

YAKIMA DAYS

(Continued from Vol. XIX., page 51.)

There is no need to dwell here upon the immediate consequences of the massacre of the Whitmans. The captive Americans were rescued by the intervention of Peter Skene Ogden, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Co, at Fort Vancouver, who assembled the chiefs at Fort Walla Walla, at which the Bishop and his clergy were invited to be present. By the force of his personality Ogden managed to obtain the release of all the prisoners, 62 in number, who were returned in safety to the fort on December 31 and January 1.¹

Throughout the whole of the period, the Oblates had been quietly conducting their work among the Yakima Indians. While they were employed in building their house at St. Rose, Aourrhai, another chief of the tribe living several days march away paid them a visit. At his request, Brother Blanchet accompanied him for three entire days to the home of the tribe, where Brother Verbey joined them a week later. Here they built a second mission on the banks of the Mnassatas brook, dedicated to "The Immaculate Conception." It appears to have lasted until 1856 when it was burned by the Indians, as is shown by a claim registered in the year 1872.

The Bishop at Walla Walla seeing that a crisis was at hand, decided to ordain his candidates for Holy Orders, and raised Messrs. Chirouse and Pandosy through the various orders of sub-deacon, deacon and priesthood, all being done in eight days. The sacraments were conferred in the house at Fort Walla Walla which served as a chapel, dining room, recreation room and dormitory combined. They were so poorly equipped that it was necessary to borrow a white night shirt from Mr. McBean, the manager of the fort to serve as an alb.

Thus on January 2 the party at the fort were all ready to meet whatever might befall them. Rumours were now rife that the Americans were sending volunteer forces to avenge the murders and fears were entertained lest the Indians might make an effort to regain the prisoners, partly to hold them as hostages, and also since it was said that the Indians regarded the coming

1. T. C. Elliott, *Peter Skene Ogden, Fur Trader.*

the Camp des Ciaies that certain chiefs mentioned by name had resolved "not to unite themselves with the Cayuses but to re-of the volunteers as a breach of faith on the part of Ogden. He however had truly said that he had no power to prevent the Americans from sending the forces, and refused to make any agreement on that point. For safety therefore, it was decided to take the rescued prisoners down the river to Oregon City, but in spite of all the diligence of Ogden, it was two o'clock before the boats could start down stream, barely an hour before fifty Cayuses came to kill Mr. Spalding. Bishop Blanchet and Fr. Ricard accompanied the boats at the invitation of Mr. Ogden, while Fathers Chirouse and Pandosy, as they may now be called, resumed their work in the Yakima valley. Fr. Brouillet and Mr. Rousseau also returned to St. Anne on the Umatilla, having promised the Cayuses that they would remain with their converts as long as peace was preserved.

The Chief of the Yakimas during these years was Ka-mi-akin, described by A. J. Splawn as the "Last hero of the Yakimas." A highly intelligent and intellectual man, Theodore Winthrop describes him in these words:

"Enter then upon the scene Kamaiakana, chiefest of Yakimas. He was a tall, large man, very dark, with a massive square face and grave reflective look. Without the senatorial coxcombrity of Owhi, his manner was strikingly distinguished, quiet and dignified. He greeted the priests as a Kaiser might a Papal Legate. To me as their friend he gave his hand with a gentlemanly word of welcome."² Had he thrown in his lot with the Cayuses now, it is hard to say how much history might have been changed. The white settlers would certainly have been wiped out entirely. What action the U. S. government would have taken under those circumstances, and what the outcome would have been, is pure conjecture. He declined to assist and that in face of threats of reprisals from the disappointed Cayuse ambassadors, and in this he was assisted by the newly arrived missionaries. It was not until 1855 that he changed his mind, rallied his forces and made a last despairing bid for freedom from the all prevailing presence of the white man. Seven years too late!

On February 16, Brother Blanchet (not Bishop Blanchet as stated in the index to Victor's *Early Indian Wars of Oregon*) wrote to the commanding officer of the volunteer forces from

2. Theodore Winthrop, *The Canoe and the Saddle*. pp. 224-242.

main at rest upon their land." (Victor.) No similar letter was received from the Umatilla since Fr. Brouillet was compelled to abandon that mission upon the Cayuses declaring war upon the whites. They showed their displeasure by burning his house.

The volunteer forces were out for war, and felt themselves hampered by the presence of a Peace Commission headed by Joel Palmer, who were anxious to obtain evidence and discuss the situation with the Indian chiefs. On March 14 the Oregon Legislature despatched J. Meek to Washington, D. C. and on March 11 the Army and Peace Commission parted company. The latter left for The Dalles where they were joined by Mr. Brouillet and Mr. Rousseau en route for St. Paul, as well as Fr. Pandosy and Fr. Chirouse with the rest of the O. M. I. who were now compelled to quit their missions until the storm had blown over. The murder of Dr. Whitman had brought about, for the time being, a complete abandonment of all religious work outside such places as The Dalles or Oregon City.

The Cayuse War now dragged on for two and a half years, and it was not until June 3rd, 1850, that the Whitman massacre was avenged and justice satisfied by the hanging of several members of the Cayuse tribe, who had been surrendered to the American authorities in an effort to secure peace. It seems as though these men were handed over with the idea that they were to be hostages, whereas they were tried for murder and hanged. Most probably they had been actively participating in the war although perhaps not actually guilty of the murders.

So far it has been necessary to consider the events connected with the establishment of the Catholic Missions as a whole, since otherwise it would hardly be possible to understand the subsequent misfortunes of the Oblate Missionaries, who were not directly concerned with the Indians who committed the massacre, but felt the full force of the blow that followed in the wake of the reaction.

Bishop Blanchet remained at Oregon City the residence of his brother the Archbishop until Easter. In June 1848 he sought to return to his mission on the Umatilla, but was forbidden to do so by the Agent, Mr. Lee. A notice was also issued forbidding the erection by any denomination of any buildings until the presence of the U. S. troops rendered it safe to do so. The Bishop therefore remained at The Dalles, which was within his own diocese, and established there a mission of St. Peter. "He remained there until the first part of October 1850, when he

received the briefs from Rome erecting the new diocese of Nisqually, and transferring him to that See. (May 31, 1850). In the meantime the Archbishop of Oregon City received a brief of the same date to the effect that the administration of the diocese of Walla Walla, together with the districts of Colville and Fort Hall, was placed in his hands. Thus the Oblates, East and West of the Cascades, became subject to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop until July 29, 1853, when the diocese of Walla Walla was suppressed, and the whole of the then Territory of Washington formed the diocese of Nisqually, except the south-eastern part. The diocese of Nisqually originally was only west of the Cascades. Thus a further change for the Oblates took place and they were again under the jurisdiction of the Bishop who had obtained them in 1847, although the diocese was different. An exemption however is to be made of Father Chirouse who had his mission near to Walla Walla in the south-eastern part. Bishop Blanchet took possession of his new diocese at St. Francis Xavier's Mission, Cowlitz, October 27, 1850, and fixed his residence at Fort Vancouver."³

On June 14, 1843, Fr. Ricard, the Superior of the Oblates established a Provincial House on Puget Sound at Budd's Inlet. The promontory where the house stood is still called Priest Point. It was placed under the patronage of "St. Joseph of New Market" which later was changed to "St. Joseph d'Olympia," it being about a mile north of Olympia, the future legislative centre of the new Territory of Washington in 1853. "New Market" it may be explained was the name first given to the place now called Tumwater, where Michael Simmons and his party of 31, unyoked their oxen in October 1845, the first American settlers on Puget Sound. Here, at St. Joseph d'Olympia, Fr. Ricard and Brother Blanchet made their headquarters. The outcry against the Catholics which had been dying down was fanned into flame again by the report from Lieut. Rodgers of the seizure of ammunition at The Dalles, intended for the Jesuit fathers, and stating that these priests were inflaming the Indians against the Americans. This misrepresentation did a great deal of harm to the Catholics, and it was long before the public accepted the explanation given by Fr. Accolti, S.J. that the ammunition was merely intended for his four missions, which depended for their very existence upon hunting.⁴

3. Letter from Fr. J. Delannoy, Sept. 12, 1927.

4. Victor, *Early Indian Wars of Oregon*, p. 219.

Frs. Pandosy and Chirouse returned to their Yakima missions about October 1848, but owing to the edicts of the Agent, they had to remain very quietly, merely dwelling among the Indians. Ill feeling still ran very high, so much so that a petition was introduced into the Legislature to expel the Catholic clergy from the country, but was defeated.⁵

During the winter Pandosy dwelt at Wa-ne-pe in the Moksee Valley under the protection of Ow-hi, while for the same period Chirouse was protected by Ka-mi-a-kin, the son-in-law to Ow-hi. In the spring of 1850 Wi-e-mash-et a son of Ow-hi, told his father that he would kill "the black-gown" if he did not take him away, so Ow-hi took Pandosy to live with his own people sometimes in the Selah valley and at other times on Nanum Creek, where he built a log house in 1850.⁶

In the meantime, in the spring of 1849, Pandosy and Chirouse had built the mission of St. Joseph at Saralpas, authorized by the Bishop the previous October (1848) but apparently not undertaken until the following spring. This appears to have been abandoned in 1852 when Chirouse was sent to reopen the secular mission of St. Anne on the Umatilla among the Cayuses, which had been closed since its abandonment at the outbreak of the Cayuse war.

Several other missions established at various places of a temporary character at the winter or summer quarters of the Indians to suit their convenience for the time being.

In 1851 Pandosy was joined by Fr. D'Herbomez who had come from France in 1850 and had spent a year at the provincial House in order to learn the language. They remained together for three years. In 1852 Fr. Chirouse left for St. Anne and Fr. Pandosy and D'Herbomez removed the Mission of St. Joseph at Saralpas, called by the Indians Al-e-she-cas, and established in its place the better known mission of the same name on the Ahtanum. Like its predecessor, this mission was built on the north side of the Yakima river, but considerably above, or nearer the downflow of the river from the Cascades. It was near Tampico, the home camp of Kamiakin. (Fr. O'Sullivan of Yakima.)

The chief had gardens that were celebrated in their day, and he had introduced a system of irrigation several years before white settlers came into the district.⁷

5. Blanchet, *Hist. Sketches*, p. 66.

6. Splawn, *Ka-mi-akin, the Last Hero of the Yakimas*, p. 353.

7. *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX, p. 240.

Here the two missionaries were visited in the summer of 1853 by Theodore Winthrop, a visit which has already been referred to. "A strange and unlovely spot for religion to have chosen for its home of influence" he writes. "It needed all the transfiguring power of sunset to make the desolate scene endurable.....Only ardent hermits would banish themselves to such a hermitage. The missionary spirit or the military religious discipline must be very positive which sends men to such unattractive heathen as these, to a field of labour far away from any contact with civilization, where no exalting result of converted multitudes can be hoped for.....The mission was a hut like structure of abode clay, plastered upon a frame of stick. It stood near the stony bed of the Atinam. The sun was setting as we came down into the valley, that moment abandoned by the sunlight. My Indians launched forward to pay their friendly greetings to the priests. But I observed them quickly pause, walk their horses, and noiselessly dismount. As I drew near a sound of reverent voices met me—vespers at this station in the wilderness. Three souls worshipping in the rude chapel attached to the house. It was rude indeed—a cell of clay—but the sense of the Divine Presence was there, not less than in many a dim old cathedral far away.....Vespers ended, the missionaries coming forth from their service welcomed me with quiet cordiality. Visits from men not savages were rare to them as are angels visits to worldlings. In winter they resided at a station on the Yakima in the plains, eastward. Atinam was their summer abode, when the copper coloured lambs of their flock were in the mountains, plucking berries in the dells, catching crickets on the slopes...."⁸

The winter residence referred to was that of the Immaculate Conception no doubt. Winthrop continues: "The good fathers were lodged with more than conventual simplicity. Discomfort and often privation were the laws of missionary life in this lonely spot. It was camp life with none of the excitement of camp. Drearily monotonous went the days of these pioneers. There was little intellectual exercise to be had except to construct a vocabulary of the Yakima dialect, a hardly more elaborate machine for working out thought than the babbling Chinook jargon....."

And even this redeeming feature of the savagery of their life was nearly lost to Fr. Pandosy and the world. One of the tragic consequences of the burning of the mission in 1855 was

8. Theodore Winthrop, *The Canoe and the Saddle*.

the destruction of this vocabulary and grammar. Fortunately elsewhere there was a translation made some time previously, which although unrevised and incomplete, was all that remained, and was published in Shea's *Library of American Linguistics* in 1862. (Translated by George Gibbs and J. G. Shea. New York Cramoisy Press, 1862). The errors which Winthrop makes in his otherwise charming description, refer rather to Europe and the birthplaces of the two priests. He calls them Jesuits, while they are Oblates, but such details call for no further comment.

What is more to the point is that during these years of outward peace a fire is smouldering deep in the hearts of the Indians and particularly that of Kamiakin. The cause of their ill will was the increasing number of white settlers on their land. The Indians did not resent the coming of the fur traders and were glad to exchange such skins as they had for needed articles which the traders carried, writes Splawn. The Missionaries also were well received and protected since they only came to tell of the Great Spirit and point out the trail to the world beyond. It was the Koo-ya-wow-culth, (white settler) whom they did not want at all. He was the dreaded one. In the long ago a few of their greatest prophets in visions had foretold the coming of these people who would wrest from them their land."⁹

That their fears were correct, we need not now be told. Moreover, they had additional cause for anxiety from another source. In 1853 Lieut. G. B. McClellan arrived with a party of men to explore the country on behalf of the Northern Pacific Railway. At St. Joseph's Mission, McClellan met Father Pandosy and Kamiakin, and discussed the situation with them leaving the latter despondent. Early in April Father Pandosy wrote a letter to Father Mesplie at The Dalles seriously commenting upon the state of unrest among the Indians. Mesplie showed the letter to Major Alvord of the Fourth Infantry who in turn reported it to his superior officer. For this act of common sense Major Alvord was reproved, and in time superceded. Both he and the missionaries were regarded as being unnecessarily alarmed.¹⁰

Matters gradually grew worse. If the work of McClellan in 1853 had caused mistrust, the rumours that spread prior to the coming of Governor Isaac I. Stevens, created an impression that he had been sent to take the country from them. This was not

9. Splawn, *Ka-mi-akin, the Last Hero of the Yakimas*, p. 17.

10. Edwin Vincent O'Hara, *Catholic History of Oregon*, Third Edition, p. 209. Snowden, *History of Washington, the Rise and Progress of an American State*, Vol. III., p. 265. Bancrofts *Washington*, p. 43.

lessened by the numerous treaties which Stevens made with the Indians, by which the tribes found themselves confined to certain spaces, conceded to them under the name of Reserves, in return for a monetary consideration. Indians are nomadic by habit and instinct, and soon they felt that they had been persuaded into a bargain which they could not carry out. They felt tricked, deceived, ill-used.

During the summer of 1854 Stevens sent word to several important chiefs, desiring to hold a conference, to talk over the purchase of lands. Kamiakin sought the advise of Fr. Pandosy, who said, "It is as I feared. The whites will take your country as they have taken other countries from the Indians. I come from the land of the white man far to the east where the people are thicker than the grass on the hills. While there are only a few here now, others will come with each year until your country will be over run with them, you and your lands will be taken and your people driven from their homes. It has been so with other tribes; it will be so with you. You may fight and delay for a time this invasion, but you cannot avert it. I have lived many summers with you and baptised a great number of your people into the faith. I have learned to love you. I cannot advise you or help you. I wish I could."

"Mounting his horse the chief rode back to his village," says Splawn. "What passed through his mind that time can only be surmised. Was it then that he worked out his plan for a confederacy of all the red men west of the Rocky Mountains for a last stand against the hated white race."¹¹

As a result of Stevens message the Grande Ronde Council of the Indians was held, the most noted gathering of red men in the old Oregon Territory. It lasted five days and was opposed to making treaties.

The priests had other causes for uneasiness besides the disaffection amongst the Indians. Among the papers of Fr. Brouillet there was found a letter written by Fr. D'Herbomez on August 28, 1854 from "Attanem Camp des Yakimas" complaining against the action of the Indian agent Bolon in exciting the Indians against the priests, and also exciting the Americans against them. Later on, at the time of the Yakima rising, Fr. Ricard found it necessary to draw the attention of the authorities to matters of this kind, but without any redress.

11. Splawn, *Ka-mi-akin, the Last Hero of the Yakimas*. pp. 20, 22.

Later in the year 1854 Father D'Herbomez left the mission and went to reside at the Provincial House at Olympia. His place was taken by Fr. Durieu who arrived in November, while his companion Fr. Peter Richard was sent to the Cayuses.

The great event which apparently precipitated the wars which broke out so soon afterwards, took place on May 24th 1855, when the Great Council at Walla Walla was held. Governor Stevens met the Indian chiefs and drew up a treaty, which was signed and sealed by the chiefs in the presence of a number of witnesses. These included, besides the Governor, Joel Palmer the superintendent of Indian Affairs, O. T., Mie. Cles. Pandosy O. M. I. and C. Chirouse. O. M. I.¹² The actual signing took place on several days. The Council lasted for some time, taking several days to assemble and several more for deliberation.

What thoughts actually were passing through the minds of such men as Kamiakin cannot be known. They signed a treaty to which they were known to be unalterably opposed, yet the whites took the signing as a token of peace. That much seems to be certain, and on August 15. Fr. Brouillet was appointed Diocesan Administrator while the Bishop left on diocesan business and his visit "ad limina" to Rome. The Archbishop of Oregon City left in the fall for South America to procure help for his diocese. They evidently had no suspicion of what was so soon to occur. As to the vexed question as to whether the treaty making of Governor Stevens was the cause of the outbreak, there is undoubted evidence that the seeds of war had been sown long before the governor came to the country. Fires of discontent had been smouldering and the warning signals had been given by the missionaries at a far earlier date, but the government refused to be warned. The treaties seem to have been the straws that broke the overburdened Indians back. Then, and not until then perhaps did they realize how completely they were in the toils of the white man and the flame broke out.

On September 20th, only a few months after the signing of the treaty the Agent, A. J. Bolon, was murdered, while alone save for a few Indians. He was on his return from a visit to Kamiakin at the Ahtanum Valley. Rumours that small parties of Americans had been cut off and murdered caused him to go direct to the fountain head and enquire of the chief as to the truth or otherwise of these rumours. What transpired is un-

12. Manning, *Conquest of the Coeur d'Alenes, Spokanes and Palouses.*

certain. There were no white witnesses, but he was slain before he reached his return destination. Bancroft makes a mistake in saying that the mission of St. Joseph on the Ahtanum where Kamiakin's home was situated, was temporarily in charge of Fr. Brouillett, in the absence of Fr. Pandosy. Brouillet was at this time Diocesan Administrator and would have but little time for staying at a mission of the Oblates. He is confused with Father Durieu, who was there alone at that time. Fr. Pandosy had gone to Olympia, as is shown by correspondence between Fr. Ricard and the acting governor Mason, from which it appears that Pandosy had arrived at Olympia on September 22 and stayed until the 26th. His object was to inform His Excellency that Kamiakin was stirring up the Indians against the Americans. In this interview Brother Blanchet acted as interpreter. In his absence Fr. Durieu remained at the Ahtanum as he tells Fr. Ricard who was with Fr. Chirouse at the Cayuse Mission, in a letter dated September 30. He adds that he has been sick but was then better. Pandosy had not yet returned from Olympia although he had been expected back for two days. Two hours earlier an Indian had come from the mountains to tell him that Americans had killed Father Pandosy and three Indian companions. "For my part I am between life and death. When I returned to the Camp of the Cayuses, the Indians had formed a plot to kill the priest, seize the powder, burn his house, and if the Americans came to avenge the deed, to declare warI can say that since the meeting at Walla Walla all the savages can dream of nothing but war, and that it would be begun with our deaths. Has war commenced? I know nothing. Pardon my writing. I am writing on Sunday night by the light of a candle with a trembling hand. . . .Your humble brother Durieu." (Letters and quotations from Fr. Delannoy, Bellingham).

The murder of Bolon was a direct challenge to authority, and was at once taken up. Fifty soldiers were sent to the camp of the Yakimas to arrest certain individuals suspected of murdering Americans. Every day fresh proofs appeared of a vast plot at the head of which was Kamiakin. On October 3, Major Haller set out for the Yakima country but underestimating the character of his foe, was repulsed.

On his return from Olympia Father Pandosy found all the Indians in arms. After the repulse of Major Haller, the father tried to quell their jubilation with a speech on the terrible results

of war and the advantages of peace. The Indians made him write a letter on October 6th making proposals, to be sent to the military authorities. The messenger returned with the letter being unable to find the soldiers. Pandosy kept it for future use, sending a copy to Fr. Ricard who wrote to Brouillet "You will find enclosed a copy of a letter which the savages made Fr. Pandosy write to the soldiers and the Americans. The letter sent by that diplomat however was more courteous, for Fr. Pandosy seeing that the matter was pressing, and not knowing whether there would be any who could understand French among the troops at The Dalles, condensed what the savages had told him to write and did his best to put it into English. . . ." This letter was afterwards found at the abandoned Mission on the Ahtanum by Major Rains. Public opinion at this time was very bitter against the Catholics, as has already been referred to. The missionaries were in a cleft stick as it were. There were two factions among the Indians. Those who were Christians and devoted to the priests on the one hand, and the larger number who allowed their bitterness against the whites to overcome their allegiance to the priests, or who had not yet come under their influence. These were daily growing in numbers and influence and becoming more threatening and hostile. As yet however the priests could keep a large number from actively participating in war.

Similarly among the whites, the settlers seeing the priests living among the Indians and attending their councils and acting as their intermediaries, were more than ever convinced that they were aiders and abettors in the uprising. They spoke against the priests openly in the streets of Olympia saying that Fr. Ricard and his clergy ought to be hanged. On October 12, Fr. Ricard wrote to Acting Governor Mason protesting against this unfair treatment. He pointed out that the priests had at all times been on the side of the authorities. They had kept the Indians from joining in outbreaks on previous occasions, for instance the Cayuse wars, and had given warnings to the government through Fr. Chirouse and Pandosy which had not been heeded. Even at the time that Bolon was murdered Pandosy was with Mason himself, a fact which he could hardly have forgotten, warning him against Kamiakin. He requested therefore that a public notification should be issued reassuring the populace about the good behaviour of the priests and their loyalty to the State. Mason made reply that such a step was unnecessary. On

December 1 after the disaster feared by Fr. Ricard had taken place he wrote again to Mason reminding him of his earlier communications and pointed out the consequences that Mason's refusal to act had entailed. He continued "M. Governor. I guard myself carefully against making you responsible for what happened at the Mission of the Yakimas, but it is not the less to be regretted that you did not take my advice and make things clear to the public which would have removed the prejudices and probably have prevented the evil deeds which you deplore as much as I" (From Fr. Delannoy). The Rev. Father Thomas O.M.I. in a sketch of Brother (later Father) George Blanchet, records that during an attack upon the Americans by the Indians, one of the former took aim at one of the priests "You see that bullet in my gun" he said to an Alsatian who was next to him in the ranks. "That is for the priest"? "You see the bullet in my gun" replied the Alsatian, "if you do that, it is for you."¹³ The regular troops in no way participated in this prejudice and throughout the war were on the whole on friendly terms with the missionaries, while for some time Fr. Pandosy was chaplain in the field.

Thus torn between the friendly and unfriendly Indians, the volunteers who sought to destroy the missions and the regular forces who felt that an injustice was being done to the priests and Indians alike, the missionaries clung to their duties as long as possible.

From Olympia their Superior Fr. Ricard wrote to Pandosy and Durieu on October 12 bidding them withdraw from their missions until good order was restored. Where they were he did not know and so sent the letter under cover to Fr. Brouillet at Fort Vancouver to be forwarded to them. They were bidden to go by way of The Dalles and not to go by the mountains, and to make for Fort Vancouver. In all probability they never got the letter. Events altogether beyond their control took them by ways little dreamed of by their Superior when he penned the order to withdraw.

After Major Haller's repulse Major Rains took the field reinforced by the Washington Volunteers. He marched for the Yakima country on October 30. Several companies of volunteers were anticipating the somewhat dilatory regular forces. October 20 the Puget Sound Mounted Volunteers reported them-

13. Rev. Fr. Thomas, *An Oregon Pioneer*.

selves at Steilacoom. On October 23 Eaton's Company of Rangers were formed. On November 4 Nesmith with the Oregon Volunteers overtook and accompanied the Major's troops.

The objective of all these forces was the Mission of Father Pandosy on the Ahtanum, which could be reached by two different routes. Since the military saw fit to take the longer way, the Indians with all their belongings were able to make an easy escape. As they passed through the valley parallel with the river a large war party was seen on the other bank. The water was cold, deep and swift. Only Sheridan's Dragoons got across, the enemy fleeing away over the hills to safety. As the troops passed through the defile, the Indians gradually evacuated the country, only one old man being encountered. Sheridan's account of what occurred is worth quoting in full: "As we passed slowly and cautiously through the canyon the Indians ran rapidly away, and when we reached the farther end they had entirely disappeared from our front except one old fellow, whose lame horse prevented him from keeping up with the main body. This presented an opportunity for gaining results which all thought should not be lost. So our guide, an Indian named, 'Cut Mouth John' seized upon it and giving hot chase soon overtook the poor creature whom he speedily killed without much danger to himself, for the fugitive was armed with an old Hudson's Bay flint lock horse pistol which could not be discharged. 'Cut Mouth John's' engagement began and ended the fighting on this occasion and much disappointment followed, Nesmith's mounted force and my dragoons being particularly disgusted because they had not been given a 'chance'. During the remainder of the day we cautiously followed the retiring foe, and late in the evening went into camp, a short distance from Father Pandoza's mission, where we were to await a small column of troops under Captain Maloney of the Fourth Infantry, that was to join us from Steilacoom by way of the Natchez Pass and from which no tidings as yet had been received.

"Next morning the first thing that I saw as I put my head out from my blankets, was 'Cut Mouth John' already mounted and parading himself through the camp. The scalp of the Indian he had despatched the day before was tied to the cross bar of his bridle bit, the hair dangling almost to the ground, and John was decked out in the sacred vestments of Father Pandoza, having long before anyone was stirring in camp ransacked the log cabin at the Mission in which the good man lived. John was

at all times a most repulsive individual, a part of his mouth having been shot away in a fight with Indians near Walla Walla some years before, in which a Methodist missionary had been killed, but his revolting personal appearance was now worse than ever and the sacriligious use of Father Pandoza's vestments, coupled with the ghastly scalp that hung from his bridle, so turned opinion against him, that he was soon captured, dismounted and his parade brought to an abrupt close, and I doubt whether he ever afterwards quite reinstated himself in the good graces of the command."¹⁴

It was the opinion of Father Ricard that the unfortunate Indian who was thus killed was a brave young man named Remi, twenty years of age, who was thought to have been in charge at the mission, or who might have stayed to learn if there were any reply to the letter left upon the table there. Father D'Herbomez and others however feared that the victim was Brother Surel, who at that time could not be accounted for. Such however was not the case. It was about November 10th that the combined forces of regulars and volunteers encamped near the Mission of St. Joseph on the Ahtanum. The Mission had been plundered by the disaffected Indians before the troops arrived, as well as by "Cut Mouth John," and little of value had been left, save a herd of pigs which the fathers had accumulated. The buildings of the mission consisted of a log house of considerable size, which had been used for a school and a church, with a smaller building where the priests lived. Kamiakin had a dwelling close by as well. It was quite evident that the place had only been recently abandoned when the troops arrived. There was a fire still smouldering upon the hearth and the clock was ticking, while the mission cats were going about their business as usual. (Letter from Fr. Mesplie). On the table lay a letter "in English" written on October 6th by Father Pandosy in the name of Kamiakin, making overtures of peace on his own terms.¹⁵ Major Rains replied in terms of war, dating his letter "Headquarters Yakima Expedition. Roman Catholic Mission. November. 13. 1855."

The next day. November 14th while some of the volunteers were engaged in digging the potato patch in the mission garden, they uncovered a half keg of powder which had been buried there. They were infuriated at what they considered evidence

14. Philip Henry Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs* (1889), Vol. I.

15. Victor, *Early Indian Wars of Oregon*, p. 429.

that the priests were supplying the enemy with ammunition, whereas, as Sheridan points out, the powder "had been buried in the garden by the good father to prevent the hostile Indians from getting it to use against the whites."¹⁶

At once the destruction of the mission was determined upon. A quantity of dry wood was placed in all the buildings and in a few minutes the whole settlement was reduced to ashes. It must be recorded that the officers and troops who were in camp were not aware of what was being done. In a letter to the Assistant-Adjutant-General of the Army, dated at Fort Vancouver Dec. 13, 1855, General Wool expressed his regret at the destruction of the Yakima mission by the volunteers.¹⁷ This however merely exonerated the army, and did not materially assist the mission. In the *Journal of William Charles Painter*, published in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* (vol. 15 no. 1.) under date November 14, 1855 is the following terse entry:

"Fair but cold. Lay in camp. Went to the mission and burned it. Got turnips and cabbages."

Brief but to the point!

As the troops advanced the Indians retreated, carrying with them Father Pandosy, practically a prisoner. Where he was no one knew. Father Chirouse, who at that time was still unmolested and presumably at St. Anne on the Umatilla, wrote to Fr. Ricard on November 18 "All the country is on fire. One only hears of battles, murders, plunderings, burnings. . . . As yet none of us have been killed, but we do not know from day to day. I do not know how many times yet our lives will be saved. The bad savages call us the allies of the Americans and plan evil projects. I have not been able to get any news of our other Fathers. Rumour has it that Father Pandosy has been killed. Several people say so. Can it be true? For fifteen days I have not slept. Shall I be able to sleep tonight any better? Pray for us."

Father Pandosy however was not killed, but details of what happened to him are lacking. There is no record available on the coast for this period. In a letter written some years later, on June 24, 1858, he writes most tantalisingly: "I shall not in this letter write about the beginning of the hostilities nor about my miraculous escape and my arrival at Colville. You are perfectly aware of the facts already."

Piecing together such fragments of information as may be

16. Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs*, pp. 63-64.

17. U. S. House Ex. Doc. No. 93. 34th Cong. 1st Sess. p. 15.

had, we find that he was carried away from the mission by the Indians on November¹⁸ and later managed to make his escape into the forest where he subsisted for many weeks upon roots and berries, until he was able to make his way to the Jesuit fathers at the Kettle Falls near Spokane. (Told to Mrs. Kruger Oliver. by Fr. Pandosy). He had reached this place of refuge by January 1856, since while Gov. Stevens was passing through the country of the Spokanes, he met him there with Fr. Durieu and Brother Surel, and passed the news on to Fr. Ricard. (Letter from Fr. Ricard to Fr. Brouillet Febr. 1 1856.) The latter heard from the missing priests by way of Fort Langley and Victoria, but they did not get any letters from himself. He urged them to take advantage of that route to join him at Olympia, but they do not seem to have heard from him nor acted upon the order.

The volunteer forces were disbanded during the summer and by September 10 the regular troops were in sole control under the command of Col. Wright who had been assigned to the Columbia river district in January. Gov. Stevens was still seeking to make treaties with the savages, but without much success. Fr. Ricard wrote to Bishop de Mazenod at Marseilles on June 6 1856: "News of death without ceasing. . . . We do not yet know what we shall have to do in the future for these unhappy missions. At one moment we experience the joy of thinking that peace is about to be declared. But after a conference which was held here yesterday in our house near Olympia between the authorities and two deputies of the Yakimas we have nearly despaired. The government asks too much we think, and the savages will never accept the conditions which they propose. Humanly speaking there is no remedy for the situation. . . ."¹⁹ Soon after Father Pandosy had arrived at Colville he received a letter from the Indian agent, dictated by Gov. Stevens forbidding him to return to the Yakima country upon any pretext. This was a severe blow to the father who had been planning to return to his charges in the spring. He began to form a scheme whereby he might see them without disobeying the governor's orders. Another letter however came from Fr. D'Herbomez, presumably in the name of Fr. Ricard, the superior, bidding him stay at Colville until further orders. He resigned himself to fate, praying and waiting. A release was soon found for him. A Yakima chief arrived at Colville and gave him an account of the arrival

18. Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs*, pp. 61-64.

19. Ortolan, *Centennial History of the O. M. I.*, p. 320.
Splawn, *Ka-mi-akin, the Last Hero of the Yakimas*.

of Col. Wright and the regular forces, with offers of peace. "Are these offers sincere" he asked the father. He was assured that Col. Wright represented the President, and through him spoke to the Big American Chief. Two days later the chief returned to Col. Wright with a letter from Fr. Pandosy. The colonel was much displeased to hear of the order of Stevens, and as he needed an interpreter who was capable of convincing the Indians, he sent the chief back to Colville with an invitation to Pandosy to visit the camp and meet the colonel. "Next day" writes Father Pandosy, "we left Colville and three days later I was at headquarters 60 or 70 miles on horseback a day. Peace was concluded, and the Indians rejoiced to see their priest again amongst them."

The colonel agreed to the reconciled Indians staying at the place to fish and later to return to the Yakima country. Teias, Ow-hi's brother and father-in-law to Kamiakin, was among the number.

DENYS NELSON.

(To be continued)