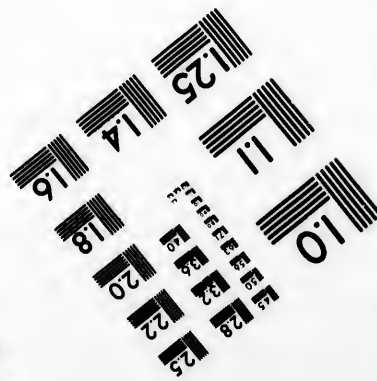
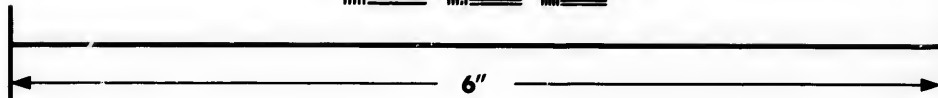
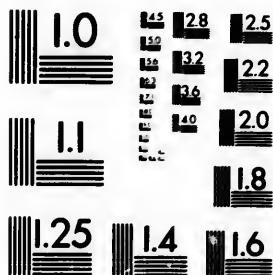


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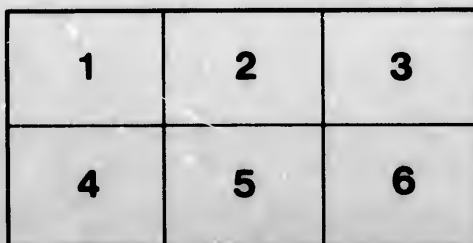
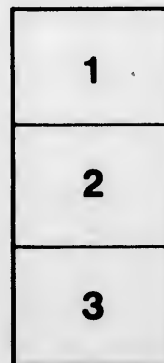
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SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH LANE, OF OREGON,

ON THE

SUPPRESSION OF INDIAN HOSTILITIES IN OREGON;

DELIVERED

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, APRIL 2, 1856.

**WASHINGTON:
PRINTED AT THE CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE OFFICE.
1856.**

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INDIAN HOSTILITIES IN OREGON.

On motion by Mr. CAMPBELL, the bill making appropriations for restoring and maintaining the peaceable disposition of the Indian tribes upon the Pacific, and for other purposes, was taken up.

The bill, which was read *in extenso*, proposed to appropriate the sum of \$300,000, to be expended under the direction of the President of the United States, for restoring and maintaining the peaceable disposition of the Indian tribes on the Pacific; and also the sum of \$120,000 for the purchase of gunpowder for the Pacific coast.

After some remarks by Mr. READY and others, Mr. LANE said:

I am very much obliged, Mr. Chairman, to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. READY] for calling my attention to the paragraphs which he has just read; and I am very glad to have the opportunity to vindicate the character of the people of Oregon. And, sir, when the time shall arrive that I can have a full opportunity to do so, I shall be able to satisfy every gentleman upon this floor that the people of Oregon Territory are in no way to blame for the war with the Indians, which is now in progress in Oregon, and which has been going on since last October. We have, sir, in that Territory a Governor who has lived in Oregon since the year 1845. He is a peaceable, quiet, orderly, sensible, and practical man, and in all the troubles which the settlers have had in settling that Territory, he has uniformly been found upon the side of peace, whenever peace could be had with safety to the people and security to the lives of families in that Territory.

The people of Oregon Territory are a peaceable, law-abiding, orderly people; and they are also a gallant people. They have taken pains ever since I became acquainted with the country, to cultivate the most friendly feeling with the Indians.

They lived in the same valleys and districts of country with the Indians, and they were anxious to do all they could to maintain friendly relations with them; for we had among our earlier settlers many missionaries, who had been sent there for the purpose of civilizing and Christianizing the Indians, and of teaching them the arts of civilization, and the habits and customs of men in a higher and improved social position, as far as the dispositions and habitudes of the aboriginal tribes admit of their elevation to the social and moral attainments of the European races.

To this end many devoted men labored with an assiduity and a zeal which attested the sincerity and earnestness of their desire to reclaim these untaught children of nature, and place them on the catalogue of christianized and enlightened nations. Among those who thus labored faithfully and unremittingly, and with a singleness of purpose and self-sacrificing zeal which commanded the admiration and respect of all who observed his devoted and untiring labors, was the Rev. Marcus Whitman. Never, in my opinion, did missionary go forth to the field of his labors animated by a nobler purpose or devote himself to his task with more earnestness and sincerity than this meek and Christian man. He arrived in Oregon in 1842, and established his mission in the Wylatpee country, east of the Cascade mountains, and devoted his entire time to the education and improvement of the Indians, teaching them the arts of civilization, the mode of cultivating the soil, to plant, to sow, to reap, and to do all the duties which pertain to civilized man. He erected mills, plowed their ground, sowed their crops, and assisted in gathering in

their harvests. About the time he had succeeded in teaching them some of these arts, and the means of using some of these advantages, they rose against him, without cause and without notice, and massacred him and his wife, and many others who were at the mission at the time.

I mention these things, Mr. Chairman, to give you an idea of the treacherous and ungrateful character of the Indians in Oregon. The blood of Whitman, their greatest benefactor, was the first blood of the whites which was shed by them in that Territory, and from that day to the present, they have commenced all the wars which have taken place between them and the white settlers. This I say in justice to the people of that Territory, and to vindicate them from what I consider unfounded and unjust imputations upon their courage and honor. I regret very much, sir, that it is necessary, in defense of truth and justice, to place myself in opposition to the reports of General Wool. He is my old commander. I know him to be a good soldier, a gallant man, and an accomplished officer. But I know, as far as the reports are concerned relating to Oregon Territory, that he is mistaken, and that the reports are not true. The war was commenced in Oregon, as I stated the other day, by the Indians on the white people. It was not instigated by any act of the whites—no induced by any violence on the part of citizens of that Territory. As I then stated, the Indians commenced the slaughter of the white people, from the southern portion of Oregon to the northern extreme of Washington, at the very same time, the same week of the same month, the 8th, 9th, and 10th days of October.

In confirmation of this statement, I will read the following extract from the letter of Captain Hewitt, dated November, 1855:

"After two days hard work, we reached the house of Mr. Cox, which we found robbed. We then proceeded to Mr. Jones's. His house was burned to ashes, and Mr. Jones, who was sick at the time, was burned in it. Mrs. Jones was found about thirty yards from the house, shot through the lungs, face and jaws horribly broken and mutilated. The bones of Mr. Jones were found, the flesh having been mostly eaten off by the hogs. We found Cooper, who had been living with Jones, about one hundred and fifty yards from the house, shot through the lungs, the ball having entered his left breast. Proceeded to the house of W. H. Brown. Mrs. Brown and child were found in the well, her head downwards; she had been stabbed to the heart; also stabbed in the back and the back part of the head. The child was below her, and had no marks of violence upon it. Mr. Brown was found in the house, literally cut to pieces. His arms and legs were badly out, and I should think there were as many as ten or fifteen stabs in his back. After burying the remains of the bodies

as well as circumstances would permit, we proceeded to the house of Mr. King, which we found burned to ashes, and the most horrible spectacle of all awaited us—Mr. Jones, who had lived with him, and two little children, were burned in the house; the body of Mr. King, after being roasted, was eaten almost entirely up by the hogs. Mrs. King was lying about thirty yards from the house almost in a state of nudity, shot apparently through the heart, and her left breast cut off; she was cut open from the pit of the stomach to about the center of the abdomen; intestines pulled out on either side. We performed the last sad rites over the slain, and returned to our camp."

Now, sir, but a few days before these massacres were perpetrated here, on or near Puget Sound, hostilities had commenced in southern Oregon, more than six hundred miles distant. Can General Wool or any other sensible man, pretend to say that killing off Indians on Rogue river was the cause of these murderous outrages?

I will present another extract of a letter from Rogue river valley, a few days before this massacre occurred:

"The greater portion of the enemy have taken to the mountains, and carried with them a large amount of stock and other property. Thirty persons have been murdered between Jewett's ferry, on Rogue river, and Turner's on Cow creek. It is now ascertained that Haynes's family have also been massacred."

Now, to show you that General Wool is mistaken, that his judgment has been hastily formed and upon erroneous and false data—perhaps the willful misrepresentations of others, who thought by traduction of our people to subscribe their own interests, or at least to gratify their passions—I ask your attention to the maps which I have caused to be placed in view of the members of the House, and upon which they can observe the relative position and distances of the several localities which form the seat, or more properly speaking, the seats of war. On the east of the Cascade mountains, which you observe running parallel with the coast, at an average distance of one hundred miles, is the region or district called the "Yakima country." In this country, before hostilities had commenced in the shape of regular warfare, the Indians killed Mr. Matice, a gentleman who was traveling through the country. The agent, Mr. Bolan, hearing of the outrage, went into the country to ascertain the facts, and if possible bring the perpetrators to justice and prevent further disturbances. Although an agent personally known to them, and from whom the had received the bounties of the Government, he was barbarously murdered; and to give the strongest possible manifestation of their hostility and exasperation against the whites, they made a funeral pile of himself and horse, determin-

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When the fact of the death of Bolan was made known, the regular forces at Fort Vancouver were under command of Major Rains, who ordered Major Haller to proceed to the Indian country and chastise them for the murder of Bolan and others. In obedience to the orders received, he proceeded to the enemy's country, was attacked by them, surrounded, and narrowly escaped after a desperate and most gallant defense of several days duration, with the loss of one fifth of his command. Here was the first commencement of hostilities, not by volunteers, but by regular forces, who were defeated, notwithstanding the gallantry of their commander, and driven from the country. This country, you will bear in mind, lies east of the Cascade mountains, and on the Washington side of the Columbia river.

Colonel Rains, when he found that Haller had been driven out of the country, and had only succeeded in bearing away his wounded, leaving his dead behind him, called on the Governor of Oregon Territory for volunteers. It was a call for aid and assistance to suppress Indian hostilities, to punish the Indians; first, for killing our people and then for driving his gallant major and his whole force out of the country. To that call the Governor of Oregon promptly responded. He called for volunteers. They turned out immediately; and having joined with the troops they marched into the Indian country. The Indians on that occasion avoided the fight. They avoided a general battle. The force against them was rather strong.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the position of Major Haller, at the time he was surrounded by the Indians and badly whipped, was on the northern side of the Columbia river, in Washington Territory, in the country known as the Yakima country. This country, till within a few years past, has not been settled by white people; but within the last few years the white settlement has extended east of these Cascade mountains, into Washington and Oregon Territories. When General Wool arrived in Oregon Territory he found the volunteers up in that country, against the warlike Indians. Now, I will ask gentlemen and the writer of that letter which has been read, whether the troops ought to have been recalled at once from that country, leaving many families scattered about on their claims, exposed to the attacks of Indians who had driven the regu-

lar forces out of the country? If they had, what would have been the condition of these people? Would there have been one single family left in that country? Would there have been one woman that would not have been burned at the stake, or one child that would not have been tomahawked? General Wool, when he arrived took up his headquarters west of the Cascade mountains, on the north bank of the Columbia river, at Fort Vancouver, [pointing out the location on the map.] He ordered the regular forces that were engaged in the Indian country to fall back on Fort Vancouver. The volunteers did not go up there of their own accord. They went out at the call of an officer of the United States Army. If they had left the country with the regular forces they would have exposed the life of every woman and child there to certain death. Ought they to have done so? Will any man say to the people of Oregon that these volunteers should have fallen back upon the settlements, or gone into quarters and put themselves under cover, leaving the women and children of the country to fall under the tomahawk of the savage? No, sir. It is a slander when it is said that the volunteers of Oregon went there with a view of making war upon any other Indians than such as murdered our people, and as were ready to bury the tomahawk in the heads of women and children.

What would have been said of the Governor of Oregon, if he had acted as General Wool did, and ordered the volunteers out of the country, leaving it exposed to the savages? So far from doing it, he maintained his position. Those troops were commanded by a noble and gallant young man, by the name of Kelly, who went out to that Territory a few years ago from the State of Pennsylvania. He is known to some of the members of this House. He is a brave and gallant man, a lawyer by profession, and a peaceable, law-abiding citizen. He took the command of these forces in the place of my gallant friend Nesmith, who was compelled to quit the service on account of sickness in his family. Soon after his taking the command, the Walla-Wallas, Yacomas, and other tribes of Indians throughout the whole extent of country east of the Cascades, made a general attack upon his command. And sir, while fighting for life, when his ammunition had been expended, when he had fired his last volley, with ammunition almost exhausted, and scant of provisions—for he was for four days surrounded with these hostile Indians—I say while

thus fighting for life, under these circumstances, the regular troops, under the orders of General Wool, were marching to their winter quarters. And, as I am informed, when Kelly applied for powder and other supplies, that officer shut his magazines and refused the supplies.

Now, sir, shall this man be quoted here against the people of Oregon Territory? Shall his evidence be used in condemnation of the people of that Territory, who volunteered to save the women and children of the settlements from massacre? Shall such an argument be introduced here against the appropriation now asked for? I hope not.

Mr. ALLISON. If the gentleman will permit me for a moment, I desire to say a single word. He asks, why should we bring the evidence of General Wool here as testimony in a case of this kind, under such circumstances? Now, I am sure the gentleman from Oregon will not object to an inquiry, such as was propounded to him, for the purpose of giving him an opportunity of making the explanation which he is now making to the House. We find in our executive documents here, official communications from the officers of the Government which can alone speak officially upon the subject. How is it possible that we can disregard these communications thus officially made, unless some explanation were made to remove the difficulties which we are surrounded, in making this appropriation. If we are to take the statements of these officers, to which alone we can go for information, we cannot, consistently, make this appropriation. The gentleman from Oregon certainly cannot therefore object to such a statement being made by a member of the House, as it will afford him an opportunity of making such an explanation as will relieve us from the embarrassments with which we are surrounded in making the appropriation which he asks for.

Mr. LANE. I am very much obliged to the gentleman. I have no disposition to cast imputations upon General Wool. I think as much of him as any man in this House, but I do not like his conduct in Oregon. Now, Mr. Chairman, these volunteer forces have been organized and maintained for the purpose of protecting the settlements in the Territories of Oregon and Washington, and nobly have they done it, while the regulars were comfortably housed in the snug barracks at Vancouver.

By the last mail I have received a letter, from which I will read the following extract:

"Will you please present our thanks to the Secretary of War for his dispatch in forwarding the Ninth Infantry. How much it is to be regretted that such promptness has been rendered unavailing. General Wool is now in California, and would have kept that regiment there had he been there when it arrived. He passed them at sea this side of San Francisco, and made unavailing efforts to have the steamers bringing them return to San Francisco. This, I am informed by Mr. Hoxie, of Jackson county, who was a passenger with General Wool. Mr. Hoxie was sent down by the quartermaster general, and succeeded in making his purchase, as he tells me, when General Wool's interference and influence caused the settlers to decline furnishing powder, and Mr. Hoxie came back empty-handed. Had it not been for the Hudson's Bay Company, at Vancouver, we should have been unable to procure this, and other essential supplies."

This extract I give with undoubting confidence in the truth of the statements it contains, knowing as I do, the high respectability of the author, and simply from a desire to do justice to all concerned either American citizens or British subjects.

My friend from Tennessee, [Mr. READY]—and I am proud of having the opportunity of answering his inquiries—I have always known to exercise the soundest judgment upon all subjects except politics. [Laughter.] I say, in reply to his inquiries, that at the time these hostilities commenced in the north of Washington Territory, hostilities also broke out in the Rogue river valley, and in one night the Indians traveled many miles and killed every man, woman, and child on the road, with one or two exceptions; they burned every house except one; they killed every woman except one—Mrs. Harris—for whom I intend to introduce a bill granting a pension. The savages surrounded her house, killed her husband, and wounded her daughter. She defended herself in her dwelling nobly; she loaded and fired her rifle eighty times, and made her escape during the darkness of the night. Every man on that whole route was killed with the exception of Wagner, whose wife and children were murdered, and who himself fell, on the 22d of February last, at the mouth of the Rogue river. The Indians had previous to this proceeded to Umpqua valley, and murdered people within a few miles of my own house, and yet General Wool says there is no war in Oregon! They have driven off the cattle of the country. Thousands are shot and left to decay upon the plains. The last steamer brought us the news that the Indians had attacked the settlements of the white people at the mouth of Rogue river, and destroyed every house, and every farm. Every settler—men, women, and children—was killed, except one, and he saved himself by hiding.

It is said that will soon be there are two general Wool them. I know will never be any consideration the way. I when he could try which the ascent, and hiding-place there with savages? I about starting I know him earnestly hope and proper have so cruel reference to shall see. Sir, the part far distant incognita to their character would require tion, at my lived in the them. I have and circum chequered! in affluence curity of his fight raged They are an or they would inhospitable braved the in search of That they read of their families and torch of the they are a men from M who have n so changed ceased to be country's it not. The interlopers men of the oppose th

to the Secretary of the War Department. It is said that the Indians are few, and that they will soon be forced into submission. Whether there are two hundred or one thousand of them, General Wool will not be able to hurt one of them. I know them. They will fight; but they will never permit themselves to be attacked by any considerable force. They will keep out of the way. The old General has passed the age when he could overtake these Indians. The country which they occupy is mountainous, steep of ascent, and affords the best and most secure hiding-places in the world. How is he to go there with his regular forces and punish these savages? The press of San Francisco say he is about starting to Oregon for that purpose. Well, I know him to be a brave man, and I most earnestly hope that he may be able to inflict just and proper punishment upon these Indians, who have so cruelly murdered our people without reference to age or sex; but we will see what we shall see.

Sir, the people of Oregon occupy a remote and far distant part of our domain—a sort of *terra incognita* to the people of the Atlantic States. If their character was known here, as I know it, it would require no eulogium, much less a vindication, at my hands. For several years I have lived in the midst of that people, and I know them. I have seen them under all the vicissitudes and circumstances incident to this varied and chequered life—in prosperity and in adversity, in affluence and poverty, in the repose and security of home, in the din of battle, where the fight raged hottest and the bullets flew thickest. They are an enterprising and adventurous people; or they would never have traversed sterile and inhospitable wastes, sealed lofty mountains, and braved the perils and privations of the wilderness in search of homes on the shores of the Pacific. That they are brave no one can doubt who has read of their deeds of heroism in defending their families and homes from the tomahawk and the torch of the remorseless savage. Ay, sir, and they are a *patriotic* people. Think you that the men from Missouri, Illinois, Ohio, and Kentucky, who have made their homes in Oregon, have been so changed by distance, that their hearts have ceased to pulsate with patriotic devotion to our country's flag and our country's honor? Believe it not. They are Americans still—"not aliens and interlopers from foreign lands." Hear it, gentlemen of the so-called "American" party, you who oppose this appropriation, your countrymen—

not foreigners—are imperiled. American blood is being shed—ay, sir, and on *our own soil*. Americans call on you for succor. Mountains rise and wide deserts intervene between you and them, but they are still on our own soil; they have but changed their chamber in the paternal mansion; the same banner which waves from the dome of this Capitol spreads its folds over them. Is it an emblem of protection which the Government affords to all our people, or a piece of painted bunting—a rag spread to the winds in derision and mockery of their perils and their woes?

One trait of character the people of the Territory of Oregon possess in common with their countrymen, but even this seems to be denied to them by those whose occupation appears to be to malign and traduce all that is generous and noble in a people or an individual—those professional scribblers, the vultures of the press, who feed upon character which has been first polluted and destroyed by their own poisonous breath, and who never soar except it be in an atmosphere of detraction, like those birds of ill omen which are found in no other country except where grows the *Upas*. I allude to that trait in the character of the Oregonians so characteristic of the population of the western States—*magnanimity*; the chivalrous sense of honor, the pride, blended with innate generosity, which scorns a mean, a dishonorable, or a cowardly action, which revolts at the idea of oppressing or of being oppressed, which is quick to resent an insult from an equal or superior, but bears with meekness and patience the peevishness, the taunts, and even the deliberate insults, of inferiors. In this spirit the people of Oregon have borne with patience and forbearance the injuries and insults of the inferior race by which they are surrounded. They have thought their mission to be to subdue the proud and intractable spirit of the savage by kindness, to soften his rude nature by manifesting towards him a friendly and paternal spirit, to reclaim him from his savage condition by example—the example of a life spent in peaceful industry, instead of unprofitable and wasting wars with each other.

I am sorry that these humane efforts of the Oregon settlers have not been appreciated by the savage. Humanity has been mistaken by him for a tame submissiveness of spirit; forbearance for pusillanimity. The consequence has been, that, instead of being benefited by his contact with the whites, the Indian has brooded over what he has erroneously deemed an unwarrant-

able intrusion upon his domain, until at length a general uprising has taken place for the purpose of exterminating the intruders, or driving them from the land. Who that acknowledges the right of the white race to occupy and improve the lands of the natives, (and I know of no one who will deny it)—who that acknowledges such right will deny to them the right of self-defense when assailed in their pioneer homes; and who will not go further than this, and say that, where their numbers and their means are inadequate to their defense, it is the duty of the Government to afford them protection, and save them, not from destruction merely, but from a destruction by a refinement of cruelty, an exquisiteness of torture known only in the annals of Indian warfare?

I will have an opportunity of explaining these things more fully at some future time. I will not consume the time of the committee now. I am prepared to go into the subject fully. I have anticipated, I think, nearly every objection which can possibly be made to the conduct of the Oregon volunteers, or of the settlers in that Territory. I shall be prepared to furnish all the information on the subject which gentlemen may desire. I only ask what is right—nothing more; and, if I do not greatly mistake the character and feelings of the members of this House, I am sure they will not refuse my just demand.

The purpose of the appropriation as stated in the bill is "to restore and preserve friendly relations with the Indians."

Another object of the appropriation is to furnish the means of ransoming the prisoners who have already been taken by, or who may hereafter fall into the hands of, the Indians. Already several prisoners are in their hands, men, women, and children, liable at any moment to be put to a cruel death. Perhaps by a timely appropriation of the kind asked for, the lives of these prisoners may be saved. Does any one begrudge the application of the public money to a purpose so humane? Does any one dare to say that the whole \$300,000 would be an extravagant price to pay for the ransom of one—only one of those helpless infant captives, whose wailing cry is music to the ears of his cruel captors, drunk with the blood of his slaughtered parents. There went from Missouri, in 1853, a party of nineteen. Last summer I saw, in Oregon, two boys, the only survivors of that party. Where were the others? They told me where they were—they had left them among the mountains, father,

mother, sisters—all slain! At my request they that they undertook to give me a narrative of the massacre by subject to detail the fiendish barbarities of the murderers. I listened while, with the simple eloquence of truth—a pathos which only children can impart to a story of bereavement and sorrow—charge in they proceeded with the recital of what they saw and what they suffered. But I did not hear them depleting to the end; my heart sickened with the revolting details. I told them to pause; I could hear of homes and more. Ah! sir, could the members of this House sort to no have stood around those friendless orphans, are a Christian they stood among strangers, relating the storm would not of their sufferings and their wrongs, there would not have been no occasion for me to speak here to Mr. BOYD day. They would have heard a speech such as hostile Indian they never heard before, and such as, I pray Mr. LAN God, I may never hear again—the speech not a question. In two untutored, friendless orphans, but nature's Globe, sir, nature speaking to the great heart of the number is American people, heaving it up, as with a giant's power, from its cold apathy into a burning thirst for revenge, a stern resolve to avenge not all at the wrongs and defend the rights of outrage that they are humanity. An attempt was made to punish the perpetrators of this outrage. Major Hallef them are was sent forward with several companies of this army regulars, and succeeded in procuring the surrenders, and der of a few Indians, who were put to death such others the perpetrators of the massacre. But whether the innocent were surrendered, and the guilty One word escaped, is a question I am unable to answer from Tennessee. From my knowledge of the Indian character, I would not be surprised if, in this instance as in the white others, they had recourse to vicarious punishment—shielding the guilty by substituting the innocent. whites. The

Unless such means are taken as General Wood collect that will not take—but such only as the volunteers any horse and will take—to put an end to these outrages, set of the month tlement in Oregon Territory will be retarded that we had Already thousands of acres, once cultivated and friend, Capt repaying the labors of the husbandman with the charge w abundant harvests have been laid waste, houses, eristic of the burnt, and property destroyed. The settlements not mortally west of the Cascades are scattered throughout Alden to say the Willamette, Umpqua, and Rogue river val- unity to pass leys, and along the coast from the mouth of the nony to his n Columbia to the southern border of the Territory, point, he co and many families have located east of the Cas- qualities whi cades. Scattered, as they are, over so large an soldier" district of country, and exposed, as they are, in 'fighting man' time of war, will any man be hardy enough to brave without

my request they that they have made war upon the Indians, of the massacre by subjecting their families to the tomahawk and the flames, for money. Do you, sir, believe the simple and the people of Oregon capable of such baseness as only childred inhumanity? Who can for a moment believe that the charge made upon our people, "that they have made war upon the Indians for the purpose of depleting the Treasury?" A war that brings death—horrible death—upon families, destruction of homes and property. Believe it not, sir! They are of this House sort to no such means for pecuniary gain; they are a Christian people; they love their families, and the storm would not subject one of them to the tomahawk for all the money in the Treasury.

I speak here to Mr. BOYCE. How many warriors can these hostile Indians bring into the field?

As I pray! Mr. LANE. I am glad that I am asked the question. In my remarks, published in Saturdays, but naturally's Globe, I am made by a misprint to say, that at heart of the number is twenty-nine thousand. I meant to say, as with ay that it was twenty thousand. There are fully that number in Oregon and Washington. They do not all at war with us, and we are thankful that they are not. If they were united, they would sweep off the entire settlements. A portion of them are friendly to us. It is the purpose of this appropriation to preserve their friendly relations, and to secure amicable relations with such others as may not have joined the war.

But whether the guilty One word more, and I have done. My friend from Tennessee [Mr. READY] read an account of a massacre which is said to have been perpetrated by the whites. Now, one word of explanation of that occurrence. In 1853 a general war broke out between the Rogue river Indians and the whites. That was brought on by the Indians. I

General Wood collect that, on receiving the news, I mounted my horse and joined the troops, and on the 24th of the month of August we fought the last battle that we had during that war. In that battle my friend, Captain Alden, while leading his men to the charge with that impetuous valor, so characteristic of the American soldier, fell, severely but not mortally, wounded. It is due to Captain Alden to say (and I cannot permit this opportunity to pass without bearing my humble testimony to his merits) that, though educated at West Point, he combines in the highest degree the qualities which distinguish the American "citizen soldier" from the military automatons, the fighting machines" of this and all other nations.

But to brave without rashness, accomplished, a thorough

master of tactics, as taught in the schools, he has sufficient talent not to be trammelled by the antiquated ideas embodied in the moldy volumes which plodding dullness and octogenarian imbecility are wont to consult, as containing all the mysteries of the military art. In addition to these qualities, his warmth of heart and ever genial flow of spirits endear him to his soldiers, as his valor and conduct inspire them with confidence in him as a leader. I rejoice that to the aggregate of mischief done by the Indians in Oregon they have not added that of destroying the life of this brave and valuable officer.

But to proceed. The enemy asked for a talk. I entertained their application, and ordered the talk; and the result was, we made a peace. I then disbanded my troops for the purpose of preventing further expense, which was every hour accruing. In this I was sustained by the people, who did not, and never have desired that troops should continue under arms longer than was absolutely necessary for the purposes of defense and protection. A few of the bands would not come in and make peace, and they have been making war upon the whites ever since. Last summer they commenced hostilities against our people as they were going to or returning from California. Upon information of this outbreak being received at Jacksonville, Major Lupton raised a company, and proceeded to the scene of trouble. He there found the bodies of the murdered, and pursued the trail of the perpetrators to their encampment on Butte Creek. These Indians did not belong to that portion of the tribe who had made peace; or if they did, they had violated their treaty stipulations. He found stolen property in their hands. A fight ensued, in which the Major himself was killed, and many of the Indians were slain. They were not peaceable, inoffensive people, as has been stated by some of the reports put in circulation, but a murdering, thieving set, who were in the habit of waylaying on the road, and robbing and killing, the unwary traveler.

The Indians which were placed upon the reserve near Fort Lane were under the care of an agent who had done all in his power to maintain friendly relations, and was ably seconded by an able and gallant officer of the Army, Captain A. J. Smith, in command of the fort. A portion of these Indians have not since made war upon the whites, and have not joined the war party. The bands which did not come into the peace terms have

been waging war ever since, and Major Lupton was right in punishing them.

Now, let me give you an idea of the character of these Indians, their mode of warfare, and their ability to cope with our forces. Soon after the massacre of our people, on the 8th or 9th of October, Captain A. J. Smith, of the army, attacked the Indians in their position, with about three hundred and fifty men. The Indians had about the same number. He fought them from daylight until dark, but he was not able to dislodge them; and at last was obliged to fall back, leaving them in their position; and the same Indians, with reinforcements from other bands, have since attacked the settlements and destroyed many families; and they will continue to do so until they are met with a sufficient force to subdue them. That is the only way to secure peace with the Indians.

I will here read, for the information of the House, an extract from the New York Tribune, presenting a graphic, but truthful, sketch of the condition of things existing in a portion of Oregon; and I will ask the apologists of General Wool, after reading this, whether a state of war exists in the Territory, whether it was provoked by the aggressions of the whites, and what plea they can offer in defense of the conduct of General Wool in leaving the Territory a prey to Indian rapacity and outrage? Understand me, sir, I am not the accuser of General Wool. The people of Oregon are his accusers. I will not say that he stands in the attitude of Hastings, when accused by the people of India of oppression and corruption in office; but I will say that he stands arraigned before the great tribunal of public opinion; and, as one who was once his comrade in arms, one who followed where he led, I sincerely hope that no severer verdict may be pronounced against him than that he has committed an error of judgment. But here is the extract:

"Yesterday (Sunday) morning we were favored by the perusal of a letter written by Robert Smith, a settler up the coast, to Mr. Miller, living in the neighborhood of Whaleshead, informing the latter that on the 22d February, while William Hensly and Mr. Nolan were driving some horses toward Rogue river, two shots were fired at them by Pistol river Indians. Mr. Hensly had two of his fingers shot off, besides receiving several buck-shot wounds in his face. The horses fell into the hands of the Indians.

"The letter also contains a request to urge forward from Crescent City any volunteers that may have been enlisted.

"From F. H. Pratt, Esq., a resident at the mouth of Rogue river, who arrived last night in the schooner Gold Beach, we received the startling news that the Indians in that district have united with a party of the hostile Indians

above, and commenced a war of extermination against the white settlers.

"The station at Big Bend, some fifteen miles up the river, having been abandoned several weeks previous, the Indians made a sudden attack on Saturday morning, February 22d, upon the farms about four miles above the mouth, with some ten or twelve men of Captain Poland's company. The volunteers were encamped, the remainder of the company being absent, attending a ball on the 22d, at the mouth of Rogue river.

"The fight is stated to have lasted nearly the whole of Saturday, and but few of the whites escaped to tell the story. The farmers were all killed.

"It is supposed there are now about three hundred of the Indians in the field, including those from Grave Galalse creek and the Big Meadows. They are led by a Canada Indian, named Enos, who was formerly a favored guide for Colonel Fremont in his expedition.

"List of Killed.—Captain Ben Wright, H. Braun, E. Howe, Mr. Wagoner, Barney Castle, George McCluskey, Mr. Lara, W. R. Tullus, Captain John Poland, Mr. Smith, Mr. Seaman, Mr. Warner, John Gelsell and three children. P. McCollough, S. Heidrick, Joseph Serroe and two soldiers.

"Besides three or four, names unknown, Mrs. Gelsell and daughter are prisoners, and in the hands of the band of Indians, about eight miles up the river. Dr. White escaped by jumping into Yucca creek, and secured himself under a pile of drift-wood, remaining there for an hour and a half, and until the Indians had given up search."

I will say no more upon this subject, but I will urge the House to pass this appropriation, so that the money may go out under the direction of the President of the United States, for the purpose of maintaining the friendly disposition which now exists among many of the tribes in that Territory, and to give security to the settlements, and safety to the women and children whose lives are now in extreme jeopardy.

NOTE.

WASHINGTON, April 7, 1856.

Since the delivery of my speech in the House on the 31st ultimo, I have noticed in the United States extracts from the speech of Governor Stevens, in relation to the Legislative Assembly of that Territory, in relation to Indian troubles on our coast. The Governor has been charged with the duty of holding treaties with the Indians for the purchase of their lands; is also the superintendent of Indian affairs for that Territory, well acquainted with them, and is a gentleman of strict integrity. His speech contains important history, and is hereto appended.

Governor Stevens's Message.

Fellow-Citizens of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington:

I have taken the liberty of departing from the usual custom of delivering a written message. This arises from the exigencies of the case. It did not seem necessary to follow the etiquette usual in such cases, if by doing so time should be lost or public business deferred.

We are, fellow-citizens, and have been for

of three months, engaged in an Indian war. The settlers, from the Cowlitz river to the Sound, have been obliged to abandon their claims to live in forts.

When this Territory was organized, there was a population of about four thousand souls, widely scattered. No treaties had been made with the Indians occupying the lands of this Territory, and there was, practically, an intercourse law. Congress had, by law, extended the provisions of the Indian-intercourse act, so far as applicable, over this Territory and Oregon. Congress had also passed a donation law, inviting settlers to locate claims, first west, and then east; of the Cascade mountains, and public surveys had been ordered to be made over this domain; but the Indian title had not been extinguished. This is a bitter cause of complaint on the part of the Indians. The Yakimas, Cayuses, and Walla-wallas were anxious to make treaties, selling their lands to the Government, and securing to themselves reservations for their permanent homes; they asserted that until such treaties were made no settlers should come among them. These are the reasons of public policy which induced the Government to enter into these treaties, and time was lost in consummating them. The people of this Territory urged upon Congress the necessity of such a policy, and Congress made appropriation to carry out their wishes. It fell my lot to be appointed the commissioner to negotiate these treaties. I entered upon those duties in December, a year ago; and during that and the following month successfully treated with the Indians upon the Sound, the straits, and the Indians at Cape Flattery.

In January, a year ago, I dispatched James M. Esq., east of the Cascade mountains, to ascertain the feelings and views of the Indians. He visited the Yakimas, the Cayuses, the Walla-wallas, and the Nez Percés in their own country, and they were desirous to treat and sell their lands. Kamiakin advised the tribes to meet in council at Walla-Walla, saying that that was their council ground. The council was convened, and lasted fourteen days. All those tribes were present. The greatest care was taken to explain the treaties, and the objects of them, and to secure the most faithful interpreters. Three interpreters were provided for each language—one to act as principal interpreter, the other two to correct. At the close of that council such expressions of joy and thankfulness I have never seen exhibited to a greater degree among Indians. Kamiakin, Peu-peu-mox-mox, the young chief of the Cayuses, and the Lawyer, all personally expressed their joy and satisfaction. Kamiakin asserted, at personally he was indifferent about the treaty; it was his people all wanted it he was for it, and at was the reason he assented to the treaty.

From the record of that council was made up by intelligent and dispassionate men, and the speeches of all there made are recorded *verbatim*. The courtesy, humanity, and justice of the national government are there signally exhibited; and one of the actors therein need fear the criticism of an intelligent community, nor the supervision

of intelligent superiors. By these treaties, had the Indians been faithful to them, the question, as to whether the Indian tribes of this Territory can become civilized and Christianized beings, would have been determined practically, and as to whether the intervention of an Indian service for the supervision of the Indians might not become necessary in consequence of the Indians being unable to govern themselves. This spirit lies at the basis of all the treaties made in this Territory.

Another council followed, in which three considerable tribes were convened, which lasted eight days—the Indians, at the close, again expressing the utmost joy and satisfaction. It is due to gentlemen of the Legislative Assembly to make this frank and full statement. The printed record will show that the authorities and the people of this Territory have nothing to blush for—nothing to fear in the judgment of impartial men, now living, nor the rebuke of posterity.

As to the causes of this war, it is not a question necessary to dwell upon. It has been conclusively demonstrated that it has been plotting for at least two or three years. I am frank to admit that had I known, when the council at Walla-Walla was convened, what I learned afterwards, I should not have convened that council. I learned from one of the fathers some days after it had commenced, and I was satisfied that his information was correct, from the deportment of several of the principal chiefs, that many of the Indians came to that council with hostile feelings. But when I left Walla-Walla I thought that by the treaty such feelings were entirely assuaged—that those who were once for war were now for peace.

It is difficult to see how such a combination should have existed and not have been known; and yet it extended from the Sound to the Umpqua—from one side to the other of the Cascade mountains.

Fellow-citizens! war has existed for three months, and still exists; a war entered into by these Indians without cause; a war having not its origin in these treaties, nor in the bad conduct of our people. It originated in the native intelligence of restless Indians, who, foreseeing destiny against them, that the white man was moving upon them, determined that it must be met and resisted by arms. We may sympathize with such a manly feeling, but in view of it we have high duties.

I will not dwell upon the efforts made; the false reports circulated, distorting the proceedings of these councils; the stories of killing friendly Indians, which those hostile have resorted to, to spread hostility. The war exists; the question is, how shall it be met? There are duties to be discharged—difficulties to be grappled with. The war must be vigorously prosecuted now. Seed time is coming, and the farmer should be at his plow in the field. The summer is coming. The snows will melt in your mountain passes. It seems to me the warm season is not the time for operations. Daylight is breaking upon us. The gloom which for a time hung over us is giving way. There has been great energy displayed in handling the whole question—judgment and

energy in driving back, into a comparatively small region of country, the hostile Indians, and in keeping the great body of the Indians entirely friendly.

The work remaining to be done is comparatively small. It is my opinion that it would be expedient forthwith to raise a force of three hundred men, from the Sound, to push into the Indian country, build a depot, and vigorously operate against the Indians in this quarter; and nearly the same force should be raised on the Columbia river, to prosecute the war east of the Cascade mountains. This last would have a vast influence upon the operations in this section. It would prevent reinforcements from either side joining the bands on the other side, and would effectually crush both. But what is more important would be the influence upon the numerous tribes not yet broken out into hostility. It is due to you to state what experience in traveling through the Indian country has taught me. There is a surprising feeling of uneasiness among all the tribes who have not broken out, except alone the Nez Percés. These tribes may be led into war if delay attends our operations.

I regret on this occasion to be compelled to criticise the official acts of a gallant and war-worn veteran, one whose name has been on the historic rolls of the country for nearly half a century. But it is due to the people and the authorities of the Territory of Washington, that the facts should appear and be known to the national Government. Governor Mason, in obedience to the requisition of the commanding officer of the United States forces upon the Columbia river, raised two companies of volunteers of excellent material. They were well mounted, and ready for the field. Another company was raised to protect the commissioner appointed by the President of the United States, to make treaties with the Indian tribes in the interior of the continent. These troops were disbanded, were brought down into garrison, and the regulars were kept in garrison. And there stands out the broad fact, that seven hundred Indians in the Walla-Walla valley were met and defeated by volunteers when the regulars were in garrison. The President's commissioner, a high functionary, deriving his powers from the President of the United States, and not from any Department, was left without protection, and the troops raised to protect him, Major General Wool thought proper to disband and bring into garrison. That officer acted unquestionably from a sense of duty. His reputation as a gallant soldier, his long and valuable services to the country, cannot be disputed. I do not wish to impugn his motives. I only desire to submit facts for the judgment of superiors at home.

I learn from good authority that this plan of operations is to delay till spring—probably until May. It is well known by those who have experience and knowledge of their country, that February and March are the best months for the prosecution of this war. I think it due to the Legislative Assembly to state the reasons why all voyageurs and gentlemen of experience in

these matters give it as their opinion that now is the proper time for action. There is a vast difference between the Cascade and Bitter Root mountains. The Columbia, Snake, Clear Water, and Snake rivers are to be crossed. The snow is deep. These a few inches deep, and lasts but a short time, but to descend over a fortnight. There is but one obnoxious period of cold weather, and that has now passed. The mountain passes are closed up with snows, which can only be melted by snow-shoes. For these reasons the Indians cannot escape, should vigorous operations be made. On these plains our forces can operate well. There is abundant fuel for camps, grass, animals, and the rivers are low. The Indians are struck now. But, if we delay, the roots of fish will abound, supplying the Indians with fish. The snows will melt, and the mountain-passes will allow them hiding-places. It is my opinion if operations are deferred till summer, they may be deferred till winter again.

What effect would it have on the Sound should nothing be done until May or June? The whole industrial community would be ruined, the Sound paralyzed; the husbandman would be kept in a state of suspense by rumors of war, could not adhere to his pursuits; fields would be tilled, and the Territory would starve out.

I am of the opinion that vigorous operations should be prosecuted on both sides of the Cascade mountains. Whenever it is practicable and expedient, it is best that volunteers should be mustered into the United States service. They should go to the authorities at home that we deavored to cooperate with the regular service. But there has been a breach of faith. Troops mustered into service were disbanded, in violation of a positive understanding; and it is now proposed that the authorities of this Territory should direct the movements of their own troops—cooperating with the regulars where such cooperations can be effective. I therefore do not think that the volunteers of this Territory should be mustered into the United States service. I am ready to take the responsibility of raising the independent of that service, and it is due to the Territory and to myself that the reasons for summing it should go to the President and the Departments at Washington.

The spirit of prosecuting this war should be to accomplish a lasting peace—not to make treaties but to punish their violation.

Gentlemen of the legislative assembly, I have done my duty. It was a pleasant feeling that accompanied me on my mission, in making these treaties to think I was doing something to civilize and render the condition of the Indian happier; while justice and mercy should characterize the acts of our Government, there should be no weakness—no imbecility. In nations, as well as individuals, we may apply the precept—a man who has deceived you once should not again be trusted. If the blow strike where it is deserved. I am not disposed to any treaties; I shall oppose any treaties with these hostile bands. I will protest against any and all treaties made with them—nothing but death is a meet punishment for their perfidy—

opinion that not only should pay the forfeit. A friendly Nez
 There is a vast force informed me that in the Cayuse tribe nine-
 er Root mountain ill-disposed persons caused all the trouble.
 r Water, and should these be punished, the tribe could be gov-
 . The snow is ned. These turbulent persons should be seized
 but a short time put to death. The tribes now at war must
 ere is but one submit unconditionally to the justice, mercy, and
 er, and that peniency of our Government. The guilty ones
 tain passes are ould suffer, and the remainder placed upon res-
 a can only be scervations under the eye of the military. In a few
 reasons the Indians the policy might be changed. By such a
 ous operations cisive, energetic, and firm course, the difficulty
 forces can operay be grappled with, and peace restored.
 for camps, grass Let not our hearts be discouraged. I have
 . The Indians m abiding confidence in the future destiny of
 elay, the roots Territory. Gloom must give way to sun-
 e Indians with fight.
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 summer, they m

Let us never lose sight of the resources, capa-
 cities, and natural advantages of the Territory of
 Washington. We have an interior soon to be
 filled up with settlements. Gold, in considerable
 quantities, has been discovered in the northern
 part of that interior. There are fine grazing
 tracts and rich agricultural valleys; and that in-
 terior will fill up when these Indian difficulties
 are at an end. Then, too, will the Sound resume
 its prosperity. Gather heart, then, fellow-citi-
 zens; do not now talk of leaving us in our hour
 of adversity; but stay till the shade of gloom is
 lifted, and await that destiny to be fulfilled. Let
 us all put hands together and rescue the Territory
 from its present difficulties, so that we all may
 feel that we had done our whole duty in the
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