1892; May 12, 1892; Jan. 26, 1893; June 22, 1893; May 27, 1894; July 25, 1894; Sept. 13, 1895; Oct. 13, 1895; May 18, 1896; Oct. 14, 1896; Aug. 1, 1897
Tully McCrea	Capt. 1 Art.	Aug. 23, 1887
Charles A. Wikoff	Maj., 14th Infantry	Aug. 27, 1888; May 24, 1889; May 17, 1891
Daniel W. Burke	Capt., 14th Infantry	Apr. 22, 1889; Jan. 22, 1890
Frederick E. Trotter	Capt., 14th Infantry	Sept. 14, 1889; Apr. 6, 1890; Aug. 5, 1890; Oct. 7, 1890; Jan. 11, 1891; Apr. 22, 1891; May 12, 1891
Hugh A. Theaker	Lt. Col., 14th Infantry	Sept. 3, 1891; Oct. 30, 1891; Nov. 16, 1891; Jan. 6, 1892; May 10, 1892; Jan. 24, 1893; May 13, 1893; June 17, 1893; Apr. 20, 1894; July 7, 1894
John W. French	Maj., 14th Infantry	June 14, 18, 1893; May 12, 1894
William W. McCannon	Capt., 14th Infantry	Sept. 12, 1895
John Murphy	Capt., 14th Infantry	Oct. 10, 1895
Charles F. Robe	Maj., 14th Infantry	May 16, 1896; Oct. 5, 1896; May 22, 1897; Mar. 7, 1898
George B. Russell	Lt. Col., 14th Infantry	Feb. 25, 1898
John H. Wholley	Col. 1 Wash. Vols.	May 26, 1898; June 27, 1898
William L. Luhn	1 Lt., 1 Wash. Vols.	June 22, 1898
Edward H. Fox	Maj., Indep. Hatt. W. Vols.	July 23, 1898
E.A. Forbes	Maj., 8 Cal. Vols.	Oct. 2, 1898
F. De L. Carrington	Lt. Col., 8 Cal. Vols.	Dec. 11, 1898

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