

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF
FORT STEILACOOM, WASHINGTON

BY Gary Fuller Reese

With supporting documents.

Tacoma Public Library.
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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Fort Steilacoom served as a center of United States Military power and activity on Puget Sound from 1849 to 1868 and has since served the territory and state of Washington as a public institution specializing in treatment of mental disorders.

Portions of the land once occupied by the farm attached to the hospital have been assigned to other purposes and include golf courses, playing fields, and a large county park. Part of the land that was once the Fort Steilacoom Military Reservation is now the campus of Fort Steilacoom Community College.

For too many years the general impression the public has had of the Fort was that it was just "there" for a short period of time and it then passed into history somewhat un lamented. In the recent past, however, copies of reports of the Inspector General of the United States Army who visited the Fort in 1854 and 1868 have shown that the fort was considered vital to the national interests of the United States. Copies of these reports are included in this document.

The fort or military personnel at the Fort provided many services to the local community beyond that of just maintaining a military center. These services ranged from the military black-smith assisting in local metal working projects to pumping money into the local economy as soldiers and the quartermaster spent money locally for the necessaries of life in the town of Steilacoom and elsewhere in the Puget Sound Country.

When the Oregon Country was first being explored and settled, it was claimed by a number of nations including the United States, Great Britain, Spain and Russia. After a period of time Spanish and Russian claims were extinguished leaving the two English speaking powers to vie for control of the area. To avoid an immediate confrontation the two powers decided to jointly occupy Oregon which in effect gave each nation the opportunity to further develop claims.

In this context the Hudson's Bay Company developed a series of trading posts on the Columbia River, on the Fraser River and on Puget Sound. There was a well conceived attempt on the part of the British to strengthen their claims by using a subsidiary of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, as agent to attract settlers loyal to the British government.

The first attempt at attracting these settlers occurred in 1841 when a party was recruited in present Manitoba. A number of farming establishments were located by members of this party in the present area of Pierce County, Washington. One of these farms was located on the site of what is now known as Fort Steilacoom.

For several reasons the attempt by the Manitobans to succeed at farming failed and most left the area. It must be assumed that with this failure the British government became less enthusiastic about possibly going to war with the United States over a territory which could not support an agricultural community.

A second attempt was made to obtain success at the site of Fort

Steilacoom when Joseph Thomas Heath, an Englishman, leased a tract of land from the Hudson's Bay Company for a farm. For a number of years Heath farmed on the site of the fort but his success was considered indifferent.

When Heath died during the winter of 1848-1849, the Hudson's Bay Company proved willing to lease the property to the United States government for the erection of Fort Steilacoom. It is again contended that if Heath had been successful, the Hudson's Bay Company would not have willingly released control of the land.

In a larger connection, the failure of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company to secure continued profits from its establishments on Puget Sound led the British to conclude that conflict with the United States was not worth the effort.

Later when Fort Steilacoom was founded it played a vital role in maintaining the presence and power of the government of the United States in the Puget Sound Country. There is some evidence that on the part of the British the forty-ninth parallel boundary was still negotiable even after it was agreed upon. Certainly a demonstration that the British were not wholly serious can be shown in their inability to set the Boundary Commission to work until the late 1850s.

Governor James Douglas in a letter to Governor Isaac I. Stevens in 1858 could not guarantee that the British government under Douglas' control was able to capture Northern Indians who had killed a government official in Washington Territory.

Fort Steilacoom served as a headquarters and center of supply during the confrontation between the United States and the British over the boundaries between the holdings of the two countries in the San Juan Islands in 1859 but fortunately for both countries the boundary problems were solved some years later peacefully.

While no battles were fought at or near the Fort, while no major decisions were made which effected the general history of the state and territory, or the region or the nation, while it served mainly as the supply depot and station for troops, it was important to the retention of the Puget Sound Country by the United States.

Charles Prosch, an early newspaper editor wrote many years later that

"There was probably no military station in the United States at which the officers enjoyed garrison life so much as at Fort Steilacoom. All were loud in praise of the climate and surroundings, which they pronounced superior to those of any of the states or territories elsewhere.

"As evidence of their sincerity, it may be stated that after being stationed at Fort Steilacoom a few months, the officers became so strongly attached to it that it was not uncommon for them to shed tears when ordered to other garrisons.

"Lieutenant (August V.) Kautz has repeatedly informed the writer of such scenes. It was one of the hardships of military life that the officers were liable at any moment to be called away from stations the most delightful and ordered to thers the most repulsive."

With four of the buildings of the fort still standing, with a great interest being expressed by several local historical societies including one whose goal is to "save" and refurbish the buildings of the Fort,

with the pioneer cemetery still on the site, and with the public ownership of the property much should, can and is being done to preserve, protect, restore and properly interpret this historic fort.

Gary Fuller Reese
Tacoma Public Library.

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A HISTORY OF FORT STEILACOOM
WASHINGTON TERRITORY

Fort Steilacoom was established on August 22, 1849, pursuant to Orders No. 3, Headquarters, 11th Military Department, dated July 13, 1849, and was first garrisoned by Company M, 1st U. S. Artillery, under the command of Capt. B.H. Hill. Fort Steilacoom was abandoned on April 22, 1868, in compliance with Special Orders, No. 26, Headquarters, Military Division of the Pacific, February 13, 1868.

RG 393 Records of
the United States
Army Commands (Army)
Posts.

Hudson's Bay Company on Puget Sound.

In the first decades of the nineteenth century the Hudson's Bay Company expanded its business activities to the west coast of North America. Overcoming rival organizations for the control of business the great fur trading company founded Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River in 1824 and Fort Langley on the Frazer River in 1827. Each of these establishments was planned to serve as a headquarters for company operations.

In the Spring of 1833 Company Trader Archibald McDonald traveled from Fort Langley to Fort Vancouver on an overland expedition. In addition to developing contacts with the Indians McDonald was ordered to search for a site for a trading post at some location on Puget Sound. Fort Vancouver and Fort Langley were too far away to effectively serve as headquarters for the contemplated expansion into the Puget Sound Country.

In early April McDonald reached the mouth of a small stream which flowed into Puget Sound just north of the Nisqually River delta. He was impressed with the locality and decided to survey the area to see if it was suitable for a trading post.

The practical advantages of the location seemed obvious. It was readily accessible by boat from anywhere on the Sound. Abundant fresh water was available and the prairies which stretched inland would be able to furnish pasture for stock. The land seemed rich enough to support crops and the site was far enough away from the mouth of the Nisqually River to prevent flooding.

McDonald and his men spent nearly two weeks building a log storehouse. Leaving men to guard the building and a small stock of supplies McDonald and his party traveled to Fort Vancouver where John McLoughlin, Chief Factor at the Fort, received McDonald's report and enthusiastic recommendations about the Nisqually site. Soon arrangements were made for the establishment of the post on Puget Sound at the location McDonald recommended.

McDonald returned to the creek area later in the spring to build more permanent facilities. A schooner was sent from Fort Vancouver with trade goods and building supplies. Soon local Indians were invited to trade their furs, fish, bark and other items for goods provided at the post.

The Hudson's Bay Company was to become an almost sovereign power during these years. With their network of Forts and Trading posts and the need to protect and expand their business enterprises, the Company embarked on a project of securing peace within what was becoming their domain. Since insecurity was bad for business the Company announced that it would guarantee the safety of anyone who traveled to a company outpost to trade, assure that no harm would come to anyone while inside the walls of the trading post, and that a company patron would be protected, if necessary, on his way home after trading.

After a few sharp encounters with those who did not wish to maintain the "Great Peace" that had been established the Company continued to operate on this premise. No attempt was made to

influence the lives of the Indians who inhabited the areas served by the Company beyond this general keeping of the peace.

The facility McDonald built was initially known as Nisqually house and during the next twenty years was reconstructed several times, first near the shores of the Sound, and later on high ground above the tideflats. It was finally called Fort Nisqually and served as the local emporium of the Hudson's Bay Company and as headquarters of the subsidiary Puget Sound Agriculture Company.

Red River Settlers.

The Agricultural Company was founded in 1838 by the Hudson's Bay Company officials and others who were convinced that the original charter of the parent company did not include provision for agricultural activities. Demands for grain, hides, meat and tallow for Alaska, Hawaii, California and for other Hudson's Bay Company posts made possibilities for profit for an agricultural company seem most attractive.

Founders of the Puget Sound Company thought that it was also possible that an agricultural company could strengthen British claims to the area north of the Columbia River. If permanent settlers loyal to the British Crown were attracted, much of the land would be taken so that Americans would not be able to find prime sites for settlements.

The Oregon County had been claimed at various times by the British, the Russians, the Spanish and the Americans. When the

boundary between Russian Alaska and Oregon was drawn in 1824 and the boundary of Spanish claims to California was set at the Forty-second parallel in 1819, only British and American claims remained. To avoid a confrontation over the lightly settled territory, the two nations agreed to jointly occupy Oregon and await developments.

In an attempt to find potential settlers, the Hudson's Bay Company settlements in Canada were surveyed. The large population on the Red River in present Manitoba had the potential for yielding the largest number of recruits and it was there that major efforts were made.

Official records of the Hudson's Bay Company record:

"....we hope that so favorable a report may be given (that)...will induce others to follow: this will not only relieve the Red River Settlement of its surplus population, but strengthen the claims of Great Britain to the territory, and increase of the British population in that quarter must operate to the benefit of this Nation whenever a division of the Country takes place."

A number of families and single men signed agreements with the Agricultural Company in June of 1841. One of them, John Flett, wrote many years later that the prospective settlers were promised ".... houses, barns, and fenced fields, with fifteen cows, one bull, fifty ewes, one ram, and oxen or horses, with farming implements and seed."

When the group arrived at Fort Vancouver after their overland journey, however, they were told that the Company was not able to fulfill the terms of the agreement and that all were free to return to Canada or strike out on their own. Promises of assistance were

given to several families for they did travel north to Fort Nisqually where they built homes and started farms on the plains above the fort and in the valley of the Nisqually River. An early map shows that nine farms were located, one of which was where Fort Steilacoom would one day be built.

By the end of 1843 all who came from Canada had gone, abandoning whatever improvements they had made. In assigning reasons for this failure Company officials wrote that:

"...the land at Nisqually being very indifferant, many settlers left in 1842 and the rest in 1843...unfortunately none were called upon to cancel the contract and the consequence is that ever since there has been much complaint and dissatisfaction expressed by many of them on the plea that the Company had not kept terms with them."

After this unauspicious beginning, the Puget Sound Agricultural Company directed by William F. Tolmie and others prospered. Sheep and cattle were imported and a number of farming stations were built near the Cowlitz River between Fort Vancouver and Fort Nisqually and in the Nisqually area. The Company laid claim to all of lowland Pierce County between the Puyallup and Nisqually Rivers, for much of the farming and grazing land located there was managed by Company employees.

Joseph Thomas Heath arrives.

One of the first successful agriculturalists to settle in present Pierce County was Joseph Thomas Heath. In an attempt to recoup his sagging fortunes, Heath arranged to lease six hundred forty

acres from the company somewhere in their domain along the Pacific Coast.

Arriving from England at Fort Vancouver in early June of 1844 Heath visited several possible locations. He selected a site on the flatlands above Steilacoom Bay north of Fort Nisqually at the abandoned farm of a Red River settler.

Heath soon moved to his farm site and began a cabin. He eventually built three log buildings, had a small split rail corral erected around his barn and cleared nearly thirty acres of land. He raised cattle and sheep, grew wheat, potatoes, peas, and other garden crops. Heath kept a diary during this period giving the first private day-to-day account of life in Pierce County.

United States Control.

In 1846 the joint occupancy of the Oregon Country was ended and the boundary between British and American territory was drawn at the forty-ninth parallel. It was well north of major outposts of the Hudson's Bay Company but the property claimed by the two British companies was to be respected. Land owned at and near Nisqually was under Company control until 1869 when it was purchased by the government of the United States.

The policy of the Hudson's Bay Company to provide security to all who traded with it was soon supplanted by the conflicting goals of the various groups of Americans who had won the contest for the control of the Columbia River valley and Puget Sound. The Great Peace which was good for the Hudson's Bay Company business was gone as

missionaries, government officials, traders and settlers sought the fulfillment of their own particular goals.

Almost immediately conflicts between the Americans and the Indians arose. Too many white men were coming to permanently settle, taking too much land. The semi-nomadic life style of the Indians was interrupted by fenced fields, farms, and pastures. Favorite camping, hunting, and fishing sites became permanently owned by others.

In May of 1849 Indians attacked Fort Nisqually in an attempt to kidnap Fort Indians. The attack was a failure and only one white man was killed. Since the area was under the control of the United States aid was demanded from the United States government. There were few U.S. Army troops in the Oregon county and it was not until August of 1849 that the government was able to respond. Elements of the First United States Artillery arrived at Fort Nisqually looking for the organizers of the May attack.

Founding of Fort Steilacoom.

Military officers, searching for a site for a military headquarters, were invited to visit the farm of Joseph Thomas Heath, who had died earlier in the Spring. William F. Tolmie, factor at Fort Nisqually showed the officers the Heath farm and a site on Sequatchew Creek but the officers chose Steilacoom "...on account of the number of buildings already erected there."

The buildings constructed by Heath were inadequate for the needs of the garrison which began to arrive and Second Lieutenant

Grier Tallmadge of the United States Army was assigned to erect suitable structures in which the Army could spend the winter. His report, dated December 6, 1849, describes his efforts in erecting two officer's quarters, a hospital, a company storehouse, a guardhouse, a commissary storehouse, and a bake house. He reported that the total cost of these buildings was slightly more than three thousand dollars.

Of the actual work done Lieutenant Tallmadge wrote:

"We reached this place on the 27th of August and commenced disembarking on the next day. The necessary teams were engaged for hauling the stores up the hill, at the rate of one dollar and a half per day --all coming from a distance of twenty-five miles, and all working for accommodation rather than profit.

"Whilst the necessary number of men were employed in looking after the discharge of the stores and their transportation up the hill, two parties immediately commenced chopping logs for the construction of quarters. More teams were procured and as soon as sufficient numbers of logs had been cut to make a beginning one party was relieved from duty in the woods and ordered to commence building.

"Three days was the average length of time required to complete the body of the house. When the work was advanced thus far, another party took charge of the roofing, another of the building of the chimneys, and still another getting out the materials for doors and windows.

"Thus all the different parties followed each other in such a manner as to be all employed at once. The building went without delay until the four rooms now occupied as officer's quarters and the building used for a hospital were completed and ready for occupancy the first week of October.

In its twenty years of existence as a military base, Fort

Steilacoom did not contain the usual apparatus of a frontier post for there were no log walls, bastions, or a heavy gate. Except for preparations made for possible Indian attacks during the Indian War of 1855-56, the Fort served as a headquarters, supply depot, and a center of administration.

The post did, however, take on many of the attributes of any of a number of frontier posts occupied by Federal troops during the period of westward expansion. There were officers about whom much would be heard in their later careers, some whose careers ended in death while in the service of their country and a larger group who served their time, did their duty, and are forgotten to history.

Enlisted men fit into several categories. Some had no other place to go or were suited to no other occupation. Others used the Army as a means of getting west, intending to become permanent settlers once their terms of enlistment were over.

Almost immediately the military officers at the Fort were confronted with the necessity of arranging for the trial of the Indians accused of the attack on Fort Nisqually in May. The leaders of the Indians who had attacked the Fort had been arrested and were to be tried. In early October the trial was held and two Indians were judged guilty of murder and were hanged.

Perhaps of even greater significance to the soldiers assigned to Fort Steilacoom was a visit of their Commanding General, Percifor F. Smith who was commander in chief of United States forces on the

Pacific Coast visited the Fort between December 6th 1849 and December 9th of that year. Accompanied by officers including Colonel Joseph Hooker of Civil War fame, the General inspected the post and the surrounding community and left on a ship to continue his tour of inspection. While at the Fort Colonel Hooker ordered sixty bushels of potatoes from Fort Nisqually paying two dollars per bushel.

In May of 1853 Fort Steilacoom was under the command of DeLancy Floyd-Jones. At that time there were only three officers at the Fort and the post surgeon, Dr. John Haden. One of the officers, William A. Slaughter, was accompanied by his wife who was the only lady at the post. August V. Kautz who was assigned to the post that month recorded his impressions of what he found when he arrived.

As an indication of the general condition of life at the Fort Kautz wrote an account of the commanding officer, Lieutenant Jones in which he said that Jones "...was the only man in the country who changed his shirt every day, which, in those days, certainly exhibited unpardonable pride."

Later in the same year when the portion of Oregon north of the Columbia River became the territory of Washington Fort Steilacoom was commanded by Major Charles H. Larnard. Major Larnard was often in the field with portions of his command which consisted of two companies of the Fourth U.S. Infantry attempting to keep peace with the local Indians. On one such expedition in March of 1854 Major Larnard's boat was lost in a storm near Whidbey Island and all on

board were drowned.

Lieutenant William P. Trowbridge of the United States Coast Survey visited the Fort during this time and left his impressions in a diary which has been published. Trowbridge wrote that the Fort was unfavorably situated and that Major Larnard had requested that it be moved to a point on Whidbey Island. Much of the trouble with Indians on Puget Sound was generated by Indians who inhabited British Columbia who came among the islands and inlets of the Sound to cause trouble. The Major wrote that a location for a military establishment on Whidbey Island would be more effective in controlling these Northern Indians.

Indian War of 1855-56.

In 1855 the Indians of Puget Sound joined with other tribes in the Northwest to drive out the unwanted white men. For them it was to be their final major effort.

The war west of the Cascade mountains is generally looked upon as an adjunct to the greater conflict which was taking place east of the mountains. By March of 1856 the Indians west of the Mountains had been totally defeated and were no longer able to carry out offensive operations on any large scale. It was not until the summer of 1858 that the Indians east of the mountains were beaten in battle by the United States Army.

Perhaps the most accurate account of why the Indians West of the mountains joined in the general uprising was written by Fayette McMullen who was governor of the Territory of Washington in 1857 and 1858. The governor was concerned about possible Indian out-

breaks in those years and listed what he felt were the still unresolved issues between the Indians and the white settlers that had caused the war in 1855 and 1856 and could be the foundation of still another conflict.

The governor wrote:

"...The Indian tribes within our own territory living west of the Cascade Mountains, numbering some twelve thousand, are showing many signs of discontent, being unquestionable stimulated and encouraged to acts of outrage and violence by the tribes east of the mountains.

"They are located chiefly along the shores of the Sound and the Straits of de Fuca... and by a general and simultaneous rising, could annihilate our settlements, with perhaps the exception of the more considerable villages, in a single night.

"They complain that the government of the United States has been giving away and is still selling their lands to settlers, without making them any sort of compensation - that they have in good faith made treaties with the Agent of the United States, whereby they were to receive compensation for their lands, and that these treaties have not been carried out in good faith by our government.

"They also say they are put off with promises by the Indian Agents, with the sole purpose of keeping them quiet until the white population becomes strong enough to drive them off entirely...

"They do not understand by what right these things are done, and upon what principals of justice, the government refuses to ratify the treaties and pay them for the land, while it yet passes laws giving away and selling their homes, their hunting grounds and their graves.

"Reasoning thus, they regard the settlers as tresspassers upon their domain, and consequently view them with extreme jealousy."

The actual war began in mid-September 1855 when Charles H. Mason, acting governor of the territory, was informed that Indians killed a number of men traveling into Eastern Washington. Mason wrote for aid to Captain Maurice Maloney at Fort Steilacoom and Maloney dispatched Lieutenant William A. Slaughter and a detachment of forty men east of the Cascades.

Slaughter's command crossed Naches Pass but when he learned that a large war party of Yakima Indians was gathering he recrossed the pass and camped on the west side of the mountains.

Local citizens were organized into military units as the territorial and federal troops were put on a war footing. At the end of October Captain Maloney left Fort Steilacoom to reinforce Slaughter. He had received orders to proceed across the pass and attack the hostile Indian tribes in Eastern Washington. Not wanting to denude the whole area of troops, Maloney stopped near Naches Pass and decided to report the possibility of outbreaks in the Puget Sound country to his superiors at Fort Vancouver and await developments and further instructions.

Maloney's suspicions of outbreaks of violence were well founded for a few days later local Indians struck at the White River settlements in King County and killed several people. Later two men, Lieutenant James McAllister of the Militia and Michael Connell, a settler, were killed and on October 31, 1855 messengers from the detachment at Naches Pass, A. Benton Moses and Joseph Miles, were

ambushed and killed on their way to Fort Steilacoom.

Abraham Salatat, an Indian, rode through the Puyallup valley warning settlers of impending attacks. The settlers, numbering no more than eighty individuals in the entire valley, fled to Fort Steilacoom for protection. Indians also warned Nicholas DeLin, who had a sawmill near the mouth of the Puyallup River. He took two days to travel by scow around Point Defiance to reach the safety of the Fort.

The United States Revenue cutter, Jefferson Davis, under the command of William C. Pease was anchored off Steilacoom. Pease loaned two twelve pound guns for local defence and offered to rescue all women and children at the Fort if an attack materialized.

Lieutenant John Nugen, temporary commander of the Fort, began to prepare for possible attacks. He arranged for the settlers who were arriving to find housing in the barracks at the Fort since most of the soldiers were in the field.

With the large influx of settlers with most of their portable goods, the Fort took on an atmosphere unusual at military establishments. Nugen, after settling the first group, wrote the territorial adjutant general that "...for the past seven days (the Fort) was much like a combination of military and horse market."

Ezra Meeker, an early settler, who in the general panic left his home and went to the Fort was more explicit than Nugen for he recalled the situation as being:

"A sorry mess...of women and children crying
some brutes of men cursing and swearing; oxen

and cows bellowing, sheep bleating; dogs howling; children lost from parents; wives from husbands; no order, in a word, the utmost disorder."

The day after Miles and Moses were killed Nugen received word from William F. Tolmie, Chief factor at Fort Nisqually, that Indians were preparing to attack Fort Steilacoom. He wrote to territorial officials for supplies since much of what should have been at the fort was in the field with the troops.

Meanwhile Maloney's command was attacked North of the Puyallup River and after several running battles the Indians retreated into the woods to re-group and await further developments. There were casualties on both sides and William A. Slaughter, commander of one of the detachments of troops, was killed.

In mid-December reinforcements began to arrive as the U.S. Active, a government survey ship, reached Steilacoom with a supply of arms and ammunition. In January, 1856, two companies of the Ninth U.S. Infantry arrived on the Steamer Republic under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Silas Casey. The Ninth Infantry joined the elements of the Fourth Infantry already in the field and both groups with the Territorial Militia participated in a whole series of reconnaissances, confrontations, flanking movements, search and destroy episodes, etc. in what one soldier later wrote was "rough field service."

End of the War West of the Cascades.

Although there were a number of skirmishes, the decisive battle of the War west of the Mountains was fought in March of 1856 near

Connell's Prairie on the main trail to Naches Pass. Lieutenant Gilmore Hays reported that one hundred fifty warriors attacked the one hundred ten men of his command. After a battle lasting much of the day, Hays wrote that "...Indians were routed, put to flight and pursued for a mile or more along the trail."

It was during this time that Major General John E. Wool, Commander-in-Chief of U.S. forces on the Pacific Coast, arrived at Fort Steilacoom from his headquarters in California. Difficulties surrounding a visit by so exalted a personage by the relatively junior officers in command can be appreciated especially since General Wool was often at odds with Governor Isaac I. Stevens, commander-in-chief of the territorial militia.

William P. Bonney, historian of early Pierce County, was impressed with the decision making ability of the young army officers assigned to Fort Steilacoom during the Indian war. In writing of Captain Maurice Maloney, Bonney recorded:

"Perhaps at no time in the history of this territory and state has the young military officer been placed in the responsible and delicate position as was Captain Maloney during the latter part of October 1855 -- had he not exercised the sound judgement which he displayed ...when he stopped to consider the situation, the history of the Indian War of 1855-56 would be written entirely differently than we find it."

The defeated Indians broke up into small bands after the battle near Connell's prairie never again to re-assemble in groups large enough to carry out any large scale operations. Some of the Indians

returned to the reservations forced on them by the treaties of 1854 and 1855, some went into hiding, and others fled across the mountains.

On May 19, 1856, Lieutenant Colonel Silas Casey, commander of the troops at Fort Steilacoom, was able to report to his superiors that the war west of the Cascade mountains was at an end.

Leschi.

Military activity in the Puget Sound country was reduced to attempts to capture Leschi, one of the leaders of the Nisqually Indian tribe. He was blamed for organizing several Indian attacks and more specifically was accused of murdering Miles and Moses at Connell's prairie. He was excluded from the general amnesty declared at the close of the war along with several other Indian leaders and was in hiding east of the mountains.

After several adventures and with a price on his head, Leschi was turned over to authorities by a relative, and remained in custody in the guardhouse at Fort Steilacoom. His subsequent trials, the legal maneuvers surrounding them, and his final execution on February 19, 1858 caused much controversy throughout the territory.

Officers at the Fort along with William F. Tolmie, factor at Fort Nisqually, and several other men worked to have the territorial governor grant executive clemency when all legal recourse failed.

Tolmie and Lieutenant A.V. Kautz with two Indians visited Connell's prairie where Miles and Moses were killed and measured

the distance between where Leschi had been seen and where the men were ambushed. Kautz drew a map showing that Leschi could not have been present at the murder site. This map and other information was given to the new territorial governor, Fayette McMullen, who seemed to be favorable to granting Leschi clemency.

When the Governor returned to Olympia from Steilacoom where he had gone to hear the Leschi evidence he received a petition containing seven hundred signatures demanding the execution of Leschi. With that many people demanding Leschi's death, the Governor decided to agree with the majority and refused clemency.

On the day Leschi was to be hanged, James Bachelder, U.S. Commissioner, ordered the arrest of the Sheriff of Pierce County on a charge of selling liquor to the Indians. The time of the execution passed and Leschi was saved for a short time.

Later the officers at the Fort and others sponsored the publication of a newspaper which they called the Truth Teller. Using satire as a weapon the two issues of the paper pointed to the Kautz map of Connell's prairie, that the killing of Indians during the War of 1855-56 was apparently legal as a war measure but the killing of white men was judged murder, and finally if there was no real war as some had claimed, then why were war reparations demanded from the Federal government.

Although Tolmie and his associates claimed a moral victory, the Sheriff of Thurston County came in mid-February with a small posse and Leschi was finally executed. Colonel Silas Casey refused per-

mission for the hanging to take place on military property so a gallows was built east of the Fort. The officers and men at the Fort were forbidden to leave the post as the Sheriff, his executioner, the posse, and a few Indians witnessed the event.

Conflicts with Civilian Authorities.

The military officers were often at odds with civilian authorities regarding the treatment of Indians in general. Certainly the temporary Indian wives of many of the single officers had an influence in creating a more favorable attitude than the general a-good-Indian-is-a-dead-Indian concept which was so widely held at the time.

A letter written by Silas Casey, one year after the beginning of the war perhaps best shows the attitude of the military:

"Governor. For several weeks past there has been more than one hundred Indians, including women and children, encamped near this post. Your agents have taken no charge of them and I understand, decline to do so...In consequence of this, I have considered that the public tranquility required that I should ration them, and I have since then done accordingly.

"...I am fully of the opinion that if the Indians of the Sound are treated with kindness and justice and lawless men restrained from violence towards them, there will be no danger of any outbreak on their part ."

Isaac I. Stevens angry responses to Colonel Casey's protests in which Stevens demanded that Casey mind his own business and that the civilian authorities were much more qualified to make judgements in Indian matters than the regular Army officers showed what has been called the "...significant and fundamental disagreement..."between the military and civil authorities which "...lay in the ques-

tion of whether the Indians should be utterly subdued and completely dispossessed. The desires of the land-hungry settlers, not...just and considerate treatment....prevailed."

Officer's Life at Fort Steilacoom.

One officer who was assigned to Fort Steilacoom during the mid 1850s remembered his assignment to the post with a certain amount of pleasure. He wrote that he was well satisfied with the Fort for "...there was plenty to eat and little to do." This officer, August V. Kautz, spent his time before he superintended the major reconstruction of the Fort gardening near Waughop Lake, riding over the plains "...in search of grouse and ducks and other game, fishing in the Sound or Steilacoom Creek...." and fathering several half-Indian children.

Kautz reported that many of his single colleagues maintained social relationships with Indian women as well and that a number of them fathered half-Indian children during their assignments in the Northwest.

Marriages to Indian women were generally temporary, lasting only as long as the soldier was assigned to the Northwest. One officer during this period served at Fort Steilacoom, at Semiahmoo Bay and at Fort Chehalis. He was accompanied by his Indian wife and family at all three locations and for a year when he was assigned elsewhere he sent his family money and urged them to remain on the Nisqually reservation. When the time came for the annual Indian payment he even sent his wife and children to collect their share of

the goods which were doled out by the government from time to time.

Few details of the social consequences of these marriages are recorded but it was apparent that while such relationships were common, they were ignored by polite society. Indian wives at Steilacoom lived in a camp near the Fort and usually did not reside in government quarters.

August V. Kautz recorded on one occasion when his son had whooping cough he was kept in quarters and doctored there. Kautz wrote that his wife, Etta, cleaned his quarters from time to time but did it indifferently.

When the Army was withdrawn from the Northwest at the beginning of the Civil War the Indian wives and families were effectively abandoned and usually left to find their own way in the world.

Kautz obtained leave one summer and with a small group of men became the first on record to attempt a climb to the summit of Mount Rainier. He reached the 14,000 foot level but because he lost his hat and would have had to return alone after dark through a particularly treacherous rock pile was unable to reach the summit.

Doctor George Suckley, who served as a naturalist and surgeon on the Stevens Railroad survey in 1853 was assigned as an assistant surgeon at Fort Steilacoom during the winter of 1853-54. While he was there he was asked to collect everything he could for the Smithsonian Institution including marine animals, shellfish, starfish, crab, etc.

While Governor Isaac I. Stevens wrote to Suckley in February of

1854 that there were no funds for special expeditions, Suckley used his time at the Fort gathering natural history specimens and completing those sections of the railroad report to Congress for which he was responsible.

Several years later Dr. Suckley wrote to friends at the Fort asking for specimens of several kinds of fish which he was apparently unable to obtain while he was there.

Officers often found or made an opportunity to visit the other military establishments nearby. Fort Townsend, Fort Bellingham, the post at Semiahmoo Bay and Fort Muckleschute Prairie all had to be inspected and the delights of towns like Port Townsend, Victoria, Olympia, and on occasion Portland and San Francisco needed to be sampled.

The mail steamer often provided transportation for after the contract for mail delivery was extended to cover the entire Puget Sound area in 1857 nearly every town or village on the shores of the Sound was visited weekly. Often the Army chartered a steam or sail vessel to haul supplies from one location or another and many men caught rides on these ships.

During the gold rush on the Fraser River in British Columbia during 1857 and 1858 there were plenty of opportunities to travel on ships bring prospectors. The revenue cutter, the Jefferson Davis, was present during the late 1850s and was often able to take passengers on "official" business. If worse came to worst, an open Indian canoe could be hired. Leave time for officers seemed to be quite

liberal and any new places was much better than what for many was a boring existence.

The entertainment of visitors was both a welcome respite and a burden. Extra guests meant more elaborate meals and a heavy drain on the supply of liquor. Officers who had early morning duty often complained about all night card parties and drinking bouts.

New people, tired from long journeys, were often kept up until the last bit of news or gossip was squeezed from them. Since there were few extra accommodations available, both officers and men had to share quarters with visitors, making already crowded conditions even less tolerable.

More than one young lady from the east who had almost "given up hope" came to visit friends and relatives at the Fort. The supply of young bachelors was greater than could be accommodated by the demands of the daughters of local settlers for husbands and a number of marriages were celebrated at Fort Steilacoom during these years.

As time passed and more officers married or came to Fort Steilacoom with their families the "freedom and ease" remembered by some of the young officers was replaced with a structured off duty life consisting of balls, parties, prayer meetings, dances, theatricals, musical exhibitions and outings.

Officers sometimes involved themselves in the local economy where they were assigned. August V. Kautz, whose diary gives the best account of life at the Fort, writes of buying and selling

real estate and while at Steilacoom traded lots on several occasions. Dr. George Suckley whose career at the Fort was quite brief acquired town lots which he felt could be sold at fifteen hundred dollars profit after holding them less than a year.

Lives of the Enlisted Men.

The lives of the enlisted men were not as idyllic as that of the officers. There was a wide social gulf between the officers and men which was rarely bridged. Two societies existed side by side and it seemed to many observers that the officers were the only ones who were properly fed, properly housed and given sufficient pay for their work.

A preliminary count of soldiers stationed at the Fort taken for the 1860s census of the United States showed the garrison to consist of approximately two hundred fifty individuals of which at least one hundred seventy-five were foreign born. Of these, one hundred ten were Irish, forty-three from Germany and Prussia, twenty from England and Scotland. There were eighty six born in the United States, mostly from New York, Pennsylvania and New England. The typical soldier was under thirty years of age and more close twenty-three or twenty-four years old.

When the Fraser River gold rush began a number of soldiers from the Fort deserted and left for the mining area. A detachment of soldiers was sent after them and soon all were captured. A court martial was held at which all who deserted were adjudged guilty. The sentences carried out are perhaps a mirror of the place and the

time but seem particularly savage. Five men were ordered whipped forty-nine times, after which their heads were shaved and then they were drummed out of the army. Two men were left to serve out the remaining time of their enlistments on a ball and chain, one man for six months and another for three.

The troops received their pay only when the pay officer managed to be in the area. Since most men did not budget their money they drank away what they had. They were often in debt to each other and nearly always to the post suttler.

The suttler was a civilian who was allowed to keep a store on the grounds of the Fort. The store served as a social center and provided extra food, clothing and liquor. Items were of necessity sold on credit when there was no ready cash available.

One one occasion when the time between the visits of the pay officer lengthened into several months, many soldiers owed more to the store than their pay would cover. When the pay officer finally arrived the suttler, James Bachelder, began to collect the debts owed to his store and a number of the men refused to pay.

Attempts were made to break into the suttler's store and someone tried to burn the building down. The guard house was soon full of soldiers accused of causing trouble for Bachelder.

The religious needs of the men at the Fort were met by the appointment of a post chaplain who represented one of the major Protestant Churches. He usually worked with both the officers and the men and traveled throughout the Puget Sound country ministering

to the needs of other citizens. There were missionaries and preachers of other religious groups who came from time to time to care for the members of their flocks.

Father Louis Rossi served the needs of the Roman Catholic population at Fort Steilacoom for nearly seven years. Since he was responsible for Catholics around the Sound, he used Steilacoom as a base of operations and was constantly on the move. The Catholic church built at Fort Steilacoom by Father Rossi still stands and was moved to the town of Steilacoom in the 1860s and serves the needs of the Catholic population today.

One of the favorite forms of recreation at the Fort was that of horse racing. Since horses served as the basic means of transportation matching horses in racing contests was common. Usually a flat open piece of ground was developed into a rude track and men from the Fort and local citizens gathered to enjoy the sport. William P. Bonney, historian of early Pierce County, writes of several racing events and tells of near riots on one or two occasions when cheating was discovered.

Garrison Life.

Everyday life in the garrison at the Fort was often very quiet. The duties of keeping everything in order, training, occasional trips to the field, and visits from the paymaster, inspector general, and others occupied only part of the time. One diarist often wrote, "Nothing worthy of note occurred today..." when summing up his activities.

The celebration of Independence Day, 1857, proved to be a welcome respite from the ordinary day-to-day life at the Fort. Two naval vessels, one United States and the other British, were anchored at Steilacoom that Fourth of July and everyone was invited to attend the appropriate festivities. In addition to the sailors and officers from the U.S.S. Active and the H.M.S. Satellite, representatives from the United States boundary commission, guests from Victoria and Fort Nisqually and local residents joined in the celebration.

The sailors enjoyed riding the horses of the post over the prairies and it was reported that nearly all horses became lamed because of the enthusiastic antics of the sailors. More than fifty guests ate at the officer's mess and the band from the H.M.S. Satellite provided music during dinner and for the dance that followed.

There was much visiting back and forth and to make certain all guests were treated correctly, some officers of the Fort were forced to eat lunch twice, once on the British vessel, and once on the American ship to avoid any semblance of favoritism. A special divine service was held on the British vessel which many attended.

The next year, 1858, had a much quieter celebration. There were few guests and being cut off from news from the east the National Salute included cannon shots for thirty-four states. It had been assumed that Kansas, Minnesota, and Oregon had been admitted to the Union, but only Minnesota rated the honor.

The howitzers did not fire well and it was discovered that one

soldier was putting the wrong end of the cartridge into his gun first making it misfire. Upon investigation it was found that the soldier was an Englishman and his desire to ruin the Yankee salute was deliberate.

Soldiers were required to wear their uniforms at all times and were easily recognizable by the civilian population. One soldier, who had killed another man in a knife fight at Port Townsend, was sent to the guardhouse at Fort Steilacoom until he could be tried for the murder. The sergeant of the guard and the corporal in charge allowed the man to leave the guardhouse unattended and he escaped. He was gone for a number of days and was finally found by residents of the town of Monticello well on the way to Oregon. He had managed to avoid settlements as he traveled south but had to walk all the way and ate only what he could steal.

Since Regan, the accused murderer, was actually under civil control, the territorial officials were informed. Territorial Governor Fayette McMullen arrived at the Fort to investigate just as the evening retreat was under way. The governor thought that the exercise was in his honor so he "took command." The governor demanded a fifteen gun salute in honor of his position but was told there was no powder. He was finally pacified and went off to Steilacoom, to, as one writer put it "...make a further ass of himself."

By this time the relationship between the officers at the Fort and the civilian leaders had reached a low point. There had been confrontations over military tactics during the Indian War of 1855-56

and with the public support given Leschi by the officers, it was difficult to maintain even proper official relationships. The governor, Fayette McMullen who had replaced Isaac I. Stevens when Stevens was elected as Territorial delegate to Congress was a Virginian who was accused of taking the territorial position only because he knew that an easy divorce was possible through the rather liberal territorial legislature and cared little for the government of the territory. The fact that he did obtain a divorce from his wife in Virginia and married a local woman has given credence to these charges.

This is, however, somewhat unfair. In October, 1857, soon after his arrival, McMullen wrote his impressions of activities in the territory in a letter to President James Buchanan. McMullen's comments on the problems local settlers were having with Indians from Canada and the unwillingness of the United States government to act in good faith with local Indians represent positive points of view usually not attributed to him.

A Sample of Life at the Fort.

A sample of life at Fort Steilacoom relating to relationships between the various segments of society can be shown in the story of the murder of an Indian named Goliah in 1858.

One afternoon a half drunk soldier named Crawley went to the Indian camp near the Fort and traded a half bottle of whiskey to Goliah for a clasp knife owned by the Indian. The soldier discovered that the Indian had money and talked him into going into the nearby

forest. The next morning the body of Goliah was found near the trail between the Fort and the town of Steilacoom. The Indian had been cut and stabbed with a knife and his pockets had been rifled.

Other Indians went to the Fort to report the murder and pointed out Crawley. An officer on his way to breakfast was told of the crime and not wanting to interrupt his meal simply ordered Crawley put in the guardhouse. A little later the officer thought better of his casual attitude and went to the guardhouse to interview the soldier. The officer noticed that the man's shirt was covered with blood or grease but in the dim light could not tell. The soldier said that it was grease.

Later the officer and the Post doctor went to inspect the body of of the dead Indian and were shown an empty whiskey bottle of the kind traded the day before. The Indians demanded satisfaction, either by having the accused soldier hanged or Goliah's family recompensed. The officer returned to the guardhouse and found that Crawley had changed his shirt with another man but denied that he did even though the bloody shirt now on the back of the second man was stamped with Crawley's name. The second man swore that the shirt had not been off his back for a week and that he had had a bloody nose when he was confined.

The next day the accused murderer was taken to the post hospital where he was stripped and his body closely inspected to discover any marks of violence. The next day he was again searched and the money known to have belonged to the Indian was found in his pockets.

The money was covered with dried blood and there was a silver rupee from India that had been given to the dead Indian in trade the week before. Crawley claimed he had received the money from the paymaster, but it was shown that the paymaster had given out only new coins and these were old. The soldier stuck to his story.

Crawley's private box in the barracks was searched yielding only two rusty knives and a wood block used for stamping names on clothing. The block matched the name imprinted on the bloody shirt which Crawley claimed was not his.

The local justice of the peace came to the Fort to interview all involved but could not take testimony from the Post physician because he was "indisposed" after spending the day in the saloons of Steilacoom on each of three days. Crawley obtained witnesses who gave him an alibi for the day of the murder except for the estimated time of the killing itself.

The questioning of the Indians proved to be most difficult. Much of what was repeated was second or third hand, but finally an Indian woman who had bought a blanket from Goliah identified the money taken from Crawley as the same she had given Goliah.

The soldier was sent to the district court which met later in Olympia. The trial was held over for several days because the court was investigating a case of seduction which was apparently of more interest than the murder of the Indian.

After several trips back and forth to Olympia for all concerned

the case was finally tried. Crawley was acquitted "...because of the natural prejudice against white men being punished for killing Indians." The family of the Indian received one hundred dollars.

Relations with the Hudson's Bay Company.

Since the Hudson's Bay Company was in reality the landlord of the military garrison at Fort Steilacoom it was inevitable that a close relationship would exist between the two establishments. When the Fort was first located at Steilacoom, William F. Tolmie, Chief Factor at Fort Nisqually, began a series of visits which would last until he was transferred out of the area ten years later.

Being a medical doctor, Tolmie agreed to look after the medical needs of the soldiers of the garrison while the post doctor was gone during the first few months of the existence of the Fort. So close a professional relationship was built that Tolmie called upon the post doctor to look after his own family in the years that followed even those the post doctor refused to treat other civilians.

Since Fort Nisqually had become more of an agricultural than fur trading post, it was certain that Company representatives would work to obtain business and contracts from the Commissary department at the Fort. Large areas of the county were controlled by the Company and large herds of cattle and sheep grazed over the prairies that stretched inland from the coastline of Puget Sound.

From time to time social events were held at either Fort Steilacoom or Fort Nisqually and often Army officers and Hudson's Bay Company families would join for these activities. Sometimes

visitors from other Hudson's Bay Company posts, especially Victoria, would come and the Army officers either held dances and parties for the visitors or attended functions at the Hudson's Bay Company post.

August V. Kautz wrote of his friendship with William F. Tolmie and said that they corresponded regularly one with another when separated until Tolmie died many years later.

Several reasons for this close relationship between the two groups of people have been advanced. Certainly neither the Hudson's Bay Company people or the Army officers planned to make Puget Sound their permanent homes and consequently their attitude towards each other, the permanent settlers, and the Indians differed from that of other groups. The Army officers and the Hudson's Bay Company people were of a similar social class, educated and cultured in many cases and were the managers of the activities of others. The Hudson's Bay Company officials were on Puget Sound on a commercial venture and were perhaps not as interested in permanency and the Army was present to keep the peace.

While this situation cannot be followed too far in analysis, it is true that in some situations those at Fort Steilacoom felt closer to the Hudson's Bay Company people at Fort Nisqually than they did their fellow Americans in and near the town of Steilacoom.

Steilacoom.

The town of Steilacoom was important to all people at the Fort. The suttler's store could not carry all that was wanted by

the soldiers and their families so the business establishments of Steilacoom catered to the military as well as to other citizens.

The saloons in town offered enticements that could not be resisted by many of the garrison. Close control was needed to keep the men from spending all their free time in the drinking and gambling establishments of the town.

There was an element of culture in Steilacoom that was enjoyed by the military as well. The Steilacoom Library association was founded in the early 1850s and provided not only books but also scheduled lectures, entertainments, and other activities. There was an annual ball given to raise funds for the Library Association and usually men from the Fort attended to lend their support.

When the time came for the establishment of a Masonic Lodge in Steilacoom, Masons among the officers at the Fort joined their brethren in the town and surrounding area in organizing the lodge. Silas Casey, commander of the Fort, lent his name to several organizations and was president of several worthwhile public service and morally uplifting groups.

The Balch and Webber dock was located near the center of the business district of Steilacoom. Arrivals of the mail steamer, the revenue cutter, supply vessels, and other ships were always a source of interest, especially during the pre-Civil War days when these ships were the only sources of recent news.

The town was named the seat of Pierce County when the County

was organized and was the post office as well. People with business with local government were often in Steilacoom and the Fort drew numerous visitors as a consequence.

A medical doctor was assigned to the Fort and he was often called upon to help local residents. There were a number of civilians who were doctors by profession, but they were generally too busy doing other things to perform needed medical services. At one time the post physician announced publically that he could no longer take civilian patients because of the extra work load.

The Puget Sound Herald of Steilacoom in its issue of June 4, 1858, advertised for a Doctor for the town. The editor of the paper reported that there was a population of over eight hundred to serve not counting Indians and that a "...thoroughly educated physician who is also adept in surgery and midwifery..." could make up to two thousand dollars a year.

The relationship between Steilacoom and Fort Steilacoom was generally cordial, with a number of notable exceptions. When the officers at the Fort announced their opposition to the execution of Leschi there were two protest meetings held in the town where the actions of the soldiers were publically condemned. The friendship between the Hudson's Bay Company employees and some of the officers at the Fort was also looked upon with disfavor by Steilacoom residents. Since the Company looked upon the Americans who were living on land the Company claimed as squatters, little good was said about the Company or its friends.

The presence of the military officers was also an asset to the community. Many of them had graduated from the Military Academy and were trained in engineering, surveying and other useful professions. William Slaughter, who was killed during the Indian War of 1855-56, surveyed land for Lafayette Balch when Mr. Balch divided his holdings into town lots for Steilacoom. August V. Kautz did work for Thomas M. Chambers in leveling and surveying and drew a number of maps and charts for territorial officers.

In April of 1858 soldiers at the Fort assisted in stopping the fire that burned the office of the County Auditor as well as some adjoining structures. Thirty men from the fort were watching a theatrical performance in town when the fire broke out. Too late to save the Auditor's office, the men put together a bucket brigade which kept the roof of the Anthony Hotel wet so that it would not burn.

Not all relations were positive for later that Summer the local newspaper took time to condemn soldiers at the Fort for what was called lawless behavior. The condemnation editorial published in the Herald and the response from a soldier at the Fort brought into the open feelings of resentment which had apparently been building for years and although overstated in each case represent a basic and fundamental conflict which exists between a civil population and the military which present to protect it.

The editor of the Puget Sound Herald on July 9, 1858 wrote:

"Grevious complaints are made of the depre-
dations of the soldiers at Fort Steilacoom.

The evils now complained of are of long duration and have been patiently submitted to for years without abatement or redress.

"Farmers in the vicinity of the garrison say they have never been permitted to raise swine or poultry, owing to the thievish propensities of the "bulwarks of liberty." who seem to think their position as soldiers entitles them the privilege of stealing all game small enough to be carried off and wilfully destroying all that cannot be conveniently taken away.

"We were informed last week of a visit made by a party of these vandals about a month ago to the dairy and dwelling of Mr. Crofts a few miles from the Fort, on which occasion they made strenuous efforts to annihilate everything that came in their way, dwelling and all, but only partially succeeded; a few broken window sashes remaining to tell the tale of desolation.

"It seems they were impelled to this visit by another motive than that of mere mischief for they ransacked every portion of the house in pursuit of money, not finding which, as burglars sometimes do, they demolished everything they could get their hands on. Even the butter in the dairy, being a not very portable article in the sun was taken and strewed along the road.

"Since the commission of the above depredation one of the valiant sons of liberty from the Fort favored Mr. Keach with a visit, and kindly shot a fine milch cow belonging to him. The party guilty of this crime has been arrested and is now confined to the guardhouse awaiting trial by court martial.

"We are assured that these offences will always be visited with the severest punishment when complaint is made accompanied with proper evidence; and those who suffer by these depredations do wrong in not complaining."

A private assigned to the Ninth Infantry was outraged at what he felt was an unwarranted attack against the majority at the Fort

and the editor of the Herald published his response. The soldier wrote:

"Everything done by soldiers of an evil nature is performed while they are under the influence of that holy stuff, which your pious citizens sell under the name of brandy and whiskey, but which you and I know is the most abominable "rot-gut."

"Soldiers may kill pigs and poultry, main a cow, break windows, and destroy butter, but are they more criminal than those who poison men to death? No; they why not attack the greater culprits?...

"Does it follow that because there was one swindler and thief in the firm of Lee and Prosch you should be condemned? No: God forbid. Any yet you heedlessly asperse the characters of two hundred men for actions committed by four or five. Advise your neighbors to have no dealings with the "sons and bulwarks of liberty." Tell them to give no "rot-gut" to such fellows. The men who have such holy horror of a soldier should not deal with him."

Confrontations of this kind seemed to be the exception and not the rule in the relationship between Steilacoom and the soldiers for generally things were more calm that what was presented in the interchange between the editor and the soldier.

There were contracts for forage and feed for animals that often went to local businessmen. Although there was a post garden, contracts were let to supply beef, pork and other commodities and Steilacoom people were often able to underbid such agencies as the Hudson's Bay Company to receive this army business. Hurbert Hunt, in his history of Tacoma, wrote that more than \$200,000 was spent in 1857 and 1858 on the reconstruction of the Fort and that a good share of that money was spent locally.

Civilians were often called upon to perform special tasks for the Army. Teamsters were hired by the day to haul items from one location to another and there was a certain amount of business done at the Fort by civilians. On one occasion when the mess officer was unable to provide elegant enough dining for the officers at the post, a civilian and his wife were hired to "manage the mess." Unfortunately the man was addicted to alcohol and was soon fired and another mess officer took over.

Reconstruction of the Fort.

It was apparent from the beginning that the Army had planned to occupy Fort Steilacoom only temporarily. In an annual report for 1851 the quartermaster officer at the Fort wrote:

"...This not being a permanent station, we have erected such buildings as were required for present purposes...they are log buildings put up in a rough and temporary manner..."

As time passed, it was decided that the fort would be more permanent than was expected and more substantial structures were needed. Ezra Meeker, who was among those who fled to Fort Steilacoom during the Indian War of 1855-56, wrote that he did not consider the name "Fort" appropriate for it was "...simply an encampment in log cabin and light board houses."

Permission to begin construction had to come from the headquarters of the Army in Washington. Months passed between the time requests for authorizations were made and the receipt of orders to rebuild the

Fort. The summer of 1858 was passing and local officers were anxious to get outside work done before the winter rains came. There had been some confrontations between some of the officers and the quartermaster people who were unwilling to fix up old quarters when new quarters were going to be built.

Finally when building supplies began to arrive from the States local officers assumed that authorization was on its way and work could begin.

August V. Kautz, as quartermaster officer, was responsible for the new buildings. Although some supplies did arrive from the outside much of what was needed had to be obtained locally. Kautz had a difficult time keeping enough building materials available for the carpenters and other workmen who were hired mostly from the civilian population to get the buildings up.

Kautz purchased lumber from a number of the saw mills which were located about Puget Sound and bought materials from as far away from Steilacoom as Tumwater and Port Gamble.

There was a considerable amount of trouble over the brick. A kiln was built and in the middle of the project the commanding officer of the Fort ordered the discharge of the brick workers. Kautz appealed to Washington for help in getting the brickworkers back to their jobs. The commanding officer was sustained by Washington because it was decided that since he had ordered the brickworkers to be hired in the first place he had the authority to fire them as well. Finally this problem was solved and many thousand brick were made and

fired.

Quality varied considerably and Kautz often complained of poorly sawn wood and impure lime. Once when carpenters demanded higher pay, Kautz discharged them all and went to Victoria and Port Townsend to find replacements. Others left for the gold rush on the Fraser River and Kautz was hard put to keep construction going.

Wives of senior officers were especially troublesome when they demanded things beyond what was usually provided. Often as well versed in Army regulations as the officers, these women made life miserable for supply officers.

Mrs. Silas Casey, wife of the post commander who arrived during the construction period, decided that she wanted a bell. Patiently Lieutenant Kautz explained that bells were non-regulation items and the purchase of a bell would not get by the auditors. Mrs. Casey kept after Kautz and her husband, but did not get her bell though she spent much time and energy trying.

As part of the reconstruction project, Kautz installed a hydraulic ram to produce water for the garrison. There were a number of artesian wells at the bottom of the canyon which led from the Fort to Chambers Creek. Much work and experimentation had to be completed before the ram threw water in large enough quantities to meet the needs of the garrison.

Other details of construction gathered by Herbert Hunt for his history of Tacoma were:

"The sills for the buildings were hewn by hand. Many of them were too long to be cut by Byrd's sawmill at Custer. They were a foot square....For the chimneys Stephen Judson made the brick, hauling clay from the hillsides a considerable distance away. His brother John Paul, served as a teamster and hauled lumber to the Fort.

"...The headquarters building at the Fort was constructed with brick between the studding as a protection against the bullets of the Indians."

Several groups are interested in preserving the remains of Fort Steilacoom. The four remaining buildings constructed by Kautz were called "...of major architectural significance..." in papers prepared for the nomination of the Fort area as an historic district. It was reported that all were built according to "stock Army plans" which are possibly still available in the National Archives. They can be described as "cottage" style and were determined to be reminiscent of Colonial Williamsburg.

Steptoe's Defeat in Eastern Washington.

In the Summer of 1858 the officers at the Fort were shocked to learn that soldiers in Eastern Washington under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Edward Steptoe had met with and were defeated by a combined force of more than one thousand Indians from several tribes including the Spokans and Couer d'Alenes. Cut off from the real news the men at Fort Steilacoom had to rely on fragmentary messages from friends and partial accounts. Weeks were to pass before the total impact of the Steptoe defeat was felt.

The troops at Fort Steilacoom were not called upon to join Colonel George Wright who was sent into Eastern Washington. The men were, however, put on alert for possible Indian troubles west of the Mountains. Leaders of the Nisqually tribe traveled to Fort Steilacoom to inform Colonel Silas Casey of Indian reactions to the victory and to urge a show of force to keep the peace.

Career officers could not believe that an element of the United States Army could lose to Indians in the field and the consequences of the action were discussed for weeks. Fragmentary reports continued to come and all were relieved when the force under the control of Colonel Wright destroyed the Indian concentrations.

The Indians west of the mountains stayed quiet and no show of force was necessary. There was, however, a considerable amount of soul searching when it was learned that Steptoe would have experienced even greater casualties if it had not been for the allied Nez Perce Indians who actually rescued Steptoe's command and also had a large war party in the field.

Discussions continued for weeks and it was finally decided that the reasons for Steptoe's defeat could be assigned to overconfidence on the part of the commander, poor reconnaissance, green troops and too little ammunition. For all concerned it was an unsettling experience.

Puget Sound Pig War.

In mid 1859 there was another flurry of activity at Fort Steila-

coom as preparations were made to back United States claims to islands in the San Juan group. The treaty dividing the islands between the United States and Canada spoke of a channel which separated the holdings of the two nations, but the exact channel was not named. The joint boundary commission could not agree on the location of the channel and as citizens from both nations settled on the islands disputes arose over jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters.

Troops were sent from Fort Steilacoom under the command of Captain George Pickett to strengthen American claims in what has been known to history as the Puget Sound Pig War. British troops were also sent to the islands and it looked as if war would break out at any time. Fortunately a peaceful solution was found and American soldiers were not called upon to fight their British counterparts.

Fort Steilacoom was well supplied for General Harney of the United States Army was able to order one hundred thousand rounds of musket and rifle ammunition stored at Fort Steilacoom"... for the use of Governor Gholson of Washington and any volunteers he might summon to fight the British."

The Coming of the Civil War.

National events were soon to take precedence over the frontier mission of Fort Steilacoom. With the election of Abraham Lincoln as president of the United States, officers at the Fort closely followed the events that were lead to the outbreak of the War. As state after

state left the Union rumors about the lapse of all Army commissions, the inability of the government to pay the Army, and other concerns plagued those at the Fort. Mail was weeks old when it arrived on the sound and newspapers could only report speculation.

Of immediate importance to the officers at the Fort was the status of their home states regarding secession from the Union. Most officers felt obliged to resign from the Army if their state seceded and soon a number of officers from the southern states were leaving for their homes. While men like Captain George Pickett condemned the actions of the southern states, he and his colleagues resigned and returned to offer their services to the Confederacy.

After the battle of Fort Sumter which opened the Civil War, the 4th Infantry, which had been stationed on the west coast for more than a decade was ordered east. Since the regiment was spread up and down the west coast, San Francisco was chosen as the point of concentration as other troops were sent from California to garrison the posts previously assigned to the Fourth and other regular Army regiments.

There was a flurry of activity at the Fort as everyone packed up to leave. Since Fort Steilacoom was the largest of the several military posts on Puget Sound, orders were sent out to all quartermaster officers to send all surplus public property to Steilacoom. The quartermaster at the Fort was ordered to visit each post to take charge of public property and appoint trustworthy agents to care for those items of property that could not be moved.

Interest of local citizens was drawn to the war as well as to the subsequent careers of men who had been assigned to the Fort. Several men who had been at Steilacoom attained high rank in both the Federal and Confederate armies.

Silas Casey who had commanded the Fort several times, eventually reached the rank of Major General and authored books on military tactics which were widely used. Soon before his retirement from active service he was assigned to be Inspector General of the Army.

David McKibben, who served both at Fort Steilacoom and at the post at Semiahmoo Bay with the boundary commission, rose from the rank of First Lieutenant in 1861 to Brigadier General of Volunteers in 1865. He fought in Virginia and after the war was reduced to the rank of Major in the 10th Infantry. He is remembered to history when as a young officer at Semiahmoo Bay he arrested men on Canadian soil, causing an international incident.

Lieutenant August V. Kautz attained the rank of Major General of Volunteers in the Army and participated as a judge in the Court Martial of the group accused of plotting to kill Abraham Lincoln, William E. Seward, and other government leaders. After a career in the Southwest Kautz commanded the Department of the Columbia for a short period of time and then retired from the Army. He later moved to Seattle where he died in 1895.

Maurice Maloney who commanded both Fort Steilacoom and Fort Chehalis at various times became a Colonel in the 13th Wisconsin volunteers but returned to the regular army in 1862 as a Major in

the First Infantry. He received the rank of Colonel at the close of the War and died in 1872.

Of the many officers who chose to join the Confederacy George Pickett was the most prominent. He reluctantly resigned his commission in the Army after Fort Sumter and eventually became a Major General in the Confederate army and led the last major charge at Gettysburg.

Continued need for the Fort.

As the withdrawal of the regular army troops for war service began, the War Department authorized the establishment of the First Washington Volunteer Infantry. Under the general command of Colonel Justus Steinberger, this unit was to be raised in Washington, Oregon and California. It was authorized to contain nine hundred sixty men organized in ten companies and was mustered into the service of the United States at Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay, at Fort Vancouver and at Fort Steilacoom.

In the meantime Company E of the California Volunteers arrived at Fort Steilacoom to replace remnants of two regular army companies which left immediately for the east. Consisting of eighty-five men, this company was to serve at Fort Steilacoom from November 16, 1861 until October 9, 1862.

Soon after the arrival of the Californians, the Steilacoom newspaper reported a flurry of robberies in and around the Fort and blamed the new men. Soon things calmed down as the soldiers fit into

into the community. When they left nearly a year later they were given a cheer and a Bon Voyage by the community except for their commanding officer who apparently had not made a good impression on the local citizenry. Charles Prosch of the Puget Sound Herald wrote, "He is deemed fit only for a lunatic asylum, and a feeling of relief is experienced at his leaving."

The California troops were replaced by Company F of the Washington Territorial Volunteers and from time to time throughout the Civil War troops belong to the several volunteer organizations were assigned, moved, and reassigned to and from Fort Steilacoom.

The arrival of new settlers slowed to a trickle while the nation fought the Civil War. Fort Steilacoom and other army posts not directly connected with the fighting of the Civil War became backwaters and little mention of them is made even in the general histories of the area.

The Confederate Privateer Shenandoah was heard to be in the North Pacific in the Spring and Summer of 1865 and there was a series of demands for more adequate protection of the sea coast. The ship did not reach the coast but sank twenty-five or more merchant ships in the Pacific during this period. Local citizens were afraid that the Shenandoah would sail into Puget Sound and bombard their homes and businesses.

The territorial legislature memorialized Congress on several occasions during the War asking for continued assistance in garrisoning the military establishments and urging their continuance.

In 1860 Colonel George Wright had designated Point Defiance near Tacoma and part of the coastline opposite it at Gig Harbor as military reservations. In 1864 Brigadier General Benjamin Alvord, commander of local troops, asked that "...application should be made for a fortification at Point Defiance." It was studied from time to time but Army engineers felt that fortifications farther north would be more appropriate and nothing was done.

The threat of possible Indian outbreaks was given as the only reason for the continuance of Fort Steilacoom as a military establishment. Colonel Silas Casey, before he left to fight the Civil War, urged that the garrison at Fort Steilacoom be increased to make certain that local peace was kept.

In 1865 when the Fort was occupied by two companies of the volunteer infantry, it was reported that:

"...the large number of Indians in this vicinity makes this force necessary to hold in check lawlessness generally, or to punish any aggression on the part of the Indians."

Fortunately the peace was kept in the Northwest and it did not become necessary for the troops at Fort Steilacoom to do more than "show the flag" during this period.

Fort Steilacoom Abandoned.

When the Civil War ended the regular army went back to its pre-war size. Officers who had been generals were reduced to their permanent ranks of Majors, Lieutenant Colonels and Colonels. By the end of 1865 all volunteer troops had been released from service and

the regular army was reassigned to the western frontier.

In the Southwest the Indians continued to be hostile. A large concentration of soldiers was necessary to complete the pacification of the Apaches, Navajo, and other tribes. When Alaska was purchased in 1867 the army garrisoned the new territory without a major increase in troop strength.

A general reevaluation of the role and mission of each military post was conducted and it was only a matter of time before the turn of Fort Steilacoom came. It was too far inland to be of any value in coastal defence, the Indian tribes no longer posed a threat to peaceful settlement, and the civil authorities were more able to control lawlessness.

The post had been founded during an emergency to solve an immediate problem and was located on a site which was convenient at the time. Major General H.W.Halleck, Commander of the Military Division of the Pacific wrote to Lieutenant General U. S. Grant that Fort Steilacoom, Fort Bellingham, and probably Fort Townsend should be abandoned "...as a useless expense."

Major General George H. Thomas expressed the end of usefulness of the Fort by writing:

"Steilacoom, up Puget Sound, being also unoccupied by Federal troops since 1861, no longer necessary for military purposes and situated on private ground, for which rent has to be paid, it is recommended that the buildings be disposed of and the land turned over to the owner."

On April 22, 1868, Fort Steilacoom was officially abandoned as a military establishment. The last force assigned to the Fort was E. Battery of the U.S. Second Artillery with five officers and one hundred twenty-four men. The Fort began as the home of an artillery unit and ended its existence as one. By the time the Army abandoned the post, the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company were being adjudicated and title to the land would soon pass to the United States.

A portion of the reservation was transferred to the Territory of Washington for the establishment of a mental institution. Several buildings constructed in 1857 and 1858 remain on the grounds of Western State Hospital in a somewhat deteriorated condition. One structure, the Catholic Church was moved to Steilacoom and is still in service. The post cemetery, from which the military burials were removed in the 1890s was fenced in 1970 after incidents of vandalism.

For nearly twenty years Fort Steilacoom served as the military headquarters of the Army for the Puget Sound country. It was a place of refuge during the Indian War of 1855-56, a headquarters and source of supply for a number of military incidents which assured peace and security for those who settled the country, and most importantly served as a secure center which could be relied upon to provide assistance during those early years of settlement in the Puget Sound Country.

PART TWO - DOCUMENTS OF THE FORT

One of the purposes of this collection of materials is to gather in one place as many as possible of the documents of Fort Steilacoom. Since the role of the Hudson's Bay Company in Puget Sound and the development of Fort Nisqually, the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, and the several farms belonging to the company are basic to any study of Fort Steilacoom information about them has been included.

The Indian War of 1855-56 has been discussed in many different places and the detailed role of the Fort at Steilacoom is not included in this paper. Some basic documentation has been included in the body of the history of the Fort and will not be reproduced. ¶

Other documents basic to the study of the Fort include the following: The Diary of August V. Kautz contains the best information available about many topics of interest in the area and should be consulted by anyone having interest in the area. The Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually is also a basic resource. Part of it is missing, part of it was published in the Washington Historical Quarterly, and part of it has been micro-filmed and is available in that format at several institutions. Recently the Muck Journal was transcribed by the Tacoma Public Library and is also available for study. The Muck Journal gives an account of the day to day life at a Farm of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company on Muck Creek from 1858 to mid 1859 and contains occasional references to relationships with the military garrison at Fort Steilacoom.

The Kautz Diary was published in part in the Washington Historian in 1900 and 1901 and excerpts of the diary have been published elsewhere from time to time. In the Spring of 1977 the author of this work obtained a microfilm copy of the diary from 1857 to 1861 and over the next few months transcribed it, added footnotes, introductions to chapters, included a bibliography, a list of important individuals and locations Kautz visited while in the Northwest. The three hundred page typescript of the diary itself was expanded to over four hundred fifty pages by these additions.

A number of copies of the edited and annotated diary have been made and are available primarily at the Tacoma Public Library. Kautz was pro-Indian, especially towards Leschi and towards his own Indian wife and half Indian children. Kautz worked with William Fraser Tolmie, Chief Factor at Fort Nisqually, to have Leschi granted executive clemency but was unable to do so.

Many details about life at Fort Steilacoom are contained within the pages of the Kautz diary and use of it is recommended to those who wish to obtain more information than is contained in this short documentary history. Father Louis Rossi who was at Fort Steilacoom off and on for almost seven years wrote of his experiences in America in a book which was published after he returned to Europe. The book, entitled Six Ans en Amerique (Californie et Oregon) was published in Paris in 1863 and recently has been translated into English with notes to assist the reader in determining who was who since Rossi did not use names in the original.

What follows, then, is a collection of documents concerning the background to the development and establishment of Fort Steilacoom, Washington.

THE TOLMIE JOURNAL

"Thursday, May 30, (1833): AT 5 M and I started in advance at a brisk canter and arrived at Nusqually shortly after noon, having crossed several plains intersected with belts of wood and two steep hills where obliged to dismount. Forded the Nusqually about 3 miles from its mouth, where it is about the breadth of the Leven at Honhill, but rapid and broken. Passed some pretty green hills, sprinkled with young oaks and winding away to westward, continued along the same plain which extended still as far as the eye could reach to Northward and descending a steep bank arrived at the proposed site of Nusqually Fort on a low flat about 50 paces broad on the shores of Puget's Sound--the most conspicuous object was a store half finished next a rude hut of cedar boards--lastly a number of indian lodges constructed of mats huddled on poles in the shape of a cartshed.

"Welcomed by a motley group of Canadians, Owyees and Indians, and parties of the latter were squatted around the fire, roasting mussels. Entered hut and therein deposited accoutrements, while M. conversed with the servants. Bathed in the sound which was smooth as crystal and bordered by a sloping beach of shingle, behind which a steep wooded bank arises and approaches in some spots very near the high water marker.

"Went up to prairie with M. and saw the proposed site of Fort and Farm. The fort is to be erected along the bank of a streamlet, which in its devious course through plain presents points well adapted for Millseats, and the most fertile spots in the comparatively barren prairie are being ploughed for a crop of potatoes and pease, this season. M. is doubtful whether to erect the store houses at the mouth of the streamlet, or 150 yards to S.ward, where one is already nearly completed.

"If the former site be chosen, the whole establishment would be on the right bank of stream and therefore more compact, but it would be necessary to cut a platform, or plane from the bank, large enough for the site of stores and the hill behind is more steep than to S. However there is the advantage that Corn and Saw Mills could be placed at only 30 or 40 yards distance from the stores and then only a thrashing mill wd be necessary up at the farm which is about 1/4 mile up the stream.

"If the present site be pitched on, the ascent to prairie is rather easier and the flat beach affords a base for building on, but as the farm, fort, etc. is on the opposite bank of the burn which runs in a pretty deep ravine, a bridge for the crossing of carts etc must be erected."

William Fraser Tolmie, Journals of William Fraser Tolmie. Physician and Fur Trader. Vancouver, Mitchell Press, 1963. p. 195-96.

JOURNAL OF OCCURANCES AT
FORT NISQUALLY

"May--30th(1833)--Arrived here this afternoon from the Columbia with 4 men --4 oxen--and 4 horses, after a journey of 14(days) expecting to have found the Schooner Vancouver l(ying here.). She sailed the afternoon of the same day we start(ed with) trading --Goods--provisions--potatoes--Seed--(etc. bound) for Nusqualley Bay Where we now have(determined) should every-thing come up to expectation,(to locate our) establishment. While on a trading (expedition down) Sound last Spring with 8 or 9 men. I app(plied about) 12 days of our time to the erecting of sto(re-houses 15 feet) by 20 and left Wm. Ouvrie and two other ha(nds under him in) charge of a few Blankets--a couple kegs po(tatoes) small garden seeds when I returned to the Col(umbia on the) 20th of April--This is all the semblance of(settlement) there is at this moment; but little as it is (it possesses an) advantage over all the other settlements we have(made) on the Coast.--Mr. Yale--in consequence of a note to that effect sent him from home by Indians six weeks ago, forwarded the other day 4 men out of the 13 left with him at Fort Langley--middle of February--which now makes our total number at Nusqualley House 11 hands.-I have also this moment with me Doctor William Tolmie, a young Gentleman lately arrived from England as Surgeon for the Company and is bound for the Northern Estate in the Vancouver, but did me the pleasure of his Company across land with us this far.

"31st Friday--No account of Capt. Ryan and the Vancouver--a very unlucky Circumstance--no goods for the Traders--no provisions for the people and above all the Season is getting late for the Seed. --Our people have been put upon various little jobs about the place--the principal one is the build- ing of a small house on the edge of the plain above the high bank which lines the whole of these shores, and must be at least half a mile from the Trading house and Naval depot below--a farm house on the site I speak is indispensable on account of the live Stock and many other Considerations."

Archibald McDonald."Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House, 1833. Washington Historical Quarterly, VI(July 1915), pp. 179-182.(Note: interpolations by Edward Huggins who was custodian at Fort Nisqually after William Fraser Tolmie moved to Victoria in 1859).

ACCOUNT OF JOHN FLETT, A RED RIVER SETTLER

"As I am the only surviving member of the married men of the party of emigrants, which under the direction of the Hudson Bay Company left Selkirk's settlement, in the valley of the Red river of the north, and came to Puget Sound in 1841 and as I have often been requested by descendants of other members of that party to leave some account of our journey; and as I also wish to correct some misapprehensions that have arisen concerning that emigration, I have attempted to give a history of that expedition.

"An agreement was entered into by Duncan Fenelon, acting governor of the Hudson Bay Company, on the one side, and a party of emigrants on the other, to the following effect:

"That the company should furnish as captain. James Sinclair, Esq. should also furnish each head of a family 10 pound sterling in advance (which all accepted but A. Buxton and John Flett), also goods for the journey, and horses and provisions at the forts on the route as needed; and on the arrival at Puget Sound the company should furnish houses, barns, and fenced fields, with fifteen cows, one bull, fifty ewes, one ram, and oxen or horses, with farming implements and seed. On the other part it was agreed that the farmers should deliver to the company one-half the crops yearly for five years, and at the end of five years one-half the increase of the flocks....

"We arrived at Fort Walla Walla on the 4th of October. On the next day the fort was burned. Our party assisted the men of the fort to save their goods. The Indians were so numerous that it was not deemed safe to camp there, but we traveled down the Columbia until midnight. In about four days we arrived at The Dalles, at the Methodist mission, then in charge of D. Lee and Perkins, On the 12th we crossed the river; here one horse was drowned. When we reached the Cascades we found some boats on which the families, with some of the oldest men, sailed down the river, while the horses and cattle at Colville were driven to Vancouver, at which all arrived on the 13th.

"Here we met Sir George Simpson, P. Ogden, John McLaughlin, James Douglas; and here Sir George informed us that the company could not keep its agreement. As I remember this was the substance of his speech: "Our agreement we cannot fulfill; we have neither horses, nor barns, nor fields for you, and you are at liberty to go where you please. You may go with the California trappers, we will give you a fitout as we give others. If you go over the river to the American side we will help you non--very sickly. If you go to the

Cowlitz we will help you some. To those who will go to Nesqually we will fulfill our agreement." Of course we were all surprised and hurt at this speech. After some discussion the party divided; Joseph Cline went to California, Pierra LaRoque, ST. Germain, Berney, Jacques, Geneau, La Blanc and Antoine La Roque went to Cowlitz. The rest came to Nesqually where we arrived November 8, 1841 having traveled nearly 2000 miles without the loss of a single person, while three children were born on the way...

As the company furnished no houses, each man had to build his own cabin. As no plows could be obtained, John Flett and Charles McKay went to Vancouver after iron to make some plows. They spent Christmas day at the fort, and on their return, turned the first furrows which were plowed this side of Cowlitz. Some seed wheat and some potatoes were furnished the farmers, but no teams nor cattle, although they were greatly needed. The writer tried hard to get a cow, either as per agreement or for money, but failed. Some who removed got some wild cows but no sheep. There was much discontent and loud murmurings were heard. Baldrow and Spence at once left the Sound in disgust. The Flett brothers left in June, 1842, for the Willamette, more followed in the fall, and at the end of three years all had left, getting nothing for their labor or their improvements..."

John Flett, "Interesting local history," Tacoma Daily Ledger
February 18, 1885, .

LETTER TO THE EARL OF ABERDEEN FROM
SIR GEORGE SIMPSON, NOVEMBER 24, 1841

"Paragraph 37.

"There is a large extent of fine pastoral land in the neighborhood of Nisqually, covered with a tufty nutritious grass peculiar to the country. The soil, however, being light and shingly, is not so well adapted for tillage, but by proper attention it may be improved.

"Paragraph 41.

"On my arrival from the N.W. Coast I found the emigrants from Red River safely arrived at Fort Vancouver, amounting in all to 116 souls. Of these 14 heads of families, amounting in all to 77 souls, principally English half breeds, have located at Nisqually and are to hold their farms under the Puget Sound Company on "halves" being provided with sheep, cattle, etc as per agreement entered into pursuant to the directions contained in a letter I wrote to C.F. (Chief Factor) Finlayson by your Honour's direction under date September 12, 1840.

"The remainder of the party being 7 families containing 38 souls are Canadians and half breeds, who being disinclined to crop the Cowlitz portage to the seaboard, have been placed near the Cowlitz Farm, where advances will be made to them by the Hudson's Bay Company in seed, agricultural implements, etc. instead of their being placed on farms under the Puget Sound Company, in like manner as the other people; as from their previous habits of life, having devoted more of their time and attention to the chase than to agricultural pursuits, it was not likely they would turn to good account any stock that might be placed in their hands.

"C.F. (Chief Factor) Douglas who accompanied some of the settlers in advance of the party for the purpose of examining the country speaks of it in such favorable terms that I have no doubt that there will be many applications from Red River, and likewise from our retiring servants."

LIFE ON PUGET SOUND IN
THE 1840s

Joseph Thomas Heath sailed from England on the Hudson's Bay Co. bark, Cowlitz, September 20, 1843, arriving at the mouth of the Columbia River June 1, 1844 by way of Cape Horn, the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) and Sitka, Alaska.

Heath's brother, William, made the round trip on the vessel as first mate. The next year William had another voyage to the coast in her as master.

Soon after Joseph Heath debarked at Fort Vancouver he was more than likely a passenger on one of four flat-bottomed wheat boats which made a slow trip up the Cowlitz River against high water and strong currents.

June 22, Heath rode horseback from Cowlitz landing to Fort Nisqually in one day. He wrote that this was "a performance of no very frequent occurrence."

The fort stood on the present DuPont Company property, not far west of the main entrance to Fort Lewis.

Heath presented a letter of introduction from Dr. John McLoughlin, the Hudson's Bay factor at Fort Vancouver, to Dr. William F. Tolmie. Dr. Tolmie in the previous year had been placed in charge of the Nisqually establishment by the Hudson's Bay organization and had moved it from the original site at the mouth of Sequelitchew Creek.

Heath went on to Fort Victoria (now Victoria, B.C.) to inspect a tract of land on Vancouver Island, but rejected it as a farmsite. He chose instead a farm six miles north of Nisqually which had been abandoned by a colonist from the Red River of the North.

After another trip to Fort Vancouver Heath took a second letter from McLoughlin instructing Tolmie to assist the new settler with "seeds, provisions, salmon, flour, grease and potatoes."

Heath moved December 13 into a crude cabin "to which" as he described it,

"the winds from the four quarters of Heaven had free admission." For companionship he began a diary January 1, 1845. Its first entry tells of his riding home with Klapat, an Indian after having dined with Dr. Tolmie.

....

Heath constructed furniture for his log hut--a rough bed, a slightly rickety table and two stools. A gale had damaged both house and dairy, necessitating repairs. He lined part of his living quarters with cedar bark wainscoting to keep in the warmth from his fireplace.

(SEATTLE TIMES. October 14, 1956.).

HEATH FARM BECAME FORT, HOSPITAL SITE

Joseph Thomas Heath, English farmer at Steilacoom, did not live to see Indian unrest about which he had written in his diary culminate in the killing of a white man at nearby Fort Nisqually.

The pioneer settler also probably never dreamed that the home he had built laboriously would shelter American soldiers, sent to protect settlers from further depredations of the Puget Sound tribes.

Heath's contract with the Puget Sound Agricultural Co. to improve the property still had some months to run when the illness which had stricken him in October, 1848, took his life.

The entries in his diary became scantier as his health declined.

.....

February 9....My voice gone and myself very weak.

One of Dr. Tolmie's letters in the Hudson's Bay Co. Archives in London completes the story. Heath was moved the next day to Fort Nisqually where he died March 7, 1849.

....

Less than a month passed when Major Hathaway, commander of the 11th Military District, and Capt. Bennett N. Hill, of the First Artillery, arrived to look for a site for a fort to provide protection against the Indians.

Dr. Tolmie showed them the Heath farm and on August 24 arranged to rent the buildings and 20 acres of company land to the United States government for \$50 a month. A small detachment of troops moved in four days later.

By October five officers and 75 men were quartered at Fort Steilacoom in the Heath structures, which Dr. Tolmie described as "a comfortable dwelling house, a large barn, a granary and two or three smaller buildings including a

a smokehouse."

Some structures were still in use in 1854; evidently by 1862 all of the original buildings were abandoned in favor of newer ones.

Seattle Times, December 23, 1956.

THE INDIAN ATTACK ON FORT NISQUALLY

FROM THE NISQUALLY JOURNAL

(May, 1849).

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

As the horn blew for dinner a large party of Skeywhamish and Snoqualmie were reported to have arrived, our working and the other Indians immediately commenced running into the fort, bringing with them their moveables and when dinner was over a large party of them to the number of about a hundred, were observed advancing across the plain on the N.W. side of the Fort, when they arrived part went to Lahalet's lodge and the others, the greater part, gathered round the watergate where they were soon after rejoined by the others, on being asked the reason why they came in such numbers, and making such a warlike demonstration they replied that they had heard that young Lahalet, who is married to a daughter of one of their petty chiefs, was beating his wife brutally, and that they did not come with the intention of harming any of the whites, the chief Patakynum was then invited into the Fort, and to the others were given tobacco to smoke in the pipe of peace, for which they retired to one of the deserted lodges...

We took the precaution of placing two armed men at the gate, Thibeault and Gohome with orders to let none of them in... Soon after four or five of the worst Snoqualmie's came rushing to the gate, provoked no doubt by...a shot unguardedly fired by Gohome....I called out to close the gate, which was done, but finding Wren shut out, it was again opened...

....a good many shots followed, the gate closed and we took to the bastions, but our people taking some time to get armed, the affair being rather sudden, by the time they were at their stations, most of the enemy were out of shot, running away full speed across the plain to their canoes..

Patakynum who was in the fort at the commencement of the row, escape after the closing of the gate, unperceived by none of our people, young Lahalet showing him the way. Wallace and Lewis were unfortunately standing outside when the affray commenced, they did not respond to the call of "All hands come in and shut the gate," they perhaps thought themselves secure from harm as they were Americans, and did not belong to the Fort, if this was they were sadly mistaken; They were also beckoned by Simmons

and others there at the time but unfortunately they either unheeded or did not perceive them...

We do not suppose that the War party came here with the purpose of attacking us, but think they had some other object in view besides the affair with Lahalet, it was probably their design to kick up a row with the fort Indians and kidnap as many of the women and children as they could catch...

The Snoqualmich and Skeywhamish are the terror of all the tribes South of the Soquamish, and the tribes of the sound would rejoice to see the above chastized by the Whites, and would nearly assist if required. We sincerely hope they will soon get that Chatizment they so richly deserve.

Two hours after the affray Bill was dispatched to the Cowlitz with an Express for Vancouver and a message from Mr. Simmons to Gov. Lane. All the plain men came in by order in the evening. Watch kept.

JOSEPH LANE'S REPORT TO THE WAR DEPARTMENT

"Early in the month of May I received information of the murder of Wallace, at Fort Nesqually, on Puget's sound, by the Sno-qualimick and Skey-whamish Indians, and that the few American settlers in that country were much alarmed for the safety of their families, hourly expecting to be attacked by the Indians, who had threatened to destroy the settlements. At that time there were no troops in the country except some eight men under Lieut. G.W. Hawkins, of the Rifles.

"I at once concluded to visit the sound, and assist in putting the settlers in the best possible condition to resist an attack, there being only ten families in that section of the country.

"I accordingly proceeded, in company with Lieut. Hawkins and five men, taking with me muskets and ammunition to place in the hands of the settlers; fortunately, the day after my arrival at the sound I received an express from Major Hathaway, notifying me of his arrival at Fort Vancouver, with two companies of the 1st artillery, and of his readiness to move, if his services were required.

"I hastened to inform the Indians, through Dr. Solmie(Tolmie), who has charge of the Hudson Bay Company Fort at Nesqually, of the arrival of our forces for the purpose of preventing further outrage until the troops could move in that direction.

"A copy of my letter to Solmie(Tolmie) is here given.

New Market, May 17, 1849

William F. Solmie(Tolmie) Esq.
Nesqually.

"Sir: I have just learned by express that two companies of artillery have arrived at Vancouver, by the United States steamer, Massachusetts.

"It was my intention to visit you at the Fort; but owing to this fact, I have deemed it necessary to return without delay. I have therefore to make the particular request of you, not to furnish the Indians with ammunition, and to ask of you the favor to cause the hostile tribe, who have committed the outrage, to be informed that any repetition of the like conduct will be visited promptly with their complete destruction: that our force which will be immediately increased, is at this time amply sufficient for an immediate expedition against them, and that the moment I am informed that any injury has been committed by them upon our people they will be visited by sudden and severe chastisement.

"By making this communication to them, you will greatly oblige,
Your obedient servant.

Joseph Lane.

EXTRACTS OF REPORT OF J.QUINN THORNTON
TO GOVERNOR JOSEPH LANE AS REPORTED TO
THE SECRETARY OF WAR AND THE GOVERNORS
COMMENTS.

"On the 7th ult. I arrived at Fort Nesqually. I immediately proceeded to investigate the facts connected with the killing of Mr. Wallace. I sent messengers to Haughtickymm, head chief of the Snoqualimick tribe; I advised him to arrest the offenders and deliver them over to Captain B.H.Hill, and as an inducement offered him eighty blankets as a reward, if this were done in three weeks. I authorized Captain Hill, of the 1st Artillery to double the reward, and to offer it in my name, as sub-agent, if the murderers were not delivered up in the three weeks."

"In my instructions to Mr. Thornton, I said nothing about the murder of Wallace, nor did I intend that he should interfere in the premises, as it was my intention, on the arrival of the troops at Nesqually, to visit the Sound, and demand the murderers, and make the Indians know that they should give them up for punishment, and that hereafter all outrages should be promptly punished; being well satisfied that there is no mode of treatment so appropriate as prompt and severe punishment for wrong doing. It is bad policy, under any consideration, to hire them to make reparation for the reasons, to wit: first, it holds out inducements to the Indians for the commission of murder, by way of speculation, for instance, they would murder some American, await the offering of a large reward for the apprehension of the murders; this done they would deliver up some of their slaves as the guilty, for whom they would receive ten times the amount that they would otherwise get for them.

"Second-It has a tendency to make them underrate our ability and inclination to chastise by force, or make war upon them for such conduct, which in my opinion, is the only proper method for treating them for such offences.

"A short time after Mr. Thornton's return to this city, I received a letter from Major Hathaway, informing me that six Indians, charged with being the principal actors in the murder of Wallace, had been brought in by Indians of the Snoqualimick tribe, and delivered to Captain Hill, 1st Artillery, commanding the forces at Stirlacoom, near Fort Nisqually.

"Chief Justice Bryant has gone to Steilacoom for the purpose of holding a court for their trial. Although I cannot approve the policy of offering to Indians so large a reward, under any circumstances, yet in this case it has been done...."

REPORT OF WILLIAM P. BRYANT ON
THE TRIAL OF THE MURDERERS OF
LEANDER WALLACE

"Oregon City, October the 10th, 1849.
His Excellency, Joseph Lane,

"Sir: In compliance with your request to know the result of the trial of six Snoqualimick Indians for the murder of Wallace in April last, I have the honor to inform you that in pursuance of the provisions of an act of the legislative assembly for the territory of Oregon, attaching the county of Lewis to the first judicial district in said territory, and appointing the first Monday in October at Steilacoom as the place of holding the district court of the United States for said county, I opened and held said court at the time and place appointed; Capt. B.F.Hill, of the 1st artillery, U.S.A. delivered to the Marshal of the territory six Indians of the Snoqualimick tribe, given up by said tribe as the murderers of Wallace, namely: Kussass, Quallahwort, Stulharrier, Jattam, Whyerk, and Qualthlinkyne, all of whom were indicted for murder, and the two first named, Kussass and Quallahwort were convicted and executed, the other four were found not guilty by the jury. Those who were found guilty were clearly so; as to three of the others that were acquitted I was satisfied with the finding of the jury. It was quite evident they were guilty in a less degree, if guilty at all, than those convicted. As to the fourth I had no idea that he was guilty at all; there was no evidence against him, and all the witnesses swore they did not see him during the affray or attack on Fort Newqually.

"It is not improbably that he was a slave whom the guilty chiefs that were convicted expected to place in their stead, as a satisfaction for the American murdered. Two others, Americans, were wounded badly by the shots, and an Indian child that afterward died. The effect produced by this trial was salutary, and I have no doubt will long be remembered by the tribe. The whole tribe, I would judge, were present at the execution, and a vast gathering of Indians from other tribes on the sound, and they were made to understand that our laws would punish them promptly for every murder they committed, and that we would have no satisfaction short of all who acted in the murder of our citizens.

"I learned that this tribe is the most fierce and warlike of any on the sound, and often go through other tribes in armed bands, and commit murders, take slaves and plunder. I could not find that any blame was attachable to the officers at Fort Nesqually, or the American citizens who were present...

"There are not, nearer than this place in the judicial district, the requisite number of lawful jurors to the place appointed to hold the court, (which is the only American fort on the sound,) so sparsely is the country around the sound settled.

"I will be glad to furnish you any further particulars if it be found necessary...Your obedient servant. William P. Bryant."

MILITARY HISTORY OF OREGON
1849-1859

"...There is little information in the official printed documents to indicate the character or life of the soldiers who made up the companies in the northwest. Throughout the period a number continued to desert, and few were willing to re-enlist. Probably many who entered for the western service came for adventure or in quest of riches or land. When the opportunities of a new country were opposed to the disadvantages of inadequate housing, the scarcity of supplies and clothing at some posts, and the dull routine of the frequently inactive army life, it is not surprising that privates did not become wedded to the military career. Drink and Indian women, it appears, were not infrequently resorted to for escape.

"...Court martials for drinking were not infrequent. One sergeant was demoted to the rank of private for repeated drunkenness and for allowing the fatigue party of which he had charge to get drunk and neglect their work. Two privates were discovered to have stolen a pair of uniform trousers and sold them to the whiskey dealer. For this they were fined \$10 and sentenced to hard labor with ball and chain for a month. A drunken soldier who invaded an Indian hut and maltreated the women (near Fort Hoskins, Oregon) got only 10 days of hard labor and a \$4 fine.

"The men were threatened with frequent roll calls if the depredations on neighboring property did not cease. It was made a military offense to enter the garden or orchard of any farmer without the owner's permission. Soldiers could not visit the nearby Indian camp or leave the garrison with fire arms, except with special permission. Strict orders were given in March, 1862, that no non-commissioned officer or private would be allowed to keep squaws in the quarters nor spend the night out of quarters. A few months later it was ordered that any enlisted men found outside quarters after 9:00 o'clock in the evening would be confined for seven days.

"Such a prosaic existence must have disappointed many a young adventurer who sought excitement or opportunity with the government military forces in the Northwest. More than one private stationed in Oregon must have regarded his term of enlistment as a period of mild indentureship, to be endured before he might become a settler with land of his own in the new country.

THE FOUNDING OF FORT STEILACOOM FROM THE
NISQUALLY JOURNAL

(August, 1849)

"Wednesday 22nd Smoky...Many more Indians arriving, Klalums, Skaywhamish, and others and to these the Sub Indian Agents made present on rather a more moderate scale than those of yesterday, the funds placed at his disposal by Govr.Lane (\$400) not admitting of greater liberality...

Thursday, 23rd...In the afternoon Major Hathaway of the U.S. Artillery arrived from Vancouver accompanied by Mr. Lattie, formerly of the H.B. Co.'s marine. Major Hathaway intends proceeding to survey some of the river estuaries and harbours along the continental shore of Puget Sound. About dusk Captain Hill of the U.S. Artillery accompanied by several of the officers of his company arrived from the chartered barque Harpooner which anchored this evening in the roadstead.

Friday. 24th. Smoky. Rode to Steilacoom this morning in company with Major Hathaway, and Captain Hill in order that they might judge for themselves as to whether Steilacoom, or Sequallitchew would form the best winter quarters for the troops. Steilacoom received the preference on account of the number of buildings already erected there.

Saturday 25th. Mr. Tod and I rode out to Steilacoom to see how the Officers were getting on and whether they required any assistance.

Friday 28th(September). Fine Charles Ross, who had been employed since Monday, sent to Steilacoom today with some shingles and wine for the Officers...

Wednesday 3rd(October). The jury of the Court held at Steilacoom having found a verdict of "Guilty" against two of the Indian prisoners Copass and Qualawout they were sentenced to be hung, which sentence took place...

Saturday 20th. Cloudy. Had a visit from Qmaster Tallmadge and Dr. Haden of the U.S. Troops stationed at Steilacoom. Work as yesterday. Genl. Smith Comr. in chief of the U.S. Troops on the Pacific is soon to visit this quarter."

POSITION AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE TROOPS IN THE
THIRD OR PACIFIC DIVISION, UNDER THE COMMAND OF
BREVET BRIGADIER GENERAL ETHAN A. HITCHCOCK,
COLONEL 2D REGIMENT OF INFANTRY. NO. 10
(CALIFORNIA)*

MILITARY DEPARTMENT NO. 11....

Posts....

Steilacoom, Puget's Sound, Oregon.

Commanding(Permanent commanders)...

Captain Hill.

Regiments...

1st artillery.

Present and absent...

Commissioned officers....	5
Non-commissioned officers, musicians, artificers, and privates.....	54
Total...	59

Adjutant General's Office
Washington, November 26, 1851
R. Jones, Adjutant General U.S. Army

Head-quarters of the Army
Washington, November 26, 1851
Winfield Scott.

U.S.PRESIDENT. Message from the President of the United States to the two houses of Congress at the commencement of the first session of the thirty-second Congress, Washington, 1851, p. 213.

*By "General Orders" No 27 of May 17, 1851, the commands of the tenth and eleventh military departments for the present are "merged in that of the Pacific Division Headquarters, Sonoma, California."

POSITION AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE TROOPS IN THE THIRD
OR PACIFIC DIVISION, UNDER THE COMMAND OF COLONEL
AND BREVET BRIGADIER GENERAL ETHAN A. HITCHCOCK, HEAD-
QUARTERS, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA.

Departments and Posts....

Steilacoom, Puget's Sound, Oregon.

Commanding Officers....

Captain and Brevet Major J.S. Hatheway

Garrisons....

1st artillery, two companies.

Present and absent....

Commissioned officers....	9
Enlisted men...	91
Total...	100

Adjutant General's Office.
Washington, November 15, 1852
S. Cooper, Adjutant General

Headquarters of the Army
Washington, November 15, 1852
Winfield Scott

U.S. PRESIDENT. Message from the President of the United States to the two houses of Congress at the commencement of the second session of the thirty-second Congress. Washington, 1852, part two page 63.

THE UNITED STATES ARMY IN
WASHINGTON TERRITORY

"The operations of the United States Army were more extensive and more interesting in the Territory of Washington during the first years after the separation from Oregon than at any period since. They included several years of warfare with the Indians, and in connection therewith required the establishment of a number of military posts...

"Barracks were built at Steilacoom, Port Townsend, Bellingham, San Juan, Colville and elsewhere at enormous expense, and abandoned after a few years occupancy. Fortifications were erected on San Juan Island, and others were contemplated at Point Defiance and like places.

"Many of the officers at these stations became very prominent during the Civil War...Grant was at Fort Vancouver in 1853, and Sheridan at the Cascades in 1856, and later at Fort Vancouver and at Fort Hoskins in Oregon. It may be well here to correct a common and oft-repeated misstatement, that these two officers were stationed at Fort Steilacoom, and that they were known to many of the old residents, slept and ate in various public houses, played billiards and did similar and many remarkable things at different places in Western Washington. Neither of these men ever lived on Puget Sound, ever visited it or ever saw it, and the stories told of them so glibly in connection with this part of the country are fiction pure and simple...

"The forts or posts, their commanders and troops were as here stated for the first eight years of Washington Territory: (Fort Steilacoom only)."

Fort Steilacoom-two companies of the fourth United States infantry, commanded by Brevet Major Chas. H. Larnard. 1853.

Fort Steilacoom-Two companies of the Fourth Infantry, under Captain D.A. Russell. 1854.

Fort Steilacoom-Two companies of the Fourth Infantry, under Captain M. Maloney. 1855.

Fort Steilacoom-Three companies of the Fourth and Ninth Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Silas Casey. 1856.

Fort Steilacoom-Two companies of the Fourth Infantry, under Captain M. Maloney. 1857.

Fort Steilacoom-Three companies of the Fourth and Ninth Infantry, under Lieutenant-Coloney Casey. 1859.

Fort Steilacoom-Four companies of the Fourth and Ninth Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Casey. 1860.

In 1853 the military establishment was under the command of Brigadier-General Ethan Allen Hitchcock of the Pacific Division of the United States army at Benicia, California. In 1854, 1855, and 1856 the Department of the Pacific was commanded by Brevet Major-General John E. Wool.

The Department of the Pacific was commanded in 1857 and 1858 by Brigadier-General Newman S. Clark. In 1859 the Department of Oregon was created and General William S. Harney commanded it with headquarters at Fort Vancouver. General Harney was replaced by Colonel George Wright in 1860.

It should also be reported that post commanders are listed as of June 30th each year. In the case of Fort Steilacoom Colonel Casey served most often and others usually had temporary command only.

Thomas W. Prosch, "The United States Army in Washington Territory," The Washington Historical Quarterly, II(October, 1907), 28-32.

STEILACOOM, OREGON TERRITORY, June 3, 1851.

Sir: I am directed by Capt. Hill to make to you a report of all moneys expended in erecting buildings at this post.

This not being a permanent station, we have only erected such buildings as were required for present purposes; they are log buildings, put up in a rough and temporary manner, the labor of which has been performed exclusively by soldiers.

The lumber used in flooring, etc, is yet available for building purposes, the cost of which was \$2,494.65, including that brought around with us. Paid to extra-duty men \$727.60 making the whole \$3,222.25 expended in erecting buildings at this post.

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

JNO. DEMENT.
Second Lieut. 1st Artillery,
A.A.Q.M.

Capt. Rufus Ingalls,
Assistant Quartermaster, Columbia Barracks, O.T.

I certify that the above is a true copy.

R. INGALLS.
Captain and Quartermaster.

U.S. PRESIDENT. Message from the President of the United States to the two houses of Congress at the commencement of the first session of the thirty-second Congress. Washington, 1851. p. 331.

STEILACOOM NOTES BY LIEUTENANT
WILLIAM PETIT TROWBRIDGE

"August 10.(1853). Reached Steilacomb in time to breakfast with the officers of the garrison. After breakfast, went down to the landing and paid Indians.

"Steilacomb is laid out like most other settlements for a city; owner of the "claim" Mr. Balch appeared to be a very good sort of a man of ordinary intelligence and energy. The place contains only three or four houses.

"Took observations for time after dinner, for the benefit of the garrison.

"The troops stationed here are two companies of the 4 Inf. under command of Maj. Larned. It is an interesting post, and very unfavorably situated: The Maj. intends to move it with the permission of Genl. Hitchcock to some point on Whidbys Id.

"I received much kind attention from all the officers and ladies of the post and quite regretted leaving.

"August 11.(1853). I left Steilacomb for Cowlitz landing in the afternoon about 5 o'clk, taking an Indian for a guide, as far as Fords...

"Our road from Steilacomb to Fords lay for the greater part of the way across prairie land with pine & oak trees dotted here and there in groves and standing alone--so as to present the most beautiful pictures to the eye that can be imagined; but the poor soil prevents their cultivation, and their beauty is spoiled by the imagination by the knowledge of their worthlessness. Here and there are bottom lands as they are called, or the old beds of rivers, where emigrants are fast making flourishing farms."

William Petit Trowbridge, "Journal of a voyage on Puget Sound in 1853," The Pacific Northwest Quarterly, XXXIII(October, 1942), 404-405.

PACIFIC NORTHWEST QUARTERLY. OCTOBER 1942. Pages 404-405.

Editorial Comments:

Lafayette Balch was a New Englander who arrived in the Pacific Northwest in the early 1850s. He founded Lower Steilacoom and built a store in the area. He was a merchant, ship owner, and shipping agent.

In the fall of 1851 Captain Balch rescued the crew and passengers of the Ship "Georgianna" which sank in a storm on November 18,1851. Haida Indians had captured the crew and passengers and Balch ransomed them. He was honored by the Canadian Geographic Board in 1946 by their assignment of his name to three islands in the Maude Channel between Maude Island and Lina Island in the Queen Charlotte Islands of British Columbia.

He was on a business trip to San Francisco when he died on November 25,1862.

Ethan Allen Hitchcock was from Vermont, having been born there in 1798. He graduated from the United States Military Academy on October 11,1814. He served in the Mexican War and was made a Brevet Colonel for gallantry in the battles of Contreras and Churubusco on August 20,1847 and a Brig. General on September 8,1847 for gallantry in the battle of Molino del Ray in Mexico. He commanded the Military Division of the Pacific from 1851 to 1854 and resigned on October 18,1855. He became a Major General of Volunteers during the Civil War and was mustered out of the Army on October 1,1867. He died August 5,1870. (Heitman, Volume I page 532.).

Charles H. Larnard was from Rhode Island and graduated from the Military Academy on July 1,1827. He was made a Brevet Major on May 9,1846 for gallantry in the battles of Palo Alto and Resac de la Palma Texas during the Mexican War. He was in command at Fort Steilacoom and was drowned March 27,1854 when his small boat overturned near Whidbey Island.

(Heitman, Volume I page 616.)

Early visitors often stopped at the home of settlers for the night since there was no other accomodation available. Sidney Smith Ford was born in 1801 and came west with his family in 1845. He settled on what became Ford's Prairie and his home was a frequent stopping place for travelers from Fort Vancouver to Fort Steilacoom. He died in 1866.

William Petit Trowbridge graduated from the United States Military Academy on July 1,1844. He was made a Brevet Lieutenant of Engineers on July 1, 1848 and rose to the rank of First Lieutenant before he resigned from the Army on 1 December 1856. He died August 12,1892.

(Heitman, Volume I, page 971).

After resigning from the Army he was for one year professor mathematics at the University of Michigan. He was vice president of a New York iron works company from 1865 to 1871. He was a professor of engineering in the School of Mines at Columbia College until his death in 1892.

STEEB'S DESCRIPTION OF THE FORT

The John Hancock was constructed at the Boston Navy Yard for a Government tug in 1850. A year later she was sent to Annapolis, Maryland for use as a practice ship for the Naval Academy. She later was used as Commodore Perry's flagship in his famous trip to Japan. The treaty between the United States and Japan was signed on her decks. Upon her return from the Orient she sailed a while on the Pacific Coast. In the Spring of 1856 she visited Fort Steilacoom and her engineer George Tennant Steeb wrote a letter about the Fort on April 22, 1856.

Steeb wrote: "...the other day we went up to Fort Steilacoom after a couple of companies of soldiers. We arrived at the town about sunset and as soon as I was off watch, 8:00 p.m., I went ashore and in company with the Captain's clerk walked up to the Fort, about a mile and a half.

"The fort is built of logs. In fact it is no Fort at all, but a collection of buildings built in the shape of a square, the men's barracks on one side, the officers on the other, store house on another and a row of army wagons on the last side.

"The houses are only one story and doors connect them all...A short distance from the fort is a burial place, of those who died here.

"One grave is quite recent, that of Lieutenant Slaughter, killed while on a scout against the Indians."

KAUTZ DIARY

Fort Steilacoom was an ex-sheep ranch of the Puget Sound Agricultural Co., an off-shoot of the Hudson Bay Company, which being no longer needed, was gladly leased to the Quartermaster's Department for the use of the troops. Capt. Bennett Hill's Co. of the First Artillery was the first to occupy it, and we were his successors with Company C of the Fourth Infantry. The location was on the plain which is now the site of the Insane Asylum, and has many advantages. The soil was level and hard and had produced some magnificent oak trees on the edge of the parade ground, overshadowing the officers' quarters. Mount Rainier was in full view. In the vicinity were several beautiful lakes, while we were supplied with water by the springs with which the country was generously irrigated. About a mile distant was the new townsite of Steilacoom, where boats landed and ships anchored and a store had been located.

....

I became well satisfied with my new station; there was plenty to eat and little to do, and pleasant surroundings. I was appointed adjutant and had to look after the guard and the bakehouse and the drilling of the company. Capt. Jones continued to command; Lieut. Slaughter was quartermaster and commissary, and Mrs. Slaughter, who was the only lady at the post, managed the mess, where we all took our meals. Dr. Haden was the Post Surgeon; he had ridden to meet us before our arrival. He was a courteous and refined Southerner, of blond complexion and affable manners, and not obtrusive in his southern sentiments. There was also a Dr. Wallace, brother of Capt. Wallace, of the Fourth Infantry, who desired to become post sutler.

....

....There was a fine post garden, from which we had a large supply of rejected potatoes that we fell heir to, from the artillery. They were too small for our use, but the Indians were fond of them, and brought us all the clams, fish and game we wanted in exchange for the little tubers....I started a small garden myself on the border of the little lake half a mile south of the post, and when I needed exercise I obtained it there. I rode over the sparsely settled plains in search

of grouse and ducks and other game, and went fishing in the Sound or in Steilacoom creek with the officers, but most frequently alone.

....

Although the embryo town of Steilacoom and Fort Nesqually were our principal resorts the Post was the center of civilization in those parts. It was visited by all who came into the country. There were no hotels at all, so that every house had to entertain, in the manner they were best able, whoever came. Thus we were brought into contact with all kinds of people, and became known to every one in the country, although our acquaintance was necessarily large on this account. The travelers of whom we saw the most were prominent men and officials of the territory.

WASHINGTON HISTORIAN.(April 1900) Volume I, pages 115-119.

Editorial Comments:

August V. Kautz was born in Ispringen, Baden, Germany, on January 5,1828. He enlisted as a private in the United States Army in June of 1846 but in 1848 entered the United States Military Academy. He fought during the Civil War and his highest rank was Major General of Volunteers. He retired from the Army in 1892 and died September 4,1895 in Seattle. General Kautz served as a member of the Commission which tried those accused of conspiracy to murder Abraham Lincoln and other governmental officials.

(HEITMAN, Volume I page 586.)

Kautz was the first man to attempt an ascent of Mount Rainier. They reached the 14,000foot level of the mountain on July 15,1857 but were unable to reach the summit. He was responsible for major reconstruction work at the Fort.

De Lancey Floyd-Jones was a New Yorker who graduated from the Military Academy on July 1,1841 . He was made a Brevet First Lieutenant for Gallantry in the battle of Molino del Rey during the Mexican War and was made a Lieutenant Colonel

for gallantry in the Peninsular campaigns in Virginia on July 4,1862. He was made a Colonel July 2,1863 for gallantry and meritorious service during the battle of Gettysburg. He retired on March 20,1879 and died January 19,1902. (Heitman, Volume I page 426).

William Alloway Slaughter was from Kentucky and graduated from the Military Academy on July 1,1844. He was killed December 4,1855 during the Indian War of 1855.

(Heitman, Volume I, page 891.).

EZRA MEEKER'S REACTION TO THE WHITE
RIVER MASSACRE

The news of the massacre on White River reached the settlements on the Puyallup and Nisqually plains during the night of October 28th, or rather in the early morning of the 29th....An Indian express rider had come out during the night, and had given the information to the people on the Puyallup which lay right in the path the Indians would come, and we thought that even at that moment the Indians were upon them, and that those whom we knew so well had yielded up their lives by the frenzied work of our old time friends....

We could readily see that if the Indians chose to follow their work on White River it would be possible, and highly probable, that none would escape. While in our case we were but five miles from what was called Fort Steilacoom, which was not a fort, but simply an encampment in log cabin and light board houses, yet we would be no safer there than in our own log cabins with our trusted rifles in our own hands, and in fact not so safe.

Captain Maloney, then known to be well on the way, if not actually across the mountains and probably at this time engaged in an active campaign against the powerful tribes east of the Cascades. My brother, O.P. Meeker and myself stoutly contended we had best barricade the cabins and stay where we were, but the father and women of the household said "no" with such emphasis that the conclusion was soon reached that we must fly...

That was a busy night for all. Teams had to be gathered together; where possible, young stock as well as old turned out on the range to care for themselves, windows and doors barricaded, while what effects and provisions it was possible to care for were hastily loaded into the wagons and the start as hastily made...

...when we arrived at the Fort the scenes begged description. Some came on foot and with scant clothing, and no food; some came with wagons piled high with household furniture, some with their chicken coops piled in promiscuously with other effects, some driving cattle, some sheep, some swine, property they could not possibly care for at the fort, some with horse teams, some with oxen, others with pack horses, while many a mother came packing the youngest child on her back and leading others.

All day the never-ending stream came from the prairies near by supplemented in the afternoon and until late in the night, and next day by the contingent from Puyallup and farther outlying settlements.

Small wonder that Lieutenant Nugen should write:"I have nearly all the women and children in the country at the post, and will of course protect them," and that he had detained Captain Wallace's company, just formed, to assist in protecting them.

A sorry mess this, of women and children crying, some brutes of men cursing and swearing, oxen and cows bellowing, sheep bleating, dogs howling, children lost from parents, wives from husbands, no order, in a word, the utmost disorder...

Of course, the hard floor of the barracks furnished the bed, supplemented by the bed clothing of the settlers, which too often had gone astray and could not be found by the rightful owners, the whole floor spaced packed closely from end to end of the building. We all soon adjusted ourselves to the new conditions, some building blockhouses, some entering the government service, while others returned to their claims, and were not molested so much by the Indians as they were by the governor.

MEEKER, EZRA. Pioneer Reminiscences of Puget Sound. The Tragedy of Leschi...Seattle, Washington: Lowman and Handford, 1905. pp. 304-306.

REPORT OF SILAS CASEY REGARDING
LOCATIONS OF MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS

"The war in this district has ceased, and will not be renewed unless induced by the whites. I think the Indians here have an acute appreciation of kind and just treatment.

"Inasmuch as the time has now arrived when a disposition of the troops should be made for the permanent defence and security of this Territory west of the mountains, I will indicate in a brief manner those points which, in my opinion, should be occupied. First there should be a post in this vicinity, of four companies. As regards its exact locality, in my opinion Nisqually would be the most advantageous place. A post could be there erected, within one mile of a landing on the Sound, where a wharf might be built....

"I am not prepared to say that a permanent post will be necessary at the Muckle Shute or vicinity. By keeping a good supply of land transportation at the post in this vicinity, (and especially after the roads shall have become improved,) in my opinion, the necessity of a permanent post at or in the vicinity of that point will be obviated.

"It will, however, be prudent to occupy that point and the two neighbouring block-houses for some time yet; while so occupied, they can be considered as dependencies of this post.

"In the next place, I would recommend a post either at Fort Ludlow, Fort Townsend, Port Discovery, or some point in that vicinity, as further examination may determine. This post will have regard to the northern Indians who may come to the Sound for depredating purposes, as well as to the numerous tribes who inhabit between those points and the Pacific.

"The third post should be at Bellingham bay, as near the coal mines as a good location could be found. One important condition in the location of these posts should not be overlooked; they should be at points of easy access for vessels at any time of tide, and at the same time well protected from the winds and waves....

"In the end it will prove a great extravagance on the part of the general government to neglect in any manner the proper defence of a remote frontier like this; and one chief reason is, that if so neglected, a pretext will always be afforded to a territorial executive to incur an extravagant and unnecessary expenditure of the public money.

"Headquarters, Puget Sound District, Fort Steilacoom, W.T., July 11, 1856. Silas Casey, Lt. Col. 9th Infantry, Com. P.S. Dist. To Major W.W. Mackall, A.A. Gen. Dept of the Pacific, Benicia, Cal. Report of the Secretary of War, War Department, December 1, 1856."

GROWTH OF U.S. MILITARY POWER IN THE PACIFIC
NORTHWEST TO THE CIVIL WAR

"...When Joseph Lane came in March, 1849, to assume his duties as territorial governor he was accompanied by eight soldiers under Lieutenant G.W. Hawkins of the rifles. Before other forces reached the territory Lane had been forced to take these few men, loaded down with muskets and ammunition for the settlers, to quiet a threatened disturbance at Nisqually. No sooner had he arrived at Puget Sound than word reached him that two companies of the first artillery under Major Hatheway had sailed up the Columbia to Fort Vancouver.

"These first companies of United States soldiers to take up residence in Oregon had spent more than half a year in the voyage from New York, through the Strait of Magellan, to Astoria...

"Sixteen forts or posts had been established in Oregon and Washington territories by June, 1858. At that date eleven were garrisoned. Two of these, Umpqua and Simcoe, were evidently abandoned soon afterward; but another post, Harney Depot in Colville Valley, appeared in the official report of January 3, 1859...Government forts and soldiers, originally centered about the base on Puget Sound and the Columbia River from its mouth to The Dalles, had spread over the whole northwest....

"Antagonism between civilians and military men early arose over the reservation of certain desirable lands for army purposes. This conflict reached its bitterest intensity during the controversy between the territorials and General Wool over the activities and expenses of the volunteers. However, the significant and fundamental disagreement lay in the question of whether the Indians should be utterly subdued and completely dispossessed. The desires of the land-hungry settlers, not the just and considerate treatment sought by the old General, did prevail. Another episode had been enacted in the tragic drama of the American Indian."

UNITED STATES TROOPS IN OREGON AND WASHINGTON

1850	478	1855	741
1851	139	1856	1825
1852	655	1857	1628
1853	470	1858	2280
1854	329	1859	2158

Robert Carlton Clark, "Military History of Oregon, 1849-59," Oregon Historical Quarterly XXXVI (March, 1935), 19-20, 57-59.

THE LESCHI CASE FROM THE KAUTZ DIARY

December 20th 1858. Sunday. Officer of the day....I had sent for Leshi to have some quiet conversation in my room with Dr. Tolmie. The Capt. (Maloney) found out that he was there and sent an order for me to have him taken back to the guard house, reprimanding me for taking him out of the garrison which is simply ridiculous. He, of course, can prescribe Leshi's limits but without some order to that effect if I have occasion to communicate with Leshi or any other prisoner of the guard as Officer of the day, I shall send for him to come to my quarters to do so, Capt. Maloney to the contrary notwithstanding...

21st. M. I had promised the Dr. to breakfast with him at Fort Nesqually...I got started about nine o'clock. I went more particularly to see what could be done for Leshi. The Dr. and I sound out various people by the way, and we found them not all inveterate against him and most of the people indifferent. I conversed with others in Olympia and I found a strong feeling against him...

22nd Tu....The Dr. and I saw the Governor. He is unwilling to listen to any incidental intercession but will listen to anything that comes in favor. This is virtually giving Leshi a sound hearing, which is all his friends can desire.

28th M....I made all preparations to go to Connell's prairie tomorrow to measure the ground where Rabesson says he say Leshi at the time Moses and Miles were killed. Tolmie will probably go, he wrote me a note to that effect this evening...

29th. Tu....We reached Connell's prairie about two o'clock. Dr. Tolmie arrived soon after and we made most of the measurements. It is half a mile that Leshi would have had to go on horseback part of the way and the remainder on foot and Rabbeson had in the same distance only half a mile to go, a good road all the way and he on horseback....

January 14th. Th. I was quite busy this morning giving orders previous to starting for Olympia...The feeling against Leshi has rather increased, and remonstrances are going about against Leshi's pardon.

16th. In the evening about five o'clock the Gov. gave Mr. Wallace and Mr. Clarke a hearing in Leshi's case. They talked for about an hour. Clarke presented quite a number of papers among them my survey of Connell's prairie and my affidavit....

21st. Th. We were all much put out by the news today that the Governor has refused the Executive clemency. It seems that when the

governor reached Olympia he found a remonstrance awaiting him with about seven hundred signatures and some threats that the people would burn the Gov. in effigy if Leshi was respited decided him...

Tolmie was exceedingly wrought up, he was desirous of entering a final protest. There was one hope and that was that if the Indian who committed the offence was to be found and his confession and voluntary surrender could be obtained Leshi might still be saved. Simmons, Tolmie, Clarke and I rode to the reservation on the Nesqually and had an interview with Pouyon-is. He admitted that he was present when Moses was killed, that he fired but he would not say that his ball had killed Moses...he would not surrender himself. So we had to return without him.

22nd F. About twelve o'clock Bachelder place a warrent in Fred's hands for the arrest of Williams, the sheriff, and McDaniel, the dept. and soon after it was served....Fred to make the arrest was obliged to call McKibben to his assistance. They took the sheriff off town town and by the time an investigation was held the hour for the execution expired....Judge, Fred, and Col. Simmons remained all night, also Clarke who has much apprehension for his safety. They are having some indignation meetings in town and all of them are generally very drunk...

23 S. I rode to town this morning and found considerable excitement revailing...Men seek the Leshi affair for a vehicle to work out their own private dislikes. The Leshi questions becomes the wire by which many a machine, social and political is pulled into action.

25th. M...The Col., Clarke and Bachelder were hung in effigy at Olympia on Saturday night...

Feb. 3rd.W. A posse has ...come down to take up Leshi. He will probably be hanged immediately after being sentenced, as the Legislature at the instigation of the court have so changed the law that he can be led from the court room to the gallows. I was busy all day making a wood cut for the paper giving a plan of Tenalcut prairie... I...went to town to attend getting out the paper as it is absolutely necessary to have it out tomorrow morning to give it full effect.

4th. ...All parties in the garrison seem to be well pleased with our paper, and I think it will have a great effect in Olympia. They never supposed that we would take such a public stand. I spent the evening at the Cols. quarters where we discussed the paper thoroughly.

19th.F. An order was issued this morning prohibiting any officer or soldier from leaving the garrison without permission from the Commanding officer on account of the execution of Leschi. It appears that the Sheriff of Thurston County has no authority under the law to execute the man...He might have been save as it was by the issuing of a writ against the sheriff under the position that he was about to commit a homicide. But I advised Clark not to do so; Leshi was accordingly taken out and executed about 11 o'clock. He died manfully.

STORY OF A HISTORIC FORT

"All that is now left of the historic old fort near Steilacoom is soon to be sold by the government and there will be nothing left to mark the spot where for years the sturdy troops of Uncle Sam watched over the early settlers in this part of the state, unless the state takes steps to preserve some of the old landmarks.

United States Registrar of Lands Frank G. Deckebach is to sell the land at auction whenever he can find anyone willing to pay the appraised price. Once he has tried it, but no one responded to his call save the settler on the land who attended out of idle curiosity, being attracted by the rare spectacle of a stranger mounted on a stump and reading a paper in the wilderness. He had not seen the advertisement and Mr. Deckebach was faithfully carrying out the red tape of a government sale, though there were no bidders in sight. After that formality had been finished Mr. Deckebach met the settler and agreed to sell the land to him if a second sale was as devoid of results as the first. The time for the second sale is not far off, and it is probable that the government will not own the land much longer.

The old parade ground remains in a fair state of preservation for the officials in charge of the asylum have kept it green to beautify the premises. The row of cottages in which the officers' quarters were located are now occupied by asylum officials; the old barracks, once ringing with the shouts of gay troopers, is more of a storehouse than anything else. Laundry Row is gone and the old guardhouse is full of wood and odds and ends gathered from all parts of the ground. Once it served the purposes of the asylum, but it outgrew that use.

The quarters of the young subalterns where youngsters from the East spent so many homesick hours or wearily turned from the bleak prairies to home for excitement to relieve the strain, or perhaps fresh from West Point, went forth to their last battle, are now serving another use. Asylum attendants occupy them.

And meanwhile the old mill where some of the lumber used in the construction of the houses was turned out, shares the same fate. Its days of glory are gone and picnickers alone are attracted to the old and decaying wreck down by Chambers Creek. But to be historically correct there was little lumber from that

mill used in the construction of the house, but its history is closely entwined with the old parade grounds now green with grasses kept by other hands.

Moss covers the water tank which soldier hands built. In the summer ivy grows in wild profusion over the decaying walls of the old tank. Budding blossoms make a pretty contrast to the ravages of the years since the work was done.

There is a pretty little story in connection with those old houses surrounding the parade ground. It is told to the visitors that General Grant, General McClellan and General M.Pickett of Confederate fame occupied the most imposing of the group, but it is a fact that history unblushingly dispels that illusion. General Grant occupied a log hut, for he was here in 1849, and the houses were not built until four years later.

In the corner of the asylum grounds is the old cemetery, where the dead of the old fort were buried. But one man lies there now who was buried in the cemetery during the days of the fort. That man is Colonel Wallace, a lawyer prominently identified with the early history of the territory and for a time its delegate in Congress. He served during the Indian wars with the territorial troops. The soldiers bodies were moved to an Eastern cemetery when the station was abandoned but the remains of Colonel Wallace were left buried in the soil of the state he loved so well.

Fort Steilacoom was never an actual fort. It was a station where two companies of United States troops were kept for several years, a welcome to the settlers arriving after a wearisome and dangerous troop across the plains. The soldiers at the fort were numerous enough to remain a menace to the Indians that they never cared to disturb. There was a visible force strong enough to make the place safe without a stockade and one was ever built.

Captain Hall commanded the first detachment of troops that came to Fort Steilacoom, arriving in 1849. They came around the Horn--the two companies--in the old ship Massachusetts, from New York to Vancouver. Of the original detachment, but two men are still living in this vicinity. Fred Myers, when he left the service took up a piece of land on Clover Creek where the settlement known as Custer now stands. He still lives there. Jacob Kershner, the other survivor, lives on the reservation. Mrs. Christopher Mahon, living on Clover Creek and David Huggins in charge of the Hudson Bay Fort at Nisqually, are perhaps the only other people

who could tell the whole story of the fort. The father of William Rigney, an asylum attendant, was a member of the first company, and his wife owns the only picture ever taken of any part of the fort--a view of the guard house. It is a small one, and is treasured for its early memories.

It was not a pleasure trip that the troops to the station in the extreme Northwest took when they came to Fort Steilacoom, nor was their work here such as would inspire a great desire to remain. The Indians gave considerable trouble in the early days and there were intermediate altercations with the settlers to while away the time of the officers.

Several commanders of the post went away with the resentment of the people whom they had left strong against them. Sharp criticisms on the volunteers of the Indian wars brought several of them to grief, and in fact the wars were conducted largely by the settlers own organizations of troops, owing to the ill-feeling that they bore to the troops. The capture and hanging of Leschi brought this out more fully.

The fort was abandoned in 1868, just 19 years after it was founded. The troops in the meantime had assisted the settlers in reducing the country to a safe condition. Puget Sound had been rapidly settled and in that short time the Indians had become so nearly thoroughly civilized that no further trouble was anticipated."

TACOMA LEDGER. MARCH 27, 1898. Page 6.

Editorial Comments:

The Mill discussed in paragraph five of the preceeding newspaper article was the mill of Thomas M. Chambers. A grist and flour mill also occupied the site.

It is not certain that U.S. Grant visited the area of Fort Steilacoom. He was assigned to Fort Vancouver while a junior officer but there is no proof that he was ever in the Puget Sound Country. George McClellan was in the area in 1853 in connection with the survey of the Cascade range for a possible pass for a railroad. General Pickett served at the Fort during the so called Pig War.

The commanding officer of the detachment assigned to establish what was to become Fort Steilacoom was Bennett Hoskin Hill. He had been a cadet at the United States Military Academy and was commissioned a Second Lieutenant in the First Artillery on July 1, 1837. He was a Captain on January 12, 1848 and rose to the rank of Brevet Brig. General on January 31, 1865. He retired from the Army on December 15, 1870 and died March 24, 1886.

(Heitman, Francis B. Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army 1903, Volume I page 529.)

Captain Hill was accompanied by his commanding officer to select a site for the Fort. This officer is referred to as Major Hatheway. The officer in the United States Army who was a major at the time was John Samuel Hatheway who was a cadet at the United States Military Academy graduating on July 1, 1832. He became a Brevet-Major for gallantry in the battles of Contreras and Churubusco in the Mexican War on August 20, 1847. He died March 31, 1853.

(Heitman, Volume I page 511.)

The statement that the photograph owned by the Rigney family is the only one of Fort Steilacoom is incorrect. The United States National Archives has several photographs which have been copied and are in the collections of several libraries and historical societies in the area.

A NOTE ON THE NAME OF STEILACOOM

There are several versions for the origin of the name Steilacoom. A number of them are included in the following:

1. "...derived from Chief Tail- a koom"(Dictionary of Indian Geographic Names.).
2. Henry Sicade wrote that it was for the "...pink flowers plentiful in that locality." (Tacoma Times, June 19,1920).
3. Herbert Hunt in his history of Tacoma records that "...Steilacoom was named after Steilacoom Creek by Lafayette Balch who is said to have spelled it "Chielcoom." Balch got the name either from the Indians themselves or from the diary of John Wark, the Hudson's Bay Company explorer who, in 1824, had visited the place and he called it "Chilacoom." "Steilacoom," or "Tsla-lakum" or "Tsa-cal-a-coom, or "Sch-tal-acop" ...was the name of a tribe of Indians of Whidbey Island. Their chief, Steilacoom, was a wealthy and intelligent man...

"Within recent years(i.e. circa 1916) there died south of Steilacoom an Indian called "Chief Steilacoom," who real name seems to have been "Tail-coom. He was about one hundred years of age. It too often has been taken for granted that Lake Steilacoom, Fort Steilacoom, the town of Steilacoom, and Steilacoom River were named in his honor....His name appears many times in the books of the Hudson's Bay Company... The Indian was called the "last of the Steilacoom." Several intelligent Indians lately interviewed refused to give this Indian the distinctions which the whites have paid him. It is denied that he was a chief and it is said that he allowed himself to be clothed with honors to which he was not entitled."(Hunt, I, p. 36-39.).

GENERAL E.P.ALEXANDER'S FORT STEILACOOM NOTES

"Soon after returned to West Point I was ordered to relieve Lt. Robert at Fort Steilacoom in Washington Territory with the detachment of our company. With my wife I sailed on the steamer Northern Light for Aspinwall on Aug. 10; by the John L. Stephens from Panama on the 19th; and by the Cortes from San Francisco on Sept. 8; landing at Steilacoom City on Sept 20. All steamers of those days were side wheelers.

The post was commanded by Col. Silas Casey of the 9th Infantry, and garrisoned by two companies of the 9th and our detachment of 36 Engineer troops under Lt. Thomas L. Casey. There were no duties but those of company routine. The post was a very pleasant one, the woods and waters abounded in game and fish, the climate was mild and open, and the fall and winter passed rapidly. But it was a period of great anxiety to Southern officers whose native states, after debating the question of secession, began one after another to take the step.

There was generally little active interest taken by army officers in political questions, but with few exceptions, the creed was held that, as a matter of course, in case war should result from secession, each officer would go with his state....In March came orders for the return of our detachment to West Point.

No vessel was then running to any port in Puget Sound, and we had to wait until special arrangements for our transportation could be made. Our Quartermaster Department, however, maintained an armed vessel, the Massachusetts, upon the Sound to keep off invasions of the Stikane Indians, who made raids from Alaska in their immense war canoes. This vessel was directed to take us to Port Townsend, and there the Cortes, which ran between San Francisco and Vancouver's Island, would call and get us.

We sailed from Steilacoom City in the afternoon of April 9, 1861. Four years later, to an hour, I saw Gen. Lee ride back to his lines from Appomattox Court House, where he had just surrendered his army...

(Alexander, General E.P. The American Civil War, A critical narrative, by General E.P. Alexander, Chief of Artillery, Longstreet's corps with sketch maps by the author. London: Siegle, Hill and Company, 1908, pp. 4-5.

BRUCE CATTON'S COMMENTS ON RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
CONFEDERATE AND UNION OFFICERS

One of the most moving things about this tragic Civil War was the fact that so many of the ranking officers on both sides were close personal friends of the officers they had to fight. Before the war the regular army had been comparatively small, and everybody knew everybody else, bound together in a closed professional circle whose intimacy went back to the parade ground and classrooms at West Point and continued through service at isolated little army posts all up and down the west and along the coasts.

When the nation broke in half and went to war over it, some of these army officers remained in Federal service and others took service with the Confederacy; and the war flung them cruelly against each other, so that a general going into battle might very well find himself confronting his closest friend...

Back in the spring of 1861, when the Union seemed to be dissolving and the officers of the old Army were choosing their sides, there was a farewell party one evening in the officer's quarters of a little army post outside of what was then the little California town of Los Angeles. The man who gave the party was Captain Winfield Scott Hancock, and the guests of honor were fellow officers who were resigning their commissions in order to enter the army of the Southern Confederacy; among these was another captain, Lewis Armistead, who was one of Hancock's intimates. Late in the evening one of the officers wives sang "Kathleen Mavourneen," that haunted song of a long parting-- "It may be for years and it may be forever"-- and then the party broke up and Armistead came over to shake hands with Hancock.

Tears were in his eyes, and as he shook Hancock's hand Armistead said: "Goodbye-you never can know what this has cost me ." Then he went away. Now Armistead was leading the spearhead of Pickett's charge up Cemetery ridge, and waiting for him at the crest was his old friend Hancock, with the shotted guns all around him...

...it was Armistead who had led the contingent that broke the Federal Line. He was still waving his sword, his black felt hat that had been on the point of the sword had slipped all the way down to the hilt; he laid his hand on one of dead Cushing's guns, urged his men on...and then he fell with a mortal wound.

An hour later, when Federal stretcher bearers were combing the littered field, he was still alive-- enough so that he could stammer out a last message to his old friend Hancock. Then he died, while the wounded Hancock was being carried from the field. The paths of these two men, which had parted in California more than two years earlier,

had crossed again, for the last time.

(Catton, Bruce, Gettysburg: The final fury.
Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company,
1974. pp. 80-93.)

RANDOM NOTES OF THE ROLE OF FORT STEILACOOM

Nugen, John....letter to Acting Governor Mason....Fort Steilacoom, Washington Territory, October 23,1855.

"My dear Mason:

I am happy to inform you that Fort Steilacoom is once more a quiet place - as for the past seven days it was much like a combination of military and horse market, etc.

I have left at this post one howitzer with plenty of ammunition and about 400 rounds of musket cartridges. However, we are looking for 10,000 rounds from Benicia daily.

Mason, If you go away, send Mrs. Stevens down with her family. My quarters are at her service , and I would be glad to have her come. Mrs. Slaughter tells me to say that her quarters are also ready and she would be very glad to have Mrs S. come. The other ladies would also like to have her come.

Fort Steilacoom, W.T. John Nugen, 2nd Lieut. Comdg."

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Maloney,Maurice...letter to Headquarters at Fort Vancouver,... October 29,1855.

"I have also got information that there are from two thousand to three thousand Indians well armed, and determined to fight in my front, and after considering the matter over, have concluded that it is my duty to return to Steilacoom.

Maurice Maloney... "

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Nugen, John....letter to James Tilton, Adjutant General, Washington Territorial Volunteers, November 1,1855.

"I have nearly all the women in the country at the post..."

Fort Steilacoom, W.T., John Nugen, 2nd Lieut.

Hays, Gilmore....letter to Isaac I. Stevens....Camp Connell,
March 10,1856.

"....one hundred and fifty warriors attack my command of one
hundred ten men, all told....the Indians were routed, put to
flight, and pursued for a mile or more along the trail..."

Camp Connell, Washington Territory, Gilmore Hays.

On January 10,1861 Lieutenant Colonel Silas Casey advised Gen-
eral Johnston, the General Commanding the Pacific of continued
activity by the Indians killing settlers and that his command
at Fort Steilacoom consisted of two companies and that it should
be increased for operations against the hostiles in the vicinity
of the Muckleshoot River.

(Field, II, 180).

As of December 31,1862 troops were stationed in the District of
Oregon as follows: "...Fort Steilacoom, - companies G and K,
First Washington Territorial Infantry under the command of
Lt. Col. T.C. English, 1st Washington Territorial Infantry."

(Field, II, 209).

Maury, R.F....letter to Colonel R.C. Drum, Asst. Adjutant General,
San Francisco, April 7,1865.

"For Fort Steilacoom....two companies of infantry. The large
number of Indians in this vicinity makes this force necessary to
hold in check lawlessness generally, or to punish any aggression
on the part of the Indians."

R.F. Maury, Colonel. First Oregon Cavalry, Commanding District
to Colonel R.C. Drum, Asst. Adj. General, San Francisco.

(Field, II, 234-35.).

(Washington(State). Adjutant General. Washington National Guard Pamphlet. The Official history of the Washington National Guard...7 volumes. Camp Murry, Tacoma, Washington: Headquarters, Military Department of Washington. 1961-1965. WA. ARNG PAM 870-1-1 to 870-1-7.).

Note: The history of the Washington National Guard was written by Virgil Field and is referred to by his name.

HERBERT HUNT'S DESCRIPTION OF FORT STEILACOOM

The troops at first occupied a number of old log houses built there by the Hudson's Bay Company. They at once threw entrenchments to protect the spring and pool from which the hospital now takes water. The earthworks were well constructed. Lieut. A.V. Kautz was given authority to erect more substantial and commodious buildings. The concrete water tank now standing in front of the hospital was built.

Before that time water was brought from the great spring in the gulch by a man with a mule and cart. It was that wonderful spring that caused the fort to be established there. Lieutenant Kautz placed below it a ram which for fifty years dutifully chugged away, its chugging filling the deep, fern-lined gulch with strange echoes. Though Lieutenant Kautz spent about \$200,000, he completed his task at a cost less than the estimates, and the excellence of his work rewarded him with the thanks of the War Department.

The sills for the buildings were hewn by hand. Many of them were too long to be cut by Byrd's sawmill at Custer. They were a foot square. The studding was fastened to them by the now obsolete mortice-and-tenon method. For the chimneys Stephen Judson made the brick, hauling clay from the hillsides a considerable distance away. His brother, John Paul, served as a teamster and hauled lumber to the fort, and for some time after that he carried the United States express to and from the fort.

Several of the buildings have been torn away but enough remain to have the hospital grounds a remarkable historical value. Especial pains should be taken to preserve these interesting structures. The "Headquarters Building" at the fort was constructed with brick between the studding as a protection against the bullets of Indians.

A description of the fort is given in a letter now in the possession of J.T. Steeb, written April 22, 1856, by George Tennant Steeb, then chief engineer of the United States steamer John Hancock.

"The other day," the letter says, "we went up to Fort Steilacoom after a couple of companies of soldiers. We arrived at the town about sunset and as soon as I was off watch, 8 P.M. I went ashore and in company with the captain's clerk, walked up to the fort about a mile and a half...We found Doctor Turner, a young man who is from Philadelphia and fifteen or twenty fine fellows, lieutenants, surgeons, and captains in the army.

The fort is built of logs. In fact it is no fort at all but a collection of buildings built in the shape of a square, the men's barracks on one side, the officers' on the other, storehouses on another and a row of army wagons on the last side. The houses are only one story and doors connect them all...A short distance from

the fort is a burial place of those who died here. One grave is quiet recent, that of Lieutenant Slaughter, killed while on a scout against the Indians."

Another interesting document concerning Steilacoom is the diary of Lieut. William P. Trowbridge, U.S.A. who came to the north-west via Panama in 1853. He wrote and sketched, and his old books are now owned by his son, Wm. P. of the Tacoma Land Company. Among other notations in the diary is one to the effect that Major Larnard was going to look up a site for a new army post as Fort Steilacoom was not considered a healthful spot!

(Hunt, Herbert. Tacoma. Its history and its builders, a half century of activity by Herbert Hunt. illustrated. Chicago, S.J. Clark Publishing Company, 1916. I, pp. 35-36.

CLINTON A. SNOWDEN'S COMMENTS ABOUT FORT STEILACOOM

"...the soldiers...by this time had arrived and fixed their camp at Fort Steilacoom, a few miles east of the village. Only a few days before, on August 23d, Major Hathaway, Captain Bennett H. Hill and other officers arrived in the Massachusetts at Vancouver, had visited Fort Nisqually, and on the following day selected the ground on which they were to make their camp. Major Hathaway seems, by the record made at the fort, to have come overland, accompanied by Mr. Latta, formerly in the Hudson's Bay Company marine service, while Captain Hill and his officers and soldiers came by "the chartered barque Harpooner," whose captain was accused of smuggling goods and selling liquor to the Indians along the Columbia...

Besides fixing upon a location for the camp of Captain Hill's company, Major Hathaway wished to explore "...some of the river estuaries and harbors along the continental shore of Puget Sound..."

(Snowden, Volume III, pp.70-71.)

"All mail for northern Oregon still came up the coast to Portland from San Francisco, with which there was weekly communication of some regularity by steamer. From Portland it was carried to Ranier, or to Monticello, near the mouth of the Cowlitz...There it was delivered to Antonio B. Rabbeson, who carried it on horseback, over a road that was still scarcely a trail, to Olympia.

The soldiers at Fort Steilacoom sent for theirs with some regularity and at their own cost apparently. Perhaps it was in answer to their complaints that the second assistant postmaster general was led to write to the special agent of the department then in Oregon, that he would authorize the establishment of a route from Olympia to Steilacoom provided the mail could be carried for not to exceed \$140 per year..."

(Early 1853. Snowden, Volume III, p.146.)

"In July (1857) Patkanim, who evidently remembered the outcome of his attack on Fort Nisqually in 1849, went with a party of his snoqualmies to Fort Steilacoom, and told the officers there that an uprising was imminent, and that he and his people would not join in it...All tribes east of the mountains were bent on war, they said, and "it was good that the whites should fill the Dalles, Vancouver and Steilacoom with soldiers--not a few, as they were then, but full--many soldiers." They promised to remain at home..."

(Snowden, Volume III, p. 325).

"Captain Keyes and his company were now sent to Fort Steilacoom which was as comfortable a place as Fort Vancouver, and he took command there on November 28th.(1855)."

(Snowden, Volume III,p.403).

"After the Indians had been dispersed by the battle of Connell's Prairie...it began to be suspected that some of the old-time employees of the Hudson's Bay Company were giving them aid and comfort. These men...were married to, or living with Indian women....On March 2d(1856) it was determined to order them to Fort Nisqually...Most or all of them obeyed it, but soon returned again, claiming that their houses or stock needed their attention.

Late in March Captain Maxon arrested Charles Wren, John McLeod, L.A. Smith, Henry Smith, and John McField, and sent them to Fort Steilacoom. "I consider them guilty of treason, and can prove Wren guilty of giving aid and comfort," he wrote the governor."

(Snowden, Volume III,p.484.).

(Snowden, Clinton A. History of Washington. The Rise and Progress of an American State by Clinton A. Snowden, New York: The Century History Company, 1909).

INTRODUCTION TO THE INSPECTION REPORTS SECTION

Colonel Joseph K. F. Mansfield was Inspector General of the United States Army from 1853 until 1861. During his period of service he made two tours of inspection in the Pacific Northwest, one in 1854 and the second during the fall and winter of 1858-59.

The report of his first visit to Fort Steilacoom is quite brief as were his reports of other posts in the area. As he gained experience he apparently became more detailed in his inspections and in their reports. August Kautz, in his diary account of Colonel Mansfield's visit to the military escort to the Boundary Commission at Semiahmoo Bay, recorded that the inspection there was brief and perfunctory but that the mere presence of the Inspector General caused much commotion.

At the time of Mansfield's first inspection of Fort Steilacoom the place was little more than a series of log cabins either built by the Army or inherited from the Hudson's Bay Company. The original site had been settled as early as 1842 but was soon abandoned and the next settler, Joseph Thomas Heath, built several buildings which the Army used when they arrived in the summer of 1849.

Lieutenant Grier Tallmadge, who served as quartermaster officer with the original Army detachment assigned to Steilacoom, was responsible for the construction of the log buildings seen by Colonel Mansfield in 1854.

The inspection of Fort Steilacoom in December of 1858 was more detailed and Colonel Mansfield wrote in much more detail. Lieutenant August V. Kautz and other officers had finished the major reconstruction of the fort so that nearly all structures were in good condition.

The Washington Territorial Legislature had memorialized Congress in 1855 requesting that an armed steamer be stationed on the Sound and it is clear that local leaders discussed the matter with Colonel Mansfield for he concluded the same recommendation in his report.

THE SITE OF FORT STEILACOOM

The prairie lands which stretched inland from the shores of Puget Sound afforded little opportunity for settlement before the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company in the early 1830s. Local Indians preferred to live on the banks of the streams which flowed through the area or near the mouths of the rivers and streams that emptied into Puget Sound. With a water related economy and the lack of horses for quick transportation Indians usually avoided the open spaces on the prairie lands.

When the Hudson's Bay Company arrived in 1833 and founded Fort Nisqually they brought with them horses, cattle, and finally sheep and for the first time the rich grasses of the prairies found a commercial use.

Because control of the Puget Sound Country became an issue between the United States and Great Britain, the Hudson's Bay Company undertook to strengthen British claims to the area by importing a number of permanent settlers loyal to the Crown who would settle in the Northwest most notably on the prairies surrounding Fort Nisqually.

Thus in the winter of 1841-42 a party of settlers arrived from the Red River settlements in present Manitoba to secure lands in the Northwest. Because of a number of problems the scheme developed by the Hudson's Bay Company failed but not before a number of families came to the Fort Nisqually area. One of these families settled on the prairie lands above Steilacoom Bay and started a farm on what was to become the site for Fort Steilacoom.

Within two years all the Red River settlers had given up and left the area and it was not until early 1845 that another Englishman, Joseph Thomas Heath, arrived on the prairie lands to begin a farm. Heath had arranged to lease land from the Hudson's Bay Company and selected the site for his farm in the area of an abandoned Red River settler's cabin. There Heath built his own home, barn, and several outbuildings. He began to farm and was soon raising potatoes, peas and other crops.

Heath died during the winter of 1848-1849 and his farm was taken over by an arm of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. This company was founded in 1838 to take advantage of the agricultural possibilities of the Pacific Northwest.

Following the 1849 attack on Fort Nisqually by local Indians a detachment of the United States Army was sent to protect American interests in the area for the Puget Sound country was now under the sovereignty of the United States. Searching for a site for an army encampment officers were taken to the Heath farm and because buildings were immediately available it was decided that the detachment would quarter there.

Upon arrival of the troops more quarters were needed and were built out of locally available materials. By the winter of 1849 the troops were encamped at what would become Fort Steilacom.

MANSFIELD'S 1854 INSPECTION OF THE FORT

FORT STEILACOOM.

It is in latitude 47° 10' 57" and longitude 122° 33' occupying ground and some buildings of the Hudson Bay Company, and is six miles north of Fort Nisqually of that Company, and two miles from the shores of Puget Sound, and the town of Steilacoom where there may be 100 Americans population.

It is 170 miles from Fort Vancouver via the Cowlitz River and 25 miles from Olympia where there may be a population of 500 Americans. Its supplies excepting fresh beef are received through Fort Vancouver and direct from San Francisco. There is abundant wood and grazing here. No reservation has been made, but one is in contemplation about five miles to the Northeast of the present site, where the garrison has an excellent garden, and is the nearest point capable of cultivation to the present site or on the emigrant trail from Wallah Wallah through the Nachess pass of the Cascade Mountains.

This is the only post in this quarter. It should be preserved as indispensable as a depot and rallying point for the inhabitants in case of attack. The Indians about here number 900 warriors but very much scattered on the shores and Islands of Puget Sound.

From Steilacoom there is a direct water communication to Olympia and other posts on Puget Sound. A military road of about 100 miles should be opened direct to Fort Vancouver and another to Fort Dalles, which would increase the safety of each post, as well as the population by a communication at all times not interrupted by ice of the rivers, etc. and would

open the country to the control of the Americans.

The magnificent Mount Rainier covered with its snowy mantle is in full view bearing about S.E. and just to the northward of it is the Naches Pass. Port Townsend is about 100 miles and Bellingham Bay 50 miles by water. Coal has been discovered in large quantities at the latter place and on the Dwamish River. Lumber is abundant as there are two sawmills in this vicinity and several at Olympia. And Salmon, Clams, and Oysters abundant.

REPORT OF THE INSPECTION OF FORT STEILACOOM

14 to the 19th of Dec.1858

On the 12th of December I left Semi-ah-moo at 12 m. in the Revenue Cutter Jefferson Davis, with a fair wind, and without making a tack we reached by sailing our most direct course through the broad channel, the Strait of Haro, Port Townsend, at 12 at midnight, and the next night, the 13th I was so fortunate as to take passage in the Pacific Mail Steamer Panama, and was landed at Steilacoom early in the morning of the 14th and have now the honor to report to the General-in-Chief, the result of my inspection of Fort Steilacoom as follows:

Fort Steilacoom is located about one and a half miles from the town of that name, on the eastern shore of Puget Sound, on an old Hudson Bay Trading post; in latitude $47^{\circ} 10' 57''$ and longitude $122^{\circ} 33' 00''$. It is about 25 miles from Olympia both by land and water. It is in direct communication by land say 115 to Monticello near the mouth of the Cowlitz River: thence by Steamer some 50 miles up the Columbia River to Fort Vancouver.

Hence it is conveniently situated to receive reinforcements from Fort Vancouver, so long in time of war as the river is not occupied by enemy's navy. It is about 70 miles from Port Townsend by water only. It is about 100 miles from Bellingham Bay via a road for which appropriations were once made, and which has been cut out nearly to Seattle, say 40 miles from this post and from Fort Bellingham say 5 miles to Whatcom. This road should be opened without further delay

and additional appropriations made therefor. It is about 125 miles by water from Fort Bellingham. It is convenient to communicate across the Cascade Mountains through both the Snoqualimi and the Nachess passes.

I regard it as a well located post in a military point of view, as a depot post of troops to meet any emergency in this quarter. It is so far up the sound as to be secure, when proper fortifications will be erected on Point Defiance, etc. against any armed attack direct from the Navy of an enemy.

I look upon this post as of the first importance and one where the gravelly prairie all around it is such that troops, both horse and foot, can drill, and be instructed at all seasons of the year, as the ground is not materially softened by the rains of the wet season, which are intermittent, and not continuous, and the snows are merely nominal. Such is the importance of this post it should never have less than three companies, always highly instructed in the use of their arms, in every particular, and commanded by an officer of character; and there should be here a first rate small steamer, always ready at any time, and capable of moving rapidly and calculated for the rough sea and weather of the waters of Puget Sound and the northern Pacific ocean. With this boat supplies could be sent, and troops on emergency landed at any spot against the Indians. Here I take the liberty to remark that at Olympia in the Government Records, I read a paragraph in the letter of Governor Douglas to Gov. Stevens, in which he significantly remarks that in case of a want of harmony between the two governments, it would be impossible for him to restrain the northern Indians.

Now these northern Indians number as follows, according to the census taken by the Hudson Bay Company in 1856; as furnished me by Mr. Geo. Gibbs, a citizen of Washington Territory; to wit, on Vancouvers Island 25,373 under 12 different tribes, which might be estimated at 4,000 warriors. And other Indians on the northwest coast south of $56^{\circ}40'$ at 20,000 and north of $54^{\circ}60'$ at 25,000 say 45,000 or 8,000 warriors all in the aggregate 12,000 fighting men, always ready for murder and plunder. Many of these Indians are cannibals, and are always ready to capture the Indians within our territory and make slaves of them. With a steamer at command here, and a system of telegraphs from the tops of the heights of the Islands, from Fort Townsend and Bellingham Bay to this post a force could be brought down on these northern intruders within our waters unexpectedly to them, and sink their large canoes at once.

Here I will remark that the British and Ropian Governments should be required to keep these Indians within their own limits, and to deliver up the murderers of Col. Ebey.

There is no safety without a steamer and I most urgently recommend one to be built expressly for this object and kept subject to the orders of the commanding officer of this post.

A plan of the reservation is herewith accompanying marked A, and a plan of the post marked B, and a plan of the post on the 1st of July 1857 marked C.

This post is rebuilt on the old spot claimed by the Puget Sound

Agricultural Company. A contract was entered into by Lt. A.V. Kautz of the 4th Infantry, acting Assistant Quartermaster, dated 30 July 1847(sic) and approved by Bvt. Brig Genl Clark on the 27 August 1857 giving to that company an annual rent of 600 dollars for one square mile of ten years; unless the right be extinguished as per treaty of 1846. At the expiration of 10 years, 6 months notice is sufficient to terminate the contract. Nothing is said about the buildings at the expiration of the lease; and nothing about the buildings which previously existed. In this particular the contract is very defective.

In view of this state of the matter here and a like state of affairs at Fort Vancouver, I would recommend that Congress make an appropriation of 200,000 dollars to liquidate all their claims to soil within our Territory and north of the Columbia River.

There was expended at this post from the 1st July 1856 to the 30th of Sept. 1858 by Lieut A.V. Kautz acting asst. Q.M. 150,956.00 dollars. A part of this amount was for current expenses, and the expenses of the war of 1856. There has since been expended to the 15th of December 1858, by Lieut E.J. Harvie 4,244.75 dollars as Act. Asst. Quartermaster making an aggregate say 155,201.37. Of this amount as near as I can judge from the statements 55,000 dollars was probably applied to the buildings.

BUILDINGS AND WATER

These quarters were planned and erected for a post of three companies and a field officer and probably is the best arranged post as a whole in this Department and amply provided. They are arranged on 4 sides

of a square(see plan marked B). On the north side are the officers quarters, in the center is the commanding officer, and the adjutants office under the same roof. Then 6 buildings right and left for officers of the line and in rear a resevoir of water.

On the west side is a mess room and quartermaster and commissary office and a barrack for one company. On the east side is the chaplain's quarters and chapel in one building; a barrack for one company and a magazine and in rear the ordnance sergeant and smith and carpenters shops & without the enclosure barning. On the south side a barrack for one company, quartermaster store house; guard house; clothing house and commissary store; and in rear without the enclosure laundresses. Without the enclosure off the northwest angle is the hospital and surgeons quarters. The sutler has a building without the enclosure.

These buildings are all new with but trifling exception and ample for all the command. The soldiers are very well provided for. There seems to be nothing more required for buildings. The post is supplied by a magnificent spring some 500 years off and the water thrown into a resevoir, without the enclosure by means of a hydraulic ram, and if necessary might be carried into every building.

GARDEN

An excellent garden is on a reserve where it was at one time contemplated to establish the post, say 4 miles off and is the only suitable spot for that purpose. It yields abundant vegetables for both summer

and winter. Each company had 500 bushels of potatoes for the winter, besides other vegetables.

TROOPS

The force here is as follows: Field and staff, Lt. Col. S. Casey, of the 9th Infantry in command from the 1st of January 1856 to the 12 of Jan 1857 when he went on leave, and returned on the 22nd of December 1857. Asst. Surgeon H.R. Wirtz; ordnance sergeant and hospital steward Company A 4th Infantry, Captain M. Maloney; 1st Lt. A.V. Kautz in detached service, as quartermaster and commissary at Semi-ah-moo, with the Military Escort with Company F 9th Infantry; 2nd Lt. E.J. Conner acting Adjutant provst. 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 2 musicians, 74 privates of these 10 sick, 4 confined, 20 on extra duty, 1 absent with leave, 2 absent without leave, 1 absent confined at Benicia.

This company was provided with old knapsacks, tin canteens, old caps, and recently newly equipped with the new pattern rifled musket, and accoutrements, and was supplied with 9,000 rifled ball cartridges, and in addition it had on hand its entire old equipment of smooth barrel muskets etc. ready to be returned in to the arsenal.

It was well quartered, the men slept in double bunks, two tiers high; a good mess room, and kitchen well provided. Two laundresses attached to this company, and a fund of 454.39 dollars. The books were written up and in order. There were 4 desertions in 1856, 11 in 1857, and 10 in 1858 say 25 in 3 years.

Company C. 4th Infantry. Capt. L.C.Hunt, joined on the 14th Instant, but not able to appear on inspection; 1st Lieut.J. Withers Act. Asst. Adjt General from 10 Sep 1856; 2nd Lieut A. Shaaff in command of Company on parade: 4 sergeants, 3 corporals, 2 musicians, 71 privates, of these 7 sick, 5 confined, 14 on extra duty, 4 on detached service at Puyallup blockhouse. This company had old knapsacks, and gutta puncher canteens, old caps and was armed with the new rifled musket, and supplies with 9,000 rifled ball cartridges. Three laundresses attached to this company and a fund of 182.97 dollars. It was well quartered with mess room and kitchen. The books were written up in order. There were 5 desertions in 1856, 15 in 1857 and 10 in 1858 say 30 in three years.

Company H 9th Infantry. Capt. T.C. English commanding, 1st Lt. E.I. Harvie Act. Asst. Quartermaster and Commissary of the post; 2nd Lt. C.A.Reynolds, 4 sergeants , 4 corporals, 2 musicians, 49 privates; of these 7 sick, 3 confined, 14 extra duty, 10 on detached service at the Muckleshute Blockhouse.

This company was armed with the Harpers ferry rifle, much worn and many out of order and sword bayonet, and supplied with 2076 rifle blank cartridges, 3200 expanding ball, and 800 rifle ball cartridges. It was well quartered with mess room and kitchen. The men slept in double bunks two tiers high. Two laundresses, and well provided except in the article of shoes and drawers. The books were in order and written up. There were 21 desertions in 1856, 23 in 1857, 3 in 1858, Say 47 in three years. A fund of 130.93. dollars.

GUARD

The guard is 9 privates, 2 corporals, 1 sergeant. The building is made of logs - 7 cells and 1 prison room. There were 9 soldiers and 3 citizens prisoners - 4 undergoing sentence, 4 minor offences, 1 for theft, 2 citizens waiting trial, 1 citizen sentenced for selling liquor to Indians, to one years imprisonment.

HOSPITAL.

Is under direction of Asst. Surgeon Wirtz since the 30th Jan, 1857. He has a steward, 2 nurses - 1 cook - 1 matron - 18 in the hospital diseased principally. The post not sickly. The building ample with 3 ward rooms 6 iron bedsteads - kitchen - messroom - dispensary, and store room. and the records in order and the whole unexceptionable. The vegetables for the sick obtained from the general garden.

I will remark here that Asst. Surgeon Wirtz declined by an official note to attend on Col. Caseys family. The Colonel knows of no reason therefore. I enclosed a copy of the note to Genl. Harney in Command of the Department.

POST ORDNANCE AND MAGAZINE

There are 3 twelve pound mountain howitzers in excellent order placed under the portico of the magazine; 180 twelve pd stripped shot; 97 twelve pd canister shot; 145 spherical case shot, 8 shells; 20 muskets; 34 rifles; 3 pistols; 1 revolver; 29,200 percussion caps,

3,900 pistol ball cartridges, 41 blank howitzer cartridges; 20,700 rifle ball cartridges; 5,000 rifle balls; 2,000 rifle blank cartridges.

The ordnance is well stored in a good wooden magazine, well constructed for the purpose, and a good ordnance sergeant has the charge of the same.

QUARTERMASTER DEPARTMENT

1st Lieut. E.J. Harvie of the 9th Infantry relieved 1st Lt. A.V. Kautz 4th, Infantry on the 1st October 1858, in the duties of this department. Lieut. Harvie is now engaged in completing a quartermaster's storehouse, which will soon be done, and has in his employ 1 master carpenter @ 5 dollars and rations and 9 carpenters @ 4 dollars and a ration per day , one express man @ 4 dollars and a ration; one herder and teamster at 2 dollars and a ration; and extra duty men as carpenters etc. 33 and one clerk and one acting quartermaster sergeant. This large force will be dropped as soon as practicable. I observed an extra duty man at work on a bureau, to which I called the attention of Col. Casey and he ordered such worked stopped for the future.

He keeps 29 horses, 50 mules, 6 oxen, 18 wagons of 6 mules each, 1 ambulance, 1 cart. He pays for oats 74 cts the bushel, and 14 dollars the ton for hay and 37 1/2 cts the bushel for charcoal, which is high. Fuel is furnished by extra duty men.

He receives his funds from the Chief Quartermaster at San Francisco

and has expended since the 1st of October 4,244.75 dollars. All his returns and accounts to the close of November have been forwarded. At that date there was due the U.S. 1982.40 dollars. Expended since 821 dollars, leaving a balance of 1156.40 dollars of which 618.20 dollars is in the Assist. Treasury at San Francisco and 517.20 dollars in cash on hand.

The supplies are ample except small sized shoes, and stockings, and drawers, which are wanted. The barns and sheds are all sufficient and he had on hand about 50 tons of hay. The animals were out grazing.

COMMISSARY DEPARTMENT.

Lieut E.J. Harvie is also commissary for the same date. His supplies are good, but was in want of rice and candles; and feed stored, and his accounts and returns have all been forwarded to the close of November when there was due the U.S. 824.52 dollars, of which 488.50 dollars was in the Assist. Treasury at San Francisco and 619 in cash on hand. Flour costs 13.80 dollars the bushel and beef 18 cts. the pound, sugar 15 cts and crushed sugar 18 1/2 cts. There are two flouring mills, within a mile and a half; and another year flour will be lower.

He receives his funds from Major Lee, chief commissary at San Francisco as well as his supplies generally.

COMMAND, CHAPLAIN, PAYMENTS, SUTLER, ETC.

This post is extremely well commanded by Lt. Col. Casey, an officer of high military attainments and character and in case of a war he is well qualified to command on these waters. The discipline is good and harmony both among the officers and men. The unmarried officers have a mess. The soldiers appear contented, and have got up a literary society and some books as a library. There is no chaplain at present, but a chaplains quarters and a chapel, in the same building. 2nd Lt. E. I. Conner 4th Infantry is the acting adjutant of the post. and all the post records are well kept. He is also post treasurer and has at date in his hands 178.50 dollars. 2nd Lieut. A. Shaaf is recruiting officer and has in his hands 23.86 dollars.

A good sutlers store is just outside the enclosure and well supplied and J. M. Bachelder is the sutler.

At the Muckle-shute prairie, about 25 miles distant among a band of about 500 Indians Col. Casey has established a detachment of ten men. The Indians have not yet been taken charge of by Indian agents. It is presumed eventually they will be assigned to a reserve.

The payments to the troops have here to fore been made once in four months and they were last paid in November by Major Alvord.

DRILLS AND TARGET FIRING.

Col. Casey divided the command into 4 companies and took them through the battalion drill of Light Infantry and the movements were totally and well performed. It showed, however, the most of the time had been devoted to labor - Rain interrupted the drill as skirmishers. The

companies fired separately at the target of 6'x22" at 200 yards; 40 men each one round and A Company put in 8 shots, H Company 7, C Company 9 . This last is the best shots in this Department and the three companies together put in more shots than any three in this department at any one post. This is owing to the fact it was the last post of this dept inspected by me, and they had more time to be instructed since the order of Genl. Harvey on this point. I hope to see better results in the future.

INDIANS

There are about 2,000 Indians within 25 miles of this post and about 1,500 of them on reservations. They are all peaceable and there seems to be nothing at present to be apprehended. I would advise the immediate confirmation of all the treaties made by Gov. Stevens as the first step to a permanent confidence, and mutual trust, between the whites and Indians.

I am very respectfully,
Your Obt. Servant.
Joseph K.F. Mansfield.
Col. and Inspector Genl.
U.S.A.

San Francisco California.
18 Jan 1859

Brevet Major Irvin McDowell
Asst. Adjt Genl.
Headquarters. Army.

COLONEL MANSFIELD COMMENTS ABOUT DESERTERS

Immediately prior to his inspection of Fort Steilacoom, Colonel Mansfield visited Fort Townsend near the present town of Port Townsend. There he found that seventy four men had deserted in three years at the post and attributed these desertions to four causes:

- "1. The worthless unprincipled character of many recruits.
- "2. the want of proper discipline and instructions as soldiers at the General Recruiting Depot before they are sent to join companies; a fatal error in our system.
- "3. The vicinity of this post to the British frontier, where the gold diggings are enticing, and where they cannot be seized if discovered;
- "4. The bad treatment of an orderly sergeant since reduced to the ranks."

After describing several examples of new recruits who were sent west to military posts who were known to be totally unfit for any duty, Colonel Mansfield made the following general observations:

"In this connexion I would earnestly urge that no recruits be sent from the General Depot, till they have been, disciplined & Trained to the performance of military duties. This can be better done at the depot than at Military Posts. It would prevent much desertion, & the men kept at the depot for 6 months, under strict discipline, & instructions, would not fail to show their defects; such as fits etc. and could be discharged without further expense...The pay and compensation of a soldier are ample, and none but good and active men and men of good habits should be allowed to enter the service."

COLONEL MANSFIELD VISITS THE NORTHWEST

RECORDED IN THE DIARY OF AUGUST V. KAUTZ

December 10, 1858. Friday. A vessel hove in sight this morning which proved afterwards to be the Cutter. I went over to the Spit to make some arrangements for going up the Sound. Soon after I returned Mr. White came on shore with his boat having Col. Mansfield, the Inspector Genl., Mr. King, Mr. Major and Dr. Kuhn. The Col. inspected my Depts. this evening and he will inspect the commands tomorrow. The Capt. (Dickinson Woodruff) was in great trouble about this unexpected arrival, the mess is badly provided, the command is not in the best order and altogether it is an unpleasant surprise and an unfavorable time both as regards weather and the condition of the post for an inspection. The day was cold, stormy, and wet.

December 11, 1858. Saturday. The Col. inspected the Company today but his inspection was not very minute. The men had many complaints to make which were listened to very patiently by the Col. Shean brought up his charges against King. His story first excited the Col's indignation, but subsequently he learned from Mr. Parke that King was invaluable and has tried to affect a compromise. Shean led him to suppose that he would accept a consideration to stop proceedings and he was offered a hundred dollars which he refused and said he would refuse a thousand which turned the Col. against Shean.

December 12, 1858. Sunday. The Col. intended to leave last night but the weather was so impossible that he and Mr. Frost remained on

shore. I went on board this morning with them and about twelve o'clock sailed for Port Townsend. We went through the Straits of Haro and without a single tack arrived at Port Townsend about twelve o'clock at night, without any trouble or mishap. Warren then intended to go up the Sound also was disappointed in not getting off. I like the Col. very much, but he is strongly impregnated with (Isaac I.) Steven's doctrine and views by way of recompence for the consideration which Stevens expresses for the Col. We had several discussions but they did not amount to much as far as influencing his views was concerned. December 15, 1858. The Col. make his inspections this morning. He seems well pleased with the post....

December 18, 1858. Spent the morning in Town and in the afternoon in the office in the garrison making out some official papers. Col. Mansfield is anxious to get off to Olympia. He is either complaisantly situated or he has demogogic ideas to present, for he talks about making inquiries into things that he certainly has nothing to do with. I think he wants to give all the aid he can to Gov. Stevens in prosecuting the claims for the war. The Col. interests himself about many things that cannot be entirely disinterested in their motives and he is beyond all doubt plotting for future advancement. Any further promotion must come to him through popular favor.

December 19, 1858. Sunday. Spent the greater part of today in the office making a plan of the post as it was before the buildings were commenced. I also drew up an estimate of the expenses of the buildings at the post, and of the War of /55 and /56.

NOTES FROM THE COVER OF THE INSPECTION REPORT

"If action has not already been taken by the Commanding officer of the Department of Oregon in the matter reported of Asst. Surgeon Wirtz by Inspector General Mansfield, that officer(Wirtz) will be brought to trial before the General Court Martial appointed in Special Orders No. 35 from the Adjutant General's office on the charge of "conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline," with two specifications, first, that he neglected and failed to give medical attendance to the family of Colonel Casey when called on; second that he refused to give such attendance when required.

"The Judge Advocate will prepare such special instructions for the Judge Advocate of the Court as the case may require. A copy of the recent decision relative to the duties of medical officers will be furnished to the Department Commander and to the Judge Advocate of the Court for his guidance.

J. B. Floyd, Secretary of War, War Dept. 5 May 1859."

"Attention is respectfully called to the subject of the Indian relations and to the necessity of having a government steamer on Püget Sound. Respectfully fowarded to the Adjutant General. and received 26 Feb. 1859."

OFFICERS MENTIONED BY COLONEL MANSFIELD

BACHELDER, JAMES. M. Bachelder was a civilian who served for many years as the Post Sutler at Fort Steilacoom. He was a U.S. Commissioner and as such issued the order for the arrest of the Pierce County Sheriff to stop the execution of Leschi, an Indian leader who was convicted of a specific murder during the Indian war of 1855-56. He was hung in effigy at Olympia and was removed from office.

CASEY, SILAS. Silas Casey graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1826. He was commissioned a Second Lieutenant in the Second Infantry and for the next ten years served on the Great Lakes and on the Frontier. He was involved in the Seminole Indian war in Florida and was severely wounded at the storming of Chapultepec during the Mexican War.

In the 1850s he was stationed principally on the West Coast and was in command of Fort Steilacoom much of the time. He was appointed a Brigadier General of Volunteers at the outset of the Civil War and was active throughout the war.

He was the author of a system of infantry tactics which was published in 1861. He retired from the service on the 8th of July 1868 and died in New York on January 22, 1882.

CONNER, EDWARD J. Conner spent much of his military career in the Pacific Northwest before the Civil War being assigned to both Fort Steilacoom and Fort Chehalis. He was born in New Hampshire and graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1857. He achieved the rank of Captain on October 24, 1861 but was retired from the service on December 8, 1863.

ENGLISH, THOMAS C. English graduated from the Military Academy in 1849 and was assigned to Fort Steilacoom as a Captain in 1858. He served during the Civil War and his highest rank was that of Lieutenant Colonel in the Second Infantry. He died in 1876.

HARVIE, EDWARD J. After graduating from the Military Academy, Lieut. Harvie came to the Northwest. He became a First Lieutenant in December of 1857 and resigned from the Army in March of 1861 and was from the State of Virginia.

HUNT, LEWIS C. After serving in the Fourth Infantry during the 1850s, Captain Hunt rose to the rank of Brevet Brigadier General for his Civil War service. He married a daughter of Silas Casey at Fort Steilacoom in 1861. He died 16 September 1886.

KAUTZ, AUGUST V. After serving as an enlisted man in the Mexican War,

Kautz received an appointment to the Military Academy as a member of the class of 1852. After serving briefly in New York upon graduation Kautz was assigned to the Fourth Infantry which was then serving on the West Coast. After reporting to California he was assigned to the Northwest and served at Fort Steilacoom beginning in 1853. He spent time in Southern Oregon and was active in the Indian War of 1855-56.

Kautz did the major reconstruction of the Fort during 1858 and thereafter was assigned to the escort of the joint United States-Great Britain boundary commission for the forty-ninth parallel. In 1859 he went to Europe for the "grand tour."

Returning in 1860 Kautz took command of part of the Blake Expedition which sailed up the Missouri River and then took the Mullan Road west of the Mountains. He returned to Fort Steilacoom but was assigned to Fort Chehalis where he remained until he returned east to fight in the Civil War.

He rose to the rank of Major General of Volunteers during the war and after service in the Southwest he commanded the Army department for the west coast and retired to Seattle.

MALONEY, MAURICE. Maloney began his military career as a private in the 4th Infantry. He was commissioned a Second Lieutenant in 1846 and a Captain in 1854. He was born in Ireland and joined the Army where he fought in Florida and Mexico. He was in command of Fort Chehalis, Washington, during nearly all of its pre-Civil War existence. He retired from the Army in 1870 and died in 1872.

REYNOLDS, CHARLES A. Reynolds served first in the ranks and was later appointed a Second Lieutenant in the 9th Infantry. He served throughout the Civil War and served much of the time in the Quartermaster Corps. He retired in 1887 and died in 1896.

SHAAFF, ARTHUR. Shaaff was a southerner who resigned his commission at the beginning of the Civil War. He served as a Major in the 1st Battalion of the Georgia Sharpshooters.

WIRTZ, HORACE. Dr. Wirtz was post surgeon at Fort Steilacoom and later at Fort Chehalis. He was from the state of Pennsylvania and served as an assistant surgeon beginning in 1846. He was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel at the close of the Civil War.

WITHERS, JOHN. Withers graduated from the Military Academy with the Class of 1849. He served in the 4th Infantry as a Second Lieutenant, a First Lieutenant and a Brevet Captain. He resigned his commission on March 1, 1861 and returned to the South.

JOSEPH KING FENNO MANSFIELD
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Joseph King Fenno Mansfield, the son of Henry and Mary Mansfield was born December 22,1803 in New Haven, Conneticut. He joined the class of 1822 at the United States Military Academy in 1817 and received the rank of Second Lieutenant in the Engineers on July 1,1822.

His early career was spent mostly in the Southern Atlantic states where he worked on the construction of a number of military posts which were to be used for coastal defence. He held a responsible position in the construction of Fort Pulaski at the mouth of the Savannah River.

He remained a Second Lieutenant for ten years being promoted to First Lieutenant in 1832 and to Captain in 1838,the year he married Louisa Maria Mather.

During the War with Mexico he was chief engineer of the army under the command of General Zachary Taylor and as such was given several brevet or honorary ranks. He was made a brevet Major for his conduct during the defence of Fort Brown, Texas and later in the fall of 1846 was breveted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel during the battle of Monterey,Mexico. In early spring he received the rank of Brevet Colonel for "...gallant and meritorious conduct" at the battle of Buena Vista.

Following the conclusion of the war Mansfield worked on the construction of coastal defence works until he was named inspector-general of the Army. Serving in this capacity until the beginning of the Civil War, Mansfield traveled extensively inspecting posts in the Southwest, California and the Pacific Northwest.

At the beginning of the Civil War, Colonel Mansfield was promoted to the rank of brigadier general and was assigned to command the Department of Washington which included the national capital and its surrounding territory. Later when the Army was reorganized he was "...assigned to command under General Wool at Fort Monroe and in 1862 took part in the occupation of Norfolk and Suffolk, Virginia."

Following another change in the Army command structure General Mansfield was promoted to Major General of Volunteers and assigned to command the Twelfth Army Corps. It was in this capacity that the General was killed at the beginning of the battle of Antietam on September 17, 1862.

The following account was written of the death of the General by Major John M. Gould who was present when he was mortally wounded:

"The Confederate force in our front showed no colors. They appeared to be somewhat detached and in advance of the main rebel line, and were about where the left of General Duryea's brigade might be supposed to have retreated.

"To General Mansfield we appeared to be firing into Duryea's troops ;therefore he beckoned to us to cease firing, and as this was the very last thing we proposed to do, the few who saw him did not understand what his motions meant, and so no attention was paid to him.

"He now rode down the hill from the 128th Pennsylvania and passing quickly through H, A, K, E, I, G, and D of the 10th Maine, ordering them to cease firing, he halted in front of C, at the earnest remonstrances of Captain Jordan and Sergeant Burnham, who asked him to see the gray coats of the enemy, and pointed out particular men of them who were then aiming their rifles at us and at him.

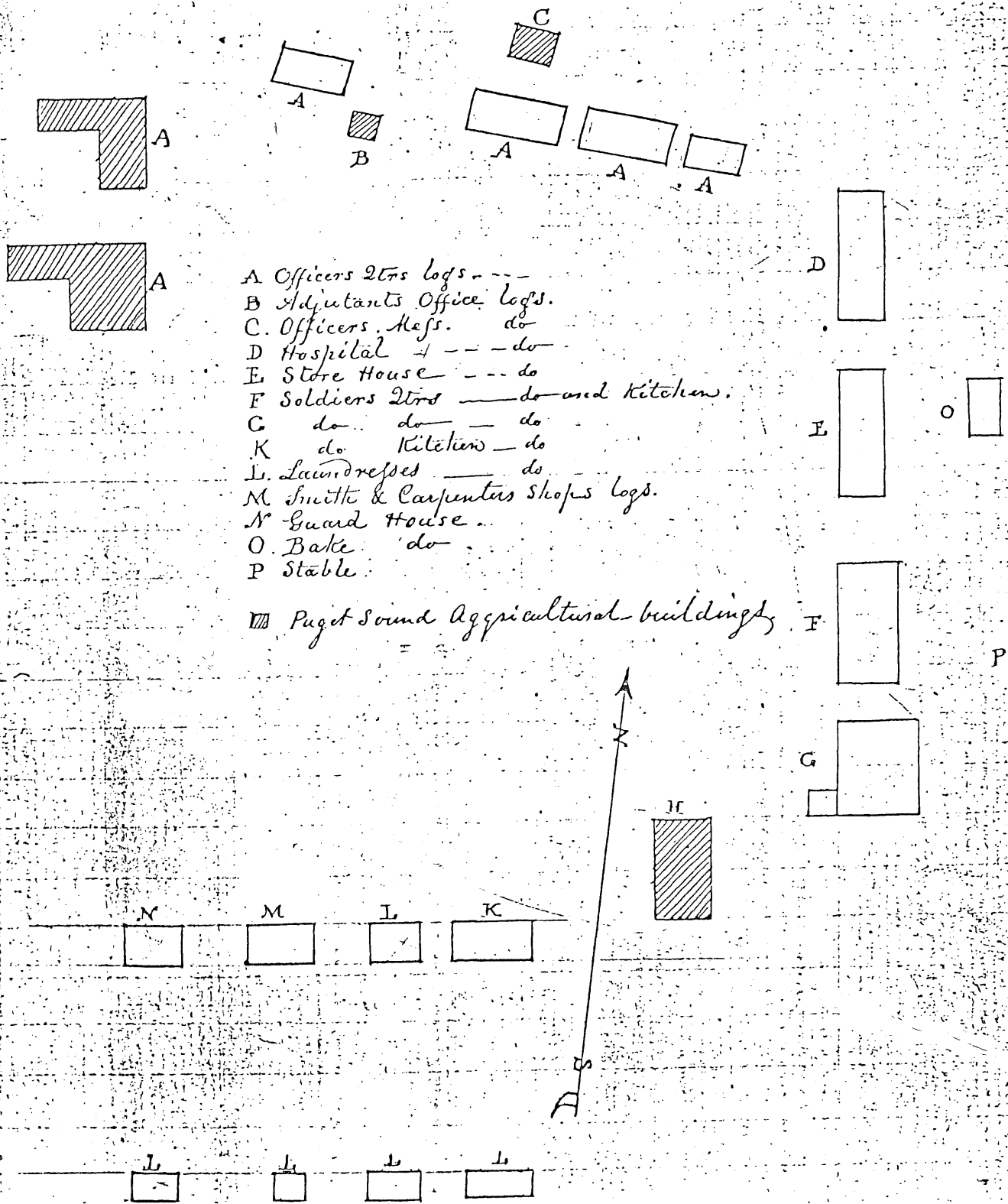
"The general was convinced, and remarked 'Yes, yes, you are right,' and was almost instantly hit. He turned and attempted to put his horse over the rails, but the animal had also been severely wounded, and could not go over. Thereupon the general dismounted, and a gust of wind blowing open his coat we saw that he was wounded in the body. Sergeant Joe Merritt, Storer Knight, and I took the general to the rear, assisted for a while by a negro cook from Hooker's corps. We put the general into an ambulance in the woods in front of which we had deployed...

JOHNSON, Robert Underwood. Battles and leaders of the Civil War, New York, The Century Company, 1884. Volume II, pp. 640-41.

K'

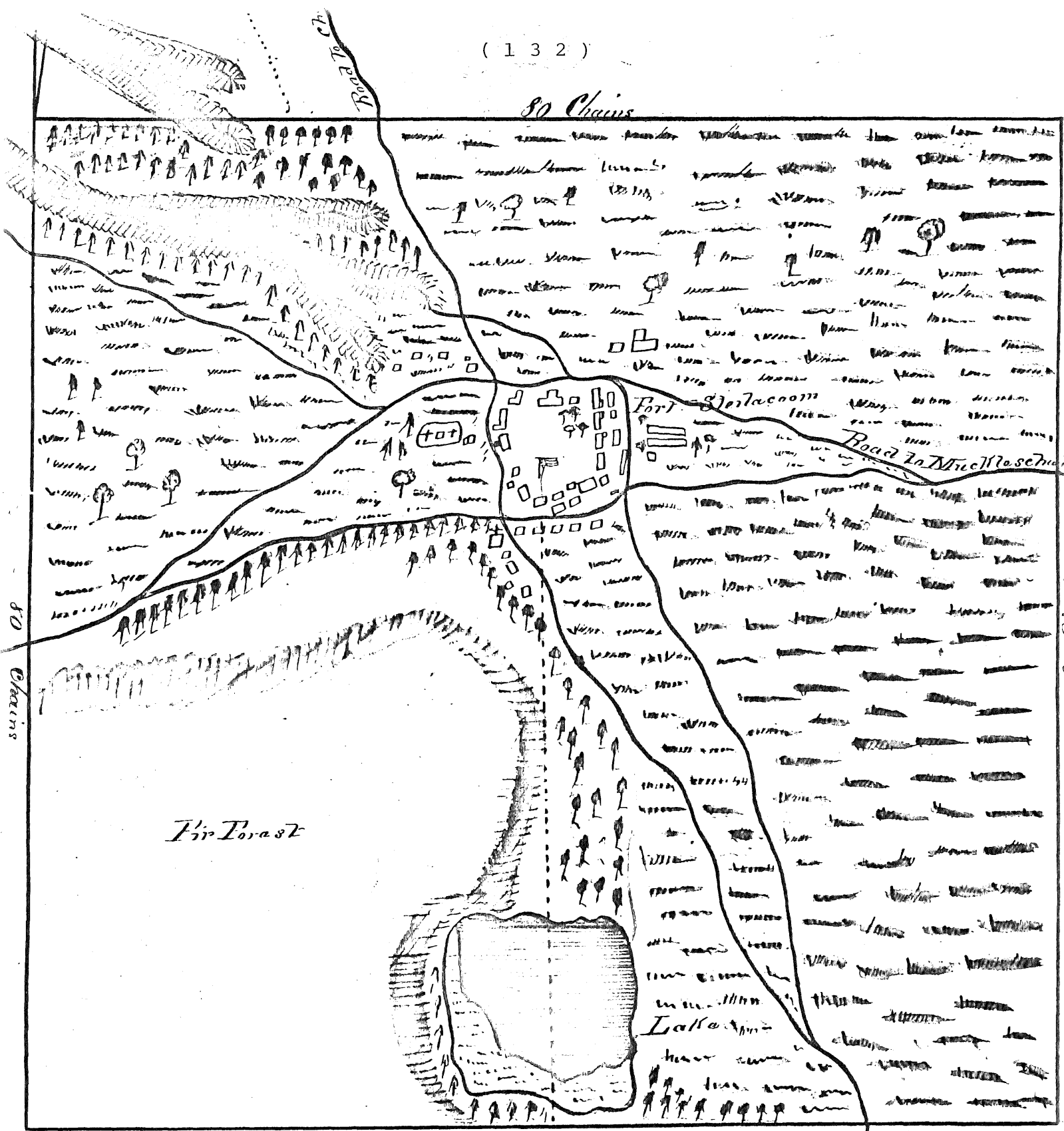
K.

Fort Steilacoom



- A Officers Qtrs logs ---
- B Adjutants Office logs.
- C Officers Mess. do
- D Hospital - - - do
- E Store House - - - do
- F Soldiers Qtrs - - - do and Kitchen.
- G do do - do
- K do Kitchen - do
- L Laundresses - do
- M Smith & Carpenter shops logs.
- N Guard House
- O Bake do
- P Stable

▨ Puget Sound Agricultural buildings



Forwarded with my Reports of the
 Inspection of Fort Hualacoom in Dec 1858.

Jos. W. F. Mansfield
 Col & Insp Genl 1st Regt I.

Dairs

MARKED "A" IN THE
 REPORT.

DIAGRAM

MARKED "C" IN THE REPORT.

Showing the arrangement of the buildings at Fort Steilacoon on the 1st of July 1857 previous to the erection of new buildings.

- Nos. 1 to 5 Officers Quarters.
- 6 to 9 Soldier's Barracks
- 10 to 11 Q.M. and Commissary Storehouse.
- 12 & 13 Company Kitchens
- 14 Blacksmith and Carpenters Shop.
- 15 & 16 Guard House.
- 18 Laundresses Quarters.
- 19 Ordnance Sergt. Quarters and Clothing Room.
- 20 Bakehouse.
- 21 Surgeon's Quarters and Hospital.
- 22 Stables and Hay Shed.
- 23 Laundress Quarters.
- 24 Old building occupied by hired men.

The buildings in Red ink were the only buildings of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company remaining. The buildings in blue are the only buildings retained. Those in black have all been or are to be torn down.

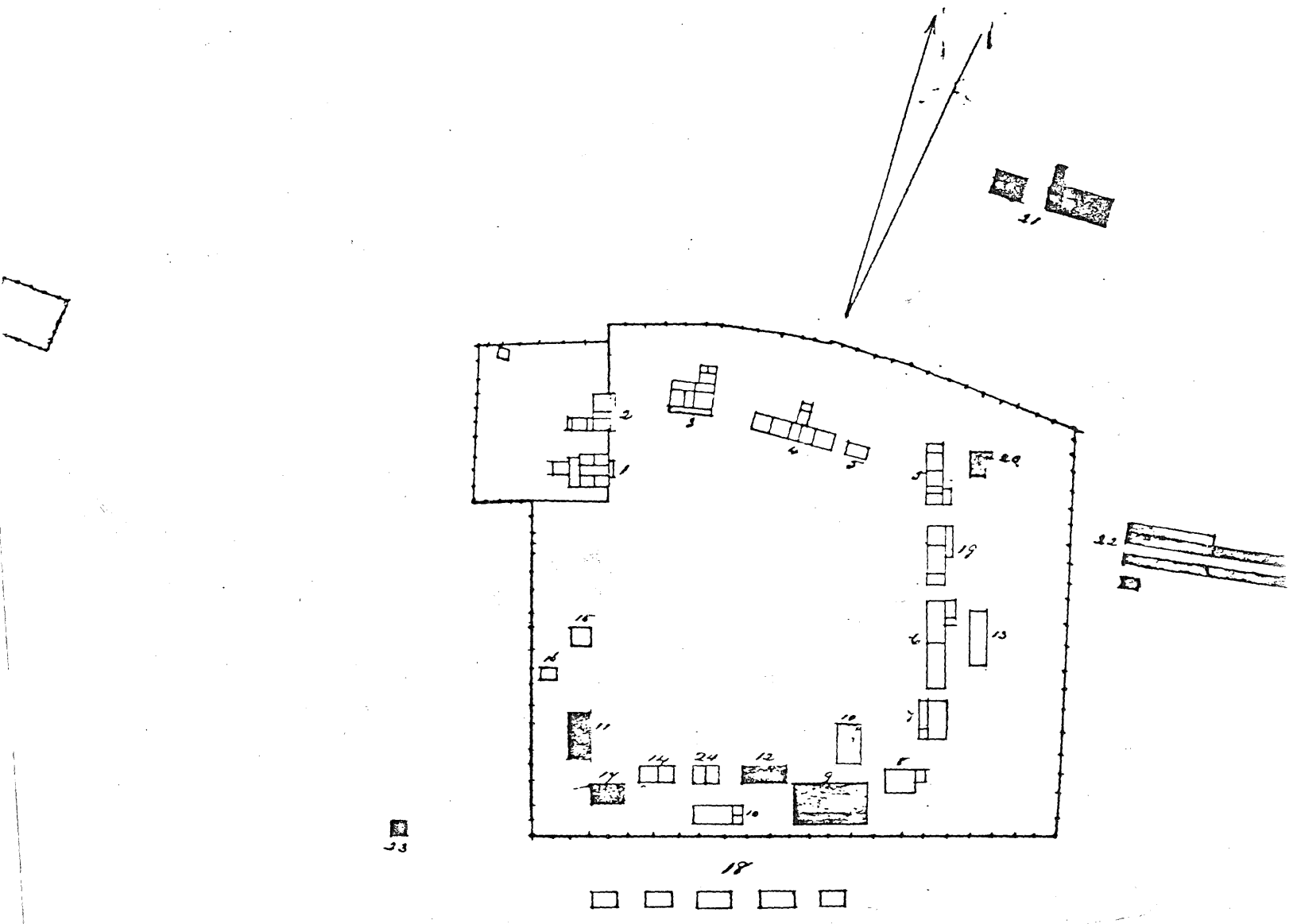
Fort Steilacoom, W.T.
December 18th, 1858.

August V. Kautz.
1st Lt. 4th Infantry.

Forwarded with my report of the inspection of Fort Steilacoom in December 1858. Joseph K.F. Mansfield, Col. and Inspector General. U.S.A.

(1 3 4)

FORT STEILACOOM BEFORE RECONSTRUCTION



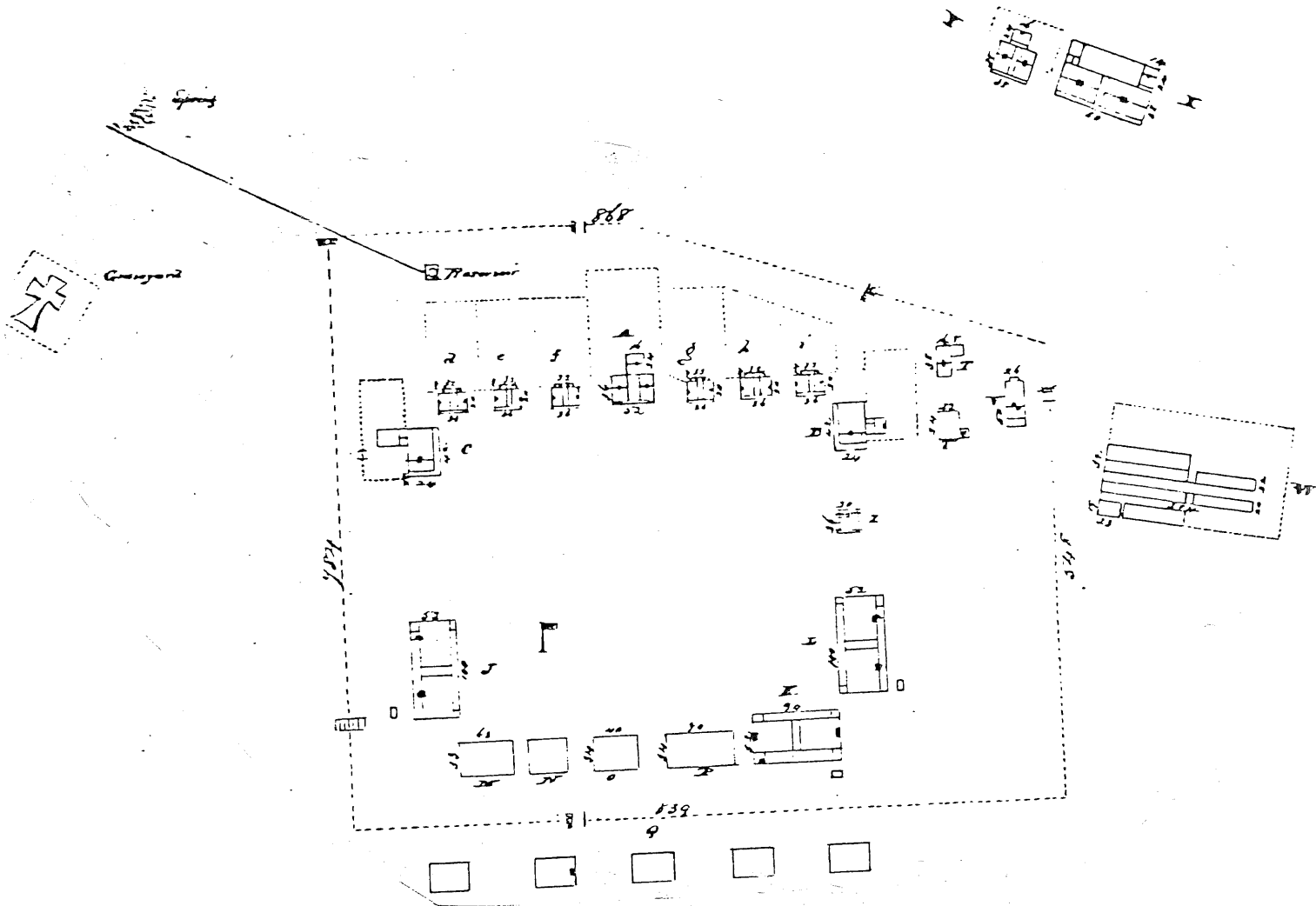
FORT STEILACOOM DIAGRAM B.

Scale 1/2 inch to 100 feet.

- A. Commanding Officer's Quarters.
- B. Chaplains Quarters and Chapel.
- C. Officers Mess Room, Q.M. and Commissary Officer.
 Captains and Subalterns Quarters.(a, e, f, g, h, i.).
- J. Barrack Company H, 9th Infantry.
- K. Barrack Company A, 4th Infantry.
- L. Barrack Company C, 4th Infantry.
- M. Commissary Store
- N. Guard House.
- O. Clothing Room.
- P. Store House, Q. Masters.
- Q. Laundresses Quarters.
- T. Ordnance Sergts. Quarters.
- U. Bakehouse.
- V. Carpenter's Shop.
- W. Stables, Hay shed and Granary.
- X. Hospital.
- Y. Surgeon's Quarters.
- Z. Magazine.

Fort Steilacoom 17 December 1858. Forwarded with my report of the inspection of this post. Joseph K.F.Mansfield, Col. and Inspector General.

FORT STEILACOOM AFTER KAUTZ RECONSTRUCTION.



Buildings e, A, h, and D remain today.