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THE YAKIMA

AT the time of the earliest explorations in the Pacific Northwest the watershed of the Yakima river in south-central Washington, from its mouth to the vicinity of Kittitas creek, was held by small bands of Shahaptian stock. They were very loosely bound together, and in their speech were, and are, many dialectic differences. Yet they fell into several geographical divisions, within which there was a certain degree of cohesiveness, the component bands occupying their respective territories to the exclusion of others, but regarding themselves as closely related. These westerly extensions of the Shahaptian stock probably represented as many successive migratory movements from a former home on the Columbia river.[1] Below the Salishan tribes that occupied the headwaters of Yakima river were the bands known to them as the Yakima, extending as far as Union Gap, just east of the mouth of Atanum creek. If they had a collective term for themselves, it is not now

[1] Dr. A.B. Lewis has attempted to show that this movement took place within the nineteenth century, basing his conclusion on the identification of the Chimnâhpum of Lewis and Clark, whom these explorers found on the Columbia at the mouth of Yakima river, with the bands now called Yakima; and on the author's statement that the same explorers found Salishan tribes along the northern bank of the Columbia and its tributaries. (*Memoirs, American Anthropological Association,* Vol. I, Part 2, page 195.) But the Chimnâhpum were not the so-called Yakima, for the Yakima bands at the present time name the Chamnápam as a former Columbia river village at the mouth of the Yakima, distinct from themselves. Furthermore, although Lewis and Clark reported Salishan bands on the right bank of the Columbia, they were only at a considerable distance above the highest point on the river reached by the explorers. "Cuts-sâh-nim Nation reside on both sides of the Columbia Above the Sokulks & on the Northerly branches of the Tapteel river and also on the Wah-na-a-chee river." (*Original Journals of Lewis and Clark,* Thwaites ed., New York, 1905, VI, 119.) The Sokulk were Shahaptians on the Columbia above Snake river; the Tapteel was the Yakima river; and the Cuts-sâh-nim, whom Mooney and Farrand wrongly suppose to have been the Yakima bands, were the Salishan tribes which within very recent years still occupied the same country, that is, the banks of the Columbia from Priest rapids to, and beyond, Wenatchee river. (See page 66.) The only Salish actually seen by Lewis and Clark on the northern bank of the Columbia were eleven scattered lodges of the Methow, a few miles above the mouth of John Day river.

known what it was. From Union Gap to the lower reaches of the river were the Thápnish, living principally on Toppenish creek; and about the mouth of Yakima river were the Chamnápam. The application of the term Yakima was early extended to include all the bands of the Yakima valley, and it will be so used here. Each band of these divisions controlled the valley, or some particular portion of the valley, of one of the small lateral streams. This locality was regarded as their home, but was occupied, as a rule, only in winter; for during the remainder of the year they were semi-nomadic. In the early spring they repaired to the fisheries in the larger river, and fishing, hunting, and root-digging continued until midsummer, when they moved into the mountains to gather berries. As autumn approached they returned to the valleys for the late fishing, which continued until cold weather forced them into winter quarters.

The construction of a winter house was begun by tying near their tops pairs of cottonwood poles, like shears, and erecting them in a row with their feet spread apart across the long axis of the house; then, while some of the workers held them in place, others bound a thatching of smaller willow poles transversely upon them. To a height of about three feet this thatch was covered with earth, then over the entire roof — sloping sides as well as perpendicular ends — excepting where the door was to be, were fastened two or three layers of rush matting. The pairs of rafter-poles were about twelve feet apart, and the feet of each pair fifteen feet, or more, apart, while the height of the house to the peak was twelve to fifteen feet. As many as ten pairs of poles were used. As a rule such a house accommodated as many families as it contained pairs of poles. The doorway was formed by two upright poles at one end of the house, and the opening was covered by a piece of matting. In gusty weather, when the long, mat-covered house was filled with smoke, the Yakima made use of another kind of structure, the frame of which consisted of a row of four crotched posts set equidistant in a row, at what was to be the front, and four similar ones at the back, in each case the two middle posts being about eight feet high and three feet apart, and the corner ones about six feet high. From front to back stout poles connected the forks of each pair of corresponding posts. The truncated roof was lashed with poles and thatched with brush, a portion of the horizontal surface being left uncovered as a smoke-vent, and the walls were formed by leaning poles

from the ground to the eaves. For winter use also was the small underground room covered with a flat roof, an opening in which served as door, window, and chimney. Here the women sat during the day, sewing, and weaving their baskets; and in very cold weather it was occupied at night by old men destitute of blankets. The summer house was a conical framework of poles covered with a single layer of matting. The bed consisted of dry grass spread on the ground and covered with a woven rush mat, on which were spread blankets made of strips of jack-rabbit skin, plain-woven.

Basketry was preeminent among the Yakima handicrafts. Their finest baskets were of coiled cedar roots stitched together with the outer shreds of the roots, and with imbricated ornamentation of bear-grass, which was left white, as in its natural state, or was dyed black by immersion in blue clay, or yellow by boiling in water with certain berries. Such baskets, flat on the bottom, flaring at the sides, and of a capacity of about two to four gallons, were used as water-vessels and for gathering berries. Larger baskets, as much as two feet in diameter, for gathering roots, were made of tule coils with stitching of shreds of willow-bark fibre. Strips of cedar bark, about a quarter of an inch wide, were used in making large, plain-woven storage baskets. Flat wallets, for the purpose of containing small personal effects, or in larger sizes, for packing on horses in much the same manner as saddle-bags, were woven out of fibre obtained from native hemp. Long, deep, cottonwood dishes were hollowed out by means of elk-horn chisels, and the bowls of cottonwood spoons were burned out. Knives and projectile points were of flint or of obsidian, but after the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company, traders' files were beaten out into cutting edges for use as knives. The stone pestle, pecked into cylindrical shape, and the oak mortar, hollowed out by means of elk-horn chisel and stone hammer, aided by burning, were employed in reducing roots to flour, or berries to pulp. Oak was the material for bows, which were not much more than two feet in length and without a backing of sinew. The war-club was a round stone wrapped in rawhide and provided with a wooden handle. Spears were employed only in fishing.

Salmon, and bread made of roots, were the principal foods. The fish were split, dried thoroughly, and wrapped, ten or twenty, according to size, in a piece of tule matting, and placed either in the house or in a dry place in the rocks. They were prepared for eating by roast-

ing or by boiling with roots. The Yakima enjoyed an unusual variety of vegetable foods. No fewer than twenty-three kinds of roots and eighteen of berries, to say nothing of stalks and nuts, were in common use as food. Among the roots, camas and carrots were the most used. A number of tuberous roots were made into bread by drying, pulverizing, moistening, and pressing into cakes about six inches wide, twelve to eighteen inches long, and an inch thick. These cakes, when dry, were strung on a thong to facilitate transportation. They were eaten dry, or boiled alone into a thin mush, or with salmon. Of fruits the huckleberry was the most important. Quantities were gathered on the slopes of the Cascades, particularly at Mount Adams and Mount Rainier. These two mountains, which they called respectively *Hwál-hwaipamitahóma*[2] (Klickitat Snow-peak) and *Pshwánoapami-tahóma* (Pshwánoapam Snow-peak), were the objective point of number-

[2] The word *tahóma* is of Salishan origin. In the Thompson River dialect *skom* is a mountain; in Wenatchee *tkómma* is a snow-peak; in Snohomish *Tukómba* is the name of Mount Baker; in Nisqualli *Tkóbed,* in Upper Chehalis *Tkómen,* and in Cowlitz *Nutsélip* are names for Mount Rainier. Mr. James Teit was informed by an Indian that *Tkóbed* means "waterer," the reference being to the fact that several rivers have their sources on the slopes of this mountain. Mr. Teit, who is conversant with the Thompson River dialect and has made comparative studies of the dialects of the inland Salish both in the United States and in British Columbia, cites the following words of the Thompson River tongue in support of this translation: *ko*, water *; kóom,* to water*; tukúmus,* whence it waters*; -bed* (*-men*), a common suffix denoting means, instrument, or place, as in *ⁿyúkumin*, garden (*yukum,* to plant); *kúmmin* (a hypothetical word), place, or instrument, for watering*; ta*, a definitive signifying "there" (or possibly *tu*, from)*; tkaímin,* a urinal. The same authority suggests three other possible etymologies for the element *kom*: 1. *KUM,* a root signifying "end": *kumkunátko,* source (end) of a stream; *kumkén,* treetop (literally "end-head")*; kumúp,* base of tree. 2. *KOM,* a root indicating a rounded protuberance: *skom,* mountain; *komán'k*, pregnant (literally " rounded belly"); *kóma,* tumor *; kóm-kin,* human head. 3. *KUM,* a root meaning "up": *ⁿkúkuma,* up country, upstream, north; *kúmmih*, move up, shift one's body higher; *ⁿkúma*, move up country; *Skokómish* (Twana dialect), Upstream People.

Whatever the correct etymology, it is clear that the word *tkómma,* in one form and another, was used by several Salish tribes as the specific name of Mount Rainier (Mount Tacoma), but by others was applied specifically to other peaks, and by some as a common noun to any snow-peak.

less little parties during midsummer. The berries were picked, dried, packed in bags, and brought back to the valley homes for winter consumption. Of the larger animals, deer, mountain-goats, elk, and bears filled the most important place. Taboo played no very prominent part, and was observed only in obedience to the command of one's guardian spirit. Thus no person ever ate of the flesh or substance of the animal or plant whose spirit he had seen in a vision; nor was there any way of avoiding or nullifying this prohibition. To eat of such food would cause vomiting. There are known several instances of men and women who, having had communion with the salmon-spirit, never thereafter ate of that particular species of salmon.

In many phases of their life the Yakima show that they have been strongly influenced by the culture of the plains area. This is nowhere more plainly to be seen than in their clothing, which in every respect is in the style typical of the plains. An informant born about 1820 affirmed that he had heard the old people say that formerly men wore, in the summer, only breech-cloth and moccasins; and the footwear was of a single piece of skin, gathered at the ankle and sewed from toe to instep, with a tongue inserted. At the present time the moccasin is made with a seam along one side from toe to heel, the tongue being formed by two parallel slashes in the same piece. Lewis and Clark[3] record that the Shahaptians on the Columbia at the mouth of Snake river, close kindred of the Yakima, differed but little from the Nez Percés in their dress, "except the women who dress very different, in as much as those above ware long leather shirts which highly ornamented with beeds shells &c. &c. and those on the main Columbia river only ware a truss or pece of leather tied around them at the hips and drawn tite between their legs and fastened before." It is evident that at the beginning of the nineteenth century these tribes were culturally in a state of transition, the men having adopted the higher type of dress of the plains tribes, although the women still clung to the primitive fashion. Formerly the hair of the men was cut square in front, and left hanging loosely at the sides and the back. The custom of wrapping the braided hair with strips of fur began within the memory of men now living, probably not earlier than the middle of the century. From the

[3] Original journals of Lewis and Clark, Thwaites ed., III, 125.

ears dangled elk-teeth, or dentalium shells obtained in trade, strung on deerskin thongs, and medicine-men sometimes wore necklaces of grizzly-bear claws. It is said that no nose ornaments were used, nor was tattooing practised. In ancient times the face was not painted in preparation for war. Red paint made by burning a certain clay, or by roasting a woody fungus growing on fir trees, was mixed with tallow and applied to the face to prevent sunburn and chapping. Symbolical painting of the body by medicine-men was rare.

In the early part of the last century marriage was accomplished in a manner common to many tribes of the plateau region between the Rocky mountains and the Cascades. The chief would announce a dance, which was understood to be for unmarried people only, though married persons came as spectators. A young woman coming out from the crowd and dancing thus signified willingness to be married; and any young man matrimonially inclined could follow, lay his hand on her shoulder, and, facing her, begin to dance. If she threw his hand off, he was rejected; if not, he was accepted, and everybody recognized them as man and wife. They lived together without further formality. Later was adopted the custom by which the father of the young man was required to go to the family of the girl with the promise of a certain number of horses, usually about six. This was learned, they say, from the Wishham, who traded slaves for wives. The love-song following resembles in style the love-songs of other Shahaptian as well as alien tribes of the northern region west of the Rocky mountains.

Separation was a simple matter, and even if a husband opposed his wife's desire to leave him, she nevertheless could not be compelled to remain; and there was no restoration of the price paid for her. A recreant wife was not punished, but the guilty man might be killed by the husband with impunity. Most men had two wives at once, and men of importance had more. These sometimes lived in one house, sometimes in separate domiciles; but there was considerable quarrelling when they dwelt together. In a great many cases, at least, one wife was from some neighboring tribe or band, for there was much intermarriage with the kindred bands of Shahaptians, as well as with the more easterly Chinookans, and the Salishan bands above Priest rapids.

There were no clans or gentes among the Yakima, and the only bar to marriage was known relationship. Restrictions upon communication with one's mother-in-law or father-in-law, and upon reasonable

intimacy between brother and sister did not exist.

Infants were called by temporary names given without formality. At the age of four or five years names were formally bestowed, when the people were invited to the house to a feast. There a man, chosen by the parents, made a speech conferring upon the child the name of some deceased ancestor or relative, and besought the beneficence of the spirits toward the infant. At about the age of two the ears were pierced by an old woman, whose special function, granted her in a vision, was to perform this act. This was done at a feast given in honor of the occasion, and the service was rewarded by the gift of a blanket, or an article of equal value.

Chieftainship was largely hereditary. The son of a chief, especially the eldest son, was much more likely to become a chief than a common man, and, indeed, unless he displayed a distinct lack of ability, he was bound to succeed to his father's place. But there was nothing except incapacity that prevented any man from attaining the position of chief.

When the Yakima were river people, canoe-burial was the method of disposing of the dead. A person of the same sex as the deceased was summoned to wash and clothe the body, which was done without reward. Then two persons, hired to prepare the burial place, took with them two canoes, one of which they placed in a rocky shelter, and the other broke into pieces. The body, securely wrapped in deerskin, was taken to this place, laid in the one canoe, and covered with the pieces of the other. Women in mourning cut the hair to about half-length, and entered the sweat-lodge on five successive days to cleanse themselves; while male relatives refrained for six or eight days from eating fresh salmon or fresh meat. The property of a deceased person was divided among the relatives, each taking whatever article he desired, the remainder passing to the widow, or widower, and the children. The surviving widow returned to her people, pending another marriage.

The religious practices of the Yakima bands were not numerous, nor highly developed. They were animists, and their efforts were directed toward the acquisition and use of the supernatural power of the spirits of animals or other living creatures, of springs, streams, rocks, and of the celestial bodies. To this end a young boy was sent at rather frequent intervals into the solitudes, at night, in the hope that on his way some spirit might speak to him. Usually there was imposed upon

him by his father or his uncle some duty, devised for the occasion, whose fulfilment would prove that he had visited the place appointed. A favorite artifice was to leave a fishing spear at the river, in a place remote from the camp, or an arrow or a pipe somewhere among the hills a mile or two distant. After dusk it would be discovered that the object was missing, and the child would be despatched to fetch it. If the excited imagination of the boy pictured any strange creature in the darkness, he did not, on his return, reveal the fact that a spirit had appeared to him; and since the father had no means of knowing, the boy was sent out again and again, until he had reached the age of puberty. Thus several spirits might be seen by one individual, and each gave its songs and instructions, and became a separate guardian spirit; but far more commonly the creature of the first vision reappeared, giving new songs. Many failed altogether to obtain the pity of the spirits. Girls who reached the age of puberty in summer were usually sent into the mountains, there to remain five days and five nights, fasting and looking for the help of supernatural beings. If the event occurred in winter, the girl was clad in a ragged dress and was secluded for ten days and ten nights in the underground house of the women, the first three days being a period of absolute fast. Some of the supernatural creatures conferred power to heal, or rather to expel, sickness; others power to fight, or to hunt, or to acquire property, or to become chief. The guardian spirit is called *tah,* and so is the supernatural power which it bestows; and one who has a guardian spirit *is táhinsh,* which is equivalent to saying that he possesses *tah.* The fact that a person was *táhinsh* was revealed in later life, either at the midwinter medicine-chant or on some occasion of great need, when he would sing the songs given by the *tah,* and perhaps recite the story of his vision. An informant of about ninety years received a vision at the age of ten, but did not reveal the fact until he was well past fifty, when, having been severely kicked by a horse, he sang his sacred songs and told what he had seen as a boy. Pressed to relate what he then experienced, he began to tremble violently, and changed the subject.

Certain diseases were recognized as disorders due to physical causes, and were treated with herb preparations administered by any person skilled in such knowledge. Medicine-men, that is, those who had supernatural power to dispel sickness, were called *tuwátti.* They used no natural remedies, and were summoned only when the illness

was one ascribed to supernatural agencies. In such cases it was usually supposed that the difficulty was caused by some medicine-man, who had put *tah* into the body of the sick person. Hence a medicine-man was summoned to remove it, which he endeavored to do by singing, sucking at the skin over the supposed seat of the evil, or by pretending to scoop it out with the hollowed hands. The song that follows is typical of the kind employed by Yakima shamans.

Either the patient or the man called to exorcise the evil might reveal the name of the *tuwátti* who had placed his *tah* in the sick man's body. This, of course, gave opportunity for a great deal of trickery on the part of the consulted shaman against his rivals. In the old times supposed incantation was punishable with death by assassination, after the sufferers had obtained the permission of the chief to have the conjurer killed. As late as 1890 Waílaksh was shot as he came out of the sweat-lodge for having "medicined" the son of Waínaku. A certain intelligent, middle-aged interpreter will not permit Owhi[4] a son of the former Salish chief of that name, to stop at his house because he believes firmly that the old man caused the serious illness of one of his children; and the medicine-man, knowing that he is regarded with suspicion, and probably flattered into believing that he has such power, makes no attempt to counteract the feeling against him. The same interpreter never attends the medicine-chants, which are still observed occasionally (one occurred in the winter of 1908-1909), for the reason that there is too much *tah* in evidence on such occasions, and some of it might lodge in the bodies of his children, or perhaps in his own body.

The Yakima had no great tribal ceremony, such as we see in the Sun Dance of the plains tribes. In fact the only indigenous ceremony, so far as can now be determined, was the medicine-chant. This was called *Wanpt,* which means simply a chant. It was held only in midwinter, and on the invitation of any medicine-man who first sent out a messenger with the announcement that on a certain night he would sing. All were invited, whether shamans or not. It was an occasion much enjoyed by the *táhinsh,* because it afforded an opportunity to sing their *tah* songs; failure to do which, when the chance was pre-

[4] Pronounced *Ôhai,* but spelled *Owhi* because of the physical impossibility of setting the character Ó in the text.

sented, would result in a wasting illness due to the confinement of *tah*. All the *táhinsh,* both men and women, sat side by side in the lodge, with the spectators grouped behind and around them. The master of ceremonies stepped into the centre and sang one or two of his songs, the others assisting; then he began to dance, and the others arose and danced, but without moving from their places. Thus with only an occasional pause for breath he made use of all his songs, and sat down. Then another took his place in the centre and sang his songs, and so it continued until daylight. One person might consume as much as an hour or two hours before he felt fully relieved of the supernatural power within, straining for liberation. The ceremony lasted, at the option of the master, from one night to five nights, and at the end of the last night he distributed presents among those who had sung. The following are examples of the songs used on such occasions:

The most striking psychologic characteristics of the Yakima are obstinacy, arrogance, and a certain moroseness sharply contrasting with the good humor of many native tribes. Pride of birth is still noticeable, and formerly a chief's son usually married the daughter of another chief, if not of a kindred band, then of some neighboring friendly tribe. Mentally the Yakima are sluggish, and physically of good, though not of great, height, strong of body and heavy-set, evincing a tendency to corpulency, with round, full, heavy-featured faces.

Within the memory of the oldest men, the Yakima have been at peace with all tribes, and, indeed, the only tradition of warfare is a doubtful one telling of ancient hostilities with their kindred, the Nez Percés, for the purpose of obtaining slaves. The bands of the lower and the middle reaches of the Yakima river were long the westernmost of those owning horses, and to them came parties from Puget sound with shells and deerskins, and from the Salish bands of the Wenatchee with blankets woven from the hair of the mountain-goat. Two such blankets and a stone pipe were exchanged for a horse, for these animals were not yet numerous. From the people of the upper Columbia river they obtained dried fish and deerskins, and occasionally slaves, the exchange value of a slave being five horses.

The Yakima bands first attracted attention in 1855. In the spring of that year agents of the Government went among the tribes of the upper Columbia, inviting them to a council in the Walla Walla valley. Accordingly in May two commissioners, Isaac I. Stevens, first governor

of Washington Territory, and General Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, were met in council by about five thousand Indians, representatives of the Yakima, Klickitat, Palus, the Salishan bands of the Columbia river below Lake Chelan and of the headwaters of Yakima river, and the Shahaptian and Chinookan villagers of the Columbia from the mouth of the Yakima to Wind river, a hundred and fifty miles below; as well as of the Nez Percés, and the Wallawalla, Umatilla, and Cayuse, who, however, were negotiated with under separate treaties.

Of the first group the most influential men were Kamaíakin and Owhi. The former was a Palus, who, with his two brothers, Shôôwai, or Ais, and Shklu, had come to live among the Yakima. He married a woman of the Átanum band; Shôôwai took a Thápnish woman, and Shklu had several wives from different bands. The three brothers became very wealthy in horses and cattle, and, as a survivor of that period expresses the situation, "after a while it seemed as though they owned this country, and the people here were their servants." Owhi was chief of the Kítitash, whom the Yakima called Pshwánoapam, and the most important man among the group of Salish at the head of Yakima river. His elder brother, Tiaíash, was also influential. Of them all Kamaíakin had the greatest following, and for the purposes of the treaty Governor Stevens recognized him as the head-chief of the miscellaneous aggregation of polyglot bands which he called the "Yakima nation." These bands collectively occupied and claimed — and the treaty recognized the claim as valid — about one-fourth of the area of the state of Washington, a tract of land bounded on the west by the summit of the Cascades, on the south by the Columbia and the Snake, on the east and north by, approximately, the one hundred and eighteenth meridian from Snake river to the forty-seventh parallel, thence to the one hundred and nineteenth meridian, thence to the forty-eighth parallel, thence west to the Columbia, and along the northeastern boundary of Chelan county to the Cascade mountains. Included were the whole of the counties of Chelan, Kittitas, Yakima, Klickitat, Benton, and Franklin, nearly all of Douglas, half of Adams, and a portion of Skamania — in all about eighteen thousand square miles. Of this they were asked to relinquish all except a tract of less than a thousand square miles on Yakima river, upon which they were to concentrate themselves, abandoning the homes of their fathers. In return they were to receive

two hundred thousand dollars to be expended for their benefit over a period of twenty years, and in addition an agency and two schools were to be maintained by the Government for the same length of time. Two hundred thousand dollars meant about thirty dollars for each person concerned, and about two cents for each acre relinquished: this, with the privilege of being managed by an agent and having their children taught something they did not wish them to know, was the sole recompense offered. Naturally the proposal did not appeal to them, and opposition developed at the outset. The Wallawalla, Cayuse, and Umatilla were most outspoken in denouncing the treaty in council. Owhi was opposed, and voiced his hostility in discussion, but Kamaíakin pondered, sulked, and refused to speak. After nearly two weeks of talking, the assent of the Wallawalla, Cayuse, and Umatilla was won by abandoning the plan to place them on the Nez Percé reservation and creating a separate one for them at the head of Umatilla river in Oregon, and at the same time Kamaíakin and the other Yakima chiefs yielded and affixed their marks.

The trouble with these treaties, as well as with others negotiated by Governor Stevens, was that they arbitrarily imposed upon the Indians the demand that they should give up their homes, to which they were attached not only by the associated memories of generations past, but by a deep-seated religious conception that their native soil was their sacred mother; and that they should concentrate themselves, irrespective of their wishes, within an area too small for their subsistence, except by agriculture. And tearing up the soil was abhorrent to them, not only because it was a direct reversal of their habits, but because it was contrary to their earth-mother religion. But the primitive mind under the persistent pressure of a strong personality is as clay in the potter's hands. Stevens was a man of great force, of intense energy, of inexhaustible persistence, and withal of a remarkable degree of headstrong adherence to a course once decided upon. Day after day he called the chiefs together, repeated in detail the terms of the proposed treaties, and asked them to "show their hearts." He gave them no rest, and at length, wearying of their futile attempts to make the uncomprehending white man see why they felt it impossible to sell their land, they signed, some in good faith, but most in a spirit of sudden, reckless desire to have the business over, at any cost, and get rid of this persistent, annoying commissioner. There was, say the Indians, no pre-

meditated plan as to what the future course should be. It was only felt that for the present the easiest way was to acquiesce. They were convinced that the commissioners were not "speaking straight," that they were bent on obtaining possession of the country by some subterfuge. They felt certain that the Government would not keep its promises, that there was not even any intention of redeeming them. Had not Piópio-maksmaks of the Wallawalla seen the way treaties were kept in California? Had not the Klickitat observed the unenviable condition of the tribes in the Willamette valley, which, having given up their lands, had waited years for a sign that the Government intended to fulfil its promises? Had not the Klickitat themselves been summarily expelled from territory won in that valley by the might of their warriors? It seemed evident to many of the Indians that these white men intended to have their land, and to have it without recompense to its owners. And so, it may be imagined, while they signed there were, in the minds of some, thoughts of the proven faithlessness of the white men, and the determination to meet it with equal deceit.

Their state of mind, as well as the subsequent change that came when they began to think of what they had agreed to sacrifice, is vividly portrayed by statements of the Indians. Luqaíôt, a son of Owhi, and at the time of the treaty-machine, a young man of about twenty years gives the following running account of the council from the Indians' point of view:

"We heard that a great white man from Washington had come to the Cayuse country and was waiting for us. We were told there were many soldiers with him. The chiefs sent their young men about notifying the people and ordering them to come together and go to see this great man from Washington. The people from Lapwai, the people from the Yakima country, and the people from Nespilim all assembled. There were many thousands at the council, and others kept coming in for many days. Then Captain Stevens sent six wagon-loads of provisions to us, and announced that we would have a council the next day. When the time came, we all went to the council-place in a cottonwood grove. There I saw Captain Stevens sitting under a shade. He was not large. I remember what he said. The first word he said was: 'I was sent from Washington to talk to you people, and I am very glad to see that you have all come.' There were so many people that I was not very close. He picked up a small book, opened it, and said:

'Now, I am going to speak to you people. God is looking at me now, and I am going to speak to you. I am sent from Washington to talk to you, and this is what the Government told me to say to you.' Then he made a bow and said: 'God knows me. Right now I am going to have a council with these people. You people must select a certain place for a reservation and you must be farmers. That is what I came to tell you. You must choose places in which to live, put fences around them, plow, and reap crops.' This is just what he said. Piópio-maksmaks, of the Wallawalla, then spoke,[5] saying that they would-have to go back to their camps and think what it meant. Captain Stevens said, 'Good!' The chiefs then went back, and we young men went about among the soldiers, having a good time. The Captain made the soldiers march about to show us what they could do, and after that they had give a us war-dance while they watched. So we were very good friends.

"Kamaíakin called the other chiefs of the Yakima bands into his lodge late that night, and said, 'We must decide what we are going to

[5] The explanation of the treaties had consumed nearly four days, since it was necessary to interpret into several languages. The speech of Piópio-maksmaks occurred at the close of the fourth day's session, and, according to the report of the commission, was in part as fol lows: "It appears that Craig [agent for the Nez Percés, many of whom were friendly] knows the heart of his people; that the whole has been prearranged in the hearts of the Indians [the friendly Nez Percés]; that he wants an answer immediately, without giving them time to think.... I know the value of your speech from having experienced the same in California [he had been to California at the head of a war-party of two hundred to avenge the death of a son by the hand of certain emigrants], having seen treaties there. We have not seen in a true light the object of your speeches, as if there was a post set between us, as if my heart wept for what you have said.... If you would speak straight, then I would think that you spoke well.... From what you have said, I think that you intend to win our country, or how is it to be? In one day the Americans become as numerous as the grass.... I know it is not right; you have spoken in a roundabout way. Speak straight. I have ears to hear you, and here is my heart. Suppose you show me goods, shall I run up and take them?... Goods and the earth are not equal. Goods are for using on the earth. I do not know where they have given lands for goods. We require time to think quietly, slowly. You have spoken in a manner partly tending to evil. Speak plain to us.... I do not wish a reply to-day. Think over what I have said." — Stevens, *Life of Isaac I. Stevens,* Boston, 1900, II, 45-46.

do to-morrow.' I did not go with the young men who crowded around the council-lodge that night; I was having a good time. Late at night, however, I got back, and when I came in I heard my father say: 'I do not know why he wants us to build fences around a little piece of land, when we have a great country, and go as far as the land of the Blackfeet and the Crows. It will do no good. No agreement was reached that night. At the next meeting a Nez Percé chief, Kálpsintsilé, arose, and Captain Stevens came and stood close to him. He had five soldiers guarding him with guns all the time. The chief walked out from the Indians, and toward the Captain. He also had five men with him, and they carried their guns. Captain Stevens said: 'Go ahead and talk. I am taking pity on you Indians, that is why I came and tell you to do this.' The chief said: 'This is what we do not understand. You said we must take little farms and stay on them until we die. We do not understand what you mean by that. Some of us think that may be good, but we do not understand it. We do not know much; we do-not know what to do or what to say. Maybe we will take little farms, and have gardens, and raise some potatoes. That is all I can understand about taking farms, just to raise potatoes. That is all I have to say.' Then the Captain called another chief, and the others told Piópio-maksmaks to speak next. He said he had nothing to say, and they told Five Crows, the Cayuse, to speak. He said: 'I will take your words. I know what you want. You want the whole country, and that is why you tell us to take little farms. Perhaps we will do that, and let you have all this country.' Then Owhi spoke: 'What you say is good, but I do not see how we are going to farm. How are we going to plow? We have nothing to plow with, and I do not see how we are going to do it. You must go back and get us things to work with. If you do that, perhaps we can farm.' Captain Stevens said, I will do that.' And Owhi replied: "Good! That is all I have to say.' Then Kamaíakin got up. 'I have heard what you chiefs have said, and I am pleased,' he said [sarcastically]. 'Captain Stevens, this is what I understand you to mean: if we agree to your words, you are going to bring white people. That is why I will not agree with the words of these chiefs. That is what I want to find out, if you are going to do that. That is all I have to say.' Piópio-maksmaks had not yet spoken, but now the others urged him, and he said: 'Captain Stevens, I do not see anything with which you are going to pay me for this land. Why should I take a little farm? I will never do it, and let this land go, unless

you pay for it. That is all I have to say. I will never let my country go! Qultnínak, from the Winátsha country, said, 'I agree to your words; I would be glad to take farms.' Captain Stevens was very glad to hear that. I was away back among the young men, big strong men, and I heard them saying: 'Let us kill the soldiers! What is the use of taking farms?' There were the chiefs talking, and here were the young men ready to fight, just on account of land. Many of the Indians were angry and wanted to kill the soldiers.[6]

"After the council had broken up for that day, a Cayuse chief, named Taahatútish, who had been educated in a school, came in from a long hunt and joined the camp for the first time. He called all the head-chiefs together, and said: 'I have heard that some of you are agreeing to the words of this man. I do not see why you should do so. If you do this, there will be thousands and thousands of white men here.' As he talked, he took up a handful of sand, and said: 'You will never count this, but the white people will be like this. You know I can read and know what the white people know. If you agree to the Captain's words, the white people will come like great waves of water, and sweep us out of our country. To tell you this I have come here and called you together.' They all believed him, and this made the young men all the more eager to fight, but the chiefs held them back.

"We camped there two weeks, and nearly every day there were speeches. The people grew very angry because they did not want to give up their country, but Captain Stevens always made the same kind of speech, that he was taking pity on us by coming and trying to do good for us. Some of the chiefs said: 'Now we understand you! But we do not see how the white people own this land. We were reared here, and live here, and how are you going to take it?' All made the same kind of speech."

Garry, an educated chief of the Spokan, some months later said to Governor Stevens: "When you first commenced to speak you said the Walla Wallas, Cuyuses, and Umatillas were to move on to the Nez Percé reservation, and the Spokanes were to move there also. Then I

[6] As a matter of fact, the Cayuse had actually formed a plot to overpower and kill the commissioners and their small escort, but they were foiled by the friendly Upper Nez Percés, led principally by Lawyer.

thought you spoke bad. Then I thought, when you said that, that you would strike the Indians to the heart.... If you had asked the chiefs to mark out a piece of land — a pretty large piece — to give you, it would not have struck the Indians so to the heart." On the same occasion another chief of that tribe spoke thus: "Why is the country in difficulty again? That comes on account of the smallpox brought into the country, and is all the time on the Indians' heart. They would keep thinking the whites brought sickness into the country to kill them. That is what has hurt the hearts of the Yakimas. That is what we think has brought about this difficulty between the Indians and the whites. I think, Governor, you have talked a little too hard. It is as if you had thrown away all the Indians. I heard you said at the Walla Walla council that we were children[7], and that our women and children and cattle should be for you, and then we thought we would never raise camp and move where you wished us to. We had in our hearts that if you tried to move us off we would die on our land."

Big Star, another Spokan, took up the same strain: "The reason that I am talking now is that all the Indians did not like what you said at the Walla Walla council. They put all the blame on you for the trouble since. The Indians say you are the cause of the war. My heart is very small towards you."

Another began: "When I heard, Governor, what you had said at the Walla Walla ground, I thought you had done well. But one thing you said was not right. You alone arranged the Indians' land. The Indians did not speak. Then you struck the Indians to the heart. You thought they were only Indians. That is why you did it.... That is the reason, Governor; it is all your fault the Indians are at war. It is your fault because you have said that the Cuyuses and Walla Wallas will be moved to the Yakima land. They who owned the land did not speak, and yet you divided the land."

Then Garry continued: "The Indians are not satisfied with the land you gave them.... now they find their reservations too small. If

[7] Stevens was fond of addressing the Indians in council as "my children." They did not relish the implied authority, and more than once pointedly took him to task on that score. Thus at the time above referred to a Cœur d'Alêne chief reminded him: "We have not yet made friends. All the Indians are not yet your children."

all those Indians had marked out their own reservations, the trouble would not have happened. If you could get their reservations made a little larger, they would be pleased. If I had the business to do, I could fix it by giving them a little more land."[8]

These speeches accurately reflect the feeling of the Yakima and others after the signing of the treaty. No sooner had the various bands returned to their homes than trouble began, and in this wise. As quickly as possible after the signing of the treaties Stevens and Palmer caused to be published at Steilacoom, Washington, in the *Puget Sound Courier* of July 12, 1855, official notice that the lands for which they had negotiated were open to settlement. As usual, the treaties were regarded as binding the Indians from the moment they signed them, although ratification was delayed four years. Gold had just been discovered in the Colville district in northeastern Washington, and miners began to flock in, particularly from the coast, crossing the Cascades by Snoqualmie pass and Nachess pass, or travelling up the Columbia to The Dalles, and thence across the hills between the Columbia and the Yakima. In either case they went perforce through the heart of the Yakima country. The first acts of hostility were the killing of a miner named Mattice, and of two others, Eaton and Fanjoy. Both events occurred about the same time. A son of Owhi thus describes the circumstances leading up to the outbreak:

"At the end of the council with Captain Stevens, Owhi went to him and shook his hand, saying, 'I will do as you say, and I am going home now.' He told his people to drive in their horses and make the start at once, though it was afternoon. The other Indians were angry with him and accused him of being a coward; but he told them he knew he would die some day, and he was not afraid of anything. Some said he was right. So we all came back to our home at Kítitash. My brother Qáhlchun was away hunting, but a few days after our return he came in. Qáhlchun was a very strong man, a good fighter. He had the power of the *stáaha,* the invisible persons living in the mountains, who because of their invisibility can steal without detection. They are heard whistling or speaking when no one can be seen. Because of this power he was able to steal many horses, especially from the soldiers.

[8] Stevens, op. cit., II, 137—140.

"Kamaíakin sent word asking Qáhlchun to come to his camp at Múlmul [a spring, close to the present Fort Simcoe]. So my brother went, and with him four other young men. My father told him to go if he wished. There Kamaíakin said to him: 'Perhaps you are tired from your ride. Tomorrow I will tell you why I sent for you.' In the morning, after they had eaten, Kamaíakin opened a box and took out a pair of pistols, which he gave to Qáhlchun, saying, 'Take these two guns and kill white men with them.' My brother said, 'Maybe I cannot do it.' For he did not want to do it. 'My father would not wish me to do such a thing, he went on, 'and I cannot. If my father had told me to do it, I would. You have sons; why do you not get some of them to kill white people?' 'I have picked you out because you are a good man, and a fighter.' said Kamaíakin. 'Now I give you these guns; go back, and if you meet a white man, kill him!' Qáhlchun said no more, but took the guns. Then he handed them back to Kamaíakin, telling him to keep them himself. 'No, I give you these two guns,' insisted the chief. 'Keep them!' At length Qáhlchun took them.

"The next morning they started homeward. On the way they met two white men, who, when they saw the Indians coming, got off their horses and stood beside them. Qáhlchun and his men rode up, shot one as he stood there and the other as he ran. Both were killed. They had two saddle-horses and one pack-horse.

"That day my father had been to Winátsha, and when he returned my brother was already home. I noticed that my father was sad. He did not speak to me. I did not know my brother had killed two white men. It was not until late at night that my father talked to Qáhlchun, and I heard him say: 'Why did you take Kamaíakin's words? In a few months we will all be killed.'

"After this Kamaíakin spent all his time exciting the young men to kill the white people, and a few weeks later I heard that he was saying we would have a war with the soldiers. When my father, Owhi, heard that, he went to have a talk with Kamaíakin. He said: 'I love my son much. You gave him a pistol to kill white men, which he did, and I am feeling sad about it. My son has killed two white men already. It is just as if he had taken a gun and killed himself. That is where you break my heart. I know why you are angry with me, because I took the Captain's word; and that is why you got my son to kill the white men.'"

Other attacks on unsuspecting prospectors followed, and as soon

as the news reached The Dalles, A.J. Bolon, agent for the Yakima, set out alone to obtain an interview with Kamaíakin and to win him over. The latter kept out of his way, and after a talk with Kamaíakin's brother Shklu, in which, the Indians say, he indiscreetly threatened to have soldiers sent into the valley, Bolon started back. What followed is thus described by one of the survivors of that period:

"Michelle, son of Kamaíakin's brother Shôôwai, said, 'This is one of those law-making men who hanged my uncles.' He was referring to the hanging of the Cayuse chiefs concerned in the killing of Doctor Whitman at Waiílatpu, two of whom, Tílôkaikt and Tamáhus, were relations of Michelle. He persuaded Súkaiikt, Wapaiwapaihlá, Shtáhun, and perhaps one other, to help him, and then followed the agent. They overtook him as he travelled up the high divide on his way to The Dalles. There was snow on the ground, and Michelle said, 'We are very cold now; let us build a fire.' But the agent did not agree. Perhaps he was a little afraid to get off his horse. Michelle rode ahead of him and started a fire. When the others came up, they all got off their horses, and the agent warmed himself. Michelle said to the others: 'Let us hurry and kill him. This is going to be the end of his life.' Súkaiikt was a hard [strong] man. He said, 'I will take hold of him.' As the agent stood warming himself, Súkaiikt came behind him, grasped his legs, lifted him into the air, and threw him down. The others leaped upon him and killed him. This was planned by Michelle; his father knew nothing about it, nor did Kamaíakin. They went to The Dalles, but nobody knew of their deed."

Bolon's murder occurred on September twenty-third, and it was followed by what has been dignified with the name of the Yakima war. The news was received at The Dalles at about the same time the killing of the miners became known at the territorial capital, and almost simultaneously forty men under Lieutenant W.A. Slaughter were sent from Fort Steilacoom to cross the mountains through Nachess pass, and Captain

G.O. Haller, with a hundred and seven men and a howitzer, left the valley. Three days later, on October third, as Haller's command was descending the divide at the head of Toppenish creek, close to the present Fort Simcoe, a large body of Indians confronted it, and the troops after a charge took up a position on a ridge, and held it until night, when they advanced to a higher one. This they held during the

following day, but as the position was without water, a retreat was begun in the night. The Indians hung on their flanks a large part of the next day, and inflicted a total loss of five killed and seventeen wounded. The howitzer was abandoned. Slaughter's detachment retreated when the news of Haller's defeat was received, soon after crossing the summit. The Indian account of the engagement is similar.

"Two priests got a writing from The Dalles. They looked at it, and told us it said that the Indians were going to have a war. The letter told them they must go away from that country at once, and they said they would have to leave us in a week. 'You are going to have a fight with the soldiers,' they said. 'If you are good fighters you can beat the soldiers, and if not, you are going to get a beaten.' They said the soldiers were coming as far as The Dalles in steamboats, thousands of them. The next week the priests went away. Scouts were sent to the hills above Goldendale overlooking the Columbia at The Dalles, and about a week later they brought the report that soldiers were coming over the hills. All who wished to fight assembled near Símkoe. Kamaíakin and Owhi were the chiefs, and two of the principal fighters were Shôôwai and Shklu. We met the soldiers as they came down the hill, and prevented them from getting to water. The fighting lasted all day, and after sunset they formed in line and advanced under fire toward water. The mules stampeded to the creek, and half of them crossed and were captured. The soldiers stopped on a hill. At the end of the next day's fighting they stole away at night, leaving a braying, mule to deceive us. But some of us overtook them in a meadow, and fought again. Nobody was killed there. In all we lost only two men.[9]

"Kamaíakin was laughing, and thought he was great. He said: 'You see, if we had not fought, they would have kept coming, but we have driven them away.' Owhi replied: 'I guess there will be more coming, for there are many of them. You do not need to talk that way to me now. I am going to fight, and be killed by the soldiers.' We went back home."

[9] Another survivor, who has since that period lived among the Spokan, and is believed by this informant to have been carried away by the white men after the war, makes the same statement. The troops believed that the Indians' loss exceeded theirs.

Major G.J. Rains, commanding officer at Vancouver, Washington, headquarters of the district, left The Dalles on October 30, 1855, with a force of three hundred and fifty regulars, and, including a reinforcement that joined him a few days later, five hundred and fifty-three volunteers. When they reached the Yakima river, about six hundred Indians appeared on the opposite bank. Lieutenant Philip H. Sheridan, with twenty dragoons, and Colonel Nesmith, with two companies of mounted volunteers, crossed and attempted to engage them, but the Indians made only a noisy show of resistance in order to cover the retreat of their women and children. The march was continued up the left bank of the Yakima, and at Union Gap Indians were again encountered. Everybody was eager to fight, except Rains and the Indians; indeed, at one time the soldiers, without orders, rushed in a disorderly mob up a hill occupied by the shouting, gesticulating Indians, who promptly ran down the other side. The affair irresistibly reminds one of a snowball battle of jeering schoolboys. In the morning Rains proceeded up Atanum creek to the abandoned Catholic mission, which the Indians had plundered, and which some unreasoning soldiers destroyed by fire because they leaped to the conclusion that some powder which they found buried in the garden had been placed there by the priests for the Indians. After striking this effective blow at the enemy, Rains retreated to The Dalles.

In the meantime, about October fourteenth, Piópio-maksmaks of the Wallawalla had plundered Fort Walla Walla, which the Hudson's Bay Company trader had temporarily abandoned a day or two before, and, aided by the Cayuse and some of the Palus, Umatilla, and Deschutes, he began to drive settlers out of the valley. About five hundred Oregon volunteers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly, proceeded into their country, and on December second began four days of fighting, which resulted in considerable loss to the Indians. Piópio-maksmaks and several others, including White Bird,[10] a Nez Percé, had before the beginning of the engagement come in under a flag of truce

[10] Nez Percé informants say that this could not have been the White Bird who played an important part in the war of 1877, since even at this date he was comparatively young. It is not impossible, however, that the two were one.

and had been detained. Kelly reported that the chief and his companions were given their choice either to return to their own camp and have it attacked, or to remain as hostages. Surviving members of the expedition said that Kelly and his party were accompanying them to the Indian camp, having been promised food, shelter, and fresh horses; that as they were about to enter a narrow defile the chief spoke to one of his companions in a language not hitherto used; that Kelly therefore suspected an ambuscade and ordered the Indians seized.[11] In one way or the other they were held as prisoners, and in the midst of the subsequent fighting some of the volunteers shot down all of them except the Nez Percés. It has been variously said in excuse of this act that the hostages were trying to escape, that they resisted an effort to bind them, that they were shouting encouragement to their friends, that the white men were worn out by hardship and excited by the death of one of their officers. The impossibility of obtaining harmonizing accounts of the affair indicates the presence of something to be concealed. Probably the only shred of excuse for those guilty of the outrage was the excitement of the moment. The reputation of the Oregon volunteers was not enhanced by the act of that one who carried back to the settlements the scalp and ears of Piópio-maksmaks.

On the coast, too, there had been an unexpected outbreak, and families of settlers had been murdered in their cabins. There was much intercourse between the coast tribes and those of the interior, and no doubt the former were incited by the messengers of Kamaía-kin, as were the Spokan, Cœur d'Alênes, Palus, and the Columbia Valley tribes south of Snake river. In midwinter a large party, principally Yakima, crossed the Cascades, joined forces with some of the coast Indians, and on January 26, 1856, attacked Seattle, then a hamlet of a few cabins, a sawmill, and a block-house. Aided by a hundred and twenty men from the sloop of war *Decatur,* which happened to be lying in the harbor, and by her guns, the fifty-five defenders prevented the Indians from advancing beyond the edge of the surrounding forest, and at night the siege was raised.

Throughout the winter and spring operations were conducted against the hostiles west of the Cascades, but no move was made in

[11] Snowden, *History of Washington,* New York, 1909, III, 363—364.

the east, except the departure of Colonel George Wright from Vancouver to The Dalles, where he began to prepare for a campaign. He left only nine men to garrison the fort at the Cascades, a very important post because all supplies for the interior were necessarily portaged round the rapids. On March twenty-sixth the settlers at the Upper Cascades and the settlers and garrison at the Middle Cascades were simultaneously attacked by war-parties, the nucleus of which was a force of thirty Yakima. These, sent out by Kamaíakin to the Klickitat at Camas prairie, an upland meadow south of Mount Adams, had then been joined by twenty of that tribe, and the combined force moved to the Columbia and enlisted the help of the Chinookan bands living in the vicinity of the Cascades. They succeeded in killing seventeen, but the others defended themselves successfully, and on the second day following they were relieved by Lieutenant Sheridan from Vancouver and Colonel Wright from The Dalles. The Yakima and Klickitat, of course, had made their escape, but thirteen of the Cascade Indians were tried and nine of them were hanged.

The aged daughter of Támahl, the Cascade chief, thus outlines the events that culminated in his execution:

"Taímatas, a Klickitat chief, married Hwaíak, a sister of my father Támahl; but he mistreated her, and she ran away and married a Cascade man. Just after she had borne a child, old Taímatas, her former husband, came down to the river village, beat her, and dragged her about, and both she and the baby caught cold and died. Támahl swore vengeance, and went to the Klickitat camp. Taímatas commanded his son to conceal himself, but the chief himself did not flee, because he was a great medicine-man and thought nothing could harm him. However, Támahl killed him, and this caused a feud that brought about the death of the Cascade chief.

"After the outbreak in the Yakima country, emissaries from the Klickitat camp came to the Cascades and arranged a dance. Word was sent to Támahl, who was in his winter camp near Vancouver, and he came up.During the night I awoke and saw seven men, including Ípia, a Klickitat noted for his cleverness, and 'Pupu-maksmaks' [presumably Piópiomaksmaks, the Wallawalla]. They told my father that they had already killed many white people, and in the morning they were going to kill those at the Cascade settlements. They were dressed for war. They said they were going to dance in the house of Wapánaha,

and invited him to attend. Acceptance would signify an intention to join in the proposed attack, and refusal would mean his death at the hands of his enemies, the Klickitat. So to everything he merely said, 'Yes'; but as soon as they had left he hurried his four wives, Kisánua, Komáshin, Wabaídiu, and my mother Wadaígia, with their children to the river, and put them into canoes. Kisánua and two young slave men paddled quickly down to Fort Vancouver and warned the soldiers, while the others crossed to Bradford island. No valuables nor property of any kind, and but little food was taken.

"On the following morning the chief's brother, Púhpuh, put out to the island and warned Támahl that his enemies were coming to kill him. We slid down an almost perpendicular bank on the south side of the island, embarked, and paddled for the mainland on the south side of the river. Round the end of the island came a canoe with several men, includingWapánaha Ípia the Klickitat, and three hired Hood River Indians, namely, Chínuahl, Kahlánut, and Aiataíat. The leaders were Wapánaha, who was actuated by ambition, and Chínuahl, who was acting for Taímatas, son of the slain Klickitat chief. They began to shoot, and bullets splashed around our canoe filled with women and children. Támahl ran the canoe ashore, leaped out, and pushed it back into the current; for he knew that they would cease shooting when he himself was out of range. They stopped firing. Just then a steamboat appeared downstream, and they withdrew to the Washington shore for the fighting with the soldiers that was to follow. We went down the river to the landing, and my father met us there. A half-breed interpreter named Jack (I think he was a Spokan), who was then living among our tribe, came down with another man in a small canoe. He told the soldiers that Támahl was responsible for the massacre, that he had furnished powder. There was color of truth in this, in that during the preceding night, before the outbreak, Wapánaha had come into our house in the absence of Támahl and said to one of his wives, "We need powder; give me some." Fearful of refusing, she handed him some powder. Without investigation the soldiers handcuffed Támahl and at the Upper Cascades they hanged him."

On April twenty-eighth Colonel Wright with five companies set out from The Dalles, and on May eighteenth he camped on Nachess creek, a southerly tributary of Yakima river. On the other side were the Indians. The creek was too swollen to permit a crossing in the face

of an enemy, but messengers from the Indians came to them saying that the chiefs wished peace. General John E. Wool, commanding the Department of the Pacific, was for personal reasons not in sympathy with Governor Stevens and his policy of vigorously pushing the war to an end. He believed, or professed to believe, the unfounded absurdity that Stevens, and Curry of Oregon, had stirred up war for personal financial gain, and desired to make it a war of extermination. He acted throughout in a manner not creditable to the army, and, in spite of the widespread and disastrous outbreak west of the mountains, which but for the volunteer forces would have ended in the extermination of the settlers in that part of the state, declared that the volunteers were not needed. In December, 1855, Wool came up to Vancouver from his headquarters near San Francisco and disbanded those Washington volunteers who had been mustered into the service of the United States, and at the same time ordered his subordinates to act only on the defensive. His instructions to Wright were merely "to ascertain the feelings and dispositions of the several tribes;" which the colonel in no wise exceeded. On May twenty-ninth he was reinforced by four companies under Lieutenant-Colonel E.J. Steptoe, which gave him an effective force of five hundred men, exclusive of packers and escorts of packtrains. Eleven days later Kamaíakin, Owhi, and Tiaíash pitched camp on the opposite side of the creek, and the two latter crossed and spoke for peace. The wary Kamaíakin, as usual, preferred not to risk his liberty, but "sent assurances of friendship."

Luqaíôt says of this occasion:

"Early in the spring we heard that soldiers were coming from The Dalles, and we prepared once more to fight. The people of Kamaíakin, Owhi, and Qultnínak [a Salish chief on the upper Columbia] were together. Scouts brought word that the soldiers were camped near Nahchísh [Nachess] creek. The next morning all prepared to fight, and then advanced to meet the soldiers. From the top of a hill we saw a large camp. Already Kamaíakin's people, (the Thápnish) and other neighboring bands were near the camp, but the river was between. When we arrived, Owhi said to Kamaíakin: 'What are you waiting for? Why do you not fight?' 'It is because of this river,' replied Kamaíakin. 'The water is high, and we cannot cross.'

"All day there was no fighting. Owhi called the chief men together in order to decide what to do, and he said to Kamaíakin: 'In the first

place, I did not want to fight with the soldiers. You were the one.' While they were talking, the captain came to the bank on the other side at a narrow place and asked if they wanted to fight. My father told Kamaíakin: 'Now go ahead and say what you have to say.' Kamaíakin answered that he did not know what to say, and my father replied: 'Maybe you do not know what to say. I have asked you, and I have asked all your people what to say, and you do not know! A long time ago we Indians were all enemies. We used to fight among ourselves, but we have quit that. If those soldiers would make a peace now, and we would not have to fight again, it would be well. I have many people, and I do not want them killed; and I do not want to kill the soldiers. They look nice. I would like to stop this. If that captain agrees to my word, we will not fight again.' Then Qultnínak said to my father: 'I take your words. If he agrees, I shall be glad and will not fight.' Then everybody liked that word.

"Owhi proposed to send a few men across to see what the captain had to say, but everybody was afraid, and besides there was no boat. After a while I told some of my friends: 'I think I will cross and take this word to them. Those soldiers will not hurt me. I will go alone.' And I got ready. I had a big bay horse with a bald face. I took no gun, but I carried my bow and arrows. My horse succeeded in swimming the river, and at the bottom of the steep bank on the other side some of the soldiers lifted me off the horse and others led him up the river to a place where he could get out. They brought him back and gave him to me, and I mounted. They took me to the captain's tent, and we shook hands. He said he was glad to see me, and asked why I had come. I said: 'I have brought words from Owhi and from Qultnínak. My father says: "I have laid my gun back. The blood of the soldiers is deep on the ground, but I am going to wipe that out. I do not want to kill these young men. But if you want to fight, it is good, we will fight." That is what my father said.' Colonel Wright stood up and shook hands again, and spoke: 'I am glad your father says that. He has shown his heart to me, and I see what his opinion is, and that he is going to quit fighting.' Then I said: 'This is what Qultnínak says: "I say the same words as Owhi. If the captain will agree, we will quit fighting." Now tell me what you have to say, and I will take your words back.' He said: 'Your words are good. I agree to them, and it will be very good if we put our guns back behind us. We will wipe out this blood, and we will

be friends. Tell them what I said. But we must come together and have a council. You must get some way to come over.' I went back, taking some flour, sugar, coffee, and tobacco on my horse. Most of it got wet.

"All the chiefs were together, and I told them what the captain said. It was decided to go across to a council. Owhi got on a horse and rode through the camp shouting the order. Two young men came with the report that they had found two boats up the river, and the old men crossed in these boats, while we young men went on horses. The whole day was spent in crossing. We made camp a little below the soldiers. Next moment to their camp, and the captain said: 'I am glad to see you, Owhi, and you, Qultnínak, and Moses [brother of Qultnínak], and Qáhlchun. You are the men I wanted to see.' Then he called on Owhi to speak. The chief said: 'When the fighting began, it was not my fault. My people called me a coward for having agreed to your words about the farms. It is good to make peace.' He gave the captain a white horse as a sign that he was speaking truthfully. After the council was over, we crossed the river and returned to our homes. Then our people, the people of Owhi, went to the country of the Lower Spokan, to visit."

It had been agreed that five days should be allowed the Indians for assembling and surrendering. But nine days passed, and no Indians were to be seen. Still Wright retained his faith in their sincerity. He then crossed the stream on a bridge which he had caused to be built, and marched into the Kittitas valley, which he found unoccupied. Rather unaccountably he wrote to General Wool: "We have penetrated the most remote hiding-places of the enemy, and have forced him to ask for mercy." He was of the opinion that some "outside influence is operating to keep them from coming in." He proceeded to the Wenatchee, where at last, on July sixth, he found some Indians fishing. Tiaíash again professed abiding friendship, but Kamaíakin and Owhi had crossed the Columbia, where they were fomenting strife among the Spokan, Cœur d'Alênes, and Palus. Wright spent more than three months making a tour of the Yakima valley and "ascertaining the feelings of the tribes."

The sole results were the establishment of Fort Simcoe, and the fostering of the conviction in the Indians' minds that the soldiers did not represent the same authority as the volunteers and the settlers, and were not to be feared. Those who had begun hostilities were still at

large, and were inciting other tribes to war. The trouble was not only that Wright was prevented from aggression by his orders, but he himself was in sympathy with Wool's views that the Indians were innocent of wrong-doing. Innocent they were not, yet they were not wholly in the wrong. Perhaps the conflict between the races was inevitable, but the core of this particular phase of the conflict seems to be found in the inequitable action of the two commissioners in proclaiming the ceded lands open for settlement before the Government had begun, or even agreed ever to begin, carrying out its part in the contract. With Stevens's proclamation in mind, white men had some justification in entering Indian lands; and surely the owners of the lands were acting only as men when they took steps to assert a right that had not been extinguished. True they employed savage methods of warfare, but they were savages. At least they maintained their level, which is more than white men have always done. They fought for their country with the faculties God had given them, and a just man admires patriotism wherever it is found.

For a time there were no acts of violence, but soon came reports of fresh outbreaks, this time among the tribes east of the Columbia — the Sinkiuse, Spokan, Cœur d'Alênes, Palus — among whom the Yakima chiefs had been working. A small detachment under Steptoe was disastrously defeated in May, 1858, by these combined tribes, and in August Wright again took the field, this time with very different orders. For General Wool had been transferred, and General Clark, the new head of the department, believed that the war should be brought to an end and the Stevens treaties ratified. Wright conducted a swift and effective campaign against the allied tribes east of the Columbia, promptly hanging any captives guilty of participation in attacks on non-combatants. At the same time Major Robert S. Garnett led a force through the Yakima valley in quest of the upper Columbia river Indians, who had attacked a party of miners. Some of them were captured in an assault by Lieutenant Jesse K. Allen (who was killed) on the camp of a minor Yakima chief. Others surrendered, and some fled across the Columbia to join Kamaíakin among the Cœur d'Alênes. The war was over. Kamaíakin, the principal instigator, remained a fugitive, and never entered the Yakima reservation, where the annual salary of five hundred dollars provided by the treaty for the head-chief of the "Yakima nation" awaited him. In 1870 he was found by an agent of

the Government on Rock creek, a northerly tributary of Palouse river. With him were about fifty Indians, probably Palus. He was a large, powerful man, about fifty years old, and six feet high. In his prime none of his people could bend his bow.... He is peaceable, but does not go much among the whites, and seems broken-hearted.... He had the reputation of being the greatest Indian orator east of the Cascades in this Territory."[12] The fate of Owhi and of his son Qáhlchun is graphically described by Luqaíôt, a younger son:

"Our people had gone to the country of the Lower Spokan [who were not engaged in the fighting with Wright]. This was a regular custom of ours, to get salmon from our friends there. We soon heard that there had been fighting between the soldiers, and the Cœur d'Alênes and Upper Spokan. Two days later we heard that they had stopped. One of those who had been fighting came down with the news, and he said they were going to have a council with Colonel Wright. We had not known that he was the chief of those soldiers. When we heard that it was Colonel Wright, Owhi said: 'I am going over there just to see him again.' We were good friends with Colonel Wright, and that is why they were going to see him. We took him as a brother. He had treated us well. The next day my father went; then on the following day went my brother Qáhlchun and I, with his wife [who was the daughter of Pólotkin, the Spokan chief]. We had been delayed looking for horses. Owhi had told the people to remain where they were until he returned, and Qáhlchun repeated the order.

"It was night when we came in sight of the soldiers. Qáhlchun said it would not look well to go in after dark, so we camped. The next morning we went on. When we were close, we saw an Indian coming from the camp. Qáhlchun said: 'Let us ask him if they are holding a council.' So he went to meet this Indian, and they two talked together a while, and then came toward the woman and me. The Indian told my brother: 'I saw your father in the camp. He is having a good time with his friends. There are many Indians there, the Spokan, the Palus, the Cœur d'Alênes.' My brother said we were going there, and the Indian said: 'I think Colonel Wright will be glad to see you, for he has been asking for you.' The Indian went on, and we rode forward. We saw

[12] Winans in *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1870.

soldiers riding away, about three hundred of them. When we got into the camp, I heard some one speak — Qáhlchun was riding in another part of the camp — and, looking, I saw my father bound with ropes. The man was saying, 'You are a prisoner.' He told me that they had taken him as soon as he was in the camp, and tied him without any words, and that they would hang my brother. Qáhlchun was ahead of me, and I saw him getting close to Colonel Wright's tent. I rode up fast and overtook him, just as he reached the tent. Colonel Wright came out and said he was very glad to see him. He told us to get off, and we did. He did not tell Qáhlchun that our father was a prisoner. He shook hands with us and repeated that he was very glad to see us in the camp. He took a piece of paper, and wrote on it, and gave it to a soldier, who got on a horse and went over to the tents of the soldiers. Soon many soldiers were around us. I heard Colonel Wright talk to them. There were a great many of them, all with guns. They took Qáhlchun away and I stood there watching. Our horses stood there. Qáhlchun's wife was still on her horse. Qáhlchun walked a little way, then looked back and called to me, 'Take good care of our horses!' He passed round a tent, and that was the last time I ever saw my brother alive. I stood with the horses a while. The woman was back of me, and watched Qáhlchun. He was taken over to where Owhi was, and my father was asked if that was Qáhlchun. He said, 'Yes.' They asked again, 'Are you sure?' and he said, 'That is Qáhlchun.' They tied him, took him across the creek where they had been hanging the Palus, and hanged him. I did not see that. Then the soldiers came and tied me, hands and legs, and put a rope around my neck. I tried to get away, but they were too many. They had to throw me down three times before they could tie me, but by that time I was very tired. They were going to take the woman too, but she rode away, carrying her husband s spear. The soldiers chased her, but her horse was too fast; in her flight she threw away the spear and the soldiers got it. I did not know what they had been doing with my brother, but I thought I was going to be hanged. A half-breed Nez Percé came and talked to Colonel Wright about me, and the colonel told him they were going to let me go. They untied me, and I found my horse and left. I saw a soldier sitting beside a tree with a paper, and I saw my brother lying there dead. Owhi was taken away by the soldiers, but just after they crossed Snake river he tried to get away, and they shot him. The soldiers returned to The Dalles, taking

Qáhlchun's spear and hat. After a while we heard that Colonel Wright was drowned in the ocean, and we were glad."[13]

Wright, in his reports, says that Owhi came unexpectedly into his camp, and was at once bound and told that if he did not send for Qáhlchun he would be hanged. The chief then sent a messenger to his son, but the message never reached him, and he came in of his own free will, believing that he would find Colonel Wright the same friendly, credulous soldier chief of two years before on the Nachess. There was no further fighting on the part of the Indians in Washington. The treaties were ratified in 1859, and the bands of the Yakima valley, the Klickitat, many of the Shahaptians of the northern bank of the Columbia, and a few of the Wishham were placed on the reservation. The Salish bands of the upper Columbia remained where they were, and later were provided for on another reservation, while a considerable part of the Wishham and other Chinookan bands below them never have accepted land on any reservation.

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[13] In every essential particular this narrative is corroborated by the testimony of an officer who was present (see Kip, *Army Life on the Pacific,* Redfield, 1859, pages 102—106), as well as by that of the widow of Qáhlchun, who, as the wife of Luqaiôt, was still living in 1909. Colonel (General) Wright was drowned, July 30, 1865, in the wreck of the *Brother Jonathan* while on his way to take command of the Department of the Columbia.