

Part IV. Leaving Town, Leaving Home: May 30 – August 21, 1856

May 30, 1856. Tyee John Surrenders at Big Bend

Mrs. Victor [1894: 413-414]: *Instead of coming in as invited, John sent the volunteers a challenge to engage in battle with them, which was the more cheerfully accepted as the hundred men left behind at Fort Smith had come up. At the hour appointed by John for the contest, the Indian warriors issued from the cover of the woods in two lines, advancing directly towards the volunteers until within one hundred and fifty yards of their lines, when they halted, and at the word of command from the chief, fired a volley, which, being aimed too high, whistled harmlessly over the heads of the white men, who returned the fire with a more sure aim and deadlier result. The Indians front line then took to flight.*

The second line stood until several volleys had been fired, when panic seized them and they also retreated. In vain the iron chief commanded in thunder tones; they paid no heed to him, but ran until beyond the reach of the guns of their white conquerors, when they squatted on the ground in a circle, in the hot sunshine, and wailed piteously for two hours in sorrow for a young chief who had been killed, and over their own misfortunes. Once more John endeavored to rally them, but the heart had gone out of them. It was the old pathetic story, "By the waters of Babylon they sat down and wept."

After a few hours spent in this manner, John sent word by a woman to Captain Smith that he wished to surrender if his people could be allowed to retain their guns. The proposal was refused. He then sent his son to ask leave to retain half their guns, which was also refused. Another proposition to keep one-third of their arms was in like manner negatived, and the Indians ordered to stack their arms against a rock, or return with them and fight. John himself at last came to entreat permission for his people to keep some arms, and when he was denied walked away with a malediction on the hard tum-tum (heart) of the white conqueror.

Towards night forty warriors laid their guns against the rock, and small squads kept coming in until darkness settled down over the camp, when to prevent any treacherous movement, they were ordered to remain without camp, at the peril of their lives during the night. When morning came the surrender was completed, John coming in last. He set his gun against the rock, then suddenly grasped it, but before he could raise it to his shoulder fifty rifles were aimed at his heart. He again relinquished it, and sullenly, with a defiant manner, took his place among the prisoners. At the final settlement, however, of the terms of surrender, it was agreed that neither he nor any of his people should suffer any punishment for acts committed by them, nor be compelled to surrender any of the property captured by them during the war.

May 30.

Dr. Glisan: *The "Columbia" arrived from Portland yesterday, she did not touch on her upward trip. The news from above is unimportant, except that the regulars, about four hundred, under Colonel Wright, had met with some twelve hundred Indians, under old Kimiakin, and had a talk, which was not satisfactory, and that a fight was consequently expected in a few days.*

The most exciting news is from San Francisco. It appears that the editor of the Evening Bulletin, James King, was shot by James P. Casey, the editor of another evening paper, on the afternoon of the fourteenth of May, and that he died on the twentieth. The excitement was intense. A vigilance committee (the first for several years), was immediately formed to take the matter into consideration. Twenty-nine persons composed the committee proper, whose deliberations were held profoundly secret. These were supported by some twenty-nine hundred others, who were sworn to carry out all the decisions of the twenty-nine. King was buried on the twenty-second instant. On the same day, and about the same hour, Casey, his murderer, and Cora, the man who shot General Richardson a few months ago, were hanged by authority of the Vigilance Committee, after receiving a trial before this body.

It is stated that both of these men had the sympathy of such a large class of lawless men in San Francisco, that it would have been utterly useless to have gone through the mockery of a trial in the customary legal process. It is further asserted that there have been some three hundred murders committed in San Francisco during the past few years, and only three men convicted and hung; also that the Vigilance Committee is composed of the best men in the city; that even the pulpit, with scarcely a single exception, were in favor of the people's taking the matter in their own hands, as it was impossible to insure justice in any other way.

If there ever was a time when such measures were necessary, it was undoubtedly on this occasion; but all such proceedings are very sure to lead to evil. The thing may ultimately fall into the hands of vicious and lawless persons, who will do much harm. The example is a bad one. It is alleged that King was shot by Casey, because he exposed in the Bulletin, some of the rascality of the latter, who was formerly in the Sing Sing Prison, New York.

June 2.

Dr. Glisan: *An express of two men, Walker and Foster, arrived this morning from the troops whom they left at the Big Bend of Rogue River. The express before this, brought the news of the main camp being a few miles this side of Rogue River, near the mouth of the Illinois. Whilst remaining there awaiting for the pack train which left Fort Orford last Friday week, the Colonel sent Major Reynolds a day's travel on the trail to this post, to meet the pack train, and with instructions about getting in some of the lower Indians. About the same time Captain Andrew Smith, of the First Dragoons, was ordered to the Big Bend with his and a portion of E company, in all about ninety men on foot, to assist in getting in old George and Limpy's bands. On arriving there, old George sent him word that the other hostile tribes had surrounded and prevented his coming in as soon as he expected, and warned Smith that the hostile bands, headed by Old John intended attacking his camp (Smith's), and would at first attempt a little strategy, Old John to pretend that he desired peace, and wished to have a talk; in the meantime, to send into Smith's camp a body of naked, unarmed Indians, equal in number to the soldiers, and at the moment that the latter became most unsuspecting and careless, to seize upon their arms. This was to have been done at a given signal, and each Indian to grab a soldier's musket when the fight, or rather massacre, was to begin. Sure enough, on the following day, some fifty or sixty athletic Indians, naked and unarmed, came into camp, saying that Old John desired to have a talk. Smith ordered them to leave, and they did, but only went a few hundred yards, and picked up their guns which had been secreted, and commenced an attack. They were immediately joined by many others.*

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Smith now found himself surrounded by from three to four hundred Indians, who kept firing into his camp from the morning of the twenty-eighth instant, to the afternoon of the twenty-ninth, when Captain Augur arrived on the ground with his company G, Fourth Infantry. Smith's men raised a shout, and the two commands charged the enemy, and completely routed them. The number lost by the latter is not known, as the dead were carried off the field.

The troops had twenty-nine killed and wounded, nine killed on the field, and several deaths from severe wounds before the expressman left, which was on the thirty-first ultimo. All of the killed and wounded but five, belonged to Smith's command. Smith's position was on a rising piece of ground, surrounded by a rather open woods. He took this as the best position he could secure in the immediate neighborhood, after he had been informed of the contemplated attack. It does not appear that he had attempted to throw up any defenses previous to the fight, doubtless deeming it inexpedient and bad policy. After getting Old George's warning, he dispatched a messenger to Col. Buchanan, who forthwith sent to the "Soldiers Camp" for Reynold's company to come to headquarters, so as to enable him to dispatch reinforcements to Smith, if necessary.

When the second express arrived from the latter, stating that the Indians had surrounded and cut him off from water, etc., Captain Augur's company, which, together with Jones's F, Fourth Infantry, had been engaged in cutting a trail from opposite the mouth of the Illinois to the Big Bend, was immediately dispatched to his relief. About the same time, the Colonel was informed that the pack train was coming up on the opposite side of the river. This, instead of returning on the same trail it came to Fort Orford, had taken a much more circuitous and longer, but perhaps better one, under the circumstances, i.e. instead of going an almost due east course to the mouth of the Illinois, as the Colonel had anticipated, Captain Ord had crossed Rogue River forty-five miles below that point, and gone up its south side. He did this because the road was better and because he had reasons to suppose that the Indians would attack his train if he returned on the same route that he came. However, when the Colonel was informed what route the train had taken, he kept F. Company to assist in getting it across Rogue River, near the mouth of the Illinois. When this was accomplished, and Major Reynold's company (H, Third Artillery), had arrived, the whole force marched for the Big Bend, where it was when the express left on the thirty-first.

It is pretty well ascertained, that a part of nearly all the hostile bands of Rogue River were engaged in Smith's fight, except those of George, Limpy and Joshua, and even some few of these, but against the orders of their chiefs. Had Smith not received warning from old George, every man of his command would have been butchered, and even as it was they would all have been slain, had not Captain Augur arrived as soon as he did, for they were entirely cut off from water, and only held out as long as they did, by digging holes in the ground on the night of the twenty-eighth (the night after the first day's attack), with their tin pans, and throwing up a little embankment of dirt. It is related that the Indians charged bravely up to this temporary defense; and in one instance, a party of them crawled up and threw into the entrenchment a stick, to make the men carelessly jerk up their heads, that they might get a better shot at them. On this occasion, a little Indian boy, whom the troops had with them as an interpreter, raised himself a little, and was instantly killed. It is related that the men behaved gallantly; but as they were miserably armed with short musketoons, loaded with ball, it is believed that they did not do half the execution that might have been accomplished, had they had good rifles, or even the

Government musket, loaded with buckshot and ball. The other companies were armed with the latter, but Smith's being a dragoon company, dismounted for the occasion, retained their musketoons.

The more I see of Indian fighting, the more am I convinced that the present system of arming men with musketoons or muskets, for this species of warfare, is a great error. They should have rifles, and be taught to shoot well by constant practice; and the present custom of employing soldiers while in garrison, on almost continuous hard fatigue duty, without any or very little drilling at target shooting, should be abolished.

During the fight with Captain Smith, a party of a hundred and fifty volunteers, under the command of Major Latshaw, came across George and Limpy's camps, and captured some women, children and provisions. It is asserted that but few, if any, of the warriors belonging to these chiefs, were engaged against Smith's command, but that they were only waiting to surrender; still, I presume, the volunteers were not aware of this, and it is highly probable that the proximity of the latter aided to hasten the retreat of the hostile Indians.

June 6, 1856: Capt. Bledsoe and the Illinois River Massacres

June 5.

Dr. Glisan: *Stampedes are now the order of the day in Port Orford. As the number of men in the place is not over a dozen since the volunteers left, and the troops remaining to garrison this post are raw recruits, and number only about sixteen besides the sick, and as this is the depot of military stores, and hence a very desirable point for the enemy to capture, the people are very excitable upon the subject of Indians.*

On the first instant several of the friendly Indians, who started out from here with the superintendent, General Joel Palmer, and the last pack train, returned bringing us the first news of the fight between the troops and Indians at the Big Bend. As their sympathies are, of course, with their own race, they represented the late events in a very unfavorable light for the troops; also stated that the Chetcoes were coming up to steal away from the military reserve the Indian prisoners belonging to that tribe.

On the morning of the second a man, by the name of Parker went down the coast for about six miles to hunt some lost cattle. Shortly thereafter he came running in, and stated that he had been pursued and fired upon by a party of Indians, who followed him within sight of the village. He left his horse behind, having hitched and gone off from him a short distance when he saw the Indians. We all took our spy-glasses, and looked down the coast in the direction stated, and beheld some fifteen Indians at the distance of four miles from this place. At first we could not tell whether they were marching slowly up towards the village or not. One thing we could see, however, that the advance party, on reaching what is called Rocky Point, three miles from here, waited for them behind to come up. It was now a matter of doubt whether they were hostile or not. If unfriendly, every one was satisfied that they would be supported by much larger parties coming in other directions. After they came around Rocky Point, however, and marched carelessly along the beach, we felt satisfied that they were not hostile. They turned out to be the Indian guides whom Colonel Buchanan took out with him, together with some of the Port Orford Indians, who had been at the mouth of Rogue River when the outbreak occurred; and who were previously unable to return.

Night before last some of the loafers about town, styling themselves members of the Vigilance Committee, represented to the commanding officer that two of the Indians, who arrived on the second instant, were believed to have been present at the massacre on the twenty-second of February, at the mouth of Rogue River, and wished permission to take and try them. Knowing what an excitement this would create among the Indians on the reservation, if white men were permitted to arrest every one who was supposed to have done anything since the breaking out of the troubles, and yet not having a sufficient guard to keep them away from the Indians, the commanding officer of Fort Orford had the suspected Indians placed in the guardhouse, and at the same time informed the Indians that they should not be disturbed or tried before General Palmer came back. This was done to keep the mob from shooting them. That night the Chetco prisoners numbering some twenty, deserted the reservation. It is not known, yet suspected, that the other Indians on the reservation were aware when they left and probably assisted them -- as

they evidently sympathize heart and soul with their race -- and are, moreover, anxious that the war should be prolonged in order that they may not be moved out of their present country.

Last night there was another stampede in Port Orford; and to-day the few settlers who had gone to mining and farming between this and Cape Blanco, ten miles up the coast, came running in. They say that Indians have been lurking in the neighborhood -- and that those on the reservation are surly and cross. I am not astonished at the latter, for a few vagabond whites will not let their squaws alone, even under the present alarming state of affairs. It is a great pity that these fellows cannot be punished for their conduct -- but the laws are powerless in the matter. I hope the settlers will now either stay in, or, if they go out again, remain quietly at their occupations; for this stampeding at every little excitement is just what the Indians rejoice to witness.

A. G. Walling [1884: 282]: *On the fifth of June, a great many Indians having already surrendered. General Lamerick, finding that the enemy had all left the neighborhood of Fort Lamerick, assumed command of his forces in person and moving down the river, encamped at Big Bend, where the regulars were lying. The next day a combined movement was made down the river by three companies of regulars and Captain Bledsoe's company of volunteers, and an Indian encampment was destroyed, some twenty or more natives being killed or drowned in endeavoring to escape. Two volunteers were wounded. The main body of the Indians were encamped on the river about fifteen miles below Big Bend, and it was General Lamerick's intention to attack them, but their cabins were found deserted when the attacking party arrived.*

June 8.

Dr. Glisan: *A storm of rain and wind from the southeast since day before yesterday. A schooner, the "Francisco," anchored in the bay, broke her fastenings night, before last and came ashore upon the rocks. This is the second vessel wrecked here within a few weeks. The captains may hereafter take warning, and put to sea when a southeaster springs up.*

On the evening of the sixth a white man, calling himself Morrison, was arrested in Port Orford by the citizens, and put in the guard-house at this post. He came here through the heart of the Indian country, and tells such contradictory and inconsistent stories, that it is thought by many that he has been acting with the hostile Indians, and may have come here with the view of procuring ammunition, etc., for the enemy. I am inclined, however, to believe that he is insane, and being in want of work, has ventured through the enemy's ranks alone, unarmed and without provisions, believing himself perfectly safe in so doing. If so, he has certainly run a gauntlet that few would like to venture on. He is evidently a consummate fool or knave -- it is difficult to say which.

The "Columbia" arrived yesterday, bringing no news of importance, except from San Francisco. They are having an exciting time there at present; almost equal to the reign of terror in France. The Vigilance Committee is still supreme, and supported by a majority of the clergymen, and all the papers, in the city, except the Herald. Nobody has been hung since the last steamer, but some twenty or thirty have been ordered out of the city. Yankee Sullivan, the celebrated prize fighter, was brought before the Vigilance Committee for trial, and whilst in custody committed suicide. Governor Johnson has issued a proclamation calling upon all good citizens to support law and

order, and ordering out the State militia -- that is, all young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. William T. Sherman, formerly a lieutenant in the United States army, but now a banker in San Francisco, is the Major-General of militia. When the steamer left the proper authorities were busily engaged in enrolling the latter; but the call of the Governor, and order of General Sherman, had not been very promptly answered. It is to be hoped that no open collision between the authorities of the land and that of the Committee will take place, but things present an alarming aspect at this time.

June 9.

Dr. Glisan: *Captain Tichenor brought an express from Colonel Buchanan's headquarters yesterday. He says the troops have had two more fights with the Indians. The first was a mere skirmish, and occurred on the fourth instant, with a party of Indians three or four miles above the mouth of the Illinois on Rogue River. The latter were engaged in fishing, and had four or five killed; the troops none. The detachment consisted of company H, Third Artillery, and Captain Bledsoe's volunteer company, under the command of Major J. C. Reynolds, United States army.*

On the following day, in accordance with the instructions from Colonel Buchanan, Bledsoe's company moved down the south side of Rogue River, and Captain Augur's, company G, Fourth Infantry, the north side, and fell upon the Indians at a point some four or five miles below the mouth of the Illinois. The latter were again completely routed -- sixteen of their number killed. The regulars and volunteers shared the fight equally, and each killed about the same number of Indians, with a loss of only one man, and three wounded.

June 12.

Dr. Glisan: *The people of Port Orford, and Fort Orford, have been excited for the last three days in consequence of the discovery of a plan on the part of the Indians on the military reservation here to make an attack on the fort and town. They were to be assisted by the Rogue River Indians, with whom, it is asserted, they hold constant communication. The attack to be made as soon as the weather got dry and windy -- when the Indians here (who have no guns) were to pitch in with their knives and clubs; also set fire to the buildings; and the others to do all the shooting. Various circumstances go to prove this story, though it was first divulged by a squaw to the wife (a half breed) of a Frenchman. These Indians have become very impudent and saucy since the return of their chiefs from Colonel Buchanan's camp. In fact they were sent back on account of their insolence there, where they did far more harm than good. Since returning they have repeatedly asserted that the Bostons could not subdue the Indians, and that they would not go on to the reservation. But as it is believed that their plans have been disconcerted by the last successes of the troops on the Rogue River Indians, and as it is bad policy to take harsh steps with them until it is proven beyond all shadow of doubt that they really intended to break out, the matter will be allowed to pass over; we remaining on the alert in the meantime.*

June 13.

Dr. Glisan: *An express from Colonel Buchanan's camp, reached here yesterday morning, with the news that the coast Indians are gradually coming in, and giving up their arms, with the view of going on the reservation.*

Colonel Buchanan's whole command is on the north side of Rogue River, at three different points, and the volunteers (about three hundred) under General Lamerick, on the south side. The Indians seem to be pretty well intimidated. Just as the expressman was leaving, Old John, of the upper Rogue River Indians, sent in word that he thought his band would come in also; but the old rascal is so treacherous, that it is exceedingly difficult to judge of his sincerity. He may have another scheme in view.

The squaw who divulged the anticipated outbreak here, now asserts that the Indians intend giving up only such guns as the whites know to be in their possession, and a few old ones besides, and after they have convinced the troops of their sincerity, and got them off their guard, they are to seize the soldiers' guns, and commence a general onslaught. She says this is to be done on their arrival at this post, when the Indians now on the military reservation are to assist them. She also told the Indian Agent this morning, that spies were in the Indian camp night before last again, and that they brought several guns with them. In consequence of this report, the agent sent for the chiefs this morning, and whilst talking with them, got the commanding officer of this post to send out three or four men to examine the Indian ranches for arms, etc. In the meantime, he asked the chiefs if they had any; they said no. The guard took with them the squaw above spoken of, to point out where she thought the arms were secreted; but the Indians swarmed around her so thickly, that she afforded but little assistance. The guard, however, found two guns, which are thought to belong to the Coquille Indians, now on the reservation. As the chiefs had pretended to give up all their arms, and were found to have acted in bad faith, they were now told that it was known that they had other guns which must be brought in immediately. They finally acknowledged having a few more, which they said should be sent in this afternoon.

June 14.

Dr. Glisan: *The Indians sent in the guns yesterday, as promised. This morning, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, General Palmer, arrived from the field. He states that Colonel Buchanan's command is on its way with two hundred and seventy-one upper Rogue River Indians, George and Limpy's bands, and four hundred and thirty-one Coast Indians. It is very doubtful whether Old John will come in. Personally, he is for war; but since a young Indian, who has been with Old Sam's band on the Indian Reservation, for a short time, was sent by the Colonel to talk with John's band, many of the latter seem anxious to quit fighting, and come in also. On Old John's hearing this, he burst out crying, and said if all his people left him, he might be compelled to come in also.*

June 15, 1856: Lt. Ord arrives at Fort Orford with 700 captive Indians

June 15.

Dr. Glisan: *Colonel Buchanan, Captain Smith, Captain Augur, Doctor Milhau, Lieutenant Chandler, Lieutenant Ihrie and Company C, First Dragoons, Companies E and G, Fourth Infantry, arrived this afternoon, with over seven hundred Indians. The latter, together with the four hundred now on the Military Reservation here, make eleven hundred, all of whom are to be moved forward to the Indian Reservation, some one hundred and twenty-five miles further up the coast, in a few days, or as soon as the Colonel can hear from the command at the mouth of Rogue River, as to whether Old John's people and the Chetcoes and Pistol River Indians are coming in. They are about the only ones now hostile on Rogue River, and number perhaps five or six hundred men, women and children. A portion of Company E, Fourth Infantry, under Lieutenant Sweitzer, having gone down Rogue River to its mouth, in canoes with the wounded, were at that point yesterday when heard from. Captain Ord and Major Reynold's companies were dispatched there this morning, from the Colonel's camp of last night, to reinforce the guard of the wounded, and bring in all the Indians who were willing to go on the reservation.*

In consequence of threats by the citizens of Port Orford to shoot some of the Indians now under charge of the troops. Colonel Buchanan has issued orders to shoot any man who attempts to kill an Indian.

June 20.

Dr. Glisan: *We imagined that after the main body of troops arrived, stampedes would die away at this place, but another occurred last night. Yesterday afternoon Colonel Buchanan and General Palmer were informed by several Indians -- Old George among the number, whose word is believed since the information he gave Captain S. turned out to be true -- that the Indians brought in here had it in contemplation to rise night before last, and attempt to kill the troops, and take the town and fort; but concluded to postpone it till last night, when the attack was to have commenced. We could not fully credit this report but under the circumstances General Palmer deemed it prudent to cause the chiefs (some eight or ten) of the different bands to be arrested and placed in confinement for the night. Whatever their intentions may have been this put a stop to them.*

Last night about two o'clock the steamer "Columbia" arrived on her upward trip, and lay here until eleven this morning. She took on board about six hundred Indians from the military reservation of this post, bound for Portland; thence by land to the Indian reservation. They were escorted by G company, Fourth Infantry, under the command of Captain Augur. The superintendent of Indian affairs, General Palmer also accompanied them. Most of these Indians belonged to the hostile bands. Those remaining here, and such as may yet be brought in, will perhaps, be sent up in two or more detachments by land. Three of Old John's sons came in yesterday, and stated that their father's band is at the mouth of the Illinois, and that he is willing to come in. One of them was dispatched to him to-day with the request that he should come to a designated point some twelve miles from here, and surrender to Captain Ord, who is ordered to proceed from the mouth of Rogue River with his and Major Reynold's companies to that place.

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By the steamer we learned that the Vigilance Committee of San Francisco are still supreme -- numbering some fifteen thousand men. The law and order party have been unable to offer any resistance. Several new arrests have been made since the last steamer, and many persons ordered to quit the city.

June 23 (Monday).

Joel Palmer [Portland, Oregon letter to Hon. Manypenny, Washington, DC (US Senate 1893: 49-50)]: *SIR: The departure of the mail steamer early to-morrow, and it being now nearly midnight, leaves me no time to make a detailed report of my proceedings in the Port Orford district. I may say, however, that I reached here to-day at 11 a. m. with six hundred Indians from that place on their way to the coast reservation. At 3 p. m. they were put en route for Oregon City, and will arrive there to-morrow morning for Dayton. I start from here to-morrow on horse in time to reach Dayton on their arrival.*

I now regard the war in southern Oregon as closed. All the hostile bands, with the exception of John's, who has about thirty warriors, and the Cheteco and Pistol River Indians, numbering perhaps fifty warriors, have come in and unconditionally surrendered themselves as prisoners of war.

The two bands last named have sent word that they will surrender and come in when word is sent them where to go. The old chief "John" is sent in two of his sons, asking the retention of other bands at Port Orford until he can get there with his people; that he is tired of war, and has resolved to seek for peace and will submit to go on the reservation.

We now have at Port Orford about six hundred, and about two hundred and fifty at the mouth of Rogue River, all of whom have unconditionally surrendered. They will be escorted to the southern part of the coast reservation by United States troops, together with any of the other bands that may come in.

I deemed it best, under all the circumstances, to transport by steamer from Port Orford here the six hundred just arrived. The views and causes including that determination will be presented you in my detailed report of the operations in that district, which will be transmitted by the next mail.

The latest intelligence from the Yakima country indicates a favorable prospect for peace.

It was determined by Col. Buchanan, the military officer in command of the district, to return and hold all those Indians now at Port Orford as prisoners of war until they reached the reservation, when they would be turned over to the proper officers of the Indian Department.

The six hundred Indians just arrived, being mostly of the friendly bands, will be located on the northern portion of the reservation, near the Siletz River. The company of troops under Capt. Augur, Fourth Infantry, who came up with them, numbering seventy-two men, will be posted at the Grande Ronde as a permanent post.

I take a moment to remark that the official acts of Agent Olney have been such at Port Orford as to call for my immediate attention, and that such measure will at once be taken as to effectually shield the Indian department on account thereof. The next mail will convey to you the specialties of the matter to which I here refer.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully, your obedient servant, Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

June 28 (Saturday).

Dr. Glisan: *Captain Ord, with his and Major Reynold's companies, arrived here on the twenty-third, and left again with the same command on the following day for the "field." His orders were to proceed to a point on the Big Bend trail, some twelve miles from here, and await the arrival of Old John, who is expected to surrender to him. Yesterday an express came in from the Captain with the information that Old John, with his whole band, would probably reach his camp in three days from day before yesterday. When the latter and the Chetcoes shall have come in, the Rogue River war may be considered closed.*

Dr. Evans: *. . . and after proceeding a mile or so along a ridge ascended another still higher. About 5-1/2 P. M. emerged from the heavily timbered country and again followed the bed of the creek; crossed it twice during the afternoon. The rocks seen on the route were generally sandstone, bluish gray and a highly crystalline and rather compact, fine grained and yellowish ash colored sandstone, noticed several exposures of a rock of slaty structure. The hills generally have a rounded appearance, and the strata of rock are nearly horizontal.*

Camped at 6 P. M. on a small creek, tributary of Elk Creek, about 1-1/2 miles this side Umpqua River. Distance travelled seventeen miles.

June 29 (Sunday).

Dr. Evans: *Light rain. Started at 6-1/2 A. M. Our way still followed Elk Creek, narrow strip of bottom land on one side or the other, generally on the right bank. Country bordering mountainous; crossed Elk Creek at its junction with the Umpqua R. and then followed the course of that river. From this crossing there is a good wagon road to Scottsburg, it is the road that comes out at Winchester. The valley of the Umpqua is quite narrow, but there is sufficient land on one or the other bank for a claim nearly the whole way to Scottsburg, at any rate to within two or three miles; the soil generally is a sandy loam and appears to be quite productive. Saw oats on the route in several places where the stalks were from six to seven feet high and the head well filled with grain. Most of the claims along this route seem to have been taken, but there are many vacant cabins along the route and some of them may have been abandoned. About two miles from Scottsburg, upper and lower, are situated on a narrow strip of land at the base of high steep hills covered with fir, etc.*

Started at 12 M. in Steamer Washington for mouth of Umpqua River; flat boat for horses. There are no bottom lands below Scottsburg, the mountains generally covered with fir cedar, etc., came down to the waters edge. The river presents no variety of scenery, but winds about in a

generally western course to the ocean. Sandstone of massive structure is the prevailing rock. I did not see much slate only a dyke or two. As we descended the river, after a distance of sixteen miles, the river widened and the hills became less elevated. Smiths River enters the Umpqua from the N. E.; opposite its mouth is a small low island, and on the left bank enters a small creek. The river at this point is a mile and a half wide and bears to the N. of M. Two miles further on the Umpqua makes a sharp turn to the south presenting in the distance a sight of the ocean. The Custom House is on the north point of this bend.

Opposite on the other side of the river is a fine exposure of sandstone, the bank is heavily wooded with fir, etc., but three or four acres at the top of the bluff have been cleared for a garden. It was formerly the site of a large Indian village. Crossed with my animals to the other side of the river where there is pretty good grass.

June 30 (Monday).

Capt. Cram: About 20 miles above the mouth of Rogue river Captain Augur had another fight with a party, about the 8th June, and brought them in; and by the last of June the Rogue river war was at an end, and all the Indians that had defied the "southern army" of Oregon so successfully were either at or on their way to the coast reservation in western Oregon.

July 1 (Tuesday).

Dr. Evans: Started in a canoe for my camp on the opposite side of the river. Found my men near an unoccupied settlers house in a pretty good meadow formerly occupied as an indian camp, fine exposure of sandstone bluffs at this point. The tide being favorable (low tide) started at 6-1/2 A. M. and passed round a bluff of rocky point to the beach beyond, fine hard white sand beach at low tide or where the water covers it at the rise and fall of the tides, above, the sand is heavy and drifting. Fine view of the breakers. From this point to Coose Bay, twenty two miles, there is no rock exposed in place or on the beach. At the distance of twenty miles from our camp crossed a point of land two miles wide to the Bay. This is also drifting sand, and the track of travellers is obliterated as soon as made. On the Bay on this side found pretty good meadow grass extending several miles up the Bay and in a slough. The opposite side of the Bay is heavily wooded, and the bank is composed of sandstone and drift. The Bay is about a mile and a half wide, and difficult to cross, except in the morning and at night, owing to the prevailing winds during the day which make it quite rough.

Camped opposite Empire City in a clump of small pine trees, with fine soft grass for our beds. Our route today, with the exception of the crossing of the point before alluded to, has been entirely on the beach with a fine view of the breakers all the way. Distance travelled twenty three miles.

A. G. Walling [1884: 282-283]: Under date of May thirty-first. Governor Curry made proclamation, that as the Indians seemed pretty well subdued, the volunteers in the field were ordered to be dis- banded, with the exception of Keith's and Blakely's companies, which under the command of a major, should remain to protect such settlements as seemed in possible danger, and to perform other necessary duties. This order, issued somewhat prematurely, was "1855-1856 Indian War"/Zybach 20120515

disregarded by General Lamerick, and we find him in the field a month later, no doubt to the vast annoyance of the regular officers, who took to themselves the credit of concluding the war and severely blamed the volunteers for harsh treatment of such Indians as fell into their hands.

The remaining acts of the citizen soldiery can be briefly told. Major Bruce headed an expedition down the coast to the country of the Chetco and Pistol River bands, and killed three males and took fifty prisoners. The Indians laid down their arms on being fired on, but some retreating to the brush, were ordered to come out, which they did. The chief of the Chetcoes was brought in by Captain Bledsoe, who distinguished himself by his activity and bravery on many occasions. On June twenty-second. Major Latshaw, with Keith, Noland, and Blakely's companies, marched from the mouth of the river via Fort Lamerick to Camas prairie and Deer creek, and the troops going to Eugene City were there disbanded. General Lamerick, with Barnes' company, proceeded to Port Orford, with orders for this organization to be mustered out on July first. Captain Bledsoe, with his men, remained in service for a short time subsequently.

On the twentieth of June Chief John sent five of his braves to Buchanan's headquarters to announce that their leader would surrender on the same terms as had Limpy, George and other chiefs, but he wished the whites to guarantee safety to Enos, who was an object of particular aversion to the volunteers. Enos, within a few weeks of the massacre, had joined forces with John, but had been deserted by the Coast Indians whose speedy surrender had alienated him from his former associates. In this strait he had found a friend in John, whose solicitude in his protege's behalf argues a strong vein of humanity in his character. Previously the chief had refused all overtures of peace, saying that war suited him sufficiently well, and that in spite of the desertion of all the other Indians he would remain in his beloved country and fight continually. But by the first of July all the known hostiles had surrendered save a few about Pistol River, and John's own band; and the latter were now deserted by a small number of Klamaths, who, loving fighting for its own sake, and doubtless attracted by the renown of the celebrated chief whose achievements had become known to the Indians throughout Oregon and Northern California, left their too quiet home near the lakes, and came to learn the art of war under this savage leader. Deserted by these and sated with unequal combats, John surrendered to the regular army, an escort of 110 soldiers being sent out to accompany him and his little band of thirty-five to Port Orford.

July 2, 1856: Dr. Evans arrives in Coos Bay; Tyee John arrives in Port Orford

July 2 (Wednesday).

Dr. Glisan: *This morning Captain Ord's command arrived, bringing in the famous Old John and his band -- the terror of Southern Oregon. Ord went some twelve miles from here, and sent for Old John to come in -- the latter reached his camp on the twenty-ninth ultimo, and gave up twenty-five guns -- all good and in excellent order. It is supposed that he has retained a good many pistols -- if so, these also will probably be taken away from him. He brings with him thirty-five men, capable of bearing arms, ninety women and ninety children. He is about fifty-five years old -- not at all prepossessing in appearance -- has a resolute, discontented, and unhappy appearance. The disparity between the number of women and men, is partially owing to the fact that more of the latter have been killed in battle, but in a measure also to the habit of the men of this band marrying squaws belonging to other tribes. Being the most warlike tribe in the country they enjoy this privilege more than any other band.*

Dr. Evans: *At 6-1/2 A. M. crossed the Bay to Empire City, called on Mr. Simmons and promised to accompany him on foot across the narrow strip of high land to the coal localities. Found the way heavily timbered with cedar, spruce, fir, and hemlock, the cedar is a different species from that in the Willamette Valley, and is much more suitable for the manufacture of furniture and other ornamental work, it takes a high polish. The soil is a sandy loam, or clay loam, near the city sandy, but it improves as you ascend towards the high ridge running along the Bay. In that ridge is the great coal deposit. The range appears to be from a little N. W. to a little E. of South and is seen at various points for sixty or seventy miles.*

The coal mine of Mr. Simmons is situated in a ravine about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from the slough, an arm of the Bay. It is navigable for ships drawing fifteen feet to the coal mine, or rather to Northrop and Simonds Depot at the termination of a rail road three quarters of a mile from the mine. The main shaft has penetrated three hundred feet, with chambers on each side, but owing to spontaneous combustion labor has been suspended recently and a new shaft opened which has penetrated one hundred feet.

Messrs. Rogers and Flanagan's mine is situated in a ravine opening into a slough the same as that of Northrop and Simonds, but two miles higher up. The mine is about three quarters of a mile from the slough at an elevation of 54 feet above the water.

Mrs. Victor [1894: vvv]: *As soon as his wounded could be moved, Smith set off by easy marches for the mouth of the river, embarrassed by the number of his prisoners, which more than doubled that of the regulars and volunteers. Some fears were expressed that the Indians, even without guns, and only armed with stones, might make an attack on numbers so inferior, but no outbreak occurred on the passage.*

On arriving at the mouth of Rogue river it was found that a band of renegades from the coast tribes were about attacking the camp of the miners at Gold Beach, which again furnished work for the troops, who together killed about forty of them before capturing the remainder. As the regular camp moved from Rogue river to Port Orford, it gathered up the Pistol-river and Chetco

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Indians, the month of June being spent in this movement, which ended at Port Orford, July second.

July 3.

Joel Palmer [Dayton, Oregon letter to Hon. Manypenny, Washington, DC (US Senate 1893: 50-55)]: *SIR: Referring to my letter of June 23, I have now the honor to submit a report of my doings in the late trip to Port Orford.*

You were previously advised of my intention to visit that district of country, in order, if possible, to induce the Indians inhabiting that region to come to terms and close the war in southern Oregon. Previous to leaving for that district, I directed Sub-Indian Agent Metcalfe to take with him two Indians of the Rogue River tribe, then at the Grande Ronde, to act as messengers, and proceed to the Rogue River Valley, and, if possible, have an interview with George and Limpy (two noted war chiefs), with directions to meet me with their people at Port Orford. He was then to proceed to Illinois Valley and confer with old Chief John, the reputed leading war chief of southern Oregon, and, if possible, to induce him and his band to meet the other tribes at Port Orford, and go with them to the coast reservation.

I took passage on the steamer Columbia on the 14th ultimo, accompanied by W. H. Wright as messenger, and arrived at Port Orford on the 16th.

Col. Buchanan, in command of the regular troops operating in that district, had been absent some time, and for several days no intelligence had been received as to his whereabouts; and as it was expected that a pack train would be in for supplies within a few days, and the uncertainty of finding the command, I determined to await the arrival of this train, and made use of the time in conferring with the Indians assembled at Port Orford, and sending messengers to scattering bands who had not been enraged in hostilities. A considerable number of the Lower Coquille bands had been once induced to come in, but by the meddlesome interference of a few squaw men and reckless disturbers of the peace they were frightened and fled the encampment.

A party of miners and others, who had collected at Port Orford, volunteered, pursued, and attacked these Indians near the mouth of Coquille, killing fourteen men and one woman and taking a few prisoners. This was claimed by them as a battle notwithstanding no resistance [sic] was made by the Indians. A portion of this band were yet in the mountains, and the Upper Coquilles were nearly all at their old homes, or skulking in the vicinity. Before my arrival Agent Olney had sent messengers to those bands, and information had been received that those living near the coast were coming in. I dispatched messengers to all the upper bands, and on the 2d they came into camp, and expressed a willingness to remain at any point which might be designated. In reply to questions asked those who had previously been there and fled why they left, they replied that they were told that one object in getting them there was to put them to death.

This impression by then it appeared to be very well verified: for among the number who first surrendered of this band were two Indians who had been charged with participating in the murder of two white men two years previous. The citizens demanded their arrest. One was taken

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and delivered to Lieut. McFeely, commanding at Port Orford, and was put by him in the guardhouse. The other made his escape. A few days after, Agent Olney requested the lieutenant to permit him to take the Indian before a civil officer for examination. which request was complied with, when the Indian was turned over by the agent to a mass meeting of the people assembled for that purpose, tried, condemned, and immediately executed by hanging. It is proper, however, to state that this Indian pleaded to have confessed his guilt, through an interpreter, and very likely deserved death, but that could give no justification for the act of the agent in turning him over and aiding a mob in thus unlawfully condemning him and executing him.

[I will in another communication, advert to the acts of this agent, and suggest such action of as I think the public service requires.]

On the 20th the pack train from Col. Buchanan's command arrived at Port Orford, but did not leave before the 24th. I availed myself of the opportunity to accompany the escort with this train as far as the mouth of the Rogue River, when, with Agent Olney. W. H. Wright, J. L. McPherson. and three Port Orford Indians, we proceeded in advance to the point on Illinois River said to be Col. Buchanan's camp. This we reached, over a mountain trail, on the morning of the 27th, but found the camp deserted. Following down the river to its juncture with Rogue River, we found a part of the colonel's command.

Whilst encamped on Illinois River, Col. Buchanan had succeeded in inducing the chiefs of all the bands in southern Oregon engaged in hostilities, including Old John's, George's, and Limpy's to come into council, where, with the exception of John's band, all had agreed to come in, give up their arms, and go to the reservation. John was willing to make peace, but would not agree to leave the country, but would live and die in it. An agreement was made by which Capt. Smith and Lieut. Switzer, with their companies, were to meet George's, Limpy's, Cow Creeks, and Galleace Creek bands in four days at the Big Bend of Rogue River, and escort them to the northern cut of the co list reservation by way of Fort Line. Other companies were to meet at the coast, and some of the Rogue River bands at a point near the Macanotan village, 6 miles below the mouth of Illinois River, and escort them to the coast reservation by way of Port Orford. In accordance with this arrangement, Capt. Smith and Lieut. Switzer went to the point indicated, and Capt. Augur proceeded in the direction to the lower encampment. Maj. Reynolds was ordered to take the trail leading to Port Orford, expecting to meet Capt. Ord with the pack train of supplies, and escort them to a point where the trails diverge to the respective encampments, with a view of forwarding supplies to the different companies.

The colonel had accompanied Capt. Augur's company to the top of the mountain when a messenger informed him of my arrival at the river camp and that the pack train had taken another trail. This rendered it necessary that he should change his plans, which he did, by ordering the companies of Maj. Reynolds and Capt. Smith back. About this time a messenger from Capt. Smith's camp informed him that they expected an attack from the Indians in that quarter. The messenger was sent back and the colonel and Capt. Augur's companies returned opposite the mouth of Illinois River, which is some 7 miles below the Big Bend or Capt. Smith's encampment. This point was reached at sunset. In the evening quite a number of canoes filled with Indians came up the river, many of whom appeared anxious to pass on to the Big Bend;

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others were merely wishing to fish; others desired to inform the upper bands of my arrival, etc. A guard was placed at the river bank and none allowed to pass up. Quite a number remained with us through the night. In the morning we had a talk with the Port Orford Indians, from whom we learned that John had about one hundred warriors who had resolved upon attacking Capt. Smith's command; but as there were about ninety men in the two companies, with a howitzer, no uneasiness was felt as to their safety.

On the morning of the 28th, Capt. Augur was directed to open a trail up the river to the Big Bend; but soon after he left the messenger, who had the day previous returned to Capt. Smith's camp, arrived and reported that those companies were and had been during the night engaged in a fight with the Indians; that the camp was entirely surrounded by them, and that he was unable to approach it. Capt. Augur was immediately recalled and directed to take two days' rations and proceed to reinforce Capt. Smith. With Agent Olney and W. H. Wright I accompanied Capt. Augur, reaching the Big Bend at 4 o'clock p. m., where we found the Indians assembled to the number of, perhaps, 200, and the camp entirely surrounded. A charge was made by Capt. Augur, and the Indians gave way, when Lieut. Switzer charged those in the rear of his camp, driving them from their position, and the route became general. The Indians left the field when the camp was moved to a more eligible position. The engagement had lasted about thirty-six hours, the last twelve of which the army was without water. Seven men and 1 Indian ally were killed and 18 men wounded, 1 of whom mortally, up to the time of our arrival. In the charges made by Capt. Augur 2 men were killed and 3 wounded.

Previous to the engagement two women, nieces of Chief Elijah, who is now with Sam's band on the Grande Ronde Reservation, came into Capt. Smith's camp and remained during the entire siege. On the morning of the 7th I sent these two women as messengers to George and Limpy to advise them to come in and comply with the demands made by Col. Buchanan. They returned on the same day with an Indian on horseback, who desired an interview with me. I met him outside of camp. He finally came in, and I sent by him a message to George and Limpy as the women had failed seeing them, but brought a report that the volunteers had attacked their camp, killed George and several others, and had taken several women and children prisoners; but later in the day one of those said to have been killed came with my messengers, who returned and informed me that George had made his escape, but that "one man and one woman had been killed, and one man wounded, and that George and Limpy would be here to-morrow." On the morning of the 30th a messenger was sent to the Cow Creek, another to the Galleace Creek, and to John's band. In the evening George and Limpy, with their people, came into camp, gave up their guns, and submitted as prisoners of war. They denied being in the recent engagement, and said they would have been in sooner, but John threatened if they attempted it he would shoot them.

On the 31st Maj. Latshaw, with 150 volunteers, reached the Big Bend from the Meadows, and remained until June 1, and then returned. They had taken a number of women and children prisoners. I requested that they might be turned over to me, as the men to whom the women and children belonged were prisoners in my camp. This was denied with an avowal on the part of the major that they should not leave his command until they were turned over to his superior officer, and declared if they attempted to make their escape, or if they (his company) were attacked by the Indians, he would put them all to death; he alleging also in his conversation that the same

bands which we were then getting in might have been got in three months ago upon the same conditions that they were coming in to us, but that their orders were to take no prisoners.

On the 9th Gen. Lamerick, in command of the volunteers, arrived at the Big Bend, bringing the women and children previously taken by Maj. Latshaw, accompanied by Sub-agent Metcalfe and the two Indians from the reservation. On Gen. Lamerick's arrival at the Meadows, from which he had been absent some time, he turned those prisoners over to Mr. Metcalfe, and on reaching the Big Bend they were immediately placed under the care of Col. Buchanan, with other bands, which had numbered by this time 205 souls.

On the 2d of June Maj. Reynolds and Capt. Augur were directed with their companies to follow down the river as far as the mouth of Illinois and retain possession of that post, and collect any scattering Indians which might be found in that vicinity. These companies were accompanied by Capt. Bludso and his company of volunteers, who had been operating along the coast between Port Orford and Chetco. Maj. Reynolds was to remain at the mouth of Illinois River, Capt. Augur to pass down the north, and Capt. Bludso down the south bank of Rogue River to the Indian village below, and after interrogating them as to their feelings and intentions in relation to coming under the arrangement with Col. Buchanan, and if evidence of a refusal so to do was apparent, they were to attack them; otherwise, they were to receive them in accordance with previous arrangements. Statements of Indians then in our camp went to show that a considerable number of the bands down the river were engaged in the fight against Capt. Smith, and that they had determined upon violating the pledged given Col. Buchanan at Oak Flats, on Illinois River.

About 5 miles below the Big Bend of Rogue River is a village of Cistocootes Indians, who are understood to be among the number recently engaged against Capt. Smith, but who professedly had gone below to await the arrival of Capt. Auger. Upon arriving at this village, fine advance of their detachments discovered a few Indians on an island in the river, who, upon being lied to, attempted to flee, when they were fired upon, and three Indians and one woman were killed: the others made their escape down the river. The village was then burned, and the troops proceeded to the mouth of Illinois River, where they remained during the night. On the 3d Augur and Bludso proceeded as before indicated, and upon reaching the Indian encampment a few were seen in canoes, who were hailed, but sought to make their escape: a fire was opened upon them by Capt. Augurs company, and in a few minutes a general attack was made upon the encampment, the Indians fleeing into the river and attempting to cross, but were met by Capt. Bludso's company of volunteers. Fourteen indians were killed in this attack, and a number of men, women, and children -- were supposed to be drowned in their attempt to escape, being at the head of along rapid in the river, which was very rocky and rough.

Very little resistance was made by the Indians, no one of the companies receiving the least wound from them. Capt. Augur then proceeded to the camp designated as the point to receive the Indians (having sent a messenger directing them when and where to meet the camp).

On the 16th Col. Buchanan moved his entire camp in the direction of Port Orford, escorting the Indians who, at that date, had collected to the number of 27, souls. (In the meantime, having received information that considerable excitement existed among the citizens and Indians at Port

Orford, and having a general stampede among those Indians, I directed Agent Olney on the 6th to return to that point).

Leaving the command of Col. Buchanan, I proceeded and joined that of Capt. Bludso. On the evening of the 10th a part of the Indians had already come in and delivered up their arms. On the 11th additional messengers were sent: and on the morning of the 12th 421 Indians had joined Capt. Augur's camp. This, with the 27, made an aggregate of 69 souls, which, on the 13th, took up the line of march to Port Orford.

Whilst at Capt. Augur's camp, two sons of old Chief John came in to ascertain the condition upon which his band would be received by them. I sent a message reiterating the conditions offered by Col. Buchanan, and explaining to them the advantages likely to accrue to the tribe in yielding to the terms which were to come and go to the coast reservation under an escort of United States troops. The young men (John's sons) agreed to use their influence to induce this band to come in and to give the chief the benefit of a full knowledge of the treatment extended to the Rogue River Indians on the Grande Ronde reservation. One of the messengers who came with Mr. Metcalfe from the Grande Rhonde, and with whom the old chief was intimately acquainted, was sent to have an interview with him. The impression of this messenger was that John and his entire band would come in, and a day was fixed for them to repair to the mouth of Rogue River, a point to which Maj. Reynolds, Capt. Jones, and Lieut. Drisdell, with their respective companies, were respectively directed to repair and meet them and the (Chetcoos, Pistol River band, and a few of those residing along Rogue River below the Cosotoul village. These bands, with those already surrendered, comprise the entire hostile parties in southern Oregon. The encampment of John's party was said to be on the forks below Illinois and Rogue rivers, a distance, owing to the nature of the country, requiring from four to six days to go and return with their people to the point indicated.

Having adjusted these matters, I returned with my party to Port Orford, where I found the people, Indian agents, and Indians equally zealous and suspicious of each other. A few Indian women, claimed by white men, had circulated a report that spies were in the habit of coming from Rogue River and visiting the Indian encampment at Port Orford during the night, and that a plot had been matured by which they were to attack and destroy first the town and next the garrison, and that these Indians had proceeded up the coast for the purpose of selecting a combination among the Coos Bay and Umpqua Indians. Agent Olney appeared so well satisfied at the truth of this report that he reported the matter to me by express messenger. and had sent an express up the coast to Subagent Drew, informing him of the matter, and reporting that a volunteer company, which had been stationed at Coos Bay, and which had previously made application to me tendering their services to aid in removing the Indians, and which services I had refused to accept, and recommended a dismissal of, should not be disbanded, as their services doubtless would be required.

This matter held somewhat subsided, and matters remained comparatively quiet until after the arrival of Col. Buchanan with his command and the Indian prisoners, when the lovers of excitement succeeded in creating another fresh one, which for a time seemed to threaten abortion to all hopes of effecting a reconciliation. Upon this occasion I visited the Indians' encampment, collected the chiefs, explained to them the report I had heard, and requested that

they would deliver themselves unconditionally to me, and go to the fort and remain during the night said to be fixed upon for the attack. They consented without hesitation. In the morning they were allowed to return to their camp. Yet many believed a plan had been arranged among these tribes to attack the garrison and town and cooperate with those in the field: but I am satisfied the whole thing was concocted by evil-disposed persons to cause a stampede among the Indians; and as a mutual fear existed between the parties, a trifling report caused the alarm.

Fearing that similar and more serious and successful efforts would be made to cause a rupture with these bands, and the fact that quite a number were unable, from old age and sickness, to travel by land, and the absence of the necessary means to transport provision for so great a number of Indians, I deemed it better to transport by steam to Portland, thence by river boats to Dayton, from whence they could be transported by teams belonging to the Department to the coast. Another consideration inducing this step was the limited amount of rations at Port Orford and the delay and great expense attending its procurement.

The slow rate at which we should have had to travel with this band would have required nearly one month to reach the destined encampment. Rations for that time would necessarily have to be transported to the coast, of which alone would have been no inconsiderable amount. The passage here from Port Orford was agreed upon at \$10 per head (usual steerage fare -- \$20), not counting infants, which fare was to include rations and the transportation of baggage. They were put on board in a hurry, and their number could not accurately be taken, but were estimated at 010, a subsequent enumeration gives 710 souls -- 119 men, 226 women, 127 boys, and 118 girls; 95 of the boys and girls were infants.

The passage fare from Portland to Oregon City was \$500, and from there to Dayton, -\$550.

With the exception of the Upper Coquille band, all those who have been congregated at Port Orford during the war came upon the steamer, as did also the Enguas and a part of the Jeshuts, Macanotens, Techaquit, Klantlals, Too-too- tone. Cosatomy, Scotons, and Cow Creek Umpquaahs. [sic]

These bands have been engaged in the late hostilities, and a few had taken a very active part in the murder of our citizens and burning and destroying property. At the commencement of hostilities in the war of Rogue River they hid, however, yielded and given up their arms and submitted as prisoners of war, with a pledge from the military officers of a safe conduct to the reservation.

Very many of those people were in a very destitute condition, their property and effects being chiefly burned with their village.

This consideration had doubtless its effect in inducing them to submit to terms. Those who had remained friendly and stationed at Port Orford, owing to the confinement and entire absence of means to obtain clothing, were destitute of essential articles to appear decent, much less comfortable. The goods given them at the time of the treaty had nearly all disappeared, and very many of the band were nearly in a state of nudity.

Upon arriving at Portland I purchased such goods as their necessities required and demanded, directing their shipment to Dayton, where they are now being distributed to the individual members of the families. The non arrival of a part of their goods will prevent their departure to the coast before Monday, the 7th. They are generally in good health, and appear well pleased with the trip, but anxious to reach the point of destination to see their future home. In coming up the coast the steamer had neared the beach along the upper line of the reservation, and the appearance of the country appeared to give them great satisfaction and encouragement. They viewed the point designated as their home with great interest, and appeared well pleased with its prospects. They obeyed cheerfully every requirement, and if the proper interest is shown we have nothing to fear from these people.

It is expected that such of those left at Port Orford, and those that may come in who are unable to travel by land or foot, will be sent up by steamer, the expense being less than to hire animals to be used for such service.

Prior to my leaving home, I directed Capt. Rinearson, with a party of 8 men, to proceed by land to Port Orford, taking with him horses to transport provisions and aid in removing Indians to the reservation; he was at the point in due time, where I left him to take charge of and remove the upper band of Coquilles; they were to have started on the 30th ultimo. Col. Buchanan contemplated forwarding different detachments in the direction of the reservation as soon as those bands were collected.

The first effort made to induce the Indians to come up by steamer was met by great opposition, but when told that I would accompany them, and that the trip would be performed in so short a time and this mode contrasted with the time and hardships attending the trip up the trail, they yielded, and a greater number came than I had at first designed taking.

A difference of opinion may be entertained as to the kind of treatment these prisoners should receive at our hands. It is evident to me that a proper discrimination should be made between them and those who have remained friendly. The degree of guilt in instigating the insurrection, and the part each took in the first outrages perpetrated against our people, should also be taken into consideration.

The importance of closing the war before the periodical drouth, which would enable the enemy, with comparative little risk to themselves, to destroy entire settlements, and the great difficulty in prosecuting a war against such a people in mountainous region, may be regarded as justifying less stringent measures with the enemy than many would deem proper.

The future management of these Indians, and the maintenance of peace hereafter, should not be lost sight of in the adoption of measures for the present.

The unconditional surrender of these Indians to Col. Buchanan had coupled with it a condition that they were to go to the Coast Reservation under an escort of United States troops, and that, of course, implied protection.

A detail of what was to follow, of course, was not discussed, and the arrest and trial of all the leaders in the attack last made could not be construed by us as a breach of faith but it would doubtless be implied by some as such. An example, however, made of some of the principal leaders by a trial and punishment, would undoubtedly have a salutary influence; but if such were contemplated, that examination and trial, in my opinion, should be made by the military department prior to their removal to and location on the reservation. If they refused to surrender upon condition that they shall give up their leaders for trial and punishment, it is good evidence that they are not whipped. If they are received without any such expressed condition, but upon terms which they would construe as overlooking the past, it will undoubtedly require additional military force for a few years to insure their good conduct. An entire separation from the whites, except such as are employed in the service, with discreet, just, and proper agents to constantly watch over them, may reduce them to a state of quietude and order.

I have the honor to remain your obedient servant, Joel Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

July 4.

Lt. Chandler [Port Orford letter to Gen. Palmer (US Senate 1893: 57)]: *ORDERS. HEADQUARTERS FORT ORFORD, OREGON, DISTRICT SOUTHERN OREGON AND NORTHERN CALIFORNIA, [ORDERS No. 6.] July 4, 1856.*

The war heretofore existing in this district having been closed by the surrender of the several hostile Indian bands, the following distribution of the troops will be made in obedience to instructions from the commanding general of the department:

Company C, First Dragoons, Capt. A. J. Smith, will proceed via Fort Lane, to take his post at the upper pass to the Coast reservation, halting long enough at the former post to allow the necessary arrangements for this change of station to be made, and for the settlement of unfinished public business. Asst. Surg. C. H. Crane will accompany the command to its new post, and First Lieut. N. B. Switzer, First Dragoons, as far as Fort Lane, where he will turn over his public property to First Lieut. E. Underwood, Fourth Infantry, and then join his proper company.

Company B, Third Artillery, Capt. E. O. C. Ord, will proceed to Benicia, Cal., taking passage on the steamer Columbia on her next downward trip.

Company F, Fourth Infantry, Capt. De Floyd Jones, will proceed in the Columbia on her next upward trip to escort George and Limpy's bands and the Lower Rogue River Indians, via Portland, to the Coast reservation, and having turned them over to the Indian Department, will take post at the upper pass.

Company H, Third Artillery, Bvt. Maj. J. F. Reynolds, with the detachment of E, Fourth Infantry, Second Lieut. J. G. Chandler, Third Artillery, will move on Wednesday, the 9th instant, to escort Old John's band, the Pistol Liver and Chetco Indians to the Coast reservation, and they having been turned over to the Indian Department, Company H will take post near the mouth of the Siuslaw River. The detachment of Company E having performed such further escort duty as

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maybe requisite to guard the Indians to their several locations, will rejoin its proper company. Asst. Surg. J. J. Milhan will accompany the command.

The sick and wounded in hospital will remain at this post, under the medical care of Asst. Surg. R. Glison, until further orders from the headquarters of the department. The necessary attendants will be left with them.

II. First Lieut. R. McFeely, Fourth Infantry, acting assistant quartermaster, will furnish the necessary transportation for the commands of Capt. Ord and Floyd Jones, making a separate contract for the passage fare of the Indians to Portland. Capt. Floyd Jones will perform the duties of acting-assistant quartermaster to his command and furnish transportation from Portland.

* * * * *

IV. The commanding officer of the district can not separate from these troops that have formed his command in the field without acknowledging his obligations to officers and men for their ready, cheerful, and energetic efforts to perform the duties assigned them, which have resulted, under Providence, so themselves and so creditably to beneficial to our country. The result of the campaign is the best evidence of the value of their services.

He takes this opportunity to return his thanks to the officers of his staff, Second Lieut. J. G. Chandler, Third Artillery, acting assistant adjutant-general, First Lieut. R. McFeeley, Fourth Infantry, acting assistant commissary of subsistence and acting assistant quartermaster of this department; Second Lieut. G. P. Ihrie, Third Artillery, acting assistant commissary of subsistence and acting assistant quartermaster to the troops in the Crane field; Assistant Surgs. E. H. and J. J. Milhan, on duty in the field, and Assistant Surg. R. Glison, in charge of the general hospital, for the prompt and efficient manner in which they discharged their various duties.

He also takes great pleasure in acknowledging the valuable Joel Palmer, superintendent services of Gen. of Indian affairs. whose presence in our camp, and judicious exertions. contributed in a great degree to produce the rapidity with which the various bands of the enemy surrendered themselves.

To one and all of those who have served with him the commanding officer offers his kindest wishes for their future welfare.

By order of Bvt. Lieut. Col. R. C. Buchanan: J. G. Chandler, Second Lieutenant, Third Artillery, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General.

July 5.

Dr. Glisan: *Yesterday the grand anniversary of our National Independence was celebrated by a Federal salute of thirteen guns at dawn of day, and thirty-one at noon, and at nine P. M. by five rockets, which were sent up from the highest point of the heads, to the great admiration and astonishment of the Indians, most of whom had never seen the like before. In Port Orford thirty-one guns were fired at noon, and thirteen at sundown. The second gun at noon went off*

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prematurely, burning the man who was ramming the charge very severely -- the ramrod was shot between his hands into the ocean. The accident was owing to his not sponging the piece before loading it. Several fights also occurred in the village. After our national salute all the officers assembled at the Colonel's quarters and partook of refreshments. We were then informed by Colonel B. that he had the pleasure of announcing the Indian war on Rogue River closed.

July 8, 1856: Six hundred Indians sent from Port Orford to Portland by steamship

July 8

Dr. Glisan: *The steamer "Columbia" arrived here last evening, and left to-day at one P. M. for Portland, taking on board at this place five hundred and ninety-two Indians, (excluding infants) who are being escorted by Captain Delancy Floyd Jones' company F, Fourth Infantry, to the coast reservation. Day after tomorrow the remainder of the Indians, including Old John's band, and a portion of the Chetcoes, will also start for the same destination. They are to go by land, and will be accompanied by Major Reynold's company, H, Third Artillery, and a detachment of company E, Fourth Infantry. All the Indians of Southern Oregon, with the exception of a few stragglers, have surrendered. They number eighteen hundred persons, besides the small children.*

Col. Buchanan [Fort Orford letter to Gen. Palmer (US Senate 1893: 56)]: *DEAR SIR: Allow me to thank you for your kind letter of the 24th ultimo, which was received by the return of the Columbia, and to congratulate you upon the success of the experiment of sending the Indians by sea, as it has produced a very favorable result. Capt. Floyd Jones will go up in the steamer this time with George and Limpy's people and the remainder of the Lower Rogue River Indians, to follow the same route that Augur's party did, and I trust they will be equally fortunate in their weather. You will be happy to learn that the war is really closed by the surrender of Old John and all his people on the 29th ultimo. They arrived here on the 2d, and will leave to-morrow with the Chitcoes and Pistol Rivers, or rather with such of these latter scamps as have not stolen off with George, as some of them have done, escorted by Maj. Reynolds and Lieut. Chandler.*

There are some ten or fifteen Indians, perhaps. scattered about in the woods who have not yet come in, but I shall make an effort to have them collected by Capt. Smith at Fort Lane and taken up by him when he goes. I have forwarded you two of my orders for your information, and hope that you will excuse me for mentioning your name in one of them, as, although it can not be of any service to you, it will at least show my appreciation of your efforts in the common cause. I shall leave here for Benicia on the steamer on her return, having been ordered to report in person to the general, and it will give me pleasure to inform him verbally of the value of your services.

I am, sir, with much respect, your obedient servant, Robt. C. Buchanan, Lieutenant-colonel U. S. Army.

July 10, 1856: Tyee John, 125 Indians, 200 mules leave Port Orford by pack trail

July 12.

Dr. Glisan: *Old John's band got off on the tenth instant, escorted by Major Reynold's company, and a detachment of company E, Fourth Infantry. The officers were Major Reynolds, Doctor Milhau, Lieutenant Chandler and Lieutenant Drysdale. The troops took with them over two hundred splendid mules; one hundred and sixty of which were used as pack animals. They had provisions for themselves (ninety men) and the Indians (one hundred and twenty-five men, women, and children, infants excluded,) for ninety days. Old John's party was larger than this; but some of them went up on the steamer. Most of the Chetcoes were sent by sea; the remainder of the latter are included in the above one hundred and twenty-five.*

I rode out in the afternoon to Major Reynolds first day's camp, and partook of a parting dinner with him. On the same day company C, First Dragoons, commanded by Captain A. J. Smith, started for the post to be established at the upper end of the reservation. As he was to go via Fort Lane, he went down the coast instead of up. He had with him only forty-five men -- the officers are himself, Dr. C. H. Crane and Lieutenant Nelson B. Sweitzer. Companies C, and E, took a few of their convalescent wounded with them; the remainder, except two who have died since their arrival here, remain in the general hospital at this post, of which I am still in charge. When Colonel Buchanan, Captain Ord, and Lieutenant Ihrie, with company B, Third Artillery, leave here to-morrow, Lieutenant R. McFeeley and myself will be the only officers remaining at the post; and besides the sick, hospital steward, hospital attendants, and some three others, there will be no troops.

Coquelle Thompson: *"They don't want to move, but at last, pretty near July, they gave up. Chief say, "we stay here, maybe white people will bother us, and we kill white people. There will be nothing but trouble. We have to go where they tell us. Their gov't will take care of us." I was about six or seven. I can remember a little -- about our traveling. My father had to leave two good canoes from Tillamook. Some canoes from California were redwood. Some people buried their Indian money. They couldn't carry it."*

July 13.

Dr. Glisan: *The steamer "Columbia" touched this morning on her downward trip, taking on board Colonel Buchanan, Captain Ord and Lieutenant Ihrie, and Company B, Third Artillery.*

By the previous steamer, we learned that Colonel Wright was still with his forces on the Natchez River, holding a council with the hostile Indians, who seemed disposed to make peace. This steamer brings the news that the Indians have all fled, and that the troops have thus far been unable to make peace or get a fight, out of them. The Colonel has gone in pursuit.

July 14.

Dr. Glisan: *Judge Deady arrived here day before yesterday, to hold court at Port Orford; accompanying him was Dr. Evans, United States Geologist for Oregon. I had the pleasure of*

forming the acquaintance of the latter gentleman on my trip from New York to San Francisco, and was delighted to renew the same at this lonesome place, Port Orford.

The Doctor being anxious to make a geological examination of this vicinity, started for the mouth of Brush Creek yesterday morning, in a canoe, accompanied by Mr. R. W. Dunbar and myself. Our course lay across the bay of Orford, distance by water four or five miles. The ocean being calm on starting, we got along delightfully for a while; then the wind freshened from the south, blowing thus against us, our progress was extremely slow, especially as none of us knew much about managing a canoe. Dr. Evans now became seasick, and was so prostrated as to be totally unable to render any assistance. Mr. Dunbar and myself labored hard to reach our destination before the wind should become too strong; but on nearing the goal, we found the breakers too high to land. There was then no alternative but to turn about for Fort Orford again. The sea had become quite rough, particularly so near the shore. It was now my turn to be seasick, but though ill and exhausted, I felt in duty bound to assist Mr. Dunbar in navigating our frail bark. Dr. E. was entirely too much prostrated to do anything. We rigged a sail out of Mr. D's coat, and availed ourselves of the wind, which lasted till we had gone about a mile. As the wind was evidently about to change to the northwest, we paddled away manfully, and arrived at Fort Orford just in time to escape a strong head wind. Besides the geological examination, we had it in contemplation to fish for trout in Brush Creek. The elements blasted all our bright prospects.

July 18, 1856: Dr. Evans leaves Port Orford for Umpqua Valley by pack trail

July 18 (Saturday).

Dr. Evans: *Started from Port Orford at 9 a.m. Bright and beautiful morning. Passed near Sawdust River through the woods four miles to Elk River; three miles from town. Saw small prairie, fine site for a farm. Passed through small prairie on Elk River, such prairies are occasionally found on this river as you ascend it; passed through two other small prairies. Finest white cedar trees all along the route in great numbers. Two miles further on crossed the Sixes River. Sandstone exposed along its shores. As we proceeded we crossed two high elevations, mountain ranges; our way has generally been along the divide between Elk River and the Ocean, running in a north west and S. E. direction. The woods are filled with a luxuriant growth of grass resembling timothy, and this region would afford pasturage for thousands of stock. On a high divide fourteen miles from Port Orford saw an exposure crowning its summit, of fine grained grit or sandstone. This is the only exposure of rock in place met with on the route except before noticed. At 3 p.m. reached the summit of the highest elevation yet crossed on which is situated a large prairie of excellent grass at least eighteen inches in height. Passing along and up a still higher ridge, the light colored sandstone appeared in place. Had a magnificent view of the ocean to the N. W. and S. E. Sixes River is much larger than is laid down on the maps and Floras Creek much shorter. On our route we headed the latter whilst a fork of Sixes R. overlaps it, and its valley appears on our right. The ridge on which we are travelling must be at least 1,000 to 1,200 feet above the ocean. Camped at a small spring surrounded by hills. The grass at least two feet high; along our route for the last six miles all through the tall fir, cedar, and hemlock trees, the ground was covered with this luxuriant growth of grass, mingled with wild flowers. Blackberries and other berries were plenty on the slopes of the ridges. Distance travelled eighteen miles.*

July 19 (Sunday).

Dr. Evans: *Started at 7-1/2 a.m. Our route for eight miles was along ridges covered with fine grass and flowers mentioned yesterday. On the different slopes every variety of spring and fall flowers. Passed through a chain of prairies, some of them several miles in extent, which like the open woodlands were covered with grass three and a half feet high -- timothy and other grasses. The highest ranges run, a little west of north, and south of east, as our course is north of east we have occasionally to cross from ridge to ridge by connecting ridges of lesser elevation, sometimes to descend to the bed of small streams. Crossed a fork of the Sixes River at 11-1/2 a. m. The trail follows the ridges as far as practicable, and consequently our course from their direction is a winding one. Almost all the higher summits had rock in place cropping out and crowning a considerable portion of it. Talcose slate seemed to be the prevailing rock, and the other slates seen on the shore of the ocean; also a light colored sandstone, and the compact or ashy colored rock seen on the beach. Outbursts of granite and trap or basalt were seen rising to a considerable elevation. Stopped on a prairie elevation for our horses to feed and rest. Saw marks and trails of elk all along the prairie, but not the animal itself. On almost every elevated ridge or mountain spur were seen exposures of rock just enumerated. Crossed two or three small creeks, forks of Sixes River, camped at 5 p.m. on a small creek tributary of Salmon River. The prairie in which we are camped is three quarters of a mile long by half mile wide, and very rich*

sandy loam; the grass, a kind of wild oats, is in places six to eight feet high and other grasses going to seed six or seven feet high. Timothy (wild) is very abundant in this and other prairies passed through, and is from three to five feet high; other grasses filling up the prairie and so dense as to render walking difficult is from two to two and a half feet, this is a fair example of the luxuriant growth of grasses, not only in the chain of prairies through which the trail passes, but on the ridges and intervening slopes between them. The climate is delightfully cool and bracing. The woods are filled with elk, deer, and black bear, and there is no want for meat. Mr. Bray at our present camp had returned to his home but two days previous to our arrival, and had already two hanging up in his log cabin, so he said help yourselves for it is impossible for me to eat it all and half an hour any morning will get me another. Distance traveled twenty one miles.

July 20 (Monday).

Dr. Evans: *Collected a few specimens of grass. Amongst the grasses of this and other prairies is an abundance of mountain clover. The heads are not so large as the cultivated clover; the stalk is about two to two and a half feet high. The soil in this prairie is very good and produces fine vegetables. This prairie is nearly surrounded by high mountains, but there are other similar prairies hidden by tall trees in the immediate neighborhood; in fact the whole route is through a chain of prairies, some of them several miles long, along ridges covered with fine grass in the deep woods, and occasionally in passing from ridge to ridge over high mountains. Noticed to day a tree called chestnut oak, it has acorns like the white oak, but the foliage was more like the chestnut. Thermometer at 6 p.m. 48°.*

July 21 (Tuesday).

Dr. Evans: *Started at 7-1/4 a. m. passed along two prairie ridges and woodland to a high and steep mountain estimated at two thousand feet in elevation, collected specimen of the rock along the route, talcose and other slates, gritty sandstone, granite, etc. The descent from the valley occupied one hour and a half. The descent to the gold mines of Johnson and others on the fork of the Coquille R. Abbott's branch, also occupied an hour and a half. The descent is much more gradual. The creek at the mines runs through steep mountains covered with timber. Saw a new species of laurel with rare and beautiful flowers. It seems strange to see in full beauty the flowers of early spring roses, etc. scattered along your pathway at this season of the year. Passed over a high (bald) mountain so called, but while of great elevation it is covered at the summit with most luxuriant grass and flowers. Thermometer at 12 m. 69D. The creek is bordered by high steep banks (mountains) its bed filled with large boulders of granite, gneiss, talcose and other slates, showing it to be to some extent a gold bearing region. But there is little quartz either in the rocks or in boulders, and the slate and other rocks, so far as has been discovered, do not contain many signs of gold. The distance to the Great Bend is only twelve miles from this place, but we have already visited the head waters of some of its small tributaries and collected specimens on the divide between this creek and Rogue River, which indicate the geology with sufficient certainty. Returned to Bald Mountain and camped. From our last camp to Johnson's diggings we had a mountain to cross at least two thousand feet in elevation. Distance traveled twelve miles.*

Started at 7-1/2 A. M. Thermometer at 6 A. M. 42 . Passed for two miles through woodland rather open; in two miles ascended high "Bald Mountain", overlooking the tops of surrounding

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mountains for thirty miles or more in every direction except perhaps one where at a distance of ten or fifteen miles is a range of perhaps greater elevation. Amongst the ocean of lofty ranges of rather smooth outline some jagged peaks tower up in bold and rugged grandure.

Of the two or three hundred persons who have mined in this district, but a few have realized enough to pay them for the labor and expense of visiting this mountain country, and of the few, several lost more the second year than they made the first. The gold appears to have come down the creek from a distance, and is deposited in limited areas by eddys or from other causes; and occasionally a week or two of profitable mining may be accomplished to be followed in all probability by months thrown away. These mines do not certainly offer inducements for a large number of minors. The gold diggings on Rogue R., some twenty five miles above the great bend, afford much more favorable prospects for successful mining.

The rock composing the summit of this mountain is principally talcose slate, and a mottled rock of somewhat talcose character.

Our route continued along a high ridge, of which the peak just referred to is a part, passed through several prairies similar to those previously noted, only the soil and grass are inferior, more filled with fragments of slate and other rocks undecomposed; passing down into the valley we crossed the river. Spent three hours looking for trail to Enchanted prairie. The soil of this prairie contains more clay than those previously met with, and the grass is not quite so luxurious, the soil bakes in the sun. Recrossed the river and in about an hour arrived at a small settlement; where most of the houses have been deserted on account of Indian difficulties, but will soon now be reoccupied, collected specimen of fine grained compact rock (trap or sandstone) this has been the prevailing rock, but slates, talcose and others were also met with and a few outbursts of granite and trap rising sometimes to an elevation, mound shape, to thirty or fifty feet. Thermometer at 6 P. M. 48 . Distance travelled twelve miles.

July 23 (Thursday).

Dr. Evans: Started at 6-1/4 A. M. Thermometer at 6 A. M. 50 . Followed the trail into the next prairie, passed through that and after the loss of an hour spent in searching for its continuance on the other side discovered it and passed through a narrow strip of timber into the next; here the trail, all that we could discover, passed near the timber on the side we entered the prairie and had outlet through another very narrow strip of timber by a plain crossing another prairie (the two last mentioned prairies are but grassy hills free from timber) where the trail diverged in every direction and ran out. We returned and spent two hours in searching for another trail but could not find another, and concluded to return to our last camp and take the main trail down the river which could increase the distance twenty five miles. The trail we last followed, when it diverged and was lost was not blazed although very plain. On returning to the strip of timber previously spoken of found one of the trees with directions cut in the bark, but were unable to make out the meaning. The great difficulty to persons unacquainted with the precise location of these trails is the prairies. The grass is from one to three feet high all over them, and as the trails have not been followed for a year or more, the grass meets over them; and in addition to this the trail made by the elk cross them in every direction, and are quite plain and are easily mistaken for trails made by travellers. Camped at 6 1/4 P. M. Ther. 50*. The timber today along

the bottom of the river has been principally sweet wood, its leaves being very odoriferous, also white maple a few scattering oak and fir, white and other cedar and hemlock. The prairie ridges are free from timber, except perhaps a few scattering white oaks. Distance travelled eighteen miles.

Orvil Dodge [1898: 100]: *There were 710 Indians embarked on the steamer Columbia on the 21st of June, 1856, and taken to Portland; thence on the Jennie Clark to Linn City, and thence to Dayton Yamhill county, on the barges towed by the steamer Hoosier; thence to Salmon river on thirty-five wagons hauling the old and crippled, and their general merchandise, arriving at their destination on July 23, 1856.*

July 24 (Friday).

Dr. Evans: *Started at 7 A. M. Our route lay along the river following nearly all its bends. It is very crooked and the bottom lands, if they may be so called, are covered with timber similar to that met with yesterday. In some places where the hills or mountains bordering the river approach the waters edge, the trail has been quite rocky. In ascending this fork which heads a little N. E. of the Forks the geology of the country gradually changes. The following rocks formed the bed rock of the river crystalline rocks, hard conglomerates, sandstone of various fineness and rather crystalline structure containing some of them a few impressions of fossils, and various shades. Distance travelled seventeen miles. Camped at 4 P. M.*

July 25 (Saturday).

Dr. Evans: *Reached and crossed the Forks below their junction, Coquille. River twenty yards wide, two and a half to three feet deep. From this junction our route lay along the middle fork, we had several high hills and one high mountain to cross and in descending the latter were very much incommoded by high overlapping masses of gooseberry bushes matted together over the trail just of sufficient elevation to have the thickest masses in position to come in contact with the rider. The rest of the way the trail was pretty good, the prairie elevations bare of trees, are not so numerous as for the last few days. Thermometer of 6 P.M. 51*. This morning at 6 A. M. 55*, at 12 M. 72. Our course was very winding, almost every point of the compass, the general course of the trail and the river N. E. seldom S. E. as laid down on the maps. The river bottoms have been very narrow and the trail has been quite often along the slope of the mountains bordering it. Distance travelled fifteen miles. In following the middle fork of Coquille River our general course has been N. E. or E. of north, instead of S. E. as laid down on the maps.*

July 26 (Sunday).

Dr. Glisan: *From the nineteenth to the twenty-second, there was a strong wind from southeast, and rain at intervals, something very unusual at this season. The atmosphere is at present clear, with a northwest trade wind; thermometer 57 deg. at 7 A. M. and 65 deg. at 2 P. M. This is the ordinary July and August weather of this place. The only fruits that have yet ripened in this vicinity during the present season, are strawberries, salmon berries, black, thimble and salalle berries, first two about a month ago; the others are just in their maturity.*

The steamer "Columbia" arrived on the morning of the twenty-third, bringing New York papers of the twentieth June, and San Francisco of the twenty-first July. The Vigilance Committee is still supreme in the latter place. They have confined their action mainly to driving from the city election bullies, and others known to have been engaged in ballot-box stuffing and false voting. The most remarkable arrest by them so far, is Judge Terry, Chief Justice of the State of California. He is alleged to have stabbed a Vigilance Committee sheriff by the name of Hopkins, about the third of July. It seems that the latter had gone into the office of Dr. Ash, the Navy Agent, to arrest Reuben Maloney, for some purpose. The Doctor ordered him out; Judge Terry being present, had also something to say to him. Hopkins then sent to the Vigilance Committee for aid. In the meantime, the Judge and Maloney started for the rooms of the law and order party; but Hopkins, assisted by his friends, overtook him and seized hold of his gun; a scuffle ensued, when he was stabbed by Terry. The latter was then arrested and placed in confinement, and has since been tried by the committee, but the sentence is not yet divulged. It is supposed that if Hopkins had died, and he has been very near it, from the wound assuming an erysipelalous character, that the Judge would have been hung.

The Governor is powerless, he having called on the militia and all others to enroll themselves, and assist in putting down the committee, but has so far utterly failed. A lot of government arms sent down by his order, was seized by authority of the latter.

The last great move of the committee supporters, was to call a mass meeting, which convening recommended among other things, that as the following officers were supposed to have been elected by fraudulent votes, they should be requested by a committee of the mass meeting, to resign, viz: Judge Freelon, Mayor Van Ness, Sheriff Scannell, District Attorney Byrne, County Clerk Hays, Recorder Kohler, Treasurer Woods, Assessor Stillman, Surveyor Gardner, Coroner Kent, Superintendent Pelton, and Justices Ryan, Chamberlain and Castree. This recommendation, among others, was adopted; but up to the departure of the "Columbia" the above government officials still held on, refusing to resign. This committee seems to be supported by a majority of the best men in San Francisco, and it was undoubtedly originated with the best motives; but like all other opposition to the regular course of law, even though the latter may not for the time being be justly executed, will probably have an evil tendency, and might terminate in civil war.

It is a heart-rending fact that the latter is already existing in our country, but at a very different place, and impelled by other motives; I mean in Kansas Territory. There have already been several skirmishes between free-soilers and pro-slavery partisans, and the free soil town of Kansas has been burnt to the ground. It is difficult to get at the facts in the case, but it appears that the territorial sheriff Jones, went to Kansas with a strong posse, to make some arrests. The citizens resisted, a fight ensued, and the free-soilers were compelled to leave the place, which was then burnt to the ground. The territorial officers appear to be supported by the pro-slavery party.

Colonel Summer, with a regiment of United States dragoons, is, by special orders from the President, endeavoring to quell the riots, and had up to last dates, disarmed many of the rioters, and prevented them from assembling in any very large bodies. The matter is becoming so

serious, however, that it has even been debated in the Senate, whether or not the President should be recommended to send General Scott to Kansas, to quiet matters.

Dr. Evans: *Beautiful morning. Thermometer at 42*. Started at 6-1/2 A. M. Our route passed principally along high ridges, leaving the river to the right. These ridges are more free from timber than on most of our journey, but the grass is not so good the soil evidently being poorer. On reaching the termination of the mountain ridge on which we had been travelling for several hours, a fine prospect of Camas prairie burst upon our view. The prairie is really so, not a mountain ridge like many we had passed through; it is about four miles long by two and a half wide. Most of the claims are taken, but the Indian difficulties have in a great measure interrupted their cultivation. The valley is entirely surrounded by mountains except the narrow outlet, and is watered by a fork of the Coquille River. Camped on a small creek, tributary of Looking-glass River at 7 P. M. Distance travelled eighteen miles.*

July 27 (Monday).

Dr. Evans: *Started at 7 A. M. We are now fairly out of the mountains, but in a valley of hills.*

If the traveller will notice the valley of the Umpqua from some high summit in the Calapooyan Mountains, he will form a pretty good idea of a scene we witnessed from Bald Mountains, as the first named is a valley of hills, the latter is a valley of mountains covered in timber, occasionally a peak rising sharp and angular against the sky in bold outline. Around this valley of mountains is a higher range of singular grandure; here and there dotted over the lesser elevations are small mountain prairies covered with luxuriant grass, and in some intervening glens lovely little prairies of rich mellow soil suitable for cultivation, and suited to furnish the grain etc. necessary for stock raising, for which business these prairies are well suited. reached Deer Creek at 12 M. a small stream tributary of the Umpqua. This situated on its banks contains some houses. Winchester on the north fork of the Umpqua contains about - - - houses, proceeded to the residence of Judge Deady, four miles from Winchester in "Camas Swale."

This is the largest prairie in the Umpqua Valley, twenty four miles long, and of a T shape. The soil is of good quality, sub-soil, yellowish clay, and sometimes gravel, resting generally upon sandstone but in some localities on clay of a slaty color or slate. Distance travelled twenty five miles. The prairie at Deer Creek is a still clay soil and when cultivated be comes hard and almost impossible to plow except early in the spring. It must not however be too wet. This is the case with most of the prairies in this valley.

August 21, 1856: Dr. Glisan leaves Port Orford for Fort Vancouver by steamer

August 12.

Dr. Glisan: *Sometime about the first ultimo, a pack train, accompanied by some five or six packers, left here for Crescent City. A few days thereafter, a portion the party arrived at the latter place with the news that they had been attacked whilst asleep at night in camp, near the Chetcoe River, and two of their number killed, and some \$1,500 taken. They represented it to have been done by Indians, there still being a few of the latter remaining in the mountains in that vicinity, who were left behind when the other hostile ones were taken to the reservation.*

A company was raised in Crescent City, and started for the place where the murder was committed. On reaching there, they found all the mules, but no aparahoos. It was supposed that the Indians cut these up and carried them off.

On the seventh instant, whilst a few miners were "prospecting" (examining the country for gold), near the mouth of Rogue River, some twenty-five miles above where the murder was committed, an Indian came into their camp, and said that there were some very bad Indians in that vicinity, who intended killing a man by the name of Smith, living a short distance below there. Their plan was to send into Smith's camp two Indians pretending friendship, who were to fall upon and murder him. He expressed a desire to go with them, and point out a place for waylaying the Indians that were coming to Smith's, and said that afterwards he would show them where to find the others; but that they must not kill his Tilicums (relatives) among the latter.

The two Indians were accordingly watched for, two miles north of Pistol River, and fired upon, but only one was killed, the other made his escape. This was on Thursday, the seventh instant. On the following day, a party of eight white men started out at the suggestion of the Indian who accompanied them, to waylay the other Indians, who were expected to come and look after the man who had been shot. They proceeded a short distance below the point where the latter had been killed, when the Indian guide who had gone in advance, came running back with the information that several Indians were a little in advance of them. At his suggestion, they took a good position behind a ridge, whilst he went off a few yards and showed himself to the Indians, who came towards the guide, and on reaching the place where he was standing, were fired upon, five being killed and the sixth wounded, who escaped. A little further on they saw three more, and succeeded in shooting them also; thus killing eight and wounding two.

The poor guide was accidentally severely wounded by one of the white men in the encounter, when another, thinking, perhaps, it was better to put him out of misery, killed him.

August 13.

Dr. Glisan: *The news by the "Columbia" this morning from above is very interesting. Colonel Wright, United States army, is still endeavoring to make peace with the Yakimas, and other hostile indians in that vicinity. In the meantime some volunteers, under Colonel Shaw, have had an engagement with a body of Indians at Grand Ronde Prairie, on a river of the same name. The Colonel had under him at the time one hundred and eighty mounted men; and, according to the "1855-1856 Indian War"/Zybach 20120515*

papers, succeeded in routing the enemy. The number killed is not known. Two of his men were killed and three wounded. The skirmish occurred on the seventeenth ultimo. Two or three days previous, Major Layton, with sixty or seventy volunteers, also had a little brush with the Indians in that vicinity -- and, according to his official report, there were none of the enemy killed, though he thought his detachment shot several. His loss was one or two killed, and about the same number wounded.

August 25

Dr. Glisan [The Cascades, Oregon Territory]: *Left Fort Orford August twenty-first, and arrived at Fort Vancouver, W. T. on the twenty-third. The Columbia River bar not being very rough, Captain William Dall ran his vessel in without waiting for the pilot -- the latter thus losing a hundred dollars by not being ready to perform the duty. The sky being clear we enjoyed, on our trip up the Columbia, a fine view of Mount St. Helena, Mount Ranier and Mount Hood, with their snow-capped peaks, the first being 9,750, the second 12,360, and the latter 11,225 feet high.*

Aftermath: Fort Orford, Port Orford, Randolph and Empire City

September 17, 1856.

John Zieber [Prosch 1907: 197-198]: *The surveys in Southern Oregon have not progressed as they would have done in the absence of Indian hostilities. Surveyors stood aloof from taking contracts, and those who were in the field, in addition to other causes operating against them, were greatly hindered by an unusual deal of cloudy weather. When Indian difficulties began to decrease, the season had too far advanced to justify the commencement of any new contract.*

In a communication from this office, under date of June 17, 1856, replying to your letter of inquiry of April 26, 1856, I gave a number of reasons why skillful and reliable deputies cannot be had at rates lower than those now paid. The partial cessation of Indian hostilities, and, probably, early restoration of peace within our borders, may remove some of the causes which have heretofore prevented a reduction of those rates; but as these occur, others take their places. It is already found that, as in former years, the mines in the vicinity of Fort Colville, and especially those in Southern Oregon, as Indian hostilities abate, draw off laboring men from every county in the Territory. The most exciting reports of success in the gold mines abound, and operates greatly against the deputy surveyor in employing assistants, except at prices which are not warranted even by the apparently high government prices of surveying in Oregon. The assistant asks more than the contractor himself can rationally expect to clear; he abandons the field, and perhaps both prefer to take their chances in 'the diggings,'

The public lands which remain to be surveyed in Oregon are probably rougher than any that have ever been sectionized in the Territories of the United States. Scarcely an unsurveyed township of land can be found without canyons, ravines, or precipitous hills; and most of the unsurveyed territory abounds in heavy timber, (often standing and fallen,) dense tangled undergrowth of bushes, briars, fern, and grass, in many places covering a rocky surface almost impassable. A deputy surveyor (Mr. J. W. Trueth) informs that, in a distance of 100 miles, in prosecuting contract No. 61, it was found impossible to convey provisions except by packing on the backs of men. Actual experience in the field of operations alone can give an adequate idea of the energy and perseverance indispensable to the successful prosecution of a surveying contract in such a region of country. To realize large profits from the best contract that can now be let is out of the question; and to reduce the rates of surveying would be ruinous to contractors, if any could be found to undertake the work.

Should the present expectation of peace with the Indians of Oregon be realized, and no unforeseen obstacles present themselves, I think the surveys of all the public lands west of the Cascade range of mountains, fit for residence and cultivation, may be completed by the end of the year 1858. If any should remain, they will consist of small fractional townships along bases of mountains, or in mountain gaps, or on mountain summits, apart and detached from the surveyed lands.

Sheriff Riley [Dodge 1898: 365-367]: *At the time of the Indian outbreak there was a young educated Canadian Indian named Enos residing in Gold Beach, who professed to be true to the whites. A few days before the outbreak he started up the river, in company with John Klevener, "1855-1856 Indian War"/Zybach 20120515*

Huntley and another man whose name is forgotten. In a day or so he returned and reported that he and his companions had been attacked by the Indians and he alone escaped. He reported that two or three miners living on Rogue river at Big Bend had sent him for ammunition, and he was given all he could carry. He immediately left and joined the Indians where he became chief.

During the captivity of Mrs. Geisel she frequently saw Enos among the Indians and heard him giving orders. This she reported after her return to the fort. He assisted the Indians as long as they fought. Knowing that capture meant death he made his way through the mountains to an Indian reservation in Washington Territory. Here he was captured and taken to the barracks at Vancouver where Lieut. McFeley commanded, and Sheriff Riley of Curry county was notified.

Mr. Riley was appointed sheriff in 1856 by the legislature when Curry county was organized. Mr. Riley made the trip to Vancouver by steamer from Port Orford and secured Enos, who was chained hand and foot. The steamer on returning could not land at Port Orford but landed Riley and his prisoner at Crescent City. As hostile Indians were yet in the woods it was considered dangerous to attempt to make the trip over the trail from Crescent City to Port Orford so Sheriff Riley was obliged to remain with his prisoner in that town until the steamer called for them. Port Orford was then the county seat of this county. The steamer proceeded to San Francisco, from thence to Portland and back, and on her way to Portland again before calling in at Crescent City.

The first night that Enos was confined in the county jail someone attempted to break in the door and let him out. Every night after that Sheriff Riley occupied one of the rooms of the jail. It was considerably over a month from the time Mr. Riley left Port Orford for Vancouver until he returned with the prisoner. Mrs. Geisel, then residing at Port Orford, was the only witness against Enos, and she could not be found at the time set for the trial, so the justice ordered Sheriff Riley to turn the prisoner loose. It was necessary to take him to the blacksmith shop to have the chains on his legs cutoff. While this was being done a mob surrounded the shop and the moment Enos stepped out he was seized and taken away. Whiskey was given him and he partly confessed to having assisted in the killing of his three companions mentioned above, on their way up the river. The next morning he was hanged on historical Battle Rock, where his body was buried.

Ellen Tichenor [Dodge 1898: 286-287]: *During the year '56 many of the mines failed and, like numerous other mining towns, the decline of Port Orford was rapid. In a few years it was deserted, only three families remaining: Mr. Burnap and family, Mrs. Knapp, known through the country as grandma Knapp and one of the dearest, kindest old ladies that ever was, her son Louis, and Capt. Tichenor and family.*

Weird, silent, ghost-like stood the five hotels, the saloons and stores; homes for the birds, store houses for the wood rats, sport for the north wind that played at hide and seek through the broken windows and open doorways, broken fences, deserted farm yards, roofless dwellings were melancholy evidence of former life.

*“But now the sounds of population fail,
No cheerful movements fluctuate the gale
No busy steps the grass grown footway tread*

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For all the bloomy flush of life had fled.”

Yet in this solitude, with only the voice of the trees and “free, mighty, music haunted sea” lived for many years these three families. The quiet life was broken at intervals by trips to San Francisco or the valley, or by strangers passing through the country. Nature afforded the chief diversions. A quiet life for the captain's daughter. Many were the strolls she and Grandma Knapp took on the beach gathering mosses and pretty sea shells, or picking berries, or wild flowers, for a visitor once said, Port Orford was an oasis of flowers. Three miles from the town was the large deserted mill of H. B. Tichenor leading to this was a most excellent smooth plank road coveted with saws dust which afforded an excellent opportunity for horse back riding.

Mrs. Victor [1894: 418-420]: *The post at Port Orford was maintained for a year or two. As late as March, 1858, the miners and settlers at and near the mouth of Rogue river petitioned Governor Curry to “recognize” a company of Gold Beach guards, consisting of nineteen men under the command of Elisha H. Meservey, which company was formed to protect the white inhabitants from murder, arson, and robbery -- crimes being committed by the several small mountain tribes remaining at large. This company received the approbation of the governor, serving until July.*

In the meantime, the Indian superintendent was compelled to call upon the military department for aid, and Lieutenant Ihrie, with special agent William Tichenor of Port Orford, finally succeeded in collecting and forcing upon the reservation those savages. On the march of Lieutenant Ihrie’s supply train from Pistol river, where he was encamped, to Crescent City for provisions, the escort was attacked and one soldier and ten animals, killed. Tichenor, with a considerable number of prisoners, was waiting for an escort to the reservation; but Ihrie being unable to furnish it, and the Indians being very restless, set out with a small party to conduct them out of the dangerous vicinity. Above Rogue river the prisoners attempted and escape, and, in the struggle for the mastery, fifteen of them were killed.

*In his report to the superintendent, **Tichenor** says “They had eight days previously come off the war path, having killed the remainder of the Sebanty band. They stated the facts to me, telling me how they killed two little boys of the band by throwing them into the river, describing their struggling for life in the water, and how they beat them under with stones. They were the most desperate and murderous of all the Indians on the coast. As they never intended to surrender or go on the reservation fifteen of them were killed and two wounded. * * * Ten men and twenty-five women and children yet remain in that country, and I am ready to make further efforts to capture them, or induce them to go on the reservation should you again desire my services.”*

*On the second of July, 1858, **Captain Meservey** of the Gold Beach volunteers wrote to adjutant-general of Oregon. “The last of the red men have been captured and shot, only women and children spared, and they are now en route for the reserve. All further apprehension of danger is at an end, and this portion of Oregon will rest on tranquility.”*

Thus ended the Indian wars in this quarter of Oregon. They were unavoidable. They laid waste the homes of white and red men alike; but the white race was compelled to make good its own and its enemy’s losses, and while it ploughed and planted and built, the Indians were fed, nursed,

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and taught, so far as they would be. When a large proportion had died off, who were unfit to live, the remainder began a new growth and increase in numbers. The children born on the reservation know no other home, and even their elders are at length content, living a half civilized life, which, compared with their former nomadic existence, is one of indolent ease.

A. G. Walling [1884: 493]: *Trade centered originally at Empire City and that place had a speedy, but not long lived growth. The town is about six miles from the bar at the mouth of Coos bay. It now, after thirty years of existence and innumerable perturbations, contains about one hundred buildings, mostly situated upon a beach about twenty-five feet in elevation, but the business portion is built upon the flats, at less height. Its buildings are generally well constructed, and embrace three hotels, four saloons, a drug store, variety store, and two stores of miscellaneous articles, a dilapidated Methodist church, and a school house where thirty pupils receive instruction. In front of the town there are mud flats of considerable extent, which prevent vessels from approaching near the shore, and across these flats some wharves are extended. Camraann's is the longest, and has a railroad track for transporting goods between vessels and the town. Commerce, mining and lumbering built up Empire City, and the gradual decay of the one and the busy rivalry of Marshfield in the others have been the partial ruin of the place. Luse's large steam saw mill, which cut 20,000 feet of lumber daily, has ceased its work forever. The neighboring coal seams, found on the Marple and Foley claims, have been abandoned long since. Empire City, notwithstanding her decay, still remains the county seat; and this feat has the most to do with sustaining her existence. Coos Bay being a port of entry, the United States custom house is located at Empire City. In 1857 the Oregon legislature petitioned congress to remove the port of entry from Port Orford to "Kowes Bay," or else to form a new collection district of the latter, which in the fullness of time was done. Empire City has apparently taken a new lease of life in consequence of the operations and investments of the Southern Oregon Improvement company, who have purchased a great deal of property in and about the place, including 170 town lots.*

Orvil Dodge [1898: 266-267]: *Only two miles more, and the famed Port Orford is reached. A grand view of the great ocean spreads out before the observer. The townsite is as grand and beautiful as could be desired. The plateau upon which the place is built is elevated above the beach, a half-hundred feet or more, and is sufficiently rolling to provide drainage. The old Senor residence still occupies its primitive location, on the side of a higher slope, which overlooks the town. The first residence erected by Capt. Tichenor was east of Winsor's store, but as prosperity was rife in early days, a new and larger residence was needed, and it stands as a monument of early times, and brings to mind pleasant scenes of days gone by which were brought about by the hospitality of the man who occupied the place. During the first years of the life of Port Orford, the place assumed large proportions. There were a half dozen stores. George Dart, now a resident of the place, was one of the merchants, and when the mining industry along the beach was in its greatest prosperity, nine hotels were catering to the wants of the traveling public. The mining interest subsided, and buildings were vacated. On the 10th day of October, 1868, the forest fires, alluded to above swept the whole country, leaving but two dwellings and a barn, in town. Mrs. Capt. Tichenor was alone, her husband and only son, J.B., were in San Francisco. The matronly lady heroically fought the flames and saved their home. The fire consumed her outer garments, however, and she miraculously escaped a fearful fate. Mr. Burlapp, a merchant of the place removed his goods to the beach; but the falling cinders reached even the driftwood,*

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and lapped everything to the water's edge. Louis Knapp, and his mother lost their hotel and everything it contained. This was a great drawback to Port Orford. The great sawmill, two miles out, and near Fred Unican's, was consumed, and of course left the country nearly as barren of improvements as it was when Capt. Tichenor first landed, seventeen years before.

A. G. Walling [1884: 463]: *In the Grave creek hills, some miles west of the railroad line, there took place the first, and perhaps the most important battle of that war. This was Hungry Hill, for a description of which action the reader is referred to previous pages of this book. The locality of this fight will ever remain a classical spot, made interesting by the death of many brave and worthy men. This memorable field of strife is now almost unknown, save to the few present survivors of the volunteers, who occasionally visit it. Rank underbrush and grasses have usurped the place where blood was shed, and only those familiar with the ground can point out even the last resting place of the dead who fell there. Several persons, among them General Ross and J. W. Sutton (deceased in 1879), both participants in the battle, have given utterance to a desire that the brave men who fell there should be honored with some kind of a memorial -- a simple monument, at least, whereby their graves might be known. Enlarging upon this idea, Mr. Sutton proposed a monument to the fallen of the Indian wars, to be erected by the public -- a measure so just and patriotic as to excite surprise that it has not been carried out. To build such a monument should be the immediate work of the public-spirited people of Southern Oregon. Of a visit to the battle-field of Hungry Hill **Mr. Sutton** wrote, in a style worthy of Irving:*

"Some summers since, while passing the little cemetery, I halted for the purpose of visiting the grave of my old comrade. I stood beside the little row of graves that I found blended into one, the mounds now hardly distinguishable; no board or stone at head or foot is found; no one can tell these graves apart. In unity they met a common foe; in unity they fell; in unity they lay beneath the sod, awaiting the judgment day. In vain I sought to determine the grave of my old friend; it was lost, lost amid its comrade graves. After a short search among the weeds and grass that covered the graves, I found a fragment of a half-decayed board, on which I could trace the inscription which my own hand had carved full twenty years before -- 'Jonathan Pedigo; killed by Indians at the battle of Hungry Hill. October 31, 1855.'"

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