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## **What happened to the Steh-chass people?**

The Steh-chass people lived in a permanent village at the base of Tumwater Falls for thousands of years. The Steh-chass village was a permanent settlement – property and food were stored there. They lived in gabled cedar plank homes of rectangular, slightly slanted sides of cedar posts and planks. In the mid-1850's there were three cedar plank homes there.<sup>1</sup> A community of up to eight families lived in each with bed platforms along the walls. The village was a ceremonial site, a sacred site, where at least five tribes - the Nisqually, Squaxin, Chehalis, Suquamish and Duwamish - gathered for ceremonies, feasts, potlatches and to harvest and preserve salmon, clams, mussels, whelms, and moon snails, as well as crabs, barnacles, Chinese slippers, oysters and cockles, by drying, smoking or baking in rock-lined underground ovens.<sup>2</sup> Layers of seashells recorded many years of habitation.

The village was named Steh-chass and the river, now the Deschutes, was named Steh-chass River.<sup>3</sup> The Steh-chass people fished and gathered seafood all along the shores of Budd inlet.<sup>4</sup> T. T. Waterman's maps of Budd Inlet from the mid-1800's show the Steh-chass Indians lived along the shores of the entire inlet.<sup>5</sup> The Steh-chass people were led by Sno-ho-dum-set, known as a man of peace.<sup>6</sup> At the Medicine Creek Treaty Council of December 24-26, 1854, Sno-ho-dum-set represented the Steh-chass Indians and was the second name on the Treaty, after Quiemuth and before Leschi.<sup>7</sup>

Their other main village, Bus-chut-hwud, "frequented by black bears," was located near what is today the corner of 4th Avenue and Columbia in Olympia.<sup>8</sup> Sites around Bus-chut-hwud show evidence of fire-cracked rock, indications of a small village.<sup>9</sup> There were twenty or more Indian huts in 1851.<sup>10</sup> All along the beach there were Indian huts and the beach was lined with canoes.<sup>11</sup> Chief Seattle wintered with 250-300 Duwamish and Suquamish Indians on the peninsula near Bus-chut-hwud, north of today's State Street.<sup>12</sup>

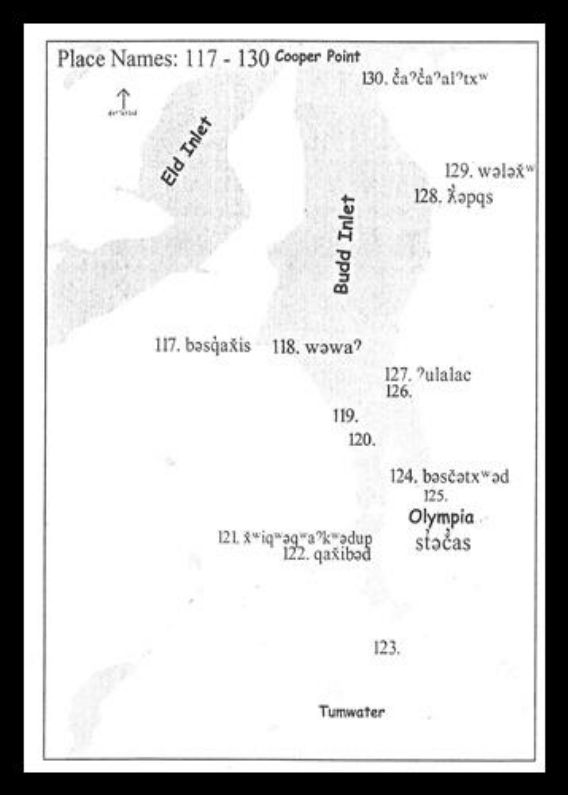
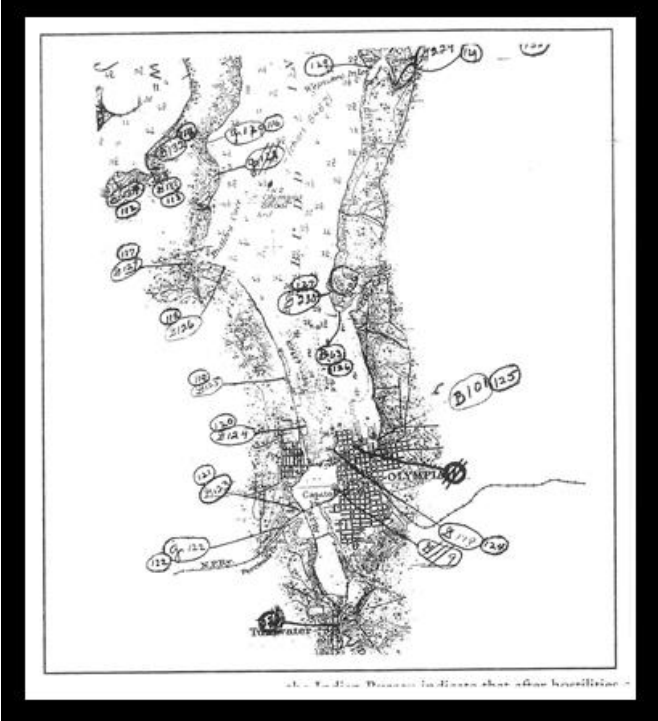
Priest Point was a traditional area for potlatch and parts of Budd Inlet shorelines were sacred burial grounds with tree burial sites.<sup>13</sup> The inlet there was a favorite gathering place for Indians.<sup>14</sup>

The location of the Steh-chass permanent village below Tumwater Falls is documented:

\*\*\* A map by T.T. Waterman from the mid-1800's documents the Steh-chass village location on the Deschutes River at Tumwater.<sup>15</sup>

\*\*\*A map by George Gibbs also locates Steh-chass at that site in his 1855 book *Indian Tribes – Land Ceded by Treaty*.<sup>16</sup> Maps below by TT Waterman show the Steh-chass & Bus-chut-hwud villages in the mid-1800's

**123 SpEkwa'L** "cascade," for the falls in the Deschutes River at Tumwater. The present name for this place, Tumwater, or TE'm-wata as the Indians call it, is the Chinook Jargon word for a waterfall. Costello gives the name Pu-kal-bush for "the Deschutes River at Tumwater." My intuition tells me that he means this for spEkwa'l-b'ic, "waterfall, where there is."  
**124 BIs-tc'e'txūd** "frequented by black bears," for an old village site at the present city of Olympia. The old site was in what is now the western part of the city proper, below the viaduct spanning the inlet. Costello gives a word Dus-chut-wit, which he says is the name for the Deschutes River. This term seems to be intended for <sup>125</sup>stc'E'txūd, "black bear place." This, of course, would be another name for the spot we are describing.  
 The name the Indians use for the present town, the state capital, is stE'tc!ä's. This name has, however, grown up since the white occupation. It seems to be connected with astE'te!, "splicing two things together." I fancy that this refers to the causeway, which has been built by the city across the inlet, connecting the two shores.  
**125 PE'tz1b** for the cove or inlet east of the business section of Olympia.  
**126 Ts'u'lyad** for Priest Point below Olympia on the eastern shore of the inlet.



\*\*\* A map included in the report of Archaeological Excavation of the Tumwater Site (45TN119) shows Steh-chass at the same location. This report documents people living there from 2,380 years ago, with some implements dating from 13,000 BP.<sup>17</sup>

\*\*\* In *The Puyallup and Nisqually* by Marian Smith, a map shows the Steh-chass village site.<sup>18</sup>

\*\*\* The 1854 "Map of Washington Territory Showing the Indian Nations and Tribes,"

purportedly carried by Isaac Stevens in his pocket during treaty making, shows the original name of the Deschutes River as Steh-chass River and hangs as a blown up display on the second floor of the Washington State Capitol Museum.<sup>19</sup>

\*\*\* The City of Olympia website recounts, "The falls of the Deschutes River at Tumwater called "Stehtsasamish" by the Nisqually Indians may have been occupied as a

permanent village site for shellfish and salmon harvesting for 500 years or more before the coming of white settlers.”<sup>20</sup>

\*\*\* Another village on the west side of the peninsula just below the downtown Olympia bridge was the village named “b’TSUH-t’kood” (frequented by black bears) and further north still, at Doffmeyer Point, was a place called “cheh-tsah-AHL-too”, ‘housepits,’ named for depressions in the ground showing where houses had once stood long ago.<sup>21</sup>

\*\*\* From the City of Olympia website, “The end of what we now know as Budd Inlet was a favorite shellfish gathering site for many Coastal Salish tribes, including the Nisqually, Duwamish and Squaxin. Evidence exists that potlatches, the Northwest tribal custom in which tribal leaders shared their wealth with neighboring tribal groups, were held both east and west of the Inlet near Olympia.”<sup>22</sup>

\*\*\* One Nisqually village dated over 5,000 years old. Human occupation of southern Puget Sound dates from 12,000 years ago, ancestors of the Nisqually tribe.<sup>23</sup>

\*\*\* Steh-chass is among locations of other tribes: Elo'sedabsh, on Medicine Creek and the lower reaches of Nisqually River, including a main settlement at the mouth of Nisqually River and Tuda'dab, at the mouth of McAllister or Medicine Creek. The Sahehwamish belonged to the Nisqually dialectic group: Sahehwamish or Sahe'wabsh, on Shelton Inlet, including the main settlement of Sahe'wabsh, at Arcadia, and a village opposite the town of Shelton; Skwayaithlhabsh, on Mud Bay or Eld Inlet; Statca'sabsh, on Budd Inlet, with its principal settlement at Tumwater; Tapi'ksdabsh, with its main settlement on Oyster Bay or Totten Inlet below the town of Oyster Bay; Tutse'tcakl, on South Bay or Henderson Inlet, between the creek at the head and that on the south. The group to which this tribe belonged is estimated by Mooney (1928) to have numbered 1,200 in 1780, and he gives 780 for the year 1907.<sup>24</sup>

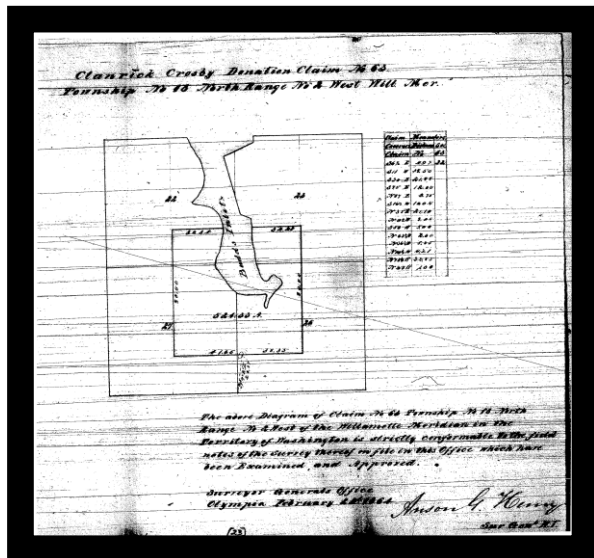
The first white settlers to come to Washington State displaced the Steh-chass Indians from their village below Tumwater Falls, today the site of Tumwater Historical Park.

In October of 1845, the first white settlers to come to Washington State traveled up the Cowlitz Trail from Fort Vancouver to Steh-chass. Led by Michael T. Simmons, the settlers arrived at Steh-chass and thought to settle there, but borrowed canoes from the Indians to look around the area. They liked Steh-chass best and chose to settle there, spending their first winter in a cabin near the lower falls of the Deschutes River.<sup>25</sup> The Simmons party met Chief Leschi, a Nisqually, at Tumwater Falls.<sup>26</sup> George Washington Bush, another settler in the party, recalled how Leschi brought urgently needed supplies on pack horses to help the settlers through their precarious first days and taught them how to enjoy unfamiliar types of seafood in which the area abounded. “Leschi was as good a friend as we ever had,” Bush said.<sup>27</sup> And another, James McAllister, became close friends with Leschi who helped McAllister’s family settle near his home at Muck

Creek.<sup>28</sup> Seattle, Chief of the Duwamish and Suquamish, met and helped the settlers at Steh-chass too.

Michael T. Simmons built a grist mill on the site and later a saw mill. In 1851 Clanrick and Phoebe Crosby arrived in Tumwater and bought the land from Michael T. Simmons. Crosby filed a land claim under the Land Donation Act of 1850 for 640 acres, virtually all of the land on both sides of Tumwater Falls and including the Steh-chass village site.<sup>29</sup> In 1860 a house was built for Nathaniel Crosby III (grandfather of Bing Crosby, now the Crosby Museum House). Crosby's claim to the land under the Land Donation Act of 1850 depended on extinguishing Indian title and removing the Indians. By 1854 there were only twenty Indians counted in Tumwater.<sup>30</sup> By fall of 1855, Michael T. Simmons had rounded up any remaining Indians and put them in the internment camps on Squaxin and Fox Islands. If any did drift back to their original village site after the internment camps, a drastic change was in order as of December 21, 1869. The minutes of the Tumwater Town Council show that on a motion of Mr. Crosby, the

Council ordered that the Indians be required to get out of the town limits by the first of May, 1870.<sup>31</sup>

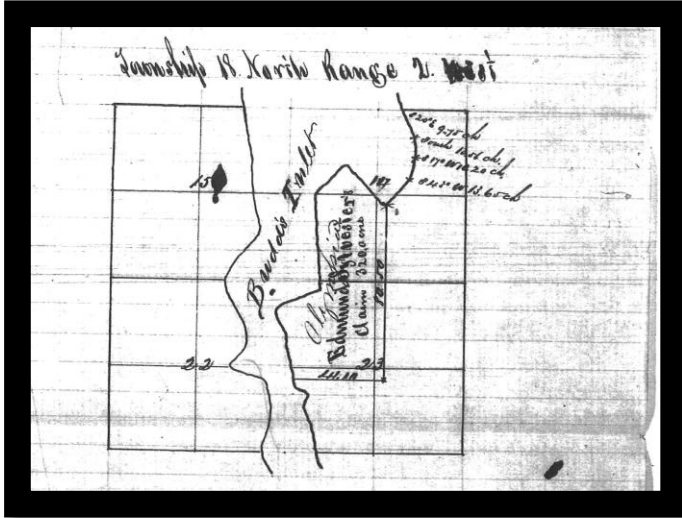


Left: Clanrick Crosby's Claim of 640 acres including the Steh-chass village at Tumwater Falls

In the winter of 1846, Levi Smith and Edmund Sylvester arrived at the Bus-chut-hwud village (centered at today's 4<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Columbia Street) and staked a joint claim of 320 acres, taking over the Indian village and the entire peninsula comprising Olympia and the State Capitol of today.<sup>32</sup> Smith built a cabin among the Indians, trading with them on a daily basis, and

enclosed two acres for a garden and livestock near the current intersection of Capitol Way and Olympia Avenue.<sup>33</sup> When Smith drowned in 1848, Sylvester alone held the claim.

January 12, 1850, Sylvester platted the town, named it Olympia after the Olympic Mountains, and donated blocks for a public square, a school, a customs house and 12 acres for the Capitol grounds.<sup>34</sup> The area around Chinook Street (Columbia Street today), which once housed a thriving Coast Salish community, was now dotted with cabins and a few store fronts.



Left: Edmund Sylvester's Land Claim of 320 acres, comprising Olympia and the Capitol Campus of today.

By 1855, the Indian village had disappeared, the past residents of Buschut-hwud no longer called the peninsula their home. A massive stockade had been built along 4th Avenue where their village was located and most tribal people were living in internment camps on Squaxin and Fox Islands where many became sick and died.<sup>35</sup> In early fall of 1855, Michael T. Simmons had interned 460 Indians on

Squaxin Island and 1,200 on Fox Island.<sup>36</sup> After the stockade, Indians never returned to settle in any considerable numbers in the immediate neighborhood of the town.<sup>37</sup>

In 1839, American Methodist missionaries led by Dr. John P. Richmond had arrived with the purpose of converting the Indians. They had settled near Fort Nisqually on Sequatchew Creek, a half mile up from the Sound. Fourteen missionaries ran the mission and taught fifty Indian children at the mission school. The "Great Reinforcement" had sailed from New York October 9, 1839 with fifty-two missionaries and workers. The missionaries treated the Indians harshly, calling them "heathens and savages." After two years, in 1842, the mission was shut down and their buildings were burned by the Indians.<sup>38</sup>

In 1848 French Catholic missionaries of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate came to Budd Inlet where they established a mission to minister to local tribes, led by Father Pascal Ricard. They named the mission St. Joseph's of New Market. Father Ricard and three other priests cleared the land, planted a large garden, built a chapel and operated a school for Indian boys organized for the purpose of converting the native population and to teach carpentry and other industrial skills mainly to young converts. Father Pascal fell ill and left in 1857 and in 1860 the mission closed.<sup>39</sup> The mission was built on the site of an Indian village where there was a native cemetery of tree-burials. Nisqually, Puyallup, Chehalis, Suquamish, Duwamish and others shared access to shellfish beds and seasonal encampments and year-round Indian dwellings dotted the shores of Budd Inlet and Priest Point. At Priest Point, a natural spring and a productive fish trap located on Ellis Creek supported permanent residents. Ricard filed a Donation Land Claim that encompassed the mission site and the current park lands.<sup>40</sup>

Lethal diseases that the Indians were not immune to were brought first by ships exploring Puget Sound and the Columbia River, then by the influx of white settlers. By 1776, English and Spanish voyagers had sailed up the Pacific Coast as far as

Washington State. In 1778 the British Captain Cook arrived; and in 1787 the English Captain Charles Barkley explored Juan de Fuca Strait. In 1792 Captains Vancouver, Puget and Whidbey explored Puget Sound and Peter Puget surveyed Budd Inlet. Vancouver went as far south as Eld Inlet, trading. Captain Vancouver noted evidence of smallpox, and said the Sound tribes had a great calamity previous to his visit in the spring of 1792.<sup>41</sup> Also in 1792, Captain Robert Gray explored the Columbia River. Lewis and Clark spent the winter of 1805-06 at the mouth of the Columbia. The Hudson's Bay Company established Ft. Vancouver in 1824 and by 1833 had a fur trading fort at Fort Nisqually; Catholic priests lived there. In 1838 Lt. Charles Wilkes explored the Pacific to expand U.S. commerce and seek the best harbors – he chose San Francisco and Puget Sound. In 1841 a ship explored Thurston County.

Diseases began to take their toll – in some cases entire villages were wiped out. In 1836 intermittent fevers killed Nisqually people and the 1836-37 influenza in south Puget Sound led to 10,000 deaths. Near Walla Walla half the Cayuse Tribe died of smallpox in 1836. Following the explorers, the invasion of American settlers also brought diseases – measles, smallpox, tuberculosis, malaria and the aigue. In 1847 Nisquallies had a measles epidemic. In 1853 a smallpox epidemic killed half the Makah. The Chinooks, in the 1830's a powerful people, were almost all gone a year before the Medicine Creek Treaty of 1854.<sup>42</sup> George Gibbs observed on the Columbia River and at Shoalwater Bay there were a few remnants of the once numerous Chinooks “the smallpox having nearly finished its work in the past year. In winter and spring it spread with a great virulence along the coast as far north as Cape Flattery. Some lodges upon the southern peninsula of Shoalwater Bay were left without a survivor, and the dead were found by the whites lying wrapped in their blankets as if asleep. Quite extensive cemeteries are scattered along the bay...the Makahs had been lately visited by the smallpox, with its customary devastating effects. The Cowlitz, likewise a once numerous and powerful tribe, are now insignificant and fast disappearing. The few bands remaining are intermingled with those of the Upper Chehalis – two united are not over 165 – scattered in seven parties between the mouth of the Cowlitz and the Satsop. The whole number of all Indians south of Puget Sound, and between the Cascades and the coast would be around 850, in place of 3000, the estimate of Captain Wilkes in 1841. The Makahs numbered until recently 550. During the last year the smallpox found its way to their region, and, it is reported, reduced them to 150. The S'Klallams had 1500 fighting men – in January only 375. The Chief said they once had 140 canoes, of 18 to the larger and 14 to the smaller, a total of 2,240 men.”<sup>43</sup> Gibbs estimated there had been 26,800. In the 1835 census, there were numbers like 20,000, now a malignant fever and aigue had raged among them. In 1853 tribes suffered a fourth smallpox epidemic since the white men had come.

The settlers who filed land claims under the Land Donation Act of 1850 complained that they could not get free title to the land because federal law said that the Indians held legal claim to the land. The Northwest Ordinance of 1789 had promised that no Indian land would be taken without tribal consent. For this reason, when Isaac Stevens was appointed the first Washington Territorial Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs after Washington Territory was created on March 2, 1853, his first order of business was to extinguish Indian ownership of the land and remove the Indians. A white male who farmed a claim for four years got 320 acres at no cost plus 320 acres for his wife. As Stevens traveled west to Olympia he surveyed land for the Northern Pacific Railway with George Gibbs, an ethnologist and lawyer who spoke Indian languages and had written the first treaties for the Territorial Governor in Oregon in 1851-53. Those treaties had been too generous with land for tribal reservations for the settlers to accept so were not ratified by the Senate. With this experience, when Gibbs wrote the treaties for Governor Isaac Stevens, he gave less land away to the Indians so ratification would be swift. The settlers were arriving in large numbers, building houses and fences in Tumwater, Olympia and Steilacoom and wanted the land title. In 1852 Olympia had a few hundred residents. An 1853 tally of the Washington region showed 2,000 settlers but six times that many Indians. Isaac Stevens determined to make the treaties fast to speed settlement.

Governor Stevens came up the Cowlitz Trail to Olympia November 25, 1853. At the time, Olympia was the largest town because it had been settled first so the Washington State Capitol came to be based there. He surrounded himself with a coterie of thirty settlers and appointed Michael T. Simmons, the first white settler who had located at Steh-chass, as head Indian Agent. Simmons was from Kentucky, a tough guy, barely literate, who regularly vented his displeasures. George Gibbs, his opposite, was cultured, his family had a fortune, he was a lawyer, he recorded Indian language and customs, and became the drafter of the Indian treaties. Stevens directed George McClellan to compile data on every aspect of tribal life west of the Cascades.<sup>44</sup> On February 28, 1854, Stevens' speech to the first session of the newly chosen Washington Legislature stressed that Indian title to the land had to be formally voided so that settlers' Land Donation Act claims could be certified and white settlement quickly expanded once the treaties were in place.<sup>45</sup> In autumn of 1854, in preparation for the first treaty at Medicine Creek, Stevens instructed a three man team to prepare: George Gibbs was to draft a treaty text that could serve as a template for future treaties, while Michael T. Simmons and Frank Shaw<sup>46</sup> were to travel to tribal homelands to figure out which tribes to meet with in what order and groupings and to advise the natives that the new governor would soon invite them to learn about the new living conditions; they preached the necessity of compliance. They traveled to the Puget Sound tribes, looked for friendly leaders, and appointed them as Chiefs so they could sign the papers making the change of title legal. They appointed Quiemuth chief of the Nisqually and his brother

Leschi as sub-chief. George Gibbs conducted an Indian census and found 893 people living in the area – 650 Indians attended the Medicine Creek council.

On December 4, 1854, Stevens' second annual address to the Washington Legislature stressed that the arrangement with the Indians would be imposed, not negotiated: "the time has come for their final settlement."<sup>47</sup> He asked the settlers for their support. He toyed with the idea of moving all western tribes to the east of the Cascades or put all western tribes on one single reservation about forty miles above Olympia at the head of Hood Canal. Gibbs saw that as combustible – it was better to bunch a few friendly tribes on several smaller reservations. At a December 10, 1854 planning session the commission decided to divert the Indians from white settlements at Olympia, Steilacoom and Seattle. When the commission asked Shaw if he could really prevail upon the tribes to accept the pact, he said: "Yes, I can get the Indians to sign their death warrant."<sup>48</sup>

The first treaty was the Medicine Creek Treaty with the Nisqually, Puyallup, Steilacoom, Squawksin, S'Homamish, Steh-chass, T'Peeksin, Squiatle and Sa-heh-wamish – they lived closest to Olympia. The Noo-Seh-Chatl of the Henderson Inlet watershed, the Steh-Chass of the Budd Inlet watershed, the Squi-Aitl of the Eld Inlet watershed, the T'Peeksin of the Totten Inlet watershed, the Sa-Heh-Wa-Mish of the Hammersley Inlet watershed, the Squawksin of the Case Inlet watershed and the S'Hotle-Ma-Mish of the Carr Inlet watershed were to be joined together in the Squaxin Island Tribe.

They met for three days, December 24-26, 1854, at Medicine Creek, a sacred retreat where tribal shamans went to restore their curative powers. Shaw read the thirteen articles of the treaty drafted by George Gibbs on December 25. At the time Stevens did not have accurate maps of the tribes' traditional areas, so Shaw asked them to draw maps of their own homelands for a single large map of Indian country. Leschi stopped working on his map when he saw that they were giving the Nisqually a piece of land that was heavily timbered on a high bluff. Leschi said they could not live there – there was no place for their horses to graze, no place to grow food and it was not on the Nisqually River, their traditional home where they lived by fishing. Stevens told him that was the reservation they would get. Leschi was further upset hearing that Stevens planned to move all the Indians to a more remote location – the reservations being negotiated were "temporary." The Puyallups' reservation too would be far from their river. The Indians complained of Stevens' bullying tactics – the command-and-obey process was not a negotiation. He had translators who knew Salish but insisted on using the 500 word Chinook jargon.<sup>49</sup> When Stevens addressed the Indians, he spoke to them like children: "The Great White Father felt for his children. He pitied them, and he has sent me here today to express these feelings, and to make a treaty for your benefit."<sup>50</sup> On the second day, December 25, 1854, Leschi said they would move to a reservation but it had to be on the river. Stevens said no. Leschi took the paper naming him sub-chief out of his pocket, threw it on the ground and stomped on it, then he and his brother Quiemuth left.



Michael T. Simmons had told Leschi that if he did not sign the Treaty, he would sign it for him.<sup>51</sup> Leschi was not present on December 26, 1854 when the Treaty was signed, but there is an X by Leschi's name. Five witnesses documented that Leschi did not sign the treaty.<sup>52</sup> Others too did not sign but an X is there. When sent to the U.S. Interior Department, there were sixty-two Indian names on the treaty with marks beside them. Stevens was happy with the results of the treaty council – none of the reservations would slow down future white settlement. He wrote to George Manypenny, commissioner of the U.S. Office of Indian Affairs at the Department of the Interior, that Article 6 allowed the President to move or consolidate reservation sites whenever it suited the U.S. Government, and he planned to move the Medicine Creek Treaty tribes onto a single, consolidated reservation, perhaps as early as the summer of 1855.<sup>53</sup>

After the new year, 1855, Stevens left to make more treaties west and east of the Cascades. At the time it was estimated there were 10,000 Indians west of the Cascades and 12,000 east of the Cascades. On the east side, there was only one council meeting and 6,000 Indians came. After a three week council, on June 11, 1855, three treaties were signed: one with the Walla Walla, Cayuse and Umatilla; one with the Yakima; and one with the Nez Perce. An Indian council that summer between Yakima, Klickitat and Walla Walla tribes plus Leschi expressed dissatisfaction over the treaties and loss of land. Leschi, whose father was Nisqually and mother was Klickitat with Yakima relatives, carried the message back to the lower Columbia tribes and Nisqually. The tribes had been used to counting coup, stealing horses or slaves as war. They now knew they had to fight the American way: kill the enemy.<sup>54</sup>

Stevens declared Washington Territory open to settlers before the treaties were ratified, which angered the Yakimas. Gold was discovered near Spokane and eight gold seekers crossing Yakima lands were killed as was federal Indian agent Andrew Bolon. Settlers were alarmed and outraged. The 350 or so regular army men posted around the Territory were not enough to quell the natives if they refused to surrender their lands and go to where they were told. On October 14, Acting Governor George Mason (Stevens was away on his treaty-making mission) issued a call for formation of two companies of volunteer militiamen under territorial not federal jurisdiction, one for Olympia and the other for Ft. Vancouver. On October 16, 1855, James McAllister, whose friendship with Leschi had become strained over the Medicine Creek Treaty, wrote to Mason that he should stop Leschi from preparing for war. Mason invited Leschi to meet in his office October 22, 1855 where Leschi again expressed his desire for peace and a reservation on the river. Mason asked Leschi and Quiemuth to bring their families and stay in Olympia until the reservation issue was settled. Leschi apparently said he would think about it, and Mason made no threats of what would happen if they did not. The army asked Mason to summon four additional volunteer militia units – one was put under Captain Charles Eaton, white son-in-law of Leschi, "Eaton's Rangers,"

with second in command Lt. Jim McAllister. They joined with the U.S. Army under Captain Maurice Maloney to go to Yakima country to avenge the deaths there. An October 23, 1855 letter sent to Mason by Second Lieutenant John Nugen of the Olympia militia reported: "The Volunteer Company got off in fine order at 2 p.m. yesterday – the men in fine spirits and apparently with determination of taking the Scalp of every Red-skin who may be so unfortunate as to fall in their way."<sup>55</sup> After two days, Leschi had not reported back to Mason, so Mason called on Captain Eaton to form a detachment of nineteen of his rangers, with himself at their head, to apprehend the Nisqually half-brothers at their Muck Creek farm twenty miles away and bring them back to Olympia. When Eaton arrived at the farm, the plow was left standing in the field and Leschi was nowhere in sight. Eaton waited two days, then left, taking fifteen of Leschi's horses. Leschi had joined other Indians in the deep forest beyond the Puyallup River, in secluded uplands between the White and Green rivers, an ideal haven, only two days from their villages and along the Naches Pass to Yakima country. Two years later Leschi said, "I did not intend to make war on the western side of the mountains." He met up with Chiefs Kitsap and Nelson who were upset by provisions in the Point Elliott Treaty, and Muckleshoots, Nisqually, Puyallup, Duwamish and Klickitat warriors. "It was they who persuaded me into it."<sup>56</sup>

On October 27, 1855, Eaton's men continued to meet up with Maloney, but split in two, with McAllister in charge of a reconnaissance crew that crossed the Puyallup River and pushed toward a reported encampment of roughly 500 natives, including women and children, who were fishing on the White River. McAllister asked Eaton if he might approach the group and try to beguile his old friend Leschi into giving himself up and renouncing all thought of violence against the whites. He took along Connell and two Indian guides. As they approached, a Nisqually named Toopapyti fired two shots and Mc Allister was dead, the first fatality in the fighting west of the mountains. Then Connell was shot. The next day, October 28, 1855, warriors out of the control of Leschi, fell upon the cabin of Harvey Jones, his wife and three small children and a hired man. The adults were shot and the children escaped and were helped by a friendly Indian. Five more down the river were killed and an infant taken hostage. Word spread fast of what came to be known as the White River Massacre. A wave of hysteria hit the settlers. Acting Governor Mason ordered the emergency construction of blockhouses and settlers moved into them.

At the same time, in fall of 1855, Indian Agent Michael T. Simmons, his fellow Indian agents and their deputies, began rounding up the 4,000 or so natives on the west side of the mountains who had not gone off to evade forced movement to reservations, to be put in internment camps.<sup>57</sup> Simmons called on "friendlies" to assemble, promised them protection from the volunteer militia who shot Indians first and asked questions later.<sup>58</sup> The Indians interned on Squaxin and Fox Islands suffered and many died. There was

no fresh water on Squaxin Island and not enough food. They had to travel by canoe at night to an adjacent island to get fresh water. If they were found off the islands they were shot. Michael T. Simmons continued up Puget Sound interning Indians as far as the Lummi Indian Nation, with a total of seven internment camps: 847 at Bellingham Bay, 1400 at Holmes Harbor, 1522 on the Olympic Peninsula, 1300 at Penn's Cove, 942 at Ft. Kitsap, 460 at Squaxin Island, 1200 on Fox Island.<sup>59</sup> Fox Island interned 1200 Steilacoom, Shattmahmish, Shamahmish, Puyallup and Nisqually Indians. Squaxin Island held 460 Squaxin, Nisquallies, and Sahawamish. Hostile Indians who were captured went to Fox Island. Fox Island was an internment center for 13 months. From May to September, 80 Indians died, 150 came from the war zone. Many died of consumption (bleeding from the lungs). Isaac Stevens instructed the militia that any Indians not in the internment camps were to be exterminated. Stevens had instructed the volunteer militia: "All Indians found in your field of operations are to be considered as enemies."<sup>60</sup> Indians were shot and hung. Indian families peacefully fishing were massacred.

Meanwhile Maloney's men had to turn back and October 31, 1855 sent Tidd and six others back, including three militiamen well known around Olympia and Antonio Rabbeson, a longtime sidekick and sometimes business associate of Michael T. Simmons, and part of the tight coterie of Isaac Stevens. Knowing nothing of the recent events, they came upon Leschi and others fishing in the White River at Connell's Prairie. After leaving the camp they were ambushed and Miles and Moses were dead. Lieutenant Slaughter and 100 regulars and militia followed the natives – one night Slaughter was shot. He was well known in Steilacoom and Olympia and his death shocked the whole white community including the thirty members of the Legislature. The flow of farmers and other civilians into blockhouses increased. Uneasiness ran through the 5,000 Americans in Washington Territory. At any given time Leschi probably did not have more than 300 men. Isaac Sterret, commander of the U.S.S. Decatur, berthed in Seattle, wrote to Secretary of War Jefferson Davis on December 5, 1855: "The valor and prowess of the Indians has been greatly underrated...The whole military resources of the Territory are totally inadequate to conduct war with success, even to afford protection to the settlers."<sup>61</sup>

Early December, General Wool, Pacific Coast regional commander of U.S. Army forces and critic of Stevens' volunteer militia, had his worst fears about the tactics of the militiamen confirmed when the Walla Walla Chief Peo peomoxmox tried to improve race relations in his area – he had been unable to prevent Indian looting and livestock-rustling against settlers still without title to the land as the Treaties had not been ratified. Peo, accompanied by forty warriors, approached the militia camp under a flag of truce. The white commander demanded that Peo turn over his tribe's livestock to pay for the stolen head and their firearms as a preventive measure against further violence against

the settlers. Peo objected, saying he had struck treaty terms with Stevens. He and his five bodyguards were arrested and confined. After he failed to appear, the rest of Peo's party began skirmishing with the militiamen. That evening, the chief, objecting to being tied up, was shot to death in a scuffle. Peo's volunteer militia captors then scalped him, pickled his ears in a jar of alcohol, and brought selected body parts with them to display in a boozy celebration in Portland. The atrocity sent the message to the Indians that however they behaved, they would be abused by the whites once they had the upper hand.<sup>62</sup>

Stevens, in his wrath, wrote in his December 22, 1855 letter to Manypenny: "My plan is to make no treaty whatever with the tribes now in arms; to do away entirely with the reservations guaranteed to them; to make a summary example of all the leading spirits, and to place as a conquered people, under the surveillance of troops, the remains of those tribes on reservations selected by the President, and on such terms as the Government in its justice and mercy now vouchsafe to me."<sup>63</sup> Most of the noncombatant Nisquallies whom Michael T. Simmons had rounded up in the fall were taken to a five-mile long island called Bu-ta-u and known to the whites as Fox Island. The 1,000 or so internees were dependent on white man's food and sickness was rampant. On January 5, 1856 Leschi brought six canoes manned by thirty-three Indians onto the shore in front of the cabin of John Swan, the white warden on Fox Island. Leschi asked Swan to convey a message to the white authorities: his people were not fighters by nature and had taken up arms only because they had been misled at Medicine Creek into accepting a hellish reservation; they wanted no more than enough space to live as they were accustomed;...they would gladly talk peace and reconciliation with any Indian agent but Simmons for whom he harbored a "deadly hatred," as Swan recounted their conversation a few days later to the *Puget Sound Courier*. Mindful of the horrified response by the white community to the White River Massacre, which he always claimed to have counseled against, Leschi insisted to Swan that the braves under his command did not attack innocent or helpless civilians - it was *cultus* (bad) Indians who had committed the atrocity.<sup>64</sup> Swan sent a messenger to Ft. Steilacoom, just six miles away, to Captain Erasmus Keyes who decided to try instead to capture Leschi. He borrowed the Beaver, the Hudson Bay's paddle wheel steamer to carry troops. When Swan paddled out to see if the U.S. Army was willing to advance a peace arrangement, Maloney told him he had no such intentions. Swan returned to tell Leschi, who had used the time to enlist as many as two dozen new recruits. With no success in their peace mission, they paddled away. The *Courier* noted, "It is in vain that we look for a parallel case of bravery in the annals of Indian warfare...which proves to us we have sadly underrated the courage and daring of the Indians on the Sound."<sup>65</sup>

Two weeks later Stevens returned to Olympia and within a week of his return addressed a packed session of the Washington Territorial Legislature, whose members he told – to

“deafening cheers,” according to the account in the *Pioneer and Democrat* – that “the war shall be prosecuted until the last hostile Indian is exterminated.” Far from altering the Nisqually and Puyallup reservations, the governor cried fiercely, “Let the blow be struck where it is deserved,” and promised that “nothing but death is a mete punishment for their perfidy – their lives only shall pay the forfeit...The guilty ones shall suffer, and the remainder placed on reservations under the eye of the military.”<sup>66</sup> The governor then issued a new call for six new companies of militiamen to replace those whose terms were expiring – the new recruits would enlist for six months. Major General John Wool, the U.S. Army Pacific Coast commander, strongly disapproved of the civilian militia, considering them little better than vigilantes, generally ill-trained and poorly disciplined, who posed a greater threat to the peace than irritable Indians did and who often took their empowerment as a license to kill, plunder and profiteer.<sup>67</sup> The general expected the war could be brought to a close within a few months “provided the extermination of the Indians, which I do not approve of, is not insisted upon...and the volunteers are withdrawn from the Walla Walla country.”<sup>68</sup> Stevens reacted by going over Wool’s head and writing directly to Secretary of War Jefferson Davis to urge Wool’s dismissal from his high post.<sup>69</sup> A few days after the speech to the legislature, that every last hostile Indian would be done away with, Indians attacked Seattle (only 100 permanent residents and nearly as many friendly natives lived there). Leschi is said to have led the attack but he denied it. A few buildings were torched in one day and then they left, with little damage done. But the psychological impact was great. A few days before, Stevens had visited and reassured Seattle, “I believe the cities of New York and San Francisco would as soon be attacked as Seattle.”<sup>70</sup>

Leschi tried again to have Stevens hear his request. He asked John McLeod to deliver a message to the new commander, Casey, at Ft. Steilacoom. He reiterated the natives’ desire to end the war and insisted that neither he nor his warriors had been at Seattle. He invited John Swan to hear his peoples’ desire to coexist amicably with the whites. Swan met with Leschi and reported in the *Courier*, “Leschi is anxious for peace but wishes that his people will receive no punishment and that a new reservation shall be set aside for their use.”<sup>71</sup> Stevens was not receptive to Leschi’s terms. He dispatched his volunteer units in every direction to inflict all possible pain on any natives at liberty (instead of being in internment camps) and built forts and blockhouses and ferry landings. Stevens ignored Manypenny’s urging to “avoid vindictive and unnecessary bloodshed” and to bear in mind that Indians “who were criminal may be treated with magnanimity after laying down arms.”<sup>72</sup> In Stevens’ March 9, 1856 letter to Manypenny, the Indians were on the rampage, he wrote, threatening “entirely unprotected” settlements, targeting supply trains, inciting hostility among friendlies by “wiles and falsehoods” – all requiring that the white community be saved from “the treacherous and ferocious Indians who have barbarously murdered men, women and children and laid waste nearly two entire counties...and whilst they shall be made to unconditionally

surrender and their leaders to be made to suffer death, the Indians generally shall be dealt with in a spirit of humanity and kindness." ...<sup>73</sup> The Duwamish were attacked by marines who killed half the 120 natives. Leschi headed to Naches Pass.

On April 4, 1856, Wool wrote to his superiors in the capital that if the governor were not so "anxious for a long and expensive war and the barbarous determination...to exterminate the Indians, I would soon put an end to the Indian war."<sup>74</sup> Stevens now spurred his volunteers to a new level of death dealing by issuing his unit commanders a license that all Indians not in internment camps were legitimate targets: "All Indians found in your field of operations...are to be considered as enemies."<sup>75</sup> Hamilton Maxon's<sup>76</sup> Washington Mounted Rifles used the new license to kill with particular viciousness. Entire Indian families in the foothills were annihilated. Americans sought out and hung Indians accused of killing Americans.

An April, 1856 massacre of unarmed Indians by volunteer militia led by Captain Maxon at the Mashel River left 17-35 Indians dead. Nisquallies who had refused to leave their lands were on the run, trying to survive, trying to avoid the fighting, and had been in hiding for a year. The Mashel Massacre is documented because a militiaman, Private A.J. Kane, kept a diary and published his journals as did a civilian witness, Robert Thompson. Fifty-five mounted militia under Maxon came upon peaceful Indians, old men, women and children, fishing, hid in the trees, then in a complete surprise attack, from twenty feet away, Maxon yelled "Close in," and the militia shot into the family, shooting fleeing women carrying children, in the back. Soldiers shot at everything that moved, starting with the slow and decrepit, and chased the fleetier ones into the river which soon ran red with their blood. Some infants had their skulls dashed on the rocks, according to the oral tribal rendition of the massacre. Thompson noted there were almost no able-bodied men among Maxon's prey and that 15-17 Indians were killed. Maxon got promoted to major for his accomplishment and he and his volunteers continued their mounted manhunt, Stevens' genocidal instruments in the field.<sup>77</sup> In early March Maxon had suggested taking Muck Creek white families who were not supportive of the war and had remained neutral into custody and Stevens had done it, with no due process of law. Stevens pointed out that while others were in blockhouses, some white farmers remained and "whoever can remain on his claim unmolested is an ally of the enemy and must be dealt with."<sup>78</sup> A dozen Muck Creek white farmers were taken into custody and held indefinitely. Five of the them, including John McLeod, escaped after several weeks and returned to their farms only to be recaptured, labeled prisoners of war, and told they would be tried for treason – a capital crime – not by a civil court but by a five-man military tribunal chosen by Stevens. The Muck Creek Five hired a lawyer who got a judge to order the freeing of the prisoners. To keep them from being freed, the next day, April 14, 1856, Stevens decreed martial law in Pierce County, suspending all functions of civil government, including courts and called the prisoners "evil-disposed

persons.”<sup>79</sup> Judge Lander, chief justice of Washington’s Supreme Court, held firm that he would hold court and rule on the Muck Creek Five’s request. The judge wrote that Stevens’ decree “shows no necessity whatever for taking the law into his own hands.”<sup>80</sup> Stevens sent Frank Shaw to stop the court so martial law could not be challenged. Another judge asked Stevens to withdraw martial law. Stevens would not. Judge Lander ordered every able-bodied male over sixteen in the county to attend court as posse comitatus to protect civil law. Shaw ordered twenty armed men to empty the court if gaveled into session. Thirty citizens, many of them lawyers, defended the court and civil rule over martial law, among them George Gibbs. Shaw said he would arrest the judge and take him to the fort. Judge Lander submitted at gunpoint to Shaw and the militia. Steilacoom, in shock over the thuggish tactic that shut down the court, held a torchlight parade and street rally. Gibbs drew up a resolution of outrage sent to territorial newspapers and a petition to President Pierce, attacking the governor for “flagrant usurpation of power” and conduct of a despot.<sup>81</sup> Stevens drew up an anonymous rebuttal that was published in the local press. No Indian warriors had been seen for two months prior to Stevens’ imposition of martial law. Gibbs and other former close associates of the governor wrote to Secretary of State William Marcy that Stevens was “a diminutive Napoleon” who was “actuated by arrogant and unbridled love of power” and that he was a drunkard.<sup>82</sup> The judge got out after a few days in custody and was to open court in Thurston County. On May 14, 1856, Stevens declared martial law there as well. The judge issued a bench warrant to Stevens. The U.S. territorial Marshall assigned to serve the summons on the governor found the door to Stevens’ office barred by as many as a dozen of his bulkiest loyalists among the militiamen, including Adjutant General James Tilton and Tony Rabbeson. When the Marshall forced the issue, a fistfight broke out, with Stevens himself reportedly part of the scuffle, and the summons went unserved. The militiamen then marched to the house that served as Lander’s court and, finding that the judge had barricaded himself in his clerk’s room, broke down the door and for the second time in eight days hauled away the chief justice of the territory. The chief justice’s defiance landed him in the territorial jail at Camp Montgomery, the militia headquarters, in a cell alongside the Muck Creek Five.<sup>83</sup> The following week, Judge Chenowith, his health restored, returned to his courtroom in Steilacoom and denounced Stevens for his continuing usurpation of executive power. Chenowith issued a fresh habeas corpus writ ordering Shaw to produce the prisoners in his courtroom. Stevens then ordered Maxon to send thirty volunteers and arrest the judge if he reopened court on May 24, 1856. Chenowith called on the law-abiding citizenry to protect his courtroom, asking the Pierce County Sheriff to round up enough power to form a defense posse. The judge further enlisted the help of Colonel Casey of Fort Steilacoom. Between fifty and sixty armed citizens had mustered in front of the courthouse when a force of thirty volunteer militia approached. Colonel Casey told the militia that if his men used force to drive off the civilian guardsmen and arrest the judge,

a force of army regulars would stop them. The militia leader backed down. The military tribunal the governor had appointed to try the Muck Creek Five declined to hear the case on the ground it was a civil matter over which the militia did not have jurisdiction. The prisoners were brought to the county courthouse and the charges were dropped. On May 28, 1856 Stevens ended his protracted tantrum by rescinding the martial law decree.<sup>84</sup>

Letters protesting Stevens' conduct began to appear in *The New York Times* and other leading papers. In July, 1856, Judge Lander issued a warrant for Stevens' arrest on a contempt-of-court charge for having refused to accept the summons and explain why he had ignored Judge Chenowith's original habeas corpus writ. Stevens momentarily submitted and appeared before Lander, but when the judge found him guilty and fined him a token fifty dollars to establish the principle that no official, not even a governor, could flout the law with impunity, Stevens invoked the powers of his office to pardon himself temporarily until President Pierce had an opportunity to review the entire matter. His friends stepped in and paid the fine for him. A September 12, 1856 letter to Stevens from Secretary of State Marcy advised him of President Pierce's opinion of the governor's martial law misadventure. The President "has not been able to find in the case you have presented a justification for that extreme measure," Marcy reported, and added the President's distinct disapproval of his conduct.<sup>85</sup> The Territorial Legislature voted to reprimand Stevens for the martial law and the U.S. Senate registered "strongest condemnation" of his conduct.

In mid-June, 1856, Stevens ordered Shaw to lead 200 volunteers to kill Indians in the east. Stevens asked Wright to render up murderers and instigators of war for punishment – "Leschi, Nelson, Kitsap and Quiemuth and to suggest no arrangement be made which shall save their necks from the Executioner."<sup>86</sup> He promised fifty blankets to the man who would lead a party of soldiers to Leschi's camp. Pursuit of Leschi was now becoming Stevens' consuming obsession.<sup>87</sup> The U.S. Army offices said persecution of the Indians' chief after the fighting had ended would only serve to stir his people to a new round of violence. Shaw, with 500 militiamen, went to look for the Yakimas and Klickitats and found none. On July 17, 1856, in the Valley of the Grand Ronde River they found 500 Cayuse and other Indians, mostly women and children gathering edible roots. The Cayuse said there were no warriors in the camp. Shaw charged, and sixty Indians were killed. They burned 120 of the natives' lodges and destroyed their food stores. They stole some of their 200 horses and slew the rest. Shaw lost four men, four others were wounded.<sup>88</sup> James Tilton, commanding general of the volunteer militiamen wrote to Shaw, "We were all delighted with the report of your brilliant success."<sup>89</sup> Stevens pointedly told Colonel Wright and his regulars that Shaw's men had delivered a "severe blow" to the natives, then crowed to Jefferson Davis, "The Walla Walla campaign has been completely successful."<sup>90</sup>



Satisfied that Shaw's actions at Grande Ronde was the coup de grace that would end further resistance to his treaties, Stevens began to disband the militia corps and fulfill his promise to adjust the harsh reservations assigned to Medicine Creek tribes. Tribal leaders of about 500 Nisquallies, Puyallups and other tribes were still in the Fox Island internment camp. It was overcrowded and debilitating. One hundred had died of tuberculosis and other diseases. The War Department told Stevens to give larger reservations to the Indians and end the war.<sup>91</sup> Stevens went to Fox Island to end the war and grant the reservations. The surrendered hostiles were 300 men, women and children. The whole number of Nisquallies and Puyallups was 750. By 1856-1857 internees had been sent to new homes. Over a hundred people had died on Fox Island. Puyallups were only 200 and were dying off rapidly. In June, 1857 only five Indian houses remained on Nisqually. English names were given to the Indians. First names from the list of Americans killed in Indian wars were given to Indian families as their last names. Old village sites off the new reservations became parts of homesteads, fenced or destroyed to make room to build homes. Sidney Ford was Fox Island Warden and Territorial Indian Agent for the Sound. Stevens told the Indians it was all their fault. He said, "Reservations were suggested by yourselves. I surveyed and found them not good and sent word to Leschi and all Indians that the reservations should be changed."<sup>92</sup> He now agreed to reassign the Nisquallies and Puyallups to a "large reservation" for each of them along their ancestral rivers and a new one for the Muckleshoots in the White and Green River uplands.

The Nisqually's new reservation was 7.5 square miles of fertile bottomland and adjacent prairie for about four miles from where Muck Creek joined in to a point close to the estuary. The Puyallups were given a more generous 36 square miles.<sup>93</sup> In a letter to Manypenny three weeks after the Fox Island concessions, Stevens said the Nisquallies would not be allowed to occupy their new reservation until their fugitive chief surrendered or was handed over. He said the Indians should be established on a reservation suitable to their wants and where they could be contented "with the exception of certain leaders and murderers." General Wool was urging the War Department to get Stevens sacked for his vengeful and provocative attitude toward Indians.<sup>94</sup>

In early June, 1856, Leschi had met with Wright to seek help to go home, but Wright said no, it was better to wait. A few weeks later Wright received a letter from Stevens demanding "no arrangements be made which shall save their necks from the Executioner," said to grab Leschi even if he came under a flag of truce and told Casey the native warriors no longer active but still at large "are notorious murderers...treachery and bloodthirstiness almost beyond example."<sup>95</sup> Leschi slipped into Ft. Nisqually to visit Tolmie who told him he should place himself under Casey's care, but Casey advised him to stay in the woods longer – Stevens thirsted for an Indian scapegoat for

the war. Stevens told Casey Leschi was endeavoring to raise a force to prosecute the war anew. Stevens doubted “any country or age has afforded an example of the kindness and justice which has been shown towards the Indians by the suffering inhabitants of the Sound.” Stevens wrote the Indian operations “have been from the beginning...those of murderers and outlaws – no tribe as such having broken into hostility – and they are therefore entitled to none of the rights of war.”<sup>96</sup> Casey said, “There are whites at large who have wantonly murdered innocent Indians...” Wool backed Casey and said, “His removal from office of governor alone can prevent it (a return to war).”<sup>97</sup> Wool expressed regret over Stevens’ vindictive spirit. He said, “Do not fail to give protection... to Leschi and all Indians peaceably inclined to the whites...if Stevens’ militia return to the fray arrest them.”<sup>98</sup>

Stevens placed a reward of \$500, or fifty blankets for an Indian, for whoever would bring in Leschi. On November 3, 1856, Stevens summoned a grand jury to consider a charge against Leschi for the ambush murder one year earlier of Abram Moses. Rabbeson was seated on the grand jury and then testified, weighing his own evidence. No one had said they had seen Leschi kill Moses, but now Rabbeson changed his story and said he saw Leschi. Killing an enemy combatant had never been considered murder; that was personal, war was societal. The military considered him a prisoner of war; Stevens considered him a criminal and determined to hang him. On November 13, 1856, Sluggia, Leschi’s sister’s boy, went to Leschi’s hidden camp in Nisqually, pounced on him, bound and took him to Sidney Ford (Indian agent) at Ft. Steilacoom. The next day Leschi was taken to Stevens’ home. Stevens asked Chenowith to hold court immediately, November 17, 1856, but the court ended in a hung jury. Quiemuth, Leschi’s brother, asked Longmire to take him to Stevens’ home the same day as the trial, arriving at 2 a.m. Early in the morning, November 18, 1856, Quiemuth was stabbed and shot while sleeping in Stevens’ office. In a November 21 letter to Manypenny, Stevens wrote: “Since Casey would not hunt down the brothers I have resorted to other methods, which have resulted in their apprehension.”<sup>99</sup>

Leschi was retried in March of 1857. For Stevens’ excessive zeal in the treaty making campaign, resulting in open warfare, and the martial law outrage, Congress stripped Stevens of his appointment of Commissioner of Indian Affairs and assigned it to the Indian commissioner for Oregon Territory. In 1857 Stevens campaigned for Washington Territory’s lone delegate to Congress. He won and left for Washington, DC. Fayette McMullin replaced him as Governor.<sup>100</sup> Wahelut, “Yelm Jim,” tracked down Sluggia and killed him. The whites let it go. On December 25, 1857, more than 1,000 natives who had gathered on Squaxin Island to receive their annuities, placed their marks on a petition to the government to spare Leschi. McMullin denied clemency.<sup>101</sup> The military at Ft. Steilacoom refused to hang Leschi so the Washington state authorities built a scaffold a mile east of the fort and hung him February 19, 1858.

In 2004 the Washington State Legislature passed a Resolution proclaiming Chief Leschi was a great leader who protected his people. The Supreme Court gave a ruling: “If Leschi did kill Moses, they were lawful combatants in time of war, so the murder charge was not justified.”<sup>102</sup>

## Footnotes

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<sup>1</sup> [http://coastsalishmap.org/Village\\_Descriptions\\_Nisqually-Olympia.htm](http://coastsalishmap.org/Village_Descriptions_Nisqually-Olympia.htm)

<sup>2</sup> Ruth A. Masten, Editor, Investigations in the Tumwater Historic District: Archaeological Excavation of the Tumwater Site (45TN119), Thurston County, Washington. Report Number 100-59 (Cheney, WA, Eastern Washington University Reports in Archaeology and History, Archaeological and Historical Services, 1987) 31 and Marian Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940) 243-45 and Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, National Register of Historic Places – Nomination Form, Tumwater Historic District, <https://fortress.wa.gov/dahp/wisaard/documents/RN/0/3/3724.pdf>.

<sup>3</sup> “Map of Washington Territory Showing the Indian Nations and Tribes,” 1854 (Washington State Historical Society, 1990.60.1).

<sup>4</sup> Del McBride, “A Native American Presence in the Tumwater Falls Area,” The River Remembers – A History of Tumwater by Gayle L. Palmer (Tumwater: The Donning Company Publishers, 1995) 23.

<sup>5</sup> T.T. Waterman, Edited with additional material from Vi Hilbert, Jay Miller and Zalmal Zahir, Puget Sound Geography – Original Manuscripts (Lushootseed Press, July 24, 2001) 305-307 and Del McBride. “A Native American Presence in the Tumwater Falls Area” The River Remembers – A History of Tumwater by Gayle L. Palmer (Tumwater: The Donning Company Publishers, 1995) 24.

<sup>6</sup> “It’s 1841...Meet the Neighbors,” Kit Sylvester 2005, Olympia Display (Timberland Regional Library, Olympia) 9 and Del McBride, “A Native American Presence in the Tumwater Falls Area,” The River Remembers – A History of Tumwater by Gayle L. Palmer (Tumwater: The Donning Company Publishers, 1995) 23 and Don Trospier, New Market (Tumwater: Tumwater Historical Association, 1987) 9-10 and J.C. Rathbun, History of Thurston County Washington (Olympia, Washington, 1895) 14 and Carolyn Cock Dunlap, “Ancotty” (manuscript at the Oregon Historical Society) 121. Sno-ho-dum-set was also chief of Nu-she-tsatl village at the South Bay on Henderson Inlet, “It’s 1841...Meet the Neighbors,” Kit Sylvester 2005, Olympia Display (Timberland Regional Library, Olympia) 9 and the small village at the south end of Henderson Inlet called Nuschatl; Indians from there were sent to Squaxin during the Indian War (Andrew Poultridge, Boomtime: A History of the Natural Resources Area and Woodward Bay (Washington State Department of Natural Resources: Division of Land and Water Conservation, 1991).

<sup>7</sup> [http://www.fws.gov/pacific/ea/tribal/treaties/Nisqualli\\_Puyallup.pdf](http://www.fws.gov/pacific/ea/tribal/treaties/Nisqualli_Puyallup.pdf)

<sup>8</sup> Research – 1856, Kit Sylvester 2005, Olympia Display (Timberland Regional Library, Olympia) 1 and Cheetwoot – 1841, Display, Kit Sylvester 2005, Olympia Display (Timberland Regional Library, Olympia) 7.

<sup>9</sup> Washington Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation files. Research – 1841, Kit Sylvester 2005, Olympia Display (Timberland Regional Library, Olympia).

<sup>10</sup> Gordon Newell, Rogues, Buffoons and Statesmen (Seattle: Hangman Press, 1975) 21.

<sup>11</sup> Heather Lockman and Shanna Stevenson, Building a Capital City (City of Olympia Heritage Commission) 1.

<sup>12</sup> Gordon Newell, Rogues, Buffoons and Statesmen (Seattle: Hangman Press, 1975) 11 and James Robert Tanis, “The Journal of Levi Lathrop Smith – 1847-1848,” (PNW Quarterly, Oct. 1952) 279.

<sup>13</sup> Public Works Department of Olympia, Washington, “Budd Inlet Historical Shoreline Trail Brochure” (Olympia: City of Olympia Public Works Department, 1996).

<sup>14</sup> Shanna Stevenson and Chuck Fowler, Port of Olympia (Olympia, Wash. : Port of Olympia, 1997) 3.

<sup>15</sup> T.T. Waterman, Edited with additional material from Vi Hilbert, Jay Miller and Zalmal Zahir, Puget Sound Geography – Original Manuscript from T.T. Waterman (Lushootseed Press, July 24, 2001) 8 and 14.

<sup>16</sup> Reproduced by the Friends of the Washington State Historical Society, 1982.

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- <sup>17</sup> Ruth A. Masten, Editor, Investigations in the Tumwater Historic District: Archaeological Excavation of the Tumwater Site (45TN119), Thurston County, Washington, Report Number 100-59 (Cheney, WA: Eastern Washington University Reports in Archaeology and History, Archaeological and Historical Services, 1987) 29.
- <sup>18</sup> Marian Smith, The Puyallup-Nisqually (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940) 8.
- <sup>19</sup> "Map of Washington Territory Showing the Indian Nations and Tribes -1854" (Washington State Historical Society,1990.60.1).
- <sup>20</sup> <http://olympiawa.gov/community/about-olympia/history-of-olympia-washington.aspx>
- <sup>21</sup> [http://coastsalishmap.org/Village\\_Descriptions\\_Nisqually-Olympia.htm#15](http://coastsalishmap.org/Village_Descriptions_Nisqually-Olympia.htm#15)
- <sup>22</sup> <http://olympiawa.gov/community/about-olympia/history-of-olympia-washington.aspx>
- <sup>23</sup> Charles Wilkinson, Messages from Frank's Landing (Seattle: University of Nebraska Press, 2000) 17.
- <sup>24</sup> <http://www.accessgenealogy.com/native/sahehwamish-indians.htm> .
- <sup>25</sup> Paul Thomas, "Thesis on George Bush" p. 22 and Gordon Newell, Rogues, Buffoons and Statesmen (Seattle: Hangman Press, 1975) 10 and Mrs. David Hartman Manuscript (McAllisters, 1893)1.
- <sup>26</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 64-65.
- <sup>27</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 64-65.
- <sup>28</sup> Cecelia Carpenter, The Nisqually, My People (Seattle: Tahoma Research Service, 2002) 31.
- <sup>29</sup> Marie Freeman, Washington Territory Donation Land Claims - a project of the Seattle Genealogical Society (Seattle, Wash.: The Society, 1980) 3.
- <sup>30</sup> Heather Lockman and Carla Wulfsberg, Images of America: Tumwater (Tumwater: City of Tumwater's Henderson House Museum, 2010) 11. At the time of concentration in internment camps and on reservations, surviving Steh-chass fled west to the Squaxin or north to the Nisqually tribes. Village 27 on Henderson Inlet as well as 28 (Steh-chass) and 30-32 moved to Nisqually at the time of concentration.12 The Steh-chass were known to have moved onto the Nisqually reservation after they participated in the Medicine Creek Treaty of 1854.
- <sup>31</sup> Del McBride, "A Native American Presence in the Tumwater Falls Area," The River Remembers – A History of Tumwater by Gayle L. Palmer (Tumwater: The Donning Company Publishers, 1995) 24.
- <sup>32</sup> Marie Freeman, Washington Territory Donation Land Claims- a project of the Seattle Genealogical Society (Seattle, Wash.: The Society, 1980)16.
- <sup>33</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Olympia,\\_Washington](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Olympia,_Washington) and "The Journal of Levi Lathrop Smith" (PNW Quarterly, October,1952) 279 and The Indian War – Display – 1856, Kit Sylvester 2005, Olympia Display (Timberland Regional Library, Olympia) 3.
- <sup>34</sup> "Twelve Who Counted," The Olympian, 12-4-88 and The Indian War – Display – 1856, Kit Sylvester 2005, Olympia Display (Timberland Regional Library, Olympia) 3.
- <sup>35</sup> The Indian War – Display – 1856, Kit Sylvester 2005, Olympia Display (Timberland Regional Library, Olympia) 1,2,4.
- <sup>36</sup> Cecelia Carpenter, They Walked Before: the Indians of Washington State (Tacoma, Wash.: Tahoma Research Publication,1989) 32.
- <sup>37</sup> Georgiana Mitchell Blankenship, Early History of Thurston County, Washington: Together with Biographies and Reminiscences of Those (Seattle, Washington: Shorey Book Store, 1972) 112.
- <sup>38</sup> Cecelia Carpenter, The Nisqually, My People (Seattle: Tahoma Research Service, 2002) 99.
- <sup>39</sup> <http://olympiawa.gov/community/parks/parks-and-trails/priest-point-park>
- <sup>40</sup> [http://www.olympiahistory.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=11:historypriestpointpark&catid=7:generaltopicsolympiahistory&Itemid=2](http://www.olympiahistory.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=11:historypriestpointpark&catid=7:generaltopicsolympiahistory&Itemid=2)
- <sup>41</sup> George Gibbs, Tribes of Western Washington and Northwest Oregon (Shorey's Bookstore, 1986) 178.
- <sup>42</sup> Signs on the wall at the Nisqually Tribe library.
- <sup>43</sup> George Gibbs, Indian Tribes of Washington Territory (Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1978) 33-35.
- <sup>44</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 49.

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- <sup>45</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 67.
- <sup>46</sup> Stevens' most loyal enforcer and free-wheeling special agent in the Indian service and primary interpreter at treaty councils and Michael T. Simmons' junior business associate in the grist mill at Steh-chass – and who harbored disrespect for the Indians: “personally, I have always believed there was a great deal of humbug about making any treaties with the Indians...The question was, shall a great country with many resources be turned over to a few Indians to roam over and make a precarious living on, making no use of the soil for timber or other resources, or should it be turned over to the civilized man who could develop it in every direction and make it the abiding place of millions of white people instead of a few hundred Indians.” Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 74-75.
- <sup>47</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 73.
- <sup>48</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 105.
- <sup>49</sup> Charles Wilkinson, Messages from Frank's Landing (Seattle: University of Nebraska Press, 2000) 17.
- <sup>50</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 99.
- <sup>51</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 101.
- <sup>52</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 93.
- <sup>53</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 106.
- <sup>54</sup> Cecelia Carpenter, They Walked Before – The Indians of Washington State (Seattle: Tahoma Publications, 1989) 31.
- <sup>55</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 127.
- <sup>56</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 130.
- <sup>57</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 130-136.
- <sup>58</sup> Cecelia Carpenter, Tears of Internment (Seattle: Tahoma Research Service, 1996) 39.
- <sup>59</sup> Cecelia Carpenter, They Walked Before – The Indians of Washington State (Seattle: Tahoma Publications, 1989) 32.
- <sup>60</sup> Cecelia Carpenter, Leschi – Last Chief of the Nisquallies (Seattle: Tahoma Research Service, 2004) 32.
- <sup>61</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 143.
- <sup>62</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 144-145.
- <sup>63</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 145.
- <sup>64</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 148-49.
- <sup>65</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 149-150.
- <sup>66</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 150-151.
- <sup>67</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 151.
- <sup>68</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 152.

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- <sup>69</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 152.
- <sup>70</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 153.
- <sup>71</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 157.
- <sup>72</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 159.
- <sup>73</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 160.
- <sup>74</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 164.
- <sup>75</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 165.
- <sup>76</sup> Maxon volunteered after the Whitman massacre, fighting in the Cayuse War until 1849, enlisted, became a Captain, served under Frank Shaw. In the Yakima wars, Maxon and Shaw slaughtered 50 Indians. Maxon served on the committee formed to prosecute Leschi. Abbi Wonacott, Where the Mashel Meets the Nisqually – the Mashel Massacre of 1855 (Spanaway, WA: Bellus Uccello Publishing, 2008) 26-28.
- <sup>77</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 165-67 and Abbi Wonacott, Where the Mashel Meets the Nisqually – the Mashel Massacre of 1855 (Spanaway, WA: Bellus Uccello Publishing, 2008) 12. A teacher, Abbi Wonacott, and her students who heard there had been a massacre near the Mashel River researched it for a class project and wrote the entire history of the incident in Where the Mashel Meets the Nisqually.
- <sup>78</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 168.
- <sup>79</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 168.
- <sup>80</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 169.
- <sup>81</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 170.
- <sup>82</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 172.
- <sup>83</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 173.
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- <sup>86</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 176-177.
- <sup>87</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 177.
- <sup>88</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 179.
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- <sup>91</sup> Cecelia Carpenter, Tears of Internment (Seattle: Tahoma Research Service, 1996) 52.

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- <sup>92</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 180.
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- <sup>94</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 182.
- <sup>95</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 188-89.
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- <sup>97</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 192.
- <sup>98</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 193.
- <sup>99</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 212.
- <sup>100</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 228.
- <sup>101</sup> Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash between White and Native America (New York: Random House, 2011) 237.
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