

CHIEF PATKANIM

Patkanim, Chief of the Snoqualmie and allied tribes, was honored by dignified and impressive ceremonies when a beautiful monument was unveiled over his grave at Tulalip, Snohomish County, Washington, on Sunday afternoon, June 29, 1924.

On the monument is a bronze tablet bearing a portrait of the Chief and under it the inscription: "Patkanim, Chief of the Snoqualmie, Snohomish and allied tribes, signed on Jan. 22, 1855, the treaty which ceded to the United States all the lands from Elliott Bay to the British line. As Captain of Indian warriors he fought for the white people."

The tablet is the work of James A. Wehn, sculptor of Seattle, who for a period of ten years took advantage of every opportunity to study the subject. He made repeated trips to the reservation where the remnants of the old tribes reside and prepared one model after another. There is in existence but one small photograph of the old chief. Of course the sculptor used that in his modeling. He submitted his studies to survivors of the tribe and especially to Susie, the last remaining child of Chief Patkanim. It is believed by those on the reservation that Susie is about one hundred years of age. Mr. Wehn believed he had achieved success when Susie fondled a photograph of his last model and exclaimed: "Papa, my papa." No one without a commendable enthusiasm for his work could have persisted in the difficult task as did Mr. Wehn. His enthusiasm was shared by Leon Morel, of the Morel Bronze Foundry, and by Mr. Edmund C. Messett, President and Manager of the Sunset Monument Company, Inc., who provided the tall and rugged granite shaft on which the tablet is securely placed.

The most persistent Indian advocate of this tardy honor to the Chief was Skookum George, of Tulalip, a nephew of Patkanim. He made frequent journeys, appeared before many audiences and finally helped to raise among the Indians a large portion of the money necessary to pay the actual cost of the monument.

When about 1000 Indians and white friends assembled in the cemetery at Tulalip the meeting was called to order by Eagle Scout Edmond S. Meany, Junior, bugling "Assembly" out of respect to the military character of the Chief. Skookum George,

Chairman of the Day, then called upon Father O'Donnell, of Marysville, who opened the program with prayer. The American flag was then raised by an unveiling device manipulated by Jack George, seven years of age, son of Solomon George, and grandson of Skookum George, relations of Patkanim. Four Indians, representing as many tribes, made addresses in their own languages and these were interpreted by Charles Alexis of the Suquamish tribe. These addresses were by Little Joe, of the Suquamish tribe; Snoqualmie Jim, of the Snoqualmie tribe; Henry Qyueenah, of the Lummi tribe; and George Alexander, of the Skagit tribe. Arthur A. Denny, one of the founders of the City of Seattle, was a great friend of Chief Patkanim. The Indians are now proud of that old friendship. The name of Denny is very familiar to them. On this occasion, a granddaughter of Arthur A. Denny, Mrs. Florence Denny Heliker, gave a brief address referring to the fine old friendship between her grandfather and the great Chief in whose honor the meeting was assembled. The Indians were immensely pleased and each sentence was repeated in their own tongue by the interpreter, Charles Alexis. The history of Patkanim was briefly traced in an address by Professor Edmond S. Meany. A letter from Governor Hart was read after which Mr. W. F. Dickens, Indian Agent at Tulalip, accepted the monument on behalf of the United States Government.

Many friends of the Indians and those interested in the historic significance of the ceremony came forward to show their appreciation by pressing the right hand upon the granite shaft. These included Professor and Mrs. F. H. Hodder, of the University of Kansas; Professor C. V. Gilliland, of the University of Southern California; Professor and Mrs. R. F. Nichols, of Columbia University, New York; Professor Frank Harmon Garver, of the University of Montana; Professor and Mrs. J. A. O. Larsen, Professor H. S. Lucas, Mr. Victor J. Farrar, Miss Ebba Dahlin and Miss Iva L. Buchanan, all of the University of Washington; Dean John T. Condon, representing the President of the University of Washington; Mrs. Florence Denny Heliker, Mrs. D. W. Bass, Mrs. P. H. Bamford, Mrs. George Lamping, Rolland Lamping, Mary Ann Lamping, Doris Lamping, and Marcia Lamping, all descendants of Arthur A. Denny; Mrs. Charles Patton, a descendant of William N. Bell, a founder of the City of Seattle; a descendant of Dr. Henry A. Smith for whom Smith's Cove is named; D. W. Bass, a native of Oregon; Dr. Mabel Sea-

grave and her father, a pioneer of Seattle; Judge Noah Shakespeare, of Everett; Enoch W. Bagshaw, Football Coach, University of Washington; James Fenton, of Eldridge Buick Company, Seattle, Paul S. MacMichael, President of the Northern Clay Company. Susie, the venerable daughter of Chief Patkanim, was introduced to the audience while she stood beneath the portrait of her father.

The bugler sounded the solemn notes of "Taps" and the day's ceremonies were ended. The Indians thereupon invited the guests to a clam-bake on the beach near the Tulalip Indian School.

Chief Patkanim occupies a position toward the City of Everett comparable to the relation of Chief Seattle toward the city that bears his name. When it was first proposed to honor the memory of Patkanim it was expected that Everett would decide to erect a statue of that Chief in a prominent place. Instead of that, the authorities decided to erect in his memory an eighty-foot "story-pole," more commonly called totem-pole, carved by William Shelton, a talented Snohomish Indian of Tulalip. That pole was erected on July 26, 1922, with Mayor W. H. Clay, other officers of the city and many Indians participating in the exercises. On August 1, 1923, other ceremonies were held when a bronze tablet set into the base of the pole was unveiled. This tablet bore a portrait of the Chief and a brief record of his services. It is the work of Sculptor Wehn and is similar to the tablet that ornaments the granite shaft on the Chief's grave at Tulalip.

The completion of these belated honors to his memory make it appropriate that there should be gathered into permanent and accessible form the known facts of Patkanim's history.

The date of his birth is not known. On November 26, 1858, the *Pioneer and Democrat*, an Olympia newspaper, announced that Patkanim and John Taylor, Chiefs of the Snoqualmie and Snohomish tribes of Indians had died "within the last few months." That is the most definitely fixed date of his death. It was about two years from the time he had gained enduring fame in the Indian war. He was certainly not an old man at the time of his death and we may therefore conjecture that he was born in an early year of the nineteenth century. The great inland sea we now know as Puget Sound was the wild home of his ancestors. At the time of his birth that sea had been entered only once by vessels of the white man. In 1792, Captain George Vancouver and his two vessels discovered and explored these waters. He an-

chored near the very place where that monument has been reared over the Chief's grave. Elwood Evans is authority for the statement that Patkanim was the hereditary Chief of the Snoqualmie tribe.¹ It is inconceivable that children of a chief would grow up without hearing about the strange people in their big boats.

In the absence of written or printed records, one can only surmise the hunting and war-path training of Patkanim prior to 1848. In that year he appears in history as a leader among chiefs and a foe of the advancing white men. Reared as a savage among savages, it was natural that he would not favor the white man. Being a leader, and a clever one, it was also natural that he would seek to back his opposition with force.

The Hudson's Bay Company had established Fort Langley near the mouth of Fraser River in 1827 and, as a way station between that fort and headquarters at Fort Vancouver, the Company established Fort Nisqually, about midway between the present Cities of Tacoma and Olympia, in 1833. Patkanim would know about this first actual settlement of white men on the shore of the inland sea which his people called "Whulge." In 1836 the Hudson's Bay Company brought to Fort Nisqually, the steamer *Beaver*. It was the first steamer to ply the waters of the Pacific. It was a mystery to the Indians. They called it by a name meaning "fire-ship." It would be a stupid Indian Chief who would not sense in such a craft a menace to his people's mode of life and Patkanim certainly was not stupid.

Historian Bancroft records the fact that Thomas W. Glasgow journeyed from Olympia in 1848 to Whidbey Island. There he staked a claim and then returned to Olympia for companions. Patkanim immediately called a council of all the tribes of Puget Sound to be held on Whidbey Island. Bancroft, in a footnote, cites as his authority a manuscript by Elwood Evans as follows:

"Patkanim exhibited the tact in this instance which marked him as a savage of uncommon intelligence. Parade has a great effect upon the human mind, whether savage or civilized. Patkanim gave a great hunt to the assembled chiefs. A corral was constructed with the wings extending across the island from Penn Cove to Glasgow's claim, and a drive made with dogs, by which more than 60 deer were secured for a grand banquet at the inauguration of the council. Patkanim then opened the conference by a speech, in which he urged that if the Americans were allowed

¹ *History of the Pacific Northwest: Oregon and Washington*, volume II., page 513.

to settle among them they would soon become numerous, and would carry off their people in large fire-ships to a distant country on which the sun never shone; where they would be left to perish. He argued that the few now present could easily be exterminated, which would discourage others from coming, and appealed to the cupidity of his race by representing that the death of the Americans in the country would put the Indians in possession of a large amount of property. But the Indians from the upper part of the Sound, who were better acquainted with the white people, did not agree with Patkanim. The chief of the bands about Tumwater, Snohodumtah, called by the Americans Grayhead, resisted the arguments of the Snoqualimich chief. He reminded that council that previous to the advent of the Americans the tribes from the lower sound often made war upon the weaker tribes of his section carrying them off for slaves, but that he had found the presence of the Boston men a protection, as they discouraged wars. Patkanim, angered at this opposition, created a great excitement, which seemed to threaten a battle between the tribes, and Rabbeson becoming alarmed fled back to the settlements. Two days later Glasgow followed, being assisted to escape by a friendly Indian, but leaving behind him all his property."²

Probably Patkanim was emboldened by his experience in driving Glasgow from his settlement on Whidbey Island. The next spring he led a band of his braves to Fort Nisqually where a little battle occurred on Tuesday, May 1, 1849. Dr. W. Fraser Tolmie, in charge at Fort Nisqually, wrote a complete account of it in the journal of that day. It has already been published in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Volume X. (July, 1919,) see pages 212-215. Patkanim had gone into the stockade and was there when the attack was precipitated on the outside. Leander C. Wallace, an American, was killed outright and two other Americans were wounded, one of whom, Lewis, survived his wounds only a short time. The Americans had come to the Fort to trade and arrived just as the gates were closed at the time of the attack. Chief Patkanim escaped from the stockade and joined his band. The next day, May 2, Doctor Tolmie with a few others went to Steilacoom and passed through the woods where the Snoqualmies had been encamped, "but saw no signs of the enemy, by all accounts they have gone clean off."

2 H. E. Bancroft: *History of Washington, Idaho and Montana*, page 11.

Doctor Tolmie in the original record intimates that the Indians did not come with hostile intent but were really bent upon making a disturbance among the Indians at the Fort when they would run off with a number of women and children to be used as slaves. Subsequent writers, however, have believed that it was a part of Patkanim's plan to drive the white people out of the country. And, moreover, the American settlers gave practical evidence that they proposed to resist any similar attacks by promptly building blockhouse forts at Tumwater and Cowlitz.

A report of the Nisqually attack was sent by Doctor Tolmie to General Joseph Lane, first Federal Governor of Oregon, who acted with prompt and vigorous courage. Lieutenant Hawkins and five men constituted the military men at Governor Lane's command. With these he set out for Puget Sound. At Tumwater he was overtaken by an express bringing the news that Brevet-Major Hathaway had arrived in the Columbia River with two companies of artillery. He sent a letter to Doctor Tolmie and hastened back to the Columbia River where he soon arranged with Major Hathaway that the company under Captain B. H. Hill, waiting at Astoria, should be sent to Puget Sound. They arrived in July and were quartered at Fort Steilacoom near Nisqually.

Measures were at once taken to punish the Indians who had killed those Americans in the attack on Fort Nisqually. Marshal and jurymen were sent from the Columbia River; court was regularly convened at Fort Steilacoom and two Indians, Qualawort, a brother of Patkanim, and Kassass, another Snoqualmie Chief, were convicted and hanged "in the presence of the troops and many of their own and other tribes."³

From the above it is clear that at least four events must have impressed Patkanim following his display of masterful power on Whidbey Island in 1848. These events were the stubborn resistance at Fort Nisqually, the building of the first blockhouse forts, the establishment of United States troops at Fort Steilacoom, and the trial and execution of two of his Chiefs.

Chief Patkanim took a new trail.

It is claimed that he accepted an invitation to make a voyage in a sailing vessel to San Francisco in 1850. Those were the days of gold in California. Life was exciting in San Francisco. The Indian Chief returned to his own people convinced of the

³ H. H. Bancroft: *History of Oregon*, volume I., pages 67-70, 79-80. Among contemporary authorities cited for the trial and execution is the *Oregon Spectator* for October 18, 1849.

number and activities of the white people. In a dramatic speech he lifted from the beach a handful of sand and let the grains trickle through his fingers. That many would be the white people who would come to Puget Sound. He and his people must be friendly with them.

On November 13, 1851, there landed at Alki Point a colony of twelve adults and twelve children. From that colony the City of Seattle has grown. It is well known that Chief Seattle soon sought out Arthur A. Denny as leader of the colony. The two men became friends. Other chiefs sought the friendship of Mr. Denny. These included Chief Patkanim. Those friendships proved valuable when the Indian war broke out a few years later. At the recent ceremonies, Mrs. Florence Denny Heliker said she once asked her grandfather if he was not afraid when he proposed to go out into the woods and bring into camp Chief Patkanim and his band. Her grandfather's only reply was: "Why I never deceived an Indian!"

The next great event in the life of Chief Patkanim was his participation in the making of the famous Point Elliott (Muckilteo) treaty signed on January 22, 1855. Washington Territory had been created by the Act of Congress of March 2, 1853. The first Governor, Isaac I Stevens, had arranged for the making of Indian treaties as soon as the government of the new Territory was organized. Couriers had assembled 2300 Indians at Point Elliott. Four great Chiefs occupied the front row. These were Chief Seattle of the Suquamish and allied tribes; Chief Patkanim of the Snoqualmie and allied tribes; Chief Chow-its-hoot, of the Lummi and allied tribes; and Chief Goliah, of the Skagit and allied tribes. The sub-chiefs occupied the second row and behind them were grouped members of their various tribes. Governor Stevens made an address explaining the purpose of the treaty. He then called upon Chief Seattle who made a brief speech and then Chief Patkanim spoke as follows:

"Today I understood your heart as soon as you spoke. I understood your talk plainly. God made my heart and those of my people good and strong. It is good that we should give you our real feelings today. We want everything as you have said, the doctor and all. Such is the feeling of all the Indians. Our hearts are with the whites. God makes them good towards the Americans."⁴ Three cheers were given for Chief Patkanim's

⁴ Hazard Stevens: *The Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens*, volume I., pages 462-466.

speech as was the case for the other Chiefs when each one concluded his speech.

The speeches and each article of the treaty was thoroughly interpreted into each of the languages represented. When all was understood the document was signed by Governor Stevens first followed by the four Chiefs in the order named above and then by seventy-eight sub-chiefs of the various tribes. Seventeen white men signed as witnesses.⁵

That treaty conveyed to the United States all the land from Point Pully, locally known as "Three Tree Point" northward to the British line. Anyone who will glance at the map of that area and think of the importance of that transaction will surely concede that those who signed the treaty well deserve to be held in grateful memory.

It should be added that the treaty was not ratified by the United States Senate until April 11, 1859. The main reason for that delay was the outbreak of the Indian war on both sides of the Cascade Range. In that war Chief Patkanim reached the zenith of his career.

While Governor Stevens was making treaties with the Indians of Eastern Washington, (the Territory then extended to the land of the Blackfeet in what is now Montana) the Secretary of the Territory, Charles H. Mason, was Acting Governor. He made a trip through the White River country and declared that the settlers had left in an unjustified panic. They thereupon returned to their cabins and on October 28, 1855, William H. Brannan, wife and child, Harry N. Jones and wife, George E. King and wife, and Enos Cooper were killed by the Indians. That tragedy was all that was needed to make the alarm genuine and effective.

Lieutenant W. A. Slaughter, of the United States Army, sent a messenger to Acting Governor Mason to say that Patkanim was dogging him at every step. Mason promptly sent an express to the Captain of the sloop-of-war *Decatur*, in Seattle harbor asking that two brothers of Patkanim and such Snoqualmies as were in Seattle be arrested and put in irons. Arthur A. Denny had previously told Captain Sterrett of the *Decatur* that he believed in the friendship of Patkanim. On that account the Captain sent for Mr. Denny and told him he thought he ought to arrest the Snoqualmies that very night.

"This was startling news to me," says Mr. Denny, "and I

⁵ Charles J. Kappler, clerk to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs: *Indian Affairs; Laws and Treaties*, volume II., pages 669-673.

most earnestly protested, telling him that I knew Lieutenant Slaughter was mistaken, and that we had enemies enough to look after without attacking our friends; but he was so much disposed to act on Governor Mason's orders that I finally proposed, if he would not disturb the Snoqualmies, I would be responsible for their good conduct, and would prove to him that Slaughter was wrong, by going to Pat Kanim's camp and bringing him in. He very positively refused to allow me to leave town, but consented that I might send an express for Pat Kanim, and stand responsible for them until their return, having a time agreed upon within which they would be back. Very fortunately for me, and probably for Pat Kanim too, he was on hand within the time agreed upon. He had his women and children with him, and also brought a cargo of mountain sheep, venison, horses [horns] and hides, specimens of which he took on board and presented to the Captain, who expressed the greatest surprise and satisfaction with the conclusive proof, which I had thus furnished, of the good faith and friendship of the Snoqualmies. I never heard anything more from headquarters of the hostile Snoqualmies, but Pat Kanim was very soon employed by the Governor with a party of his tribe, as scouts and did good service during the continuance of the war."⁶

To this day the Snoqualmie are proud of Mr. Denny's championship of their cause at that critical time. They love the name of Denny. That is why an interpreter at the recent memorial exercises turned every sentence of Mrs. Florence Denny Heliker's address into the Snoqualmie tongue so that every one of the Indians would understand.

It will be noticed that Mr. Denny, in his book spells the Chief's name Pat Kanim. In the Nisqually journal of May 1, 1849, the name is spelled Patakynum. In the treaty of 1855 it is signed Pat-ka-nam. He could not write so that was only another white man trying to record the spoken name. Historian Bancroft spelled it Patkanim and most of the subsequent writers have accepted that as the best form.

There is abundant evidence of the services rendered by Chief Patkanim for the white settlers during the Indian war of 1856. The muster roll of his company of warriors has been saved and was published with the muster rolls of the volunteers in the Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Washington

⁶ Arthur A. Denny: *Pioneer Days on Puget Sound*, pages 66-67.

for the years of 1891 and 1892.⁷ There are eighty-one warriors on the list. Patkanim's name is at the head with the rank of Captain.

The only newspaper printed on Puget Sound at that time made frequent mention of Patkanim and his warriors. His most stubborn battle is described as follows:

"Since our last issue, we have received further information of the operations of Pat Kanim, and his party, and for the following we are indebted to Mr. A. C. Phelps, of Island county, who arrived here this morning with an express from Seattle. Our informant states that about the middle of last week, Pat Kanim, with his band of some sixty Snoqualmie and Snohomish Indians, approached Leschi's camp, in the night, with the intention of surprising and capturing it; but his advance and presence was betrayed by the barking of dogs in the hostile encampment. Leschi's strong position was in the forks of a small stream on White river, and a small house or defense being outside the forks.

"Pat Kanim approached within speaking distance of Leschi, who said to him—'I have understood that you were coming to attack me, and I am prepared for you. I think I will have your head before tomorrow noon.' To which Pat Kanim replied—'I don't know, but I think that before that time I will have your head.' Pat Kanim then went back to his party—made a proper disposition of his force, and early in the morning commenced the attack.

"His first demonstration was made against the outside house, or protection, to which we have referred, and in which the main body of the enemy were fortified, and after a sharp engagement, in which some severe fighting took place, he drove the enemy from his position, into his stronghold, in the forks of the creek. A number of shots were fired into this last position by Pat and his party, by which he thinks a number must have been killed or wounded.

"An Indian report has just reached here, that Pat's party killed and wounded quite a number of the enemy in the defences, of which he knows nothing, but he is certain that eight were killed during the action—one a chief. However but two heads were obtained, as six of the Indians were killed on the opposite side of the stream, and with his small force, Pat concluded it imprudent to cross over after them. Leschi's force is set down at from 150 to 200, active fighting men.

⁷ Schedule B, pages 173-174.

"The engagement lasted ten hours, and the ammunition and provisions of our allies being exhausted, Pat was compelled to draw off his force and await supplies—with which he says he could easily have completely routed the enemy on the following day.

"In this engagement, Pat Kanim and his party have obtained a decided advantage. He is determined to continue in the field, and is expected in this direction in a few days, to make proper preparation for following up the blow he has already given to Leschi and his hostile band. At the last accounts he was at his home—at Holme's Harbor, Island County, with his command."⁸

The Chief carried to the headquarters of the white soldiers gruesome evidences of his battles in the form of heads taken from the bodies of slain hostile Indians. He and his men received pay in the form of money, blankets and other goods. They went to their homes satisfied.

Chief Seattle departed from the ways of savage leadership and took the new trail of friendship about 1839. Twelve years later the colony of white people settled at Alki Point and began the city that was to bear his name. He continued a constant and appreciated friend through the Indian war and to the time of his death on June 7, 1866. He had followed the new trail for twenty-seven years. That period was long enough for the cordial record of his friendship to be firmly established among the white pioneers.

Patkanim was not so fortunate. He had less than ten years on the new trail and those years were harrowed by an Indian war. In 1848 he was an ardent leader of his people on the old trail of savage life. In 1849 rebuffs came and in 1850 he entered on the new trail of friendship. Eight years thereafter he was dead. These facts account for the published feelings of mingled respect and hatred during that span of eight years. The *Pioneer and Democrat* published expressions of joy over his victories for the white pioneers and of hope that he would persist while the war continued. It is not pleasant to add that the same paper expressed suspicion and hatred of the Indian leader. That mingled sentiment was continued in the memories of many pioneers. If the truth were wholly known it is quite probable that the Indians also had feelings of mingled hatred and respect growing out of the same events.

Time is just.

Whatsoever Patkanim may have done as a savage leader,

⁸ The Olympia *Pioneer and Democrat* for February 22, 1856.

there are two great events which give him clear title to fame and to an honored memory. Those two events do not depend upon any Indian legend or tradition. They are safely and permanently recorded in the official documents made by agents of the white man's government. The events so essential in this cause are the signing of the treaty ceding these lands to the United States and the raising and commanding of a company of warriors in battles for the pioneers. Those two events would be sufficient to insure the reputation of a white hero. It is a certainty that they will maintain the reputation of the Indian Chief.

Chief Patkanim died in 1858. Henry L. Yesler, pioneer saw-mill owner of Seattle, had a coffin made for the remains. The first burial place on a bank of the Snohomish River being threatened by high water, relatives and friends moved the body to a grave in the little cemetery near the Indian School at Tulalip. The monument reared on that grave will be visited in the years to come by those who love to honor the memory of men who live and die worthily according to the light as they are given the power to see it.

EDMOND S. MEANY.