

## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ISAAC I. STEVENS

The possibilities of the great Northwest was no idle dream, but so many hours were devoted to the development of resources and the giving of law and justice to citizens that few seemingly remained in which to honor those to whom a state practically owes its very being. Yet modestly and all unconsciously the state gave a name to county, point and town, and oftener still to homes of education, as silent testimony of the many parts one man played; but, greater than these, the state breathes the very thoughts in legislative halls and courts of justice of him we know as engineer, governor, brevet major-general and brigadier-general, Isaac I. Stevens, our first territorial governor.

It is perhaps well that nations honor not their sons while yet they live; for it is possible only through the telescope of time that we see clearly the value of their acts and the greatness of their souls. With days of toil and strife of pioneer times no longer here, we pause occasionally to do him fitting honors, and so in 1916 a granite monolith was erected on the spot where General Stevens fell in the Battle of Chantilly, on September 1, 1862.

We have no man connected with our history who played more varied parts and played each with greater success. Efficiency, the modern business cry, is nowhere better exemplified than in Stevens, yet he had with it that which gives life to every act; he had vision which gave joy to all that would to others have been drudgery. In the field of engineering none did better; as executive, vigor and justice characterize his acts, and because there was an unwavering policy he met with opposition, but time has shown him ever fair; as commander of men on the field or in the camp, men obeyed because they found in him that which makes for respect and admiration; as an author he had clearness, directness and ability to impart to his reader some of the interest that he had in the particular subject as well as the facts.

In the bibliography we have attempted to collect materials in Seattle libraries and to classify and make them usable to the study of the life and works of Isaac I. Stevens.

All books or articles not otherwise designated are found in the library of the University of Washington.

## WRITINGS OF ISAAC I. STEVENS

STEVENS, ISAAC I., Brevet Major U. S. Army. *Campaigns of the Rio Grande and Mexico*. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1851.

This was written as a result of the publication of a work by Major Ripley on the Mexican War, the object of Stevens' work being "the vindication of the truth of history." This is a very interestingly written account of the campaigns. He justifies the United States in the war, and says: "the war was a political necessity, which as it depended upon causes beyond the control of the American government, could be averted by no sagacity of theirs." The military characteristics of the author are strongly reflected on its pages. (In the private library of Prof. Edmond S. Meany.)

STEVENS, ISAAC I. *Extracts from the report made to the Superintendent of the United States Coast Survey*. House Executive Documents, 2d Session, 31st Congress, 1850-1851.

Stevens had charge of the office work, and the growth and increased efficiency is shown in this report and the growing interest of the public in the valuable work done.

STEVENS, ISAAC I. *Extracts from his report to the superintendent upon the subject of printing from lithographic transfers*. United States Coast Survey Report, 1852.

The description, pages 108-111, is clear and to the point, and shows his understanding of the process. His giving contracts shows a business ability.

STEVENS, I. I. *Report on the survey of the Northern Pacific route up to January 31, 1854*. Senate Executive Document 29. 1st Sessions, 33d Congress, pages 5-99. Also in House Executive Document 48, 1st Session, 33d Congress, pages 1-99.

His ability had been recognized, and he was assigned to the supervision of making a survey of the northern route. This report is of particular interest in reflecting his interests in and environment where weaklings cannot succeed as did he. The descriptions show literary ability.

STEVENS, I. I. *Report of explorations and surveys*. Senate Executive Document 78, 2d Session, 33d Congress, Vol. I.

Part I, pages 1-72: The correspondence with the Secretary of War and with his men in the field shows Stevens' great ability as a detailist.

Part II., pages 403-450: He gives the Indian tribes of Washington and their relations to the whites. Much light is thrown on the difficulties to be encountered in treaty-making with them.

STEVENS, I. I. *His correspondence with Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War.* House Document 129, 1st Session, 33d Congress, Vol. I., pages 7-57.

Gives a most entertaining description of the country. One marvels at his observation. Other shorter letters are found scattered through Document 129, which extends through three volumes.

STEVENS, I. I. *Full report of the country passed through.* Senate Executive Document, 2d Session, 33d Congress. Document 78 takes up entire volume. Also see House Executive Document, 2d Session, 33d Congress, Document 91.

The report touches every item of possible value necessary to the fullest understanding of the country as a desirable route for a great continental railroad.

STEVENS, I. I. *Tribute to the memory of Sears C. Walker, Assistant in the Coast Survey.* United States Coast Survey Report, 1853.

This tribute, page 167, reflects Stevens' deeper self when he says: "It is a mistake to suppose that mere routine of daily labor can lead to great results. This can only be done by a far-reaching view of things, which sweetens labor and gives life and light to laborious pursuits, which fills the soul with hope and gives to intellect its greatest vigor."

STEVENS, I. I. *His plans of a council with Blackfeet Indians.* House Miscellaneous Document 59, 1st Session, 33d Congress, pages 1-6.

He believes patience should be used in dealing with the natives, but military display, he suggests, would lend force to the arguments.

STEVENS, I. I. *Report relative to treaties and removal of Indians to reservations.* House Miscellaneous Document 38, 1st Session, 33d Congress, pages 9-13.

He urges the extinguishing of the Indian titles to land east of the Cascades to allow settlement, yet to prevent trouble with the Indians his foresight is well shown in predicting the inevitableness of settlement and the difficulties that must arise unless immediate steps were taken to prevent such a collision.

STEVENS, I. I. *Report on Indian affairs.* Senate Executive Document 34, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pages 6-16.

A splendid plea for justice to the Indians and the keeping of faith with them in order to make them respect the government.

STEVENS, I. I. *Photostatic copies of Governor Stevens' reports of August 28th, 1856.* These are reports to Hon. Geo. W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C.

These letters show Governor Stevens' initiative in correcting

every possible shortcoming of the treaties made with the Nisqually and Puyallup tribes. Corrections were made when the land assigned proved insufficient or not suited to their needs, as timber land was of little value to them. (In the Tacoma Public Library and a copy in the private library of Prof. Edmond S. Meany.)

STEVENS, ISAAC I. *An estimate of the Indian tribes in Washington Territory.* Senate Executive Document 1, 2d Session, 33d Congress, pages 457-458.

This was made for his use in distributing the government's bounties and appropriations. Here as elsewhere Stevens wanted no guesswork in his undertakings.

STEVENS, ISAAC I. *Communication to Hon. Geo. W. Manypenny.* Messages and Documents, 1856-1857.

Part I, pages 736-744, gives a history of his work as Superintendent of Indian Affairs. He acknowledges the great service rendered by the friendly Indians in the war.

STEVENS, I. I. *Communication to Hon. Geo. W. Manypenny on the Indian Affairs.* House Executive Document 48, 1st Session, 34th Congress, pages 3-7.

Much of interest is brought out in the carefully related facts. The fear of uprising may account for slight exaggerations of the danger.

STEVENS, ISAAC I. *Annual report on Indian Affairs.* House Executive Document 37, 3d Session, 34th Congress, page 28.

A splendid report, showing the help gotten from the friendly Indians and giving statistics showing the tribes dealt with, their location, population and expenditures made on each.

STEVENS, I. I. *Proclamation of election.* Washington House Journal, 1854-55, pages 182-184.

The proclamation was made in accordance with the 4th section of an act of the Senate and House of Representatives. The time and place of election, the number of representatives to which each county or district shall be entitled to be determined by the Governor. See also Washington Council Journal, 1857, pages 212-215.

STEVENS, GOVERNOR I. I. *First message delivered before the joint meeting of the Council and the House.* Washington Council Journal, 1855, pages 10-18.

This shows a remarkable ability of observing possibilities, and expresses optimism as to Washington's future.

STEVENS, GOVERNOR ISAAC I. *Stevens' second message.* Washington House Journal, 1854-55, pages 10-15 of the Journal of the December Session.



A militia organization is urged. Regrets are expressed that Congress has not seen fit to make appropriations for further surveys or for roads; same in Washington Council Journal, 1854. Appendix, pages 149-155.

STEVENS, GOVERNOR I. I. *Letter to Governor Douglass relative to the San Juan difficulties.* Washington Historical Quarterly, Vol. 2, pages 352-356, July, 1908.

This letter is to the point, and one feels the force of the man back of it.

STEVENS, GOVERNOR I. I. *Message to the Legislature.* Washington Council Journal, 1856, pages 110-116.

He reviews and justifies the treaties with the Indians. He speaks in no uncertain terms of General Wool's behavior and urges immediate action.

STEVENS, ISAAC I. *Messages of the Governor of Washington Territory.* Olympia. Edward Furste, Public Printer, 1857.

This collection contains the correspondence with the Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of War, Governor of Oregon, Governor of Vancouver's Island, officers of the navy and revenue service, General Wool, officers at Benicia, officers of the Army of the Columbia River and Walla Walla, officers of the Army of the Sound, Quartermaster and Commissary General, expedition to Walla Walla, operation at the head of the Sound, Northern Battalion and down the Sound defense of Seattle, defense of Lewis County and operation of the Columbia River.

STEVENS, GOVERNOR I. I. *Letters to the Secretary of War.* House Executive Document 76, 3d Session, 34th Congress, pages 146-256.

These letters show the hostile spirit that existed between the military and the civil power and Stevens' belief that military law was alone adequate to save the situation.

STEVENS, GOVERNOR I. I. *Proclamation ushering in martial law in Pierce and in Thurston counties.* Washington Council Journal, 1857, page 227.

STEVENS, GOVERNOR I. I. *Correspondence relative to the proclamation and enforcement of martial law.* Washington House Journal, 1856-58. Appendix "B," page 88.

STEVENS, GOVERNOR I. I. *Letters justifying martial law.* Senate Executive Document 98, 1st Session, 34th Congress, pages 1-31.

His justification does not seem to be generally accepted, but though vanquished he could argue still.

STEVENS, GOVERNOR ISAAC I. *Proclamation to abrogate martial law in the counties of Pierce and Thurston.* Washington Council Journal, 1857, page 214.

STEVENS, GOVERNOR I. I. *The Governor's last message.* Washington Council Journal, 1857. Appendix, pages 1-23.

His message reviews his war policy, and then gives a fine picture of the future Washington.

STEVENS, I. I. *Asking that a light be placed on Point Wilson.* United States Coast Survey, 1855.

His earlier work in coast improvement made him ever ready to champion betterment in coast conditions. Page 408.

STEVEN, ISAAC I. *The Northwest Washington.* G. S. Gideon, Printer, 1858.

This address was delivered before the American Geographical and Statistical Society of New York City, December 2, 1858. He presented in his clear, forcible way the geography and the resources, predicting much that has come to pass. He took up the feasibility of the railroad construction and the meaninglessness of the arguments urged against building such a road.

STEVENS, REPRESENTATIVE I. I. *Resolution on Territorial Government.* Congressional Globe, Vol. 48, pages 200-201, December 23, 1858.

A resolution to organize Washington and New Mexico on the same basis of assembly representation as Minnesota.

STEVENS, REPRESENTATIVE I. I. *Speech on the Indian Appropriation Bill.* Congressional Globe, Vol. 48, pages 218-219, January 4, 1859.

He urges the appropriation in order that the Indian chiefs might be brought East and there be impressed by the power of the whites and by the beneficence of the government.

STEVENS, REPRESENTATIVE I. I. *Speech on the Indian War expense.* February 21, 1859. Washington, Lemuel Towers, 1859.

A careful study of this will give a clear idea of Stevens' war policy, and also will show his interest and his realization of his responsibilities to the Indians as well as to the white people.

STEVENS, REPRESENTATIVE I. I. *Remarks on the Indian Appropriation Bill.* Congressional Globe, Vol. 53, pages 2902, 2905, 2906, 2907, 2908, 2983, 2984, 2987, 3072, 3074, June 12 to 16, 1860.

He drives home the point that a treaty is a solemn obligation on

the part of the government, and should be met regardless of the criticisms to be made of the Indian superintendents or agents.

STEVENS, REPRESENTATIVE I. I. *Speech on an increase to an appropriation bill.* Congressional Globe, Vol. 49, pages 1172-1173, February 19, 1859.

Information is necessary to military efficiency and is the means of great financial savings.

STEVENS, REPRESENTATIVE I. I. *Remarks on the Indian Appropriation Bill.* Congressional Globe, Vol. 55, pages 1290-91, February 28, 1861.

The imperative need of meeting promptly and fully the promises made with a defenseless people is his theme.

STEVENS, REPRESENTATIVE I. I. *Address on the Washington and Oregon war debts.* Congressional Globe, Vol. 49. Appendix, pages 206-10, February 21, 1859.

A splendid defense of the people of Washington. He had much prejudice and ignorance to contend with, but his argument is clear and logical, and he quoted with force from military reports.

STEVENS, REPRESENTATIVE I. I. *Remarks on the Washington-Oregon war debt.* Congressional Globe, Vol. 55, pages 1000-1006, February 21, 1861.

The whole question of the Indian wars is brought up, and from the opposition remarks one gleans General Wool's version of the war causes to have been the accepted ones. It shows the difficulties which had to be contended with by representatives from so distant a land.

STEVENS, REPRESENTATIVE I. I. *Speech on reimbursing Governor Douglass of Vancouver's Island.* Congressional Globe, Vol. 46, pages 2121, May 13, 1858.

He eulogizes the volunteers in these wars, their honesty, loyalty and fairness.

STEVENS, REPRESENTATIVE I. I. *Speech on the British Columbia boundary line.* Congressional Globe, Vol. 49, page 1423, February 26, 1859.

His plea is for a vigorous prosecution of our claims for De Haro Channel along Vancouver's Island. It was difficult to show the value of the far Northwest.

STEVENS, REPRESENTATIVE I. I. *Remarks on the bill for military roads in Washington Territory.* Congressional Globe, Vol. 52, pages 2287-88, May 23, 1860.

No place do we find the interests of Washington neglected.

Congressional Globe, Vol. 52, pages 2291-92, May 23, 1860: He supports appropriations for the surveying of the public lands.

Congressional Globe, Vol. 49, page 1543, March 1, 1859: He urges the building of lines of communication.

STEVENS, REPRESENTATIVE I. I. *Remarks on the Pacific Railroad Appropriation Bill.* Congressional Globe, Vol. 52, pages 2413-2416, May 28, 1860.

He points out the necessity of a northern route as a means of defense against Indians, but more against foreign nations, especially England.

STEVENS, REPRESENTATIVE I. I. *Remarks, personal and explanatory.* Congressional Globe, Vol. 54, page 207, December 27, 1860.

There is a little indulgence in the self-praise of which he has been accused, but his denunciation of injustice is quite the predominant feature in this political discussion.

STEVENS, ISAAC I. *Minority report of the seating of the regular Southern delegates in the Democratic Convention at the Front Street Theater, Baltimore.* Washington, National Democratic Executive Committee, 1860.

Stevens as spokesman for the minority shows the justice so characteristic of him in his dealings with factions. (In the private library of Prof. Edmond S. Meany.)

STEVENS, ISAAC I., Chairman of the National Democratic Executive Committee. *Address to the Democracy and the People of the United States.* Washington, McGill & Witherow, 1860.

This is a reflector of Stevens' political ideas during those troublesome times. He was a staunch Democrat, and strong ideas pervade all his political utterances.

STEVENS, I. I. *Correspondence during the Port Royal Expedition.* War Records, Vol. 6, pages 197-199, 205.

This shows a keenness of observation in describing the enemy. His order to his lieutenant is direct and clear; no misunderstanding could be possible.

—Report to Pelouze, acting assistant adjutant-general E. C., as to the defense of Port Royal Ferry. Vol. 6, pages 206-207.

—To William Nobles, United States agent, he urges strict adherence to the rules provided. Vol. 6, pages 200-201.

—Report as to attack made on them. Vol. 6, page 88.

—Report of the reconnaissance up Bull River and Schooner Channel, S. C. Vol. 6, pages 91-92.



- An interesting report of the capture of six guards. He gives the attitude of these Southern prisoners on the war. Vol. 6, page 42.
- His report of the capture of the enemies' batteries opposite Port Royal Island makes him quite the most important person; it might be interpreted as egotism. Vol. 6, pages 47-53.

STEVENS, ISAAC I. *Speech to the Seventy-ninth Highlanders*. Albany, N. Y., Brandow, Barton & Co., 1886.

It gives a little of the egotism of which Stevens is sometimes accused, but shows a spirit of daring such as would command respect and admiration from men.

STEVENS, BRIGADIER-GENERAL I. I. *Report to Brigadier-General William F. Smith, U. S. A.* War Reports, Vol. 5, pages 169-172.

His report is to the point, yet every detail of importance is given.

STEVENS, ISAAC I. *Correspondence during the James Island Campaign*. War Records, Vol. 14, pages 92-93. Communication sent to the Confederate commanding officer asking that the dead and wounded might be identified in accordance with the earnest wishes of friends.

- Correspondence with Brigadier-General Benham shows Stevens' way of achieving success. Vol. 14, page 986.
- General Benham ordered an attack which had been opposed by Wright, Williams and Stevens, and these make clear the nature of the orders. Vol. 14, pages 44, 980, 48-50.
- Stevens' fairness to Benham is shown by his correcting a mistake made in the newspaper copy. Vol. 14, pages 980, 987, 1001.
- Stevens' report on the skirmish on James Island, S. C., in which he praises his men's "alacrity and daring." Vol. 14, pages 33-34.
- Skirmish reported as most successful. Vol. 14, pages 20-22.
- Report on Secessionville, S. C., June, 1862. Stevens was ever ready to commend those who have done well. Vol. 14, pages 58-64.

STEVENS, BRIGADIER-GENERAL I. I. *Report of the First Division, Ninth Army Corps, itinerary from August 4-31*. War Reports, Vol. 12, Part II, pages 544-545.

Much is said in a very few words.

## MATERIAL ABOUT ISAAC I. STEVENS

### BOOKS

BAGLEY, CLARENCE B. *History of Seattle, from the Earliest Settlements to the Present Time*. 3 vols. (Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company. 1916.)

Very good account of Stevens in his relation to affairs on the Sound. The governor's speech to the assembled tribes (page 86) is typical of his attitude toward what should be the relation of the whites

to the Indians. On page 58 is given an explanation of General Wool's unfriendly attitude toward Governor Stevens.

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. *The Works of, History of Washington, Idaho and Montana.* (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers. 1890.)

Governor Stevens' work as governor is emphasized with economic conditions as a setting. The account is without criticism, merely narrating events.

BOWMAN, JACOB N. *The Archives of the State of Washington.* Reprint from the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1908. Volume I.

—Small unlabeled record book, containing records of Governor Stevens from 1855-1872, page 371.

—A letter book marked "1853-70. Dec. 1, —53, to Dec., —70. I. I. Stevens," page 372.

—Bundle 1, "Letters from Stevens." A letter marked "From Pennepacker Salem" deals with the character of Stevens. Another inner package marked "Miscellaneous While in Walla Walla, Aug.-Sept.-Oct.," contains Tilton's letter on Stevens' arrest of English-born citizens; also a letter on the popular discontent. From S. McLeod, 14 April, 1856," makes charges of robbery against the volunteers. Page 379.

—Bundle 2, smaller packages. "Original letter of instruction to Capt. C. Eaton, commander of Puget Sound Rangers, Oct., 1855." Letters on the Cascade affairs, March 28, 1856. "Miscellaneous from citizens on different prairies in Pierce and Thurston Cos., 1856. In connection with the war." Page 379.

—Bundle 3. Smaller packages: Letters regarding the Leschi trial. Page 380.

—Bundle 4. Letters to army officers on matters of war. Page 381.

—Bundle 5. Letters from citizens of various parts of the territory, and also war correspondence. Page 381.

—Bundle 6. All connected with government. These are found in the two old army field cabinets used by Governor Stevens during the Indian wars. Page 386.

—Secretary of state's office. "Accounts, 1854-1859." Page 386.

DUNN, J. P., JR. *Massacres of the Mountains.* (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1886.)

The causes of the Indian wars are well stated (page 196). The Wool-Stevens controversy is impartially discussed. He says, page 208: "It must have been painful to the governor in after times to learn that Wool's report had uniformly gone to the secretary of war indorsed, 'Respectfully submitted. I fully approve the views of Major-General Wool. Winfield Scott.'"

DURHAM, N. W. *History of the City of Spokane and Spokane County.* 3 vols. (Spokane-Chicago-Philadelphia: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company. 1912.)

Emphasis is given to Stevens' relation to the affairs of Eastern Washington. In Volume I, page 161, he says: "I believe the people of Spokane County can justly make the claim that within their borders was consummated the organization of the new commonwealth, and in a sense this historic site of Camp Washington was the first capital of the territory. For here Governor Stevens relinquished his duties as explorer and searcher-out of routes for future railroads, and entered upon his duties under the president's commission as governor." Much is quoted from Stevens' journal as to the country's potentialities in resources.

DWIGHT, THEODORE F. *The Virginia Campaign of 1862, Under General Pope.* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1895.)

No man did better service than did Stevens and his last charge, recounted on pages 150-155, shows the wise and quick decision with which he could meet a situation in the way that it should have been met. See index of the volume.

GILBERT, FRANK T. *Historic Sketch of Walla Walla, Whitman, Columbia and Garfield Counties.* (Portland, Oregon: A. G. Walling Printing and Lithographic House. 1882.)

Much detail of the volunteer movement connected with the Indian War is given. Extracts from official letters are quoted and the attitude between civil and military authorities is brought out. A letter written by Stevens, October 22, 1855, following (page 210), shows the antagonism existing. "I state boldly that the cause of the Nez Percés becoming disaffected and finally brought into war is the operation of Colonel Wright east of the Cascade—operations so feeble, so procrastinating, so entirely unequalled to the emergency, that not only has a severe blow been struck at the credit of the government, \* \* \* \* but the impression has been made upon the Indians that the people and the soldiers were a different people."

HAWTHORNE, JULIAN. *History of Washington.* In two volumes. (New York: American Historical Publishing Company. 1893.)

The martial law episode is well given from Evans' narrative, and then the author's justification of Stevens is given, in Volume 2, page 52.

HINES, REV. H. K. *An Illustrated History of the State of Washington.* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company. 1893.)

The short biographical sketch brings out his justice and firmness and his quickness to act. Page 229. See also Table of Contents.

KAPPLER, CHARLES J (compiler). *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*. Two volumes. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1904.)

All of the treaties made with the Indians are recorded. Each may judge the fairness of the provisions.

KIP, COLONEL LAWRENCE, U. S. A. *Sources of the History of Oregon: Contributions of the Department of Economics and History of the University of Oregon. The Indian Council at Walla Walla. A Journal*. (Eugene, Oregon: The Eugene Star Job Office. 1897.)

A very interesting description of the country and of the different tribes assembled. Bits of conversation and parts of the governor's speeches are given. His work, aside from that to which he was an eye-witness, contains some inaccuracies, as on page 13 he believes the Catholics the first among the Nez Perces.

LANG, H. O. *History of the Willamette Valley*. (Portland, Oregon: George H. Himes, Book and Job Printer. 1885.) See index.

Stevens' military difficulties are brought out. The author says, on page 425: "It is no wonder that neither the president nor the secretary of war paid the least attention to such frivolous charges so gravely made. Nor did a memorial, voted by the Oregon Legislature on the ninth of February, asking the removal of General Wool, receive any better treatment." Lang justifies Wool's order, page 467, "that all whites were to stay out of the Yakima and Walla Walla country."

LYMAN, WILLIAM DENNISON. *The Columbia River*. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1909.)

The plot to kill Stevens and the whites at the council of Walla Walla is well brought out and the service of the Nez Perces claims strong interest. Promises claimed to have been made to Joseph of the Nez Perces by Stevens, if they were made, were never set down in the records at Washington. See index. (In the private library of Prof. Edmond S. Meany.)

LYMAN, PROF. W. D. *An Illustrated History of Walla Walla County*. (W. H. Lever, Publisher. 1901.)

He quotes (page 63) John McBean, a half-breed, as to the attitude of the Indians toward the Walla Walla treaty. He brings out the causes of the Indian wars. He gives (page 72) Stevens' "charge of gross negligence" on the part of General Wool.



LYMAN, HORACE S. *History of Oregon*. Four volumes. (New York: The Northern Pacific Publishing Society. 1903.) See index in Volume 4.

Railroad building became coupled with the question of slavery, and "the Northern Pacific Railroad began to be looked upon as a patriotic movement among the people of the North" (page 182). The Indian treaties are discussed and Indian agents are held responsible for the failure, in part, to satisfy the Indians. Volume 4, page 238.

MEANY, EDMOND S. *History of the State of Washington*. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1909.)

With anecdotes and a full appreciation of the West, Stevens is made a part of that country which was ever of interest to him. The San Juan dispute and Stevens' firmness and insight are well brought out. It was not what he did but what he made possible that gives him first place among the great of our state. See index.

MEANY, EDMOND S. *Governors of Washington, Territorial and State*. (Seattle: Department of Printing, University of Washington. 1915.)

A short biography, bringing out in clear and definite terms the most important events of Stevens' life. His political and his military services are featured strongest.

MEEKER, EZRA. *Pioneer Reminiscences of Puget Sound*. (Seattle: Lowman & Hanford. 1905.)

In this the author attempts to show the Indian policy of Stevens a failure and the cause of the Indian wars. It shows (footnote page 248) the unfairness of the treaty provisions and the means used to get them ratified. He terms Stevens' policy one of extermination, and brings out the Stevens-Wool controversy and the martial law régime. The trial of Stevens is given in all its anti-Stevens exaggeration.

NORTHERN PACIFIC HISTORY COMPANY. *History of the Pacific Northwest*. Two volumes. (Portland, Oregon: Northern Pacific History Company. 1889.)

The author was one of Stevens' "most ardent of political opponents," but "no words of detraction or denial of the patriotism of Governor Stevens shall be found in these pages, whatever differences of opinion may now be entertained or however harshly or bitterly in the past those acts in those troublesome times were condemned in language of censure." (Volume I, page 506.) More is made of the personal feelings and the interpretation of the governor's message

than elsewhere. Hon. Elwood Evans was the author of that part of the work. See index.

PARSONS, COLONEL WILLIAM. *An Illustrated History of Umatilla County and of Morrow County.* (W. H. Lever, Publisher, 1902.)

Chapters VII and VIII give the Indian wars and the treaties before and after. Colonel Kip's journal forms the source from which much is taken. He rather justifies Stevens' "vitriolic" summary of the war.

PICKETT, LA SALLE CORBELL (Mrs. G. E. Pickett). *Pickett and His Men.* (Atlanta, Ga.: The Foote & Davis Company. 1899.)

In the appendix is given a biographical sketch of General George B. McClellan, in which (page 426) is found the interesting statement: "It is a fact not generally known that the movements which are referred to here [the occupation of San Juan Island] had its origin in a patriotic attempt on the part of General Harney, Governor Stevens of Washington Territory and other Democratic federal officers on that coast, with the knowledge and general concurrence of Captain Pickett to force war with Great Britain in hopes that by this means the then jarring sections of our country would unite in a foreign war and so avert the civil strife which they feared they saw approaching."

PROSCH, CHARLES. *Reminiscences of Washington Territory.* (Seattle. 1904.)

Stevens' optimism as to the railroad being built in five years is shown, page 35.

PROSSER, COLONEL WILLIAM FARRAND. *A History of the Puget Sound Country.* Two volumes. (New York and Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company. 1903.)

From the narrative of Admiral Philips (Volume 1, page 166) is given the treatment of the Indians by the whites and its import in causing the war. (In Seattle Public Library.)

SHAFFER, JOSEPH. *A History of the Pacific Northwest.* (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1906.)

A brief account of territorial organization and its first officers is given.

SHUCK, OSCAR T. *Representative and Leading Men of the Pacific.* (San Francisco: Bacon & Co. 1870.)

A brief sketch of Stevens, though not based on source material as shown in the Stevens-Lander dispute, page 500. Stevens is emphasized as a military hero rather than as a statesman.

SMALLEY, EUGENE V. *History of the Northern Pacific Railroad*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1883.)

He deserves fame for his work in the survey of the northernmost route to the Pacific. His ability as an engineer is shown. Pages 79-87.

SMITH, CHARLES W. *The Naming of Counties in the State of Washington*. Reprinted from the *Magazine of History*. Volume 10, pages 9-16 (July, 1909). Volume 10, pages 79-85 (August, 1909).

Stevens was honored by having a county named in his memory.

SNOWDEN, CLINTON A. *History of Washington*. (New York: The Century History Company. 1909.)

This brings out the Northern Pacific survey and Stevens' splendid work of showing the feasibility of the railroad. Jefferson Davis, secretary of war, made progress difficult. A glimpse of Mrs. Stevens in frontier life is given. He shows the lack of understanding on the part of Congress by the instructions which were issued to the governors. He holds General John E. Wool responsible for the difficulties between himself and Stevens. Use Table of Contents.

STEVENS, HAZARD. *Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens*. Two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1909.) Use index.

A splendid biography based on documents, letters and reports. It is perhaps partial in that it fails to deal with the criticisms and controversies of Stevens' enemies, and is strong in the filial esteem of one who knew him in private life and in public life and under varied circumstances.

SWAN, JAMES G. *The Northwest Coast*. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1857.)

The Stevens-Wool controversy is brought out, showing General Wool not to have understood the situation. In the Appendix, page 425, a letter from George Gibbs, dated January 7, 1857, attempts to give the factors to which the Indian wars were due.

TAYLOR, J. M. *History and Government of Washington*. (St. Louis, Mo.: Becktold Printing and Book Manufacturing Company. 1898.) See index.

Very briefly is told Stevens' election as delegate to congress.

TODD, WILLIAM. *The Seventy-ninth Highlanders*. (Albany, N. Y.: Brandow, Barton & Co. 1886.)

The mutiny of the Highlanders and Stevens' ability to handle the situation is well told, pages 57-67. A fine tribute is paid Stevens (page 73), in that the author can say, "the men responded nobly"

and made it a point of pride to obey scrupulously "on Stevens' doing away with camp guards and appealing to the men to refrain from wandering from camp and from annoying or pilfering from the country people." The work of Stevens at Chantilly is told in fullest detail and gives to the life of the hero a fitting close.

VICTOR, FRANCES FULLER. *The Early Indian Wars of Oregon*. (Salem, Oregon: Frank Banker, State Printer. 1894.)

This is compiled from the Oregon archives and other original sources. A letter from William Craig, special agent to the Nez Perces, page 477, to Isaac I. Stevens brings out well the attitude of the Indians and the cause of that attitude.

WHEELER, OLIN D. *The Trail of Lewis and Clark*. Two volumes. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1904.)

The route surveyed by Stevens was to considerable extent the same blazed by Lewis and Clark many years earlier. This setting makes the "feasible route of Stevens" more real and gives the key to Stevens' enthusiasm. See index.

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#### DOCUMENTS

BACHE, A. D. *House Executive Document 31*, 2d Session, 31st Congress, 1850-1851.

On page 53 Bache speaks of the change in organization which Stevens had brought about in the office of the Coast Survey.

BACHE, A. D. *United States Coast Survey Report, 1852*.

On page 5, Stevens' "excellent administrative arrangement" is mentioned. On page 56 Mr. Bache speaks of the office being "characterized by a very marked spirit of industry." Much is quoted from Stevens, direct or indirect, showing Bache's appreciation. On page 34, Stevens' creditable work in the office made the preparation of charts possible on short notice.

BACHE, A. D. *United States Coast Survey Report, 1853*.

Stevens had been connected with the Coast Survey until 1853, when he was appointed territorial governor, the loss to the work is lamented. Mr. Bache says, on page 14 "The gain to the country in his appointment, and especially to that new region to which he has been called, will no doubt be great, but our loss is proportionately great." On page 80 he pays tribute to the distinguished service of Major Isaac I. Stevens.



*Senate Executive Document 1*, 1st Session, 33d Congress, pages 55-65. Instructions to Governor Stevens as to the survey to the Pacific. The same is found in *House Executive Document 1*, 1st Session, 33d Congress, pages 55-65.

Stevens is given full charge, and those are named who are to work under him.

*House Executive Document 129*, 1st Session, 33d Congress. Three volumes. Giving the reports of Stevens and his men.

One can gather the pains to which Stevens went to make the work complete, every possible route being explored.

*Senate Executive Document 78*, 2d Session, 33d Congress. See also *House Executive Document 91*, 2d Session, 33d Congress.

This collection is that of reports from Stevens and the men under him, and these describe the country, distance and coast settlement. The fullest details are given. They formed the basis of all future attempts at railroad survey in the Northwest.

*Report of Explorations and Surveys*. Volume I. (Washington: Beverly Tucker, Printer. 1855.)

On pages 8-12 is given the report of the secretary of war on Stevens' work, and he says of the explorations that they embrace a wider field than that upon any other explored.

On pages 38-55 the secretary gives a geographical description of the country as portrayed by Stevens. The feasibility as well as the desirability of a railroad are emphasized.

On page 105 is given an interesting comparison of the routes.

In Part II, pages 73-402, are given fully the reports of Stevens' subordinates on particular possible routes, when several were under consideration. It shows the thoroughness with which Stevens performed his assigned tasks.

On page 542 are letters from James Doty transmitted to Secretary of War Davis.

*Reports of Exploration and Surveys*. Vol. XII, Book I. (Washington: Thomas H. Ford, Printer. 1860.)

This gives in interesting narrative the explorations for the route for a Pacific railroad. Thoroughness characterizes this whole work. It shows his ability to grasp situations and his clearness and vividness in expressing his ideas, and this went far toward making the East appreciate the value of the Pacific Northwest.

*Senate Executive Document 34*, 1st Session, 33d Congress, pages 1-5.

Stevens' recommendations pertaining to making treaties with the

Indians is commented upon by George Manypenny and McClelland, secretary of the interior.

*House Executive Document 55*, 1st Session, 33d Congress, pages 1-4.

Stevens' plan for councils with the Indians is discussed by Mr. Manypenny and Secretary McClelland. They recommended Stevens' plan and urged fuller appropriations than those asked for by Stevens.

*Senate Executive Document 1*, 2d Session, 33d Congress, pages 42, 455-457.

McClelland, secretary of the interior, indorses Stevens' Indian policy. On pages 392-455: McClelland discusses the tribes along the route of the railroad exploration made by the Stevens' party.

*Board of Appraisers*, William K. Melville, William H. Carlton, Warren Gove.

A copy of the board's report as to "value of certain land claims with their respective improvements situated wholly or in part within the limits of what is known as the Puyallup Indian Reservation." It was Stevens' aim to satisfy the Indians and leave opportunity for aggression on the part of the whites. (In the Tacoma Public Library and a copy in the private library of Prof. Edmond S. Meany.)

*House Executive Document 88*, 1st Session, 35th Congress, pages 13-15, 103-105, 114-121, 151-178, 207.

Wool's reports of hostilities of the whites to the Indians.

*House Executive Document 114*, 2d Session, 35th Congress, pages 30-126.

Captain T. J. Cram's discussion of the Indian treaties as a cause of the war. Much light is thrown on the relations of Governor Stevens and General Wool.

*Senate Executive Document 26*, 1st Session, 34th Congress, pages 1-68.

General Wool's correspondence regarding Indian hostilities sent to the Senate.

These documents must be impartially studied to see that much of the Wool-Stevens controversy grew out of a misunderstanding between the two military men.

*House Executive Document 93*, 1st Session, 34th Congress, pages 1-144.

General J. E. Wool's correspondence on the Indian hostilities.

This gives the petition for the removal of Joel Palmer and relates to the Rogue River troubles. The viewpoint of the anti-Stevens group finds much in these reports to substantiate their assertions.

*House Executive Document 47*, 2d Session, 35th Congress, pages 1-61.  
General J. E. Wool and others on the depredations of the whites.

There seems to be some exaggeration, but undoubtedly there was some truth in these reports.

DREW, LIEUTENANT C. S. Origin and early prosecution of the Yakima war. In *Senate Executive Document 59*, 1st Session, 36th Congress, pages 1-48.

This is an interpretation from a military viewpoint.

BROWNE, J. ROSS. Report on the condition of Indian reservations in Washington and Oregon. *House Executive Document 39*, 1st Session, 35th Congress, pages 2-48.

This is a very good report on Indian affairs. He shows much evil to have grown out of jealousies between the military and the civil forces. He suggests many items of discontent as expressed by those interrogated.

BROWNE, J. ROSS. Letter reviewing the origin of the Indian War of 1855-56 in the territories of Oregon and Washington. *Senate Executive Document 40*, 1st Session, 35th Congress, pages 2-13.

Mr. Browne as special agent of the Treasury Department made a tour of inspection in the territories. He says, page 11: "If Governor Stevens is to blame because he did not so frame the treaties as to stop the war, or stop it by not making treaties at all, then the charge should be specifically brought against him. My own opinion is that he had no more control over the course of events than the secretary of war in Washington, D. C."

*House Executive Document 37*, 3d Session, 34th Congress pages 1-125.

In the report of the Indian commissioner the attitude of officials on the Indian wars is pretty well shown.

*House Executive Document 45*, 1st Session, 35th Congress, pages 1-16.

The report of the Commission on Indian War Expenses in Oregon and Washington Territories. In this report charges of unreasonableness are nowhere brought against the officers of the territory who estimated the expenses.

LANE, GENERAL JOSEPH. Speech on the Oregon and Washington war claims. *Congressional Globe*, Volume 46, pages 2115-2121, May 13, 1858.

This substantiates much that Stevens had brought out in his speeches on the Indian wars.

*Washington Council Journal*, 1857, page 127.

Attention is called to a letter appearing in the *Cincinnati Weekly Times*, signed "Pacific" and purporting to give the causes of the Indian hostilities. This is answered on page 158, after investigations by a select committee had been made.

*Washington House Journal*, 1857-1858.

Joint resolution relative to General Wool, ordering citizens out of the Walla Walla country and acknowledging the "zeal and efficiency" displayed by Governor Stevens, page 159.

*Washington Council Journal*, 1857. Report of the committee on that part of the governor's message pertaining to martial law, with a survey of the correspondence submitted.

The commission (page 79) came to the conclusion "that the governor had no authority to declare martial law and that his acts in enforcing it were "inexpedient and wrong." The minority report on martial law ends by saying: "The said proclamation and enforcement of martial law appear to be urgently demanded by public safety, and he has the sanction and approval of the Legislative Assembly." Page 180.

*House Executive Document 76*, 3d Session, 34th Congress, pages 146-256.

The military régime in Pierce and in Thurston counties caused most bitter feelings to exist. In a mass-meeting (pages 169-170) Stevens' acts are designated as "tyrannical and despotic, his usurpation of law and authority are such as require the interposition of the supreme authority of the United States." Stevens' acts were not understood, from what one would gather from congressional discussion.

*Senate Executive Document 98*, 1st Session, 34th Congress, pages 1-31.

Resolutions indorsed by the bar association declaring (page 6) "the proclamation of Governor Stevens, suspending the writ of habeas corpus, was an improper exercise of authority and a usurpation unheard of in the history of our country."

*Senate Executive Document 47*, 3d Session, 34th Congress, pages 1-11.

This contains extracts from letters from Brevet Major-General John E. Wool, proceedings of the meeting of the bar association of the Third Judicial District; letters from Lieutenant Casey.

*Messages and Documents, 1856-1857.* Part 2.

On page 194 is given General Wool's report to Colonel L. Thomas on the Indian wars in Washington.



Page 196 shows the conflicting policy of himself and Governor Stevens and the attitude of officials in Washington.

*Senate Executive Document 174*, 1st Session, 35th Congress, page 1-2; and *House Executive Document 71*, 1st Session, 35th Congress, pages 1-2.

Here are given the resolutions of approval passed by the Territorial Legislature, March 1, 1858, exonerating Stevens and setting aside the earlier vote of censure.

*Washington House Journal*, 1857.

On page 65 is given the joint resolution saying: "Resolved, that the resolutions passed January 16, 1857, does not now and did not at that time express the opinion of a majority of the citizens of Washington Territory, but was a direct contravention of the same, a fact manifest by the triumphant election of Governor Stevens as our delegate to Congress."

On page 71 is a joint resolution tendering thanks to Governor Curry of Oregon and endorsing the governor's opinion of General Wool.

On page 67 is a joint resolution relative to the false and malicious report made by General Wool concerning the late Indian wars in Washington Territory.

*Washington Council Journal*, 1857.

The resolution introduced exonerating ex-Governor Stevens from charges brought against him for "proclaiming and enforcing martial law in the counties of Pierce and Thurston and for which he received unmerited condemnation by a certain resolution of the Legislative Assembly, passed January 16, 1857." Page 65.

Resolution introduced by Mr. Naton denouncing General Wool and his council as "imbecile and miserable." Page 81.

This resolution to exonerate Stevens reported correctly enrolled and notice of the president that he would sign it. Page 167.

*Senate Executive Document 41*, 3d Session, 34th Congress, pages 1-56.

The "martial law affair" in the hands of the President and the Senate. Correspondence with Gibbs and Goldsborough, Chief Justice Lander and Judge Chenowith.

HARNEY, GENERAL W. S. Correspondence relating to the San Juan difficulties. *House Executive Document 65*, 1st Session, 35th Congress, pages 1-269.

Stevens took an active part in maintaining America's claims, and so these details throw light upon discussions in his letters.

*War Report.* Volume 12, Part II. Stevens' work with Pope. See index. Part III, page 524: His location near Fredericksburg. See index under "Stevens."

*War Report.* Volume 15, pages 17, 165, 168-169, 175.

Stevens is mentioned in connection with the Army of the Potomac.

*War Report.* Volume 14, pages 37, 43-48, 350-352, 356-358, 362-364, 366-368, 979-982, 984-995, 999-1004, 1006-1012.

These references bring out what his associates thought of Stevens.

*United States Coast Survey, 1862.*

Remarks made by Professor A. D. Bache as a tribute to the memory of Brigadier-General Isaac I. Stevens. Among the fine things said of him was this: "He was not one of those who led by looking on, but by example." Pages 432-433.

*The Centennial of the United States Military Academy, 1802-1902.* (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1904.)

Something is given of each graduate. This may well be used as an index to Stevens' writings.

#### MAGAZINE ARTICLES

*Oregon Historical Society Quarterly.* Volume 5, page 29 (March, 1904). PROSCH, THOMAS W. The evolution of Spokane and Stevens counties.

Honoring Isaac I. Stevens by naming the new county after him.

—Volume 6, pages 147-158 (June, 1905). PROSCH, THOMAS W. The political beginning of Washington Territory.

He proclaimed the Territory of Washington, and by a second proclamation established judicial and election precincts.

—Volume 12, pages 310-13 (September, 1911). WOODWARD, W. C. Political parties in Oregon.

Stevens as representative in the National Democratic convention, April 23, 1860.

—Volume 16, pages 1-24 (March, 1915). PROSCH, THOMAS W. The Indian War in Washington Territory.

Some of the so-called mistakes of Stevens are enumerated in the article.

*Pacific Northwest Society of Engineers.* Memoirs. Volume XI, No. 2, pages 1-9 (September, 1912). RUGGLES, WILLIAM B. McClellan in railroad service.

His work was done under the direction of Isaac I. Stevens and shows the "master hand."

*Seattle Daily Times.*

March 24, 1905. An interesting controversy between Ezra Meeker and Prof. Edmond S. Meany over allegations made by Meeker in his book entitled "Pioneer Reminiscences of Puget Sound," which Professor Meany claims are unsupported by history; that Meeker has told half-truths to support his point that Leschi was murdered by the whites.

—March 29, 1905. Appears Meeker's answer to the charges of unfairness and half-truths.

—March 30, 1905. Stevens' personal faults, as getting intoxicated occasionally, are accepted, but Professor Meany is willing to discuss the book after he has access to more than the contents.

—April 15, 1905. The book had appeared, and now Professor Meany gives a careful historical criticism, showing the fallacies and fancies indulged in by the "Old Pioneer."

—April 25, 1905. Meeker offers to prove the charges and "declares he has witnesses to Stevens' habits."

—May 1, 1905. "The war of words ends," but Meeker refuses to be convinced. He has written history as did the "poets of old." History grew in the telling.

*Seattle Post-Intelligencer.*

July 8, 1907. EDMONDS STEPHEN MEANY ON TEN INDIAN TREATIES, the greatest work of Governor Isaac I. Stevens.

—July 11, 1897. Here is continued the treaty-making of Isaac I. Stevens.

—July 18, 1897. JAMES G. SWAN contributed "The Chehalis River Indian Treaty; a Reminiscence of 1855."

*Washington Historical Quarterly.*

Volume 2, pages 352-56 (October, 1907-July, 1908). The correspondence that passed between Governor Sir James Douglas of Vancouver and Governor Isaac I. Stevens pertaining to San Juan Island.

—Volume 7, page 86 (January, 1916). The erection of a granite monolith on the spot where General Isaac I. Stevens fell in the Battle of Chantilly, September 1, 1862.

—Volume 7, No. 1 (January, 1916). Site of Camp Washington. By M. ORION MONROE. A critical discussion of the site of Camp Washington as established by Governor Stevens in 1853.

—Volume 8, page 160 (January, 1917). A plan to honor Stevens by the erection of a statue of him in Statuary Hall in the National Capitol.

ROSE M. BOENING.