The Rogue River Indian expedition of 1856

(Diary by Capt. E.G. Ord, 3rd Art. U.S. Army, with Introduction and Editorial Notes)

By

Ellen Francis Ord

A.B. 1921

THESIS

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Approved

Instructor in Charge

Aug 21, 1921

Deposited in the University Library

August 22, 1922

Date

Librarian
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**I. Introduction**

I. Geography of Oregon
   1. Boundary ........................................ 1
   2. Physiography ...................................... 1
   3. Important Rivers ................................. 2
   4. Rogue River Valley ............................... 5
   5. Coast and Streams of Southwestern Oregon........ 6

II. The Indians of the Rogue River District.
   1. The name Rogue River Indians................. 8
   2. Classification Linguistically............... 9
   3. Local Classification ............................ 10
   4. Characteristics of the Family.............. 10
   5. Ability - Fishing and Boatmaking........... 11
   6. Hostility between branches of the same family.. 11

III. Early Indian Troubles
   1. Basis for Indian Hostilities.............. 12
   2. Condition of Indians prior to American occupation of Oregon........ 13
   3. Early hostilities of the Rogues.......... 14
   4. Troubles in the Forties................. 14
5. Rogue River Encounters ............... 15
6. Hostility of Indians towards Gold Diggers .................. 15
7. Congress extinguishes Indian Titles to Land west of the Cascades ......... 16

IV. Rogue River Wars

1. Rogue River Campaign of 1851 ............. 17
2. Rogue River Campaign of 1853 ............. 17
   a. The Treaty
3. Constant breaking of the treaty ............. 18
4. Ratification of Treaty with modifications ................. 19
   a. Peaceful Indians restricted to reservation ................. 19
5. Opening of the Campaign of 1856 ............. 19
   a. Gold Beach Attack ..................... 20
   b. Regular soldiers ordered to the scene of action ............. 21


VI. The Conclusion of the Rogue River Campaign of 1856 ............. 84

1. Disposition of the Indians
   a. Chiefs George and Jimmy
   b. Pistol and Chetco River Bands
    i. Chief John
PREFACE

The following thesis contains the actual diary of General E. O. C. Ord, then Captain Ord of the Third Artillery, written during the Rogue River Campaign of 1856, together with his private report of the Battle of the Mackanootenay village, which he wrote up in the back of his diary on his return march to the Rogue River camp. The diary in many entries is very closely written in pencil; this with the blurring of the pencil has made it difficult to read even with the aid of a powerful magnifying glass. However, it is only here and there that the words are so indistinguishable that blanks are left to indicate their omission. A few strictly private entries are omitted; which omission is indicated by stars.

An effort has been made to collate what is said in the diary with what writers on the subject of this campaign have had to say; this is indicated in the footnotes. Wherever a discrepancy was noted between other writings on the subject and the diary the difference is set forth.

In order that the whole diary may have a clear setting, a general description of the geography of Oregon is given. The Indians of the Southwestern part are briefly considered;
The Rogue River Indian troubles are summarized; and, in order to make the story complete, there is added that which might be called a sequel to the diary.

A map, which shows the entire line of march covered by the writer, supplements the diary.

The first Indian War in the Oregon country opened in 1847 with the Whitman massacre caused by the discontent of the Indians at seeing their lands occupied by the ever increasing number of Americans, and the appalling ravages of disease in the ranks of the Indians. The second war broke out among the Rogue River Indians in 1851. After Congress had passed an act extinguishing titles west of the Cascades, fine promises of payment were made to the Indians for their lands, but the Indians were practically compelled to yield to the terms and in the end they were not honestly kept by the Americans. The dissatisfaction of the Indians at seeing so many settlers entering their country found expression in constant depredations upon the immigrants as they passed through dangerous canyons of the Rogue River District, and culminated

1 Pioneer Catholic History of Oregon, by Edw. V. O'Hara, Portland.
2 United States Statutes at large, Vol. IX. ch. XVI.
3 Victor F.F., Early Indian Wars of Oregon, p. 423.
in a strong feeling of animosity between the Indians and settlers of the Rogue River Valley which inevitably ended in the massacre of the latter by the Indians. Thus opened the second Rogue River War. 1855 saw a general feeling of unrest among the Indians all over Oregon. "Everywhere was discontent, jealousy, and hatred of the superior and encroaching civilization." The Yakimas of the North in council decided to go to war and made preparation, inviting all the neighboring tribes to join them in this common cause or "be treated as enemies and killed or enslaved." 2

Thus the powerful bands of the Spokanes, Nez Perces, and Coeur d'Alenes, with their allies, joined in what is known as the Yakima War. At about the same time the Coquillas and Snakes, with their allies, joined with the Rogue River Indians in the last Rogue River War, into which the diary gives us such an insight.

1 Victor, F.F., Early Indian Wars of Oregon, p. 423.

2 Ibid.
The Oregon Country has a natural boundary of water on almost three sides. The Pacific Ocean forms the western boundary and the northern is formed by the Columbia River from its mouth on the western coast to a little below its junction with the Walla Walla River; from there over to the Snake River the northern boundary is parallel 46°. The Snake River forms the eastern boundary down to its junction with the Owyhee River and from this point the eastern boundary is the 117° meridian down to the 42° parallel which is itself the southern boundary of Oregon.

The Coast Range Mountains skirt the western coast and the numerous rivers arising in these mountains on the western side flow into the Pacific, thus forming a broken coast line.

From north to south, through the west central portion of the state are the Cascade Mountains. Towards the southwestern part of the state this range has one noteworthy spur known as the Callapoosa Mountains, which run from east to

Taken almost entirely from Armstrong's "Oregon".
west, almost linking the Coast and Cascade Ranges.

In the northeastern part of the state are the Blue Mountains, a branch of the Rockies. The southeastern portion has barren plains. On the south there is a natural boundary formed by the Siskiyou Mountains. This area is a little off the true boundary line.

Besides the Columbia, Snake and Owyhee Rivers, the first river of importance is the Willamette, which flows from the Callapoosa Mountains, in the southwestern part of the state, north to the Columbia, between the Coast Range and Cascades, forming a vast and beautiful valley watered by the numerous tributaries arising in the mountains on either side of the river. It was on the Lower Columbia and Upper Willamette that the first American missionaries and immigrants settled.\(^1\)

The next river of importance is the Umpqua.\(^2\) "This rises in the Cascade Mountains; its general course is north 45° west the first seventy-five miles, whence it bears nearly due west to the Pacific. The mouth of this river affords a good entrance for the largest sized ships and by ascending some fifteen miles to the mouth of Smith's river and Schofield's River—the former on the north side—there is a good

\(^1\) Hastings, L.W., "A Description of Oregon", Ch. IV.
and secure harbor, sheltered by high, rugged, iron-bound shores. There are several small towns on this river, Scottsburg being the head of navigation twelve miles up the river. Below this point the country on the Umpqua is mountainous, rugged and rocky but from the mouth of the Elk the valley widens out. The wagon road crosses the river three miles above Elkton at Drew's Ferry, again, a mile and a half above at Dimmock and Cooper's Ferry. Four miles above the latter is Kellogg's Mill situated on rapids in the river. Ten miles below Kellogg's the River passes through a deep cañon and enters a beautiful valley called Green Valley and here the Umpqua forks into the North and South Umpqua. Six miles above the forks is Winchester, the county seat of Douglas County, situated on the North Fork. For a distance of twenty-five miles south and east of Winchester the country is thickly settled. Nearly all of the settlers south of Winchester were destroyed by the Indians in the troubles of 1856. "The fine frame houses and barns were laid in ashes and what few settlers escaped the scalping knife, were left destitute of home or shelter, turned out upon the world without refuge or clothing."

About ninety miles south of Winchester, on the road leading to California, is the Great Cañon. It is a narrow pass
between two large mountains. The road passes up the creek
a distance of twelve miles; although much money was expended in making this road it was almost impassable for teams.
The first attempt to make the trip from California to Oregon with wagons was undertaken in 1854. Previous to this
all the produce taken from Oregon to California overland, had been by means of pack animals.

"This canyon has been the scene of numerous murders. The sides of the mountains are heavily timbered, and the
undergrowth is thick chaparral, while the adjacent country is inhabited by the most hostile Indians on the Pacific
coast. These Indians have been treacherous and hostile at all times since they were first discovered by white men.
They have been a greater terror and have committed more murders upon the whites than all other tribes on the coast
combined. They never fail to kill the travelers through this canyon, if they observe them, unless there is a sufficiently large party of whites to protect themselves; in that case they are remarkably friendly, knowing that the
white man never attacks—only defends after he is attacked, giving the Indians the advantage."

1 Armstrong, Oregon and Washington, p. 49
2 Ibid.
The next river of importance on the Coast is the Rogue River. This is in the southwestern part of Oregon and was the scene of several Indian wars. The last of these is the one in which Captain Ord participated, as his diary will show.

The Rogue River rises in the Cascade Mountains, and runs almost due west to the Pacific, in the north latitude 42°30'. Its length is about one hundred sixty miles. There is no entrance for ships at the mouth, it has no harbor; and it is not navigable for steamboats. Eighteen miles from its mouth the Illinois river empties into it from the south. Its head is in the Siskiyou Mountains and its banks are gold bearing.

Seventy miles from the mouth of Rogue River is Grave Creek; this empties into the Rogue River from the north. A short distance below this stream are the Big Meadows, the retreat of the Indians. Eight miles above Grave Creek, Gallows Creek, and ten miles beyond this is Jump Off Joe Creek. Six miles above Jump Off Joe, a creek runs into the Rogue River on the south side, called Applegate; it is thirty miles in length, has good farming country and rich gold mines have been worked on the headwaters at the base of the

1 Armstrong, Oregon and Washington, p. 50.
Siskiyou Mountains.

Four miles above the mouth of Applegate creek, the Oregon-California road crosses the Rogue River at a place where a good ferry is kept. The valley spreads here and affords rich farming lands. Before the Indian war of 1856 it was settled by industrious and intelligent farmers who found a ready market for their products owing to the nearby mines, but the Indians killed or drove the settlers away and destroyed their property. Jacksonville is situated in this valley and about twenty miles north of this place is Table Rock, the rendezvous of the Indians in the campaign of 1853 and 1856.

Below the Rogue River there are several small rivers of no great importance but mentioned here because they are spoken of in the diary. About twelve miles south of Gold Beach (at the mouth of the Rogue River) is the Pistol River which empties into the Pacific and fifteen miles below this the Chetco Creek also empties into the Pacific almost on the Oregon-California line, four miles south of this in California the Smiths' River mentioned in the diary (not to be confused with the tributary of the Umpqua River) flows northwest into the Pacific, nearly six miles below this is Point St. George, and protected by the point is Crescent City.
open port and the place where supplies for the Rogue River were landed when coming from California. North of the Rogue River on the coast are the following creeks in their order, Euchre, Rineshard, Brush. About six miles above Brush Creek is Port Orford, another open harbor but the base of supplies going to the Rogue River District from Northern Oregon. Above Port Orford is Elk Creek. These last named streams rise in the Rogue River Mountains, a group of the Coast Range.
Chapter II.  

THE INDIANS OF THE ROGUE RIVER DISTRICT.

The name Rogue River Indians seems to have come down from the early days of the Hudson's Bay Fur Company's activities in the Oregon country. The trappers entered the valley of the Rogue River and set their traps, which were stolen by the Indians and from the repeated thefts of these natives they were called Rogues, and the river upon which they lived received the same name. Throughout the history of these Indians they continued to live up to their reputation.

According to Dorsey, the Indians occupying the middle portion of the course of the Rogue River in Southwestern Oregon, from, and perhaps including the Illinois River to about Table Rock and the northern tributaries of the Rogue River between the limits and the upper course of the Cow Creek form the Talkman linguistic family of Powell. Linguistically they are very sharply distinguished from their neighbors, their language showing little or no resemblance in even general morphologic and phonetic traits to either the Athapascon or the Klamath. They seem to have been greatly reduced in number at the time of the Rogue River wars. Culturally the Talkman were closely allied to the Shasta of

---

Dorsey in the Journal of America Folk Lore vol. III, 235, 1890, classifies the Indians of the Rogue River as the Shasta Skaton.
Northern California with whom they frequently intermarried.

By Hodge the Indians of this district are classed as belonging to the North American Athapascan linguistic family. This great family formerly extended along the Western Coast well down into the northern part of Mexico and on the north from the Pacific Ocean to Hudson's Bay.

A great dissimilarity existed in the various branches of this family in physical type and culture as well as differences in language. These point to a long separation of the family, probably covering centuries. Geographically this family consists of three divisions: Northern, Pacific, and Southern.

It is to the Pacific division of the family that the Rogue River Indians belonged. This division, of just a small band, was formerly located in Washington with many villages along a strip of nearly 400 miles, beginning at the valley of Umpqua River and following the coast towards the south to the Coquille River. In many cases the villages were separated from one another by low ranges of mountains.

The culture among these Indians was not uniform. This was probably due to the great differences of the living con-


ditions on the coast and in the interior. Bancroft classes
the Indians of the Rogue River district in the local family
of Klamath, but according to Hodge and popular opinion they
belonged to the Shasta family, and he locates them under the
name Chastacosta on the north banks of the Rogue River from
its junction with the Illinois river nearly to the mouth of
Applegate creek. The Tututonne, who did not differ from them
in customs or language, were to the west; the Coquill, differing
slightly in language, were north, and the Gallice, with the
same customs but quite different dialect, were to the east.
The Takilma, an independent stock, were the southern neighbors
and lived on the South Bank of Rogue River and its southern
tributaries.

The Indians as they approach the coast usually deteriorate mentally, physically, and morally, but the Rogue River
Indians proved to be an exception to this rule. They were
tall, muscular and well built, with a complexion varying
from light brown to almost black skin. Their faces were
large and oval with coarse features, prominent cheek-bones,
and keen eyes, which latter does not indicate a moral degeneracy. Their nose is prominent and often straight. The
women were short and handsome and were not prone to wither

---

with age as was true of the California Indians.

These tribes lived more by fishing than by hunting, and spearing of fish by torch light was common in the salmon season. As boat makers, the Rogue River and Klamath River Indians surpassed their interior neighbors, although they did not quite equal the Columbia River Indians in this art.

These inter-related tribes of the Rogue River district were frequently at war with one another, and, as Bancroft notes, the cause was frequently the same as that for more civilized peoples, namely a woman. But they practically all united in the common cause - to preserve their native lands against the white usurpers. That this was justified on the part of the Indians will be seen in the following extract from the Senate Documents, Third Session, 34th Congress, vol. 2, 1856, p. 75.


"The avowed determination of the people to exterminate the Indian race, regardless as to whether they were innocent or guilty, and the general disregard for the rights of those acting as friendly and aiding in the subjugation of our real and avowed enemies, has had a powerful influence in inducing these tribes to join the warlike bands."
CHAPTER III.

EARLY INDIAN TROUBLES.

The controversy over the right of domain in the Oregon country, based upon the discovery as far North as 42 1/2\degree by the Spanish under Ferrelo’s and Cabrillo’s expedition in 1543; \(^1\) and in 1579 by Drake, an Englishman who reached a latitude between 40\degree 48’; \(^2\) and in 1775 upon Captain Hecta’s landing in latitude 49\degree to take formal possession of the North West Coast in the name of Spain; and Captain Cook’s English exploration in 1778 when he surveyed Nootka \(^3\) and explored the Alaskan coast, already discovered and explored by Russians as early as 1741 \(^5\) when they explored from the North as low as latitude 56\degree; and the American Captain Kendrick’s exploration in 1788 \(^6\); and Kendrick’s purchase of a large tract of land in Nootka region in 1791 \(^7\); Lewis and

\(^1\) Bolton and Marshall, Colonization of the Northwest, p.47.
\(^3\) Bolton and Marshall, Colonization of the Northwest, p.395.
\(^4\) Bancroft, History of the Northwest Coast, p.319.
\(^5\) Ibid.
\(^7\) Ibid., Vol.II, p.323.
Clark's overland exploration, 1805-1806; and the Astoria settlement; had all been settled to the satisfaction of everybody but the rightful owners, namely the native Indians, who had been entirely left out of the considerations as to the right of domain. Even though they could not press their claim in the court of nations, they could protest with fire and sword, and this they did.

The diary of Captain Ord takes up the last phase of their protest, hence a consideration of some of the events which led up to those troubles will make the diary clearer. As a matter of fact, the attitude of the Oregon Indians, on the whole, towards the early settlers, was not as hostile as that met by the American settlers in other parts of the continent. This was due to the fact that the Hudson's Bay Company held them in a state of semi-vassalage which required them to live in peace. Then, also, the first settlers went to the valleys of the lower Columbia and Willamette rivers. The Indians in that country had lost their warlike character, owing to degeneracy and disease, while the strong and warlike tribes to the south, east, and north of them were not aggressive, but contented themselves with attacking the unprotected hunters and travelers.

---

Lewis and Clark, Travels to the Source of the Missouri River and across the American Continent to the Pacific, Vol. II, Ch. XX, p. 311.
Armstrong, Oregon and Washington, p. 9
In 1829 Jededia Smith was robbed of his furs by the Rogue River Indians, and in 1826 the Rogue River Indians attacked a party of eight men, who had gone into the valley and killed four; the others made their way to the Hudson's Bay posts or the mission. In 1837, Turner, who had been attacked by the Indians on the Umpqua and again in the 1836 incident on the Rogue River, set out for California with the company sent to purchase stock for the Mission. Remembering former encounters with the Indians, he shot down in cold blood a Indian who entered the camp. This resulted in a revengeful attack by the Indians on the party.

Later on, in the early forties, the Nez Perces in the northern part of Oregon gave much trouble to the Missionaries; as the tide of immigration set in at its height the Cayuses objected. They frequently remarked to Mr. Zeiger, a pioneer, that they did not wish to go to war, but if the Americans came to take away their lands and make slaves of them, they would fight so long as they had a drop of blood to shed. As a matter of fact, the true cause of all of these Indian troubles was the usurpation of the rights of the native Indians by the invading whites.

1. C.F. Coan, Ind. Policies in Oregon, 1849-55. MS.
In 1846, pioneers from the Willamette Valley entered
the Rogue River Valley in search of an easier route for immi-
grants to the Willamette. Formerly they had crossed the Blue
Mountains and then followed the Columbia River. As a result
of this excursion the Applegate cut-off was opened. In 1848
a party of pioneers from the Willamette en route for the Cal-
ifornia gold fields prospected in the Rogue River Valley but
no big strike was made at this time; but in 1850 two men came
in who had equipped a pack train for transporting supplies
between Yreka and the Willamette. These men, Cluggage and
Pool, prospected on Bear Creek. The former struck heavy gold,
and in spite of an attempt to keep the strike secret, very
soon the gold rush to the Rogue River District began and the
way was opened to its settlement. Small towns were established
but constant precautions had to be taken against the newer
friendly Rogue River Indians. All supplies had to come from
Port Orford and Crescent City with frequent encounters oc-
curring between the packers and the Indians.2

The first treaty with the Indians was made between Joe
lane and Chief Joe in 18503. This treaty was faithfully

---

1 Sargent, Alice Applegate, "Oregon Historical Quarterly", vol. XXII., No. 1.
3 Lane Autobiography, MS, Bancroft Collection, pp. 92 and 95.
observed on the part of these Indians for a year. By it the white people were to have the right to pass to and from unmollified and the right to mine and settle in the Rogue River Valley; all stolen property was to be restored excepting the gold sand the Indians had ignorantly spilled. Nothing was really promised the Indians excepting an Indian agent who would "give them presents to the amount agreed upon." 2

In 1850/ Congress passed an act extinguishing Indian titles to lands west of the Cascade Mountains and Anson Dart was made Superintendent of Indian affairs. He faced the stupendous task of adjusting Indian claims in order to give clear titles to the settlers. 2

In 1851 the Indians fell upon a band of immigrants, subjecting them to outrages, and confiscating their property. This so stirred up the feeling amongst both the Indians and the white people that the first Rogue River war opened.

---

1 Lane Autobiography, MS., Bancroft Collection, p. 94.
2 Ibid., p. 94.
3 Statutes at Large IX., p. 437.
Chapter IV.

ROGUE RIVER WARS

In May of 1851, a Rogue River Indian professing friendship to three white men killed one named David Dilly in cold blood while he slept. The other two escaped and the miners at Shasta set out to avenge David Dilly. They killed two Indians and one sub-chief, besides taking several prisoners as hostages for the delivery of the murdered. Other encounters occurred and the Rogue River War opened in earnest. Fortunately Kearney was in the vicinity and succeeded in opposing the Indians at Table Rock, where he made captive a number of Indians. These were used by Governor Lane to induce another treaty with the Indians. In return for their promises of peace they received back their captive families.

In 1853 the Rogue River Indians massacred the settlers in the valley, and according to the story of an Indian woman to Lane it was due to a quarrel between a gambler and an

---

2. *Lane, Ms. Bancroft Collection*, p. 98.
Indian over a squaw whom the latter had sold to the gambler and for whom he could not get him to pay. The result of this massacre was the second Rogue River Indian Campaign. At the conclusion of this, the Rogue River Indians agreed to give up the whole of Rogue River Valley one hundred square miles on the north side of the river, the vicinity of Table Rock being reserved as a temporary home for the Indians. The price agreed upon was $55,000, $15,000 being deducted for indemnity for losses of property by settlers, the terms of payment being specified. The chiefs were to have temporary homes erected, and when the nation was removed to another and permanent reservation, buildings for the chiefs were again to be furnished, and $15,000 additional was to be paid to the tribe in five instalments. "The treaty bound the Indians to make their permanent residence in a place to be set apart in the future; to give up firearms, except a few for hunting; to forfeit their annuity if they were to war against the settlers", and other precautionary measures were inserted. Thus

---

1 Bancroft, Oregon, vol. II, p. 312, says the whites thought white women were captives near Table Rock and they undertook to release them.


3 Coan, C.F., The Indian Policy in Oregon, M.A. Thesis, 1914, p. 46.

Victor, (Mrs.) Early Indian Wars of Congress, p. 317.
ended the trouble of 1853.

1854 saw troubles between the miners on the beaches between Fort Orford and Coos Bay and the Coquill Indians. Several massacres occurred by various tribes, but the military force in Oregon was too small either to protect the colonists and immigrants or to punish the Indians.

In spite of this, General Wood recommended the closing of some of the posts then occupied by military forces.

In 1855 Palmer assured the tribes with which he had made treaties that Congress had ratified the treaties he had negotiated with them, with some amendments. This they reluctantly acquiesced in. One of these was a provision permitting other tribes to be placed on their reservation. Another consolidated all the Rogue River tribes into one. Both of these measures were bitterly resented by the proud, jealous natures of the Indians. Palmer planned to remove the diseased, degenerate Indians of the Willamette east of the Cascade Mountains, but he found they were unwilling to receive them, so he corralled them at a reservation called Grand Round. This together with his other policies caused general unrest amongst the Indians.  

In the meantime troubles arose again in the Rogue

---

2 Cole, Geo., Early Oregon, p. 83.
River district, and by October numerous depredations were being committed by the Rogue River Indians of the interior. October 13, 1855 Joel Palmer, superintendent of Indian affairs, issued a proclamation requiring the Indians of the Willamette and other districts to live up to their treaties made in 1853 and 1854. This proclamation of November 18, confined them to reservations under strict discipline, and placed all roving Indians under suspicion. It was resented by the already restless Indians and welcomed by the settlers. The volunteers who had been guarding the settlers and pursuing the Indians asked for their discharge on the ground of being worn out, so by the proclamation of January 18, 1856, the northern and southern battalions were discharged and new recruits called for. Early on the morning of February 22, the Indians at Port Orford surprised and massacred the guard with the exception of one man who concealed himself; the same day every house on the river below Big Bend was burned and twenty-six persons were killed. The people of Gold Beach sought refuge in the fortification called Miners' Fort nearby and were imprisoned for thirty days owing to the slowness of communication between the governor and the cap-

2. The Indian attack was made when a ball was in progress in celebration of Washington's birthday, hence it was probably a daybreak attack. Some accounts place this February 21.
ital or San Francisco as steamers passed only once or twice a month. At last on the thirty-first day of this captivity the Regulars arrived, having marched to their relief from the Humboldt. The Diary begins with the news that the Regulars are to be sent from the Presidio of San Francisco to Oregon.
DIARY OF CAPTAIN E. O. C. ORD, THIRD ARTILLERY
OREGON

Rogue River Indian Campaign of 1855.

Monday, February 7. at San Francisco.

Tuesday, February 8. A. M. at San Francisco left 2 P. M. for Benicia with Molly & Company arrived at Benicia 9 P. M. that night, stopping at Vallejo.

Wednesday, February 9. at Benicia with Lt. Mason.

The above entries were made in the January part of the diary and "January" is scratched out; and February written above it in pencil. The next entry appears in the February part of the Diary. But there is a conflict in week days, as is shown in the book, though the dates seem to correspond as they should. The intervening pages are blank and the next entry is found under Sunday, February tenth. "Molly" is the wife of Captain Ord and her name appears frequently in the Diary. "Company" refers to his command as a Captain of Artillery.
Sunday, February 10. at Benicia with Lt y--

Monday, February 11. Housekeeping--Took Pvtt Stone as cook.

Tuesday, February 12. At Benicia

Saturday, February 13. Made requisition on Qur. Mr. for supplies for trip--find he has no shirts or drawers or shoes--refers me to Gen W and Col Cross

Sunday, February 14. rode to Vallejo.

Monday, February 15. getting ready for trip to Crescent City.

Tuesday, February 16. do do--put in formess

13 lbs. flour..........................80 ct.
25 " Buckwht..........................2 50 "
Salt, pepper, vinegar................1 00
saleras - tea coffee sugr........3 00
one ham..............................2 25
Total for mess......................9 55

Wednesday, February 17. this P.M. got letter from Maj Cross that I'd leave Benicia on Friday in Columbia--called that night on Capt Jones to learn truth of this--find it so--

Thursday, February 18. packing up--and do do do for company--have written to Bob- Doctr & Brother Siffy. Sold cow of Compy for $65.00 left with Wm蚊ason this sum deducting $fourteen & 40 cts.

Friday, February 19. this P.M. at 3 oclock marched aboard steamer Columbia with my Co Molly rode along--got to San Francisco that night at dark slept in town--Mr Ehrie

The Diary is blank from Tuesday, February 12 to Saturday, February 23.
marched men out-

Saturday, March 1, rode to cemetery - called for Genl W. - he was off for Benicia slept in town -

Sunday, March 2. Sunday at Presidio - making up papers - and returns -

Monday, March 3. Sent Muster Rolls to P Mr - all right busy preparing for field.

Genl Wool expected - called on no one - at Presidio most of the day.

Tuesday, March 4. called at Qn-Mrs office says we will be off on 5th may be - some recruits assigned - to co - Mr Ehrie in learn-- called to get it but did not-- see me - at Presidio today --

Wednesday, March 5. still at Presidio - with Co - 27 recruits changed to 17 - all present this P M at retreat - slept at Presidio - gave Molly $10 cash & check for $31.00 and pay accts for month of March 56 - and 113 - $ - bought -- 30$ worth of mess stuff

Thursday, March 6. off this a.m after good bye to all hands. . . poor little Molly is not well-- nor is the Captn Either --

Friday, March 7. at sea --
Saturday, March 8. at sea till P M when landed at Crescent City - place looks deserted - 350 Indians are in here - we have orders to take the field on Wednesday - don't think we'll take it.

Sunday, March 9. ... assumed command of Crescent City Post

Monday, March 10. busy getting ready - Steamer republic in from North - news if Capt Augur Co at Orford - and Lt Allston comes ashore letter from Reynolds change Col Bg plans - busy drilling --&c

Tuesday, March 11. busy drilling &c -- ordered Allston to relieve Capt D L -- Floyd Jones & former to act as adjt - Spent 8$ of Co fund for cups -- bought 2$ worth mess furniture --& this book -- advance Recd on 12th Mr Ehrie 5 -- Mr Hillman and Col Bucha 5 ea and Capt Jones -5$ -

Wednesday, March 12. At C. City - Comsy bill - 12.10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bought mess kit</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do do do butter</td>
<td>10.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do do tea-pease &amp;</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do do do dates</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do do butter can</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owe for potatoes (paid)</td>
<td>33.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>advance by Capt Jones</td>
<td>10 - 50 - bot doz sardines 650</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Thursday, March 13. at 6 - City must do something to push matters forward. Pair of saddle bags home from Mr Freedman. Must get a cropper and grease shoes - bought cropper $150. Order a garrison court Mr. Col says we can arrange to start Saturday next - rain in showers -

Friday, March 14. at Crescent City - seemed to have set in rainy - getting ready - order out to be off in the morning - if clear - bought 13 lbs corned beef not paid for. Left oiled clothes at painters got pistol fixed for US - 50cts

Saturday, March 15. packed up & off at 11 A.M. got to Valentine's Camp at 1 P.M. got thro Red woods & crossed over Smiths Ry at 5 - camped on banks of it - pretty valley - but today was hard march ... - Red Woods saw some trees 25 ft in diameter - woods and live trees are damp - mouldering & immense with age sun hasn't kissed earth in places for 1000 years -

Sunday, March 16. started at 8 A.M. - fine morning five more houses in valley - bought 3$ of fresh pork at Bradford's - owe Capt Jones - $250 for mess - saw elk larger than big mule - got to banks of Winchuck little stream, found old

---

This part of the diary was first written in pencil and written over in ink.

San Francisco Herald, April 18, 1856.
Ranch where Volg had built pen or fight 2 squaws killed here lately - on suspicion reached Chilco crossed men on log, mules forded lost one with ammunition - camped at old Ranch & burnt place of one Millers - Millers had ford was jealous because Indians underworked him and drove em off. Rained nearly all night --

Monday, March 17. at burnt house (Miller) drilled Co - and took walk - Met Col 3 P M & got up the drowned mule - buried some shells near fence on sea side - 3 yards from 3rd or 4th post from cut ones - had nice supper men found Cache the crossing of the Chetco is where waves and stream meet at low tide & is bad place - & at Pt of Rocks two miles North is worse except at low tide. I & mule in going around it were lifted off our legs & ducked.

Tuesday, March 18. started at 9 - Road bad got worse skirted iceans shore - & up & down bluff passed deserted Indian Ranch - burnt do do - Whales Head met 2 Volg who said Company at Pistol River was fighting & in danger of losing their horses we went 15 ms camp'd on side of long mount-tain - pretty camp.

Think this was intended for Chetco.
Wednesday, March 19, started at 8 - mountain scenery. Good - grassy glens & glades and Pine spurs - came to country that looked like gold bearing a soldier picked up a piece 2-oz. which mule had kicked out of hill side, came down ridge to mouth of Pistol R - found Volga - had lost horses & one man - said they killed 10 or 12 Inds - seem to have had a hard time - camped at mouth of R - bad ground - but best to be had - good moon to-night.

Thursday, March 20. off at 7 - crossed without trouble - and had beach for 1 mile but sea took me and mule off our legs at the point of rocks - road hence over steep mountains - got to beach near R - River - Inds seen ahead colonel looked at our - Tichnor & Sgt Clark wounded 2 - pushed on to mouth of R - looked much for good camp. Col - going to camp at foot of brushy and timbered hill, where Indians under cover could shoot us at leisure - I told him so but he said we must risk something - volunteer came across river & told him same thing then he moved camp but I told him still, it was too close to timber & he moved 2d time - here while men were cooking dinner party of Indians from Ambush shot at & wounded slightly the doctor - at same place Col wanted to camp...

San Francisco Herald, April 18; Victor, F.F., Early Indian Wars of Oregon, p. 384.

Overwriting with pencil ends here and regular ink entries are made.

Daily Alta California, May 4, 1856.
sent in party men and drove Indians from cover - tho at dark they began to come back - to a picket right where Col wanted to camp. Sergt Smith fired shell at em & they didn't annoy us any more.

Friday, March 21. Capt Tichnor busy making boat -- last night corporal (was shot by Recruit) going his rounds & several shots fired - camp was stampeded & so was I - but I brought in wounded man - and as soon as found it was done by our men I went round and reassured men - had another shot fired by Recruit before A M - very bad practice sending Recruits to fight Indians - generally do more harm than good - this P M crossed command - I was told to leave - Col Ist Tichnor made good flat boat -- and worked it well. Command over at 5 - campd on bluff pt -- selected by Col -- bad place to defend good for attacking party - hill on each side - rocks and trees behind - & bluff sea bank in front - takes 25 to guard.

Saturday, March 22. at camp, mouth of river¹. Col sent off dispatch per mountain man named Walker to Capt Augur - Schooner gold beach came in - news from last P M Orford that Capt A was up at mouth of Illinois - with 100 - men - the people at fort a hardy looking set quite pleased at relief -

¹ Victor, Early Indian Wars of Oregon, p. 382.
but col wanted Schooner to go back, women wanted to go in her & Col wanted to send squaws—women wouldn't go with squaws—so there was general bust up—I mean men wanted to keep squaws here to do which Col said was impossible of them married squaws on the beach so as to keep em—the men and the women disgusted with the Col's arbitrary decision & positive manners—which by the way is quite enough to disgust them, He is not the man for the people or the emergency—I have concluded to let him slide & as he has no one else to consult with he has taken to Capt Tichnor—and holds long talks—and to the Vol—Capt—they are now planning an attack on something—Col talks of sending a party across river to get him some boards to make a table with—but gave it up—he has received express from Agur who is at Indn village eight miles up River—waiting for orders—no news of Capt Smith—Col talks of starting the command tonight—4 A M—says he is always lucky—Illustrates old proverb—I have written to Molly but must write to Col Buchanan—Reed—advance of 5$ from Col B & Lt Ehrie

Sunday, March 23. Capt Agur came in—party had hard

time ten days since left Orford via mouth of Illinois - report no Indians seen except these - Maj Reynolds & Lt McFeely & Drysdale with Capt A remained in camp

Monday, March 24. Vol sent out party to opposite side of river to kill pigs -

Tuesday, March 25, the schooner Gold beach got off this A M at last --sent letter by her - party on opposite beach to protect her as she went out this was my suggestion - Volunteers went up the river today found tootootenes-village abandoned and burned it - Col says I must go up tomorrow and do same by the Macanootenays

Wednesday, March 26. started at 8 A M 112 men Jones & my comps Lt-Drysdale & Dr C A Hillman with us - 1 He is good fellow- had an awfully hard march 11 miles to Macanootney village on pretty River bottom backed by timbered hills in front the rapid river on one flank willows on other Spur of the mountain with timber on it - we burned the houses 13- in no & then the Indians attacked us from timber in rear & on

1 Bancroft, History of Oregon, Vol. II, p. 405. Says Ord was sent on 26th of April to destroy a Mackanootenays. The diary places this March 26th, not April, and his report found in the back of the diary places it March.

2 Gaston, Cen. Hist. of Oregon, Vol. I, p. 407, confuses the battle at Chetco River, March 17, with this battle. Mrs. Victor in Early Indian Wars of Oregon, p. 405, makes the same mistake as Bancroft. San Francisco Herald, April 18, 1856, has an entry on this.
Et flank but I had the men ready and whipped them from one
ridge of timber to another - & finally across the River - we
then slowly left in good order - but the rascals dog'd us & 
wounded Sgt Nash of rear guard - badly we...tired
men made litter but it wouldn't work I then took him before
me & carr - him till trail was visible then made another
after trying to pack him on a mule but he fell off & carried
him to camp on ridge near Cantwell's prairie - This march
thru the dark woods - without visible trail - with men so ex-
hausted as to be hardly able to get along - for they had not
eaten or drank for 6 or 0 hours - was one of the hardest I,
ever endured - **** however at the battle of the day before
we killed 8 Indians, besides squaws and wounded at least as
many more, and I am told it is the first time these Indians
have ever been driven from their position, on this river -
Sargent Nash, Sargent Hamilton - Pvt Muldowney - Smith - Cashman-
McCue & Driver behaved well --Pvtta Mulcahy, Frederking (who
was sick) Welsh, and one or two others were very loathe to
carry the wounded -

Thursday, March 27. got into camp about 9 A M - Very
tired-2 and was weak and sick that day - Col quite glad at

1 Diary indistinct
2 Victor, F. F. Early Indian Wars of Oregon, p. 405, Places
this March 1.
the results of our fights - officers all congratulated me and think I will get a brevet - Capt Angur got in about 10 or 11 - wrote report that night.

Friday, March 28. Made copy of sketch for report - and wrote to my dear wife and to Col Nauman - withdrew Murray's nomination for corporal - Col getting ready for trip with train & Maj Reynolds Co & Doct Hillman & Lt McFeely to Orford - schooner came in just before Col left. No news. Schooner ran on beach of opposite point - sent 40 men to help her off = couldnt do it - still feel somewhat used up but cheered up Sargt Nash as well as I could - Privit Mahoney the other wounded man is quite enduring & has a bad wound - Col left me in command - with orders not to send out any expedition - except if Indians made any demonstration on opposite side to brush em off feel a little better this P M - read some late Oregon papers find that my little article in Evening News has touched them to the quick in Oregon. Hope Bennett will copy it think it possible that if Col N can he will do something for me -

Saturday, March 29. still at camp mouth of Rogue River.

---

Bancroft, History of Oregon, Vol. II, p. 405. It would seem that Bancroft thought that Ord moved on the 29th of April after the battle of Mackanootenals to escort a large government train from Crescent City to the mouth of the Rogue River, but according to the Diary, this battle occurred in March and the Chetco River affair was on April 29, and in the meantime Ord had been at the mouth of Rogue River.
The schooner is all right and in the river - Sargt N. still holds his own - Mr Warwick says men have killed his cattle - I will pay for them - P M - the express came in from up the river - no Capt S - no Indians - they went up as far as Big Bend - I saw 16 Indians leaving on horses the Mackanooten village The Inds kept in front of them - crossed at the Illinois - rained hard Saturday night wrote up account of battle, in this book.

**Sunday, March 30.** Still at camp mouth of Rogue River -- Storming -- South east gale - read some of Dickens stories - talks of Holly Tree Inn and listend to Capt Algur read the bible - all five of the officers present - & listening with attention - had pretty good dinner - took nap - after walking around Camp and on beach - wind still S-E & occasional showers this A M

**Monday, March 31.** Bought $2 worth of Fresh beef for mess - still at mouth of Rogue River - South Easter still blowing - in the evening it began to rain & blow - sent for fresh beef - got some - Sargt doing pretty well P M at night Sargt sank a little - I slept well this night for first time in this camp -

**Tuesday, April 1.** A stormy rainy morning, the Sargt better -- our rations are getting low -- & if Col dont get back soon
I will have to buy some beef &c.

**Wednesday, April 2.** Col came back this P M in the rain - brought Lt Chandler & 13 days rations - No steamer in - rain all day. - Lt Drysdale brought me 12 dols worth of mess stuff - he left the three gals of pickles at Fort Orford.

**Thursday, April 3.** Rainy all day - in camp writing ****

**Friday, April 4.** Rainy all day - in camp writing ****

**Saturday, April 5.** Rainy and stormy, writing and drawing.

**Sunday, April 6.** in camp writing & went to Fort Miners took a sketch - they gave me little history of place it was very muddy - making up my Returns and a Report of Maca nootmy fight ---

**Monday, April 7.** begins to look clear - wind changed this A M -- Col sent express off to Fort Orford I write by it to Molly - but nothing else - Steamer expected to go by today or tomorrow -

**Tuesday, April 8.** in camp² Rainy & variable winds - saw sundogs - Tichnor gone to Fort Orford

**Wednesday, April 9.** in camp Capt Augur went on scout

saw nothing but rough country - fair.

**Thursday, April 10.** in Camp -- Capt Jones went up river

---

1 Pencil from here on

2 Ink begins here
brought in cattle & no Indians seen - nor late signs - ****
expect bark with letters etc.

**Friday, April 11.** in camp ****volunteer reports 100
Indians in Fort Orford & they fired on ship yesterday - P M
Col tells me to start tomorrow for Brush creek to mend the
road & to keep it free of Indians - I am to take 4 days
rations & return with Capt Smiths command

**Saturday, April 12.** got ready - weather looks clear but
off at 8 1/2 - 55 men 1 officer & Capt Tichnor as guide
as passed Fort Miner some men saddled up - to follow - at
Yucca - had good ford - but rapid -- then bad road P M
rained a little -- mended road & made a cutoff -- through
woods - mile 1/2 Yucca a creek - vols overtook us - found more
vols at Muscle creek - camped near them at big rocks & burnt
shanty - queer place - got pisoned ivy down a canyon - had
good camp - at night rain - copper ore at big rock - do do at
small run 1 mile south of Yucca Creek 2

**Sunday, April 13.** off at 9 o'clock for brush creek, vols
left us & struck up bald mountain for Elk creek & scout -
got to half breeds about 10 - mended Brush creek trail too 1
or 2 - horrid road - men had to ford - deep & rapid stream
17 times in 2 miles - thicket on each side & high bold hills-

---
2 Yucca Creek now spelt "Euchre" Creek, see map in Bancroft, History of Oregon, p. 380.
timbered - a mule turned sumerset & lit on his back in creek - mans musket fired by accident got over hill & through oak grove to camp at about 3 oclock - express not come at dusk - Capt Tichnor went on to orford - Express in at 9 P M found two Indians at halfbreeds - horses tied - both parties ran - after Coyle fired - Indians most scared, as they left their horses - express man Sweet went on next am I sent word would come on next a m - if express came rained

Monday, April 14. raining -- At camp 4 miles from Orford at 7 oclock went to Orford with Sweet - rained and hailed - one bad hill to cross-- orford - a broken down place - looks as if everyone was planning to move away - fort do do - McFee-ly -- in a stew -- doctor Elisson arrived last night with Sarnt Nash Mahoney & all doing pretty well - borrowed $10 from Lt McFeely - bought four plates for Jones - 50¢ & book - rode back P M with Dr. hillman who is keen & pretty clever - hill & bluff broken - states gold looking- that P M Capt Smith got in late with his commd he left a mule on hill - vols - also campd - near me- had seen no fresh trails - Lt Drysdale rode to town - with Dr. visited Smith's camp - didnt have much of one or very good discipline - Dragoons a don't care-a-dr-n set --

Tuesday, April 15. off at 8 1/2 - passed Capt S - who was waiting for packers to bring in lost mule - passed vol-unteers - who were waiting for something - found road very wet - got through brush creek by 12 & got to camp beyond -
by 2. saw no fresh signs - rained most all the way - mended trail some - no accident -- campd at same high rock - N E of 3 sisters - Capt Smith got in an hour and 1/2 after I did - he campd near us - & 2 volunteers came up & brought a note from Capt Bledsoe to borrow 100 lbs of flour - had none lent him 74 - seventy four lbs of hard bread - to be returned at his fort - pleasant night rained a little - express man from orford passed at 9 -- steamer in - no news from oregon

Wednesday April 16. started from high rock at 8 - cut open the trail at places - got to Yucca creek at 12 m - rainy Smith 1/2 hour behind - got into mouth rogue River at 4 - but marched from Yucca creek rate of 2 1/2 miles an hour and some places 3 - Smith in at 5 1/2 - found all right & complimentary notice from Genl Wool - **** eyes pretty badly poisoned - note at fort orford on the 14th Wrote notes to - Capt Jordan & to Major Austin

Thursday, April 17. in at mouth of R River - Col says he wants to start on expedition up the river on 18th - that will be a month less 2 days since we got to other side and we might have gone then - talks of leaving me here.

Friday, April 18. Camp mouth R R! Rainy - Mr Ehrie

Diary-very-indistinct. All written in pencil and badly blurred from age.
getting ready to leave for C-City. I want to have co property taken to orford by direction of Col' Buchanan. I didn't want to do it. I sent for shoes Co desk 4 blankets & some mess furniture for Co - & for self - McE owed me 6.90cts see mess account.

Saturday, April 19. Camp mouth R R --McE left early - Capt. Jg escorts his train with Co F 4th Inf - to be back by 1st prox - McE tells me if chills seize him he will not return.

Sunday, April 20. At camp mouth R R Capt S with 70 men (11 of R - 3d art) left for Pig bend to find new trail 7 days rations. Maj. R left via Southbank River to get good trail to Illinois 7 days Rrs Col getting ready to leave for Orford. I wrote contributn to Harpers¹ - sent it & long letter to Molly - didn't write to Pa as should have done.

Monday, April 21. Camp mouth R R Col left this A M for Orford - I am left in command qith 42 of my A & some 15 or 20 sick & think the Col wont be back soon. Rain P M Drysdale found some.......& wrote.......Sent pay account for April to Molly.

Tuesday, April 22. Camped mouth of Rogue River - hunting mines - think I've found one. Rained at intervals. Dr. Crane

is with us, is quite a clever gentleman. Drysdale and he
mess with me - we live pretty well, with plenty of fresh
meat.

**Wednesday, April 23, 1856.** Camp mouth R.R. - Still amu-
sing myself fishing etc--it rains as usual--no signs of
steamer, very heavy hail storm this day &c

**Thursday, April 24.** Camp mouth of Rogue River - reading
writing & mineralizing - Major R. in this P.M found much snow
in the Mts but got a good trail as far as he went - last night
hailed like the mischief for 15 or 20 minutes & lulled a
while - hail on the ground at 9 this A.M Bledsoe is back--
came to tell us of the successful ambush he laid for Indians
and how he killed 11- ....he called again P M - I am glad
he is successful

**Friday, April 25.** Camp mouth R.R. Nothing new --today--
I am doctoring my poison sent to kill beef Capt. Augur ar-
ried this P.M from orford -- no steamer in -- I think there
is some trouble brewing that keeps her at San Francisco - 5 me
of Ind aha --Cd to be punished for cattle shooting --saw
orders --Augur has a budget of news from Columbia R --Maj
-Allord is at Orford -- out on Wool -- &c &c &c

**Saturday, April 26.** Capt. Smith is in -- at 11 or 12
we had a cold snowy times couldn't find a trail - gave it
up - saw no Indians - I am glad to start tomorrow A.M for
Chetcos to meet the C. city train & bring it in --Augur
starts back to Orford -- I wrote to him sending him sketches
and letter to Molly -- do do to Harpers --

Sunday, April 27. off at 7\textsuperscript{1} -- crossed River & packed by
8 or earlier -- got to Pistol River -- found it too high to
cross at the mouth -- but found ford -- 2 or 3 hundred yards
up -- 8 Indians have passed this A M -- think 6 of en are
women and all from R river -- 2 do -- seen in hills today --
campd on top of long Ridge gold looking place 4 or 5 miles
from Pistol River distance marched 14 miles -- men & officers
got wet -- 1 a m & P M wrote up journal.

Monday, April 28. started from camp on top of Ridge\textsuperscript{2}
4 miles from Pistol C at 7 -- took along ridge in timber
for about 4 mgs then down long mountain up a short do -- both
bare -- to Whaleshd Ranch -- found old mule there (8 Inds passed
on last night) beach 1/3 mile then up a very steep hill
& mud bluff, then in scattered pines -- undulating -- then
down Ridge where my mule wouldn't stand, to beach -- rocky-
here I picked up specimens -- one rock reddish & many rocks &
2 points in sea -- The Island that looks like Whaleshd 1 m
to S up bluff 1 m then beach till opposit Wha Hd then level
1 1/2 m to camp at 4 P M -- distance 18 mgs saw on sand a good
many tracks -- rain all night.

Tuesday, April 29. Rainy a m didn't make a daylight start

\textsuperscript{1}Bancroft, Oregon, Vol.II., p.402.
\textsuperscript{2}Daily Alta California, June 13, 1856.
to surprise, 1 Índs as intended cleared up & got off at 8 A M as soon as crossed ravine saw 3 Ind spies coming towards camp - sent guides after em & followed at double quick - lots more Índs at mouth Chitco 2 - the two were fired at by Walker but they got into rest and stampeded them - they ran some 70 of them - some 20 took hills and brushes north of River - but largest portion got under River bank where thick jungle concealed them from view I with 40 men pursued and kept for 2 miles after 1st party - when they gained and second party was seen crossing with wh boat & gour or three canoes - turned and fired into them - killed and wounded 3 or 4 3 - Then as all appeared to be over, before we could fire a volley on them from top of bank - I returned to Millers burnt house where Lt Switzer had got up with train & killed an Indian I ordered em to make camp 1/2 mile back where was good grass - as we were camping in the rain - Capt Jones & train were discovered coming along bluff 4 on opposite side

1 Victor, F. F., Early Indian Wars of Oregon, p. 407, places this event in the same month as that of the battle of the Mackanoc-tiney. Bancroft, History of Oregon, Vol. II., p. 405, makes the same statement as the above. Gaston, J., Centennial History of Oregon, Vol. I., p. 408, says the men attacked were es-dorting a pack train when attacked near Chitco.

2 San Francisco Herald, May 30, 1856.

3 On maps -- Chetco.

4 The diary is written in pencil here and very hard to read.

Gaston, J., Centennial History of Oregon, Vol. I., p. 408. This account differs slightly from the diary.
of river 2 miles off & then Lt. Switzer requested to be sent after the whale boat to ferry across - Sent him with 10 men and in few minutes started to overtake him with 30 more men - overtook him near bank of River - saw three boatloads of Indians paddling their best up the river - and many more on sand bottom of opposite side - followed them at a killing pace for two miles when they of whale boat took to shore smashing bottom of whale boat before leaving - I then called halt with view of returning but saw with my spy glass that boat was not much hurt - thought could mend it - sent Lt Switzer down bank to get it - in meantime on opposite side party had come up under Mr. Bony Castler we waited for em opposite wh boat and they got it but it had two large holes in bottom got 1/4 mile down river and it sank - then discovered canoe in brushy bank - found lots of grub and baits etc. - in it & an Indian started from the brushes near it to run - two or three shots fired at it & it dropped. Men examined and found had killed Indian and child - only saw flutter of blanket in brush when they fired. Mr. R. landed here and sent canoe down to Capt. J-at mouth - I took my party to mouth of R and captured there three horses a squaw and child - Squaw and child found by a party I sent into brush that lined shore close by where our whole party had to ride the bluff bank of R - Hence
deemed it well to sweep this especially as more Indians were reported in there - - Sent Sergt. Smith in with five men to sweep brush on river bank for two or three hundred yds. from mouth down - he returned and reported no Indians but presently I found that one of his party (hindmost one had come out of brush on bluff with an arrow in him - hence took Sergt. Smith back - put him in again - & got another party from the men who were helping ferry Capt. Jones over - took them in near same place - Sergt. Smith just here only few yards from me was badly wounded by an Indian after both had fired & missed - Smith closed on him - threw him in water - men closed in to help Smith for Indian was getting best of it - broke musket on Indian then shot his brains out - Men hauled Sgrt. S' out of water and got him on my mule & then I took him to camp - by this time Capt. J. had got his train across - & I directed him to camp with me - on examination of the Indians dress etc think he must have been a trper - for he has the marks & valuable head dress only worn by such -

**Wednesday, April 30.** In camp - rained much - mustered at - 4 - had stampede this night - Sentinal fired at something moving in bush - Sergt. S' required to be kept quiet - determined for 2 reasons to not move on tomorrow - rainy night -

**Thursday, May 1st.** Rainy A M - Sergt. S' better think with care he will weather it - shall do my best for him - making litter - and drying things - P M Sergt. worse poor
fellow is sinking fast - So much for this volunteer war against the abused wretches the Diggers.

Friday, May 2nd. A M Sergt died at 2 this A M - is buried at Point of hammock on bluff 2/3 mile from Miller's place - no form or ceremony he was a good and brave man and deserved a better fate - he killed or tried to kill the man who slew him - off for R R - this A M at 7 1/2 slow as tis a long train and very cold - went on the beach. So and next to beach of Elk Creek I found two large Boulders of same ore - think it copper - contains similar ore to specimen tho not in such quantities - marched to long mt - over the woody ridge next said beach and down mud bluff - along beach and up again at Mr. Handly's place - then over mountain and up long mt to camp - distance - 15 ms - campd 4 P.M to start late tomorrow (as tide is high) God willing -

Saturday, May 3. Off at 10 up long mt to timber along ridge for five ms - then turned to coast passed high peak with diggers sign - at foot of which soldiers found gold & went 3 miles down to Pistol found it high at m - & went up to ford - 1/4 m - got men over mounted - then 1 1/2 m on beach then over steep ridge to beach - 1 m then up a steep hill 1 1/2 m & down to ravine with small camp ground in it - camped here - deer was killed - got to camp little before sunset -
distance marched 12 miles --

Sunday, May 4th.  off at 8:30 up ridge one mile - thro timber one mile - then along bare hills - with gold rocks on for two miles then two 1/2 to m of R River distance 7 1/2 miles - crossed Hunters Cr - at ford 1/2 mile up - got to R R at 2 1/2 over with all by dark.

Monday, May 5th.  In camp at mouth R River - Drct R. called and got notes of skirmish at mouth of Chitco - thinks the specimens Iron pyrites - no letters from home yet - Col B not in.

Tuesday, May 6th.  camp mouth of R R Weather pleasant - no signs of Col - In camp mouth of R R - express left for Fort Orford - I sent report to Col B - and asked for some clothing &c -- Capt S. also sent letter reporting that squaws think attack can be had &c -- 3 P M Col arrived with long looked for letters from home - all well thank God Capt Augur & train in - told Col of volunteers having sent two Squaws (as I just learned) to say if the Indians wanted peace they must send in the head of Enos--Col in a rage at it -

Wednesday, May 7th.  camp mouth R R  A M orders brewing for a general move up the river &a - the Col tried his boats & in the P M or night sent 2 squaws up the river in canoe - he gave orders to start up the river tomorrow A M - held sort of council of war as to whether he should notice the doings of the volunteers in sending out squaws and got no advice
except from Capt A --& that, was to take no action - we leave nothing here.

Thursday, May 8. 7 A M start over river to go up My Co Reynolds & Jones ¹ under Col - on South so do Smiths & Angurs on North - Let all over & started up by -- 1 P M Col in great rage because things moved slowly - & no one but himself to blame- we marched about 2 1/2 miles through thickets and along ditch camped on Indian Creek near its mouth pretty camp but - commanded - I was O D - here - company on guard--

Friday, May 9. Started about 7 1/2 up along hill not very steep one mule battery rolled down hill - had an alarm, as friendly Indn seen off the trail men - I told not to shoot or Indian would have caught it we steered South East & East camped near the top and beyond long hill table land near a pond. Mr. Sloan sent us some beef, shall return the favor - the Dr. ran himself out going up hill to report Indians seen to the Col- good camp distance marched 8 ms-

Saturday, May 10. Started about 8 - took along ridge among dwarf pines & wild rocky knobs - course SE by E and bent off to northard & Eastward down said ridge into wooded valley up a steep slope among dense bushes - (out of trail) - Col mad- pioneer do - hot - & long halts - we were three or 4 hours

¹ Daily Alta California, June 13, 1856.
going a mile - turned South & got back to good trail - took up hill (timbered) along the side of do - passing some springs - then rose on ridge found one old trail on top of it and through thick timber followed said trail for three hours at fast walk to camp -- quartz hill, camped near snow - at 6 o.c. - P M distance 12 miles.

**Sunday, May 11.** In camp quartz hill - my prisoner & baby ran off last night Col wouldn't leave her at the fort or guard her here -- serves him right -- the rock here talk - ore state full of quartz veins whole country - jagged mountains - sticking heads up in all sorts of confusion - mostly timber wildest & most forbidding scenes from top of hill near - snow still in spots - this P M commenced to rain - A M took a bath in ice cold water - men are popping all around hope no indians near to pop me bathing Major R off cutting trail 2 indians gone too to reconnoitre

**Monday, May 12.** Quartz Hill Camp - foggy A M pleasant P M - Capt Jones gone to cut trail - which for 1st 2 miles goes back thro U defenses read and slept today - looked around camp found snow - at 1st. hill - read old letters and wondered when campaign over - No news from Inda our flag-bearer promised to be back today - P M Col quite low spirited - Jones got to top of high hill -- Walker saw 1 man and 2 horses (one 8 ----)

**Tuesday, May 13.** off at 7 - Bs in front - good trail
miles then my men had to cut some - got to spur as rose it
Looney seen coming down hill Col quite pleasant and little
saucy - think old fellow if he' gets through this campaign
all right will be disposed to put on airs is little so now -
and disposed to be unamiable has made enemies of most all
the officers already. I dont think him very terrible-
campt on "Loony" Spur I wrote Cutting that P M

Wednesday, May 14. Loony Spur off with 30 men at
6 1/2 A M to open trail cut 5 or 6 hours - Genl course N &
N E by N bad ground - Col told guides to go one way and I
found fault with them afterwards for doing it. Tichnor
sauced him back - 12 m. Maj R went on cutting - had easier
trail to N E end of Spur overlooking Illinois & R R valley --
Mountains wilder - more confused & picturesque --campt at
N W side of Spur in pine grove - distance 8 or 9 miles very
pretty camp and plenty of Deer around saw Smiths Camp from
Spur and saw Illinois & R R

Thursday, May 15. A M Capt. J off to cut trail, start
at 10 A M lent Tichnor-a-Rifle- went down steep mountain, red
clay & grassy 2 1/2 miles to River - got to it at 12,
crossed by - 6 P M and went one mile up Illinois to camp
on oak flat --

Friday, May 16. in Camp oak flat - went around little
& fixing up tent & c - P M 10 Indians came in Chitco - Yuca
Creek - &c had grand wawa - all in a ring - Col told em they
must &c &c &c they all agreed - not a very pleasant looking
Saturday, May 17. in camp oak flat - wrote to Jas G Bennett as to Campaign & talk - rec'd orders to be off tomorrow for Pt Orford to be back by 29th inst to bring 25 days rations & 20 days flour for 200 Inds (to try & get Muscle) Creek Indians in - and to bring out Pay M to bring out Palmer, do do. Cols Rations out on 30th P.M. 2, sick -3 Blacksmiths along.

Sunday, May 18. Starting at 9 A.M - Hillman & Bony Castle in mess with me - Drysdale in place of Lt Ehrie - got letters writ - to Molly - Got to R.R. & found lots of wild looking Indians on opposite side - thought they kept under cover and acted very suspiciously - but put a bold face on matters and called to them to send me a couple of canoes and to help me over this they did at once but still quite a number of them kept in a strong position commanding the crossing with arms in their hands & when I directed Mr. D to cross in the two boats with Indo paddling & 6 soldiers - this seemed to give the men my confidence - and they gathered around to look or help but presently a shot was fired up the R & they - in single file left for brush as Indians were coming from the river - then I put my men nearly all over and they still did not show any signs of hostility but plenty of caution & sus-

1 Pencil begins here.
picion till I received word that "George" the notorious and bitter Indian Chief of the valley Indians was on the bank opposite and was very anxious to talk with me - I waited quietly & went over with his messengers & found my man & sent George to come but he sent me to come - & after some display of form I went right in the midst of his armed band alone & had over my talk and marched to Soldiers Camp on top of hill.

Monday, May 19. Went to camp on top of 2nd ridge camp near Tichnor got lost 18 ms--

Tuesday, May 20. Went to camp near Bark Shanty - on slope of Hill - spits of timber & c and trail turned off to Mc Nootnya--Marched 18 or 19 ms.

Wednesday, May 21. A M Tichnor missed trail - Drysdale on it some delay marched in to Orford 23 or 24 miles -- rode men thro brush creek - roads bad much over grown with brush and timber - Some steep hills - lost one animal fault of the Govt Packers --

Thursday, May 22. In at Orford making muster Rolls &c --

Thursday do do !

Friday, May 23. Started to rain P M under Mr. Drysdale'

On account of a long entry the days of the week were scratched out and rewritten in pencil. Hence two Thursday entries.
wrote letters to Jas G. Bt in which promised to deal next with care -- & pay & duty of officers -- bot 7.25 beef & for mess -- owe Mr. McFeely bill some 6 or 8 dols.

Saturday, May 24. at 7 A M & over took fift at Orford making Muster Rolls. train on Ridge-Sargt H & Pvt of H Co - back both drunk - pushed on trail muddy and raining got to camp 1 1/2 m South of Yucca Crossed Yucca above mouth - Tichnors cut off is best in dry weather & shortest - this night Sergt H got in & next A M sent Mr. Whitman for Pvt - Gen P joined us Sgt. H arrested came 1 m. South of Yucca Creek ---

Sunday, May 25. Sgt. H arrested - Mr. Whitman goes to Half Breeds - going to mouth of R - to cross - got to R at 12 1/2 launched boat at 2 - got all over by 8 oclock & camped Mr. W - got in fr Half Breeds at 3 - house burnt no signs of man on either trail - rained most all day - issued - Rations of sug & coffee, 200 took boat over one canoe on each side hauld up. Gen Palmer gone on to Illinois across R R. camped at mouth on flat.

Monday, May 26. Men all have 3 days coffee & sugar, including today - off at 8 1/2 - good time considering - Dwyer; Edge & one other man sick -- West of and near Indian Creek 2 mules in trying to pass each other - rolled off turn round
the rocky point & both drown'd - cargo of pork, do of flour self ---- another mule ran cargo pork against tree & cut he self badly - pork left - road much cut and very bad & deep mud - pushed on to former camp near top of Ridge - distance marched 10 miles camped at 2 oclock and very tired mules and men do - delayed 2 hours at mud swamp Ind-Greek PM at camp Sloan gave us the beef - good camp, think Genl Palmer campd in spot of woods little further on near grass pond.

**Tuesday, May 27.** this camp is the one near grass pond broke camp top of River and Hunters Cr - Ridge at 8 am took up line of march high mount - East - & passed between two high rocks - then turned N E. down mountain into woods - one mile N E through woods across small stream and up bushy hill along same East 1/2 mile turned South E & down into valley across from creek up long spur course south for 1 m then turned East again - along side of hill for 1 m. then four or 5 miles East & tr S & S E - through woods most of way - & good trail - to turn off then north for 7 or 8 miles - to camp "Looney coming down the hill got in at 5 1/4 - distance about 19 or 20 miles - 125 lbs of Bacon & 84 of bread issued Bread tonight 5 days bread due and 20 lbs Bacon due -----

**Wednesday, May 28.** Started at 8 1/2 or 9 - got to camp
Sits cot farm & rested - went to Illinois - 2 1/2 -
camped & recd - news of fight of Smith¹ & c at Big Bend
that things looked squally - kept alive & sharp look out
all night & slept just 1/2 an hour - this was camp Tichnor
fell out of patent boat because boat broke.

Thursday, May 29. off at 6 - after packing from 3 A M -
left old boat frame - had rough march 3 or 3 1/2 miles to
R R & ferried across - by 12. very tired & sleepy - camp broke
& all hands started by 2 1/2 had very rough cutting along
precipice & got 2 1/2 mis & campd in dirty & rough little
woods big trees shaped like a top - and every body disgust-
ed. This is Camp Drysdale fetched in a note.

Friday, May 30. Left camp at 8 or 9 - & very slowly
marched along bottom of River bluff² over rocks &c. - to
Big Bend - found Capt S & A fight over two days - had had
hard time 36 hours engaged with between two & 3 hund Inds
Capt S lost in all 10 killed & 19 wounded was without water

¹ San Francisco Herald, Wednesday June 18, 1856.
² Victor, F. F. Early Indian Wars of Oregon, p.408
Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, p.215
to this account Chief John surrendered to Capt. Smith and
Joel Palmer Superintendent of Indian Affairs and his last
battle according to the same account was between Capt. A. J.
Smith and Capt. Augur.

Walling, History of Josephine, Douglas, Curry and
on spur of hill—3 Inds. boys helped much (1 of them killed)
P.M. George & Limpo people—specially women came in
George much dejected—in all—100 womn &—35 men & several children.

Saturday, May 31. At camp Big Bend—slept badly—P M a few of Georges band came in, the volunteers under a Maj-Sat
foot arrd from above—hard looking set—they camd little below us & some of them came to camp & talked big and made
threats—I went on as O.D—this P M and had—36 men &
3 non comm officers—asked Col for McEhrle & he thought
hed let me have him in case of detachment.

Sunday, June 1. last night had alarm sentinal fired

Coos County, p. 190, states, "acts of Limpy and John have become in a great measure confounded".

Capt. Ord's diary places the battle of Smith & Augur on 26th and 27th of May and the actual coming in of Chief George and Limpo's people on the evening of May 30. He does not say at this time John came in.

Daily Alta California, June 19. This account says George and Limpy and John came to Smith's camp. George and Limpy surrendered but John refused and later attacked Capt. Smith.

Ink from here on.
at something - Lt S told me all about the fight twas a case of over much confidence Capt S acted with great coolness - but may be too much care not to begin the fight in the delicate state of negotiations with the Indians - who fought like tigers - Capt S & Lt S & Capt A behaved well - so did the men who of Smith's compy were badly armed ---.

**Monday, June 2, at camp Big Bend.** - a few Indians came in - came in today - George & his people are growing less uneasy - George is coming into our tents & eating & chatting - the women are sickly overworked half naked - boys - except a few girls - the men are wild looking & dark with odd garments stripd from the mines and packers they have killed at various times some 18 or 20 Rifles (good) have been given up the volunteers under Bledsoe in from F Orford and I got letters. all pretty well thank God

**Tuesday, June 3.** Some Indians skulking in brush of opposite shore. Camp at Big Bend Col tells me he will send me, & Co - with Cog E, & H & perhaps the voils - to tower Ranches -(tal tas tenees & too-too-they) to - get them & some canoes - but I don't think I shall be able to go - Quien Sabe, for I have slept wet last two or three nights and have rheumatism **** worse than usual. Col is quite a thermometer, & has got an idea - we must have canoes & friendly.

---
Inds to carry in sick Col is at last in need of the volunteers & trying to coax them to help us - Bledsoe is quite willing Sambo sent to talk to Galise Creek & Cow Creeks.

Wednesday, June 4. Camp at Big Bend Genl Palmer quite efficient in talking peace to Indians -AM & Capt - A- Maj- R- and Bledsoes vols off A - for near mouth of R R1 - Bledso to cross & cooperate with him & Reynolds to burn the tal tas tny village and to bring up canoes &c quite a unique order A - has to "disarm or punish," the hostiles - hope they will have good luck but as there are quite a number of Indns - on the watch on opposite bank of R and they made signals as soon as these commands started - quin sabe

Thursday, June 5. Camp Big Ben - Genl P - talks to some Inds oppost and they say they will go up river and cross to us - it rained in showers last 3 or 4 days - 2 Inds came in - had salmon and Elk meat - Sambo returned says there are 24 men & their families up a little ways - & they are bringing in the wounded chief (on their backs) as fast as may be country is rough - "John" is said to be in a strong place expecting attack from us, we guided by George - guns heard down the river - and quite an anxiety felt. Col begins to feel uneasy
about Augur & Tichnor in & express this A M from Orford.

Friday, June 6. Good news today - last night Reynolds had a fight - burned village of Shasta costas - attacked some canoes that were at the McGuly traps & dams & killed 4 Indians - one squad - and he then went on & camped at mouth of Illinois - the cache of bread &c is untouched - this P M news from Bledsoe and Augur - had each attacked Indians - camped at the marked Rock - 12 or 15 miles below - first had killed 7 and 2d 8 Indians - had captured 4 canoes - and a dozon women & children - the men behaved well & took Indians by surprise I am glad Bledsoe had done so well 2 of his men were shot by some of Augurs party from opposite side - by mistake the Col is quite elated, and thinks we will all soon be able to go in - separate despatch came from Augur & Bledsoe - I am glad I didn't go down for I should have attacked before daylight and many women & children would have been killed, for twice the treacherous attack on Capt Smiths command the men are disposed to kill all--

Saturday, June 7. I sat up late last night writing to Jas. G B - an account all of the wawa & 3 fights - besides I gave the stuff a touching up - as to our supply of shoes - suits &c - and the general management of army affairs - think it will make a noise - this A M at 10 express left - sent the account via Molly - and to-day Gen Lamerick and 50
volunteers came into our camp - Genl is a spunky little fellow one or two more Inds in, Joe Lane back yesterday - thinks our firing has scared the Galise Creeks off - with Lamerick are Inds from Reservation & their account of matters there has produced quite an agreeable excitement among the Siewashed - who crowd around the newcomers and ask any quantity of questions - P M every one playing - ball or some game. the Inds gathered in a circle crowd of soldiers around - and their mimic wardance --began some dozen or more shoulder to dhooulder singing and beating time with their feet - - tis a pretty moonlight night and the secluded mountain gourges ring with the reverbarated whoops from the dancers - at the same time and but a few yards off from under the crowd of brush huts and low blanket tents issues the never-ending melancholy wail of the squaws in mourning - from the officers tents - lights gleam thro & the merry song & chorus resounds of Capt Evans Oh or (other song)

*Sunday, June 8. A M hot as mischief **** Sweitzer starts for below to get canoes, has his Co and 18 Inds to get back this P M may be - Ehrle made good pistol shots & got beef from volg - Col seems under the weather - had cold last night - at 2 P M a lot of Inds - 4 men 9 squaws and some children came limping and crying (these squaws) into camp - a girl*
12 years was drowned coming down the river - poor devils - the decrepit and half-blind old women are a melancholy sight - to see - to think of collecting such people for a long journey through an unknown land - no wonder the men fight so desperately to remain - after they have driven all the white settlers too out of it - it almost makes me shed tears to listen to them wailing as they totter along - one old woman bringing up the rear, her nakedness barely covered with a few tatters - and barely able to walk - they had been a long time getting here and many of them have lost all they had by the capsising of the canoe. Some others were near drowning - the girl was on the back of a man who was swimming ashore with her - he had a boy, too - the girl was washed off - canoe smashed as it went over the rapids -

Monday, June 9. Camp big bend This A M 22 Ind came in 6 bucks - Lt Sweitzer - with his Co started down along shore to escort wounded to Reynolds camp. The wounded in five canoes, paddled by Inds & charge of Dr Crane go by the river - hope they will not be fired on and will get in all safe - P M the forces of Gen'l Lameric came in in detachments are pretty fierce looking - his is quite a fighter - and seems in earnest - made his acquaintance to-day - he wants his people to pitch in - sweeping the country below on both
sides the river Col B begs him not as twill interfere with his plans - now I dont believe that, for yesterday I heard Col B say "that if Gen L wanted to pitch in to lower Indians he the Col shouldnt object - the truth is Col is jealous for fear the vols should take the final credit of closing the war off his hands -- & this same jealousy was the cause of Capt S being sent on a fools errand & being nearly cut off - Maj Bruce - & 100 vols in

**Tuesday, June 10.** leave camp Big Bend A M - I in rear vols going down - wrote via Jacksonville to Molly - last night - Indians who took down wounded came back as do wounded in OK, at mouth of Illinois town Inds want to come in --have been in to Reynolds, old Col quite compromising &c &c with Lamerick - who is not going to humbug - we marched down river 2 ms & turned up a steep hill, at mouth of creek rather tough on the old squaws - one old fellow & his wife already behind - poor old woman begins to fall down before we begin to climb the mountain & she broke down entirely short distance up - I mule rolled down over hundred yards - old man "Limpy" went and got a horse - old squaw fell off - I then took her in front of me - pretty hard to stand it - we were tired when
got to camp top of hill and I was quite sick on the road - gave up my mule to lame girl and broken down old squaw - girl quite childishly happy - first time may be in her life she has had so much kindness shown her

Dr. Crane and Metcalf and Genl Lamerick came up from Reynolds - had talk.

**Wednesday, June 11.** Marched from camp top of first Illinois hill to the soldiers camp - where got news from Augur and his lot of lower Indians - who are crowding on him - he wants another co - thinks old John too near - the crowd of party coloured Indians - packed squaws children & soldiers - a queer looking train - some of the old folks had packs and sweated under them awfully. It was this day I was sick and gave up my mule to the lame girl - Mr. Hillman gave me his - we got to Soldiers or Elk camp at 1 1/2 P M Yesterday found Tichnor at camp and ---- ---- from Molly - this from home at Monterey and this P M as Col sent express in I answered both - the communication from Augur is easy. Col recd - and sent two messages & my howitzer to him - I suggested to send notice of John's vicinity to Reynolds but Col flew off the handle and seemed to think I meant to insinuate had forgotten him - as he had - said volunteers were between John and Indians & it so happened John came down the river that day passing volunteers and regulars and if he chooses can attack later at great advantage --

**Thursday, June 12.** Still in soldiers camp - Col quite de-
lighted at accounts of number of Indians at Augurs camp - Genl Palmer, returned from there today - says they 341 strong will be up - sure enough here they come heavily packed the Col sent word that olf squaws and beaver traps better go down the river in canoes - or Augur arranged it message for Reynolds to send Switzen down the river in canoes if he can get em, with wounded and they let em go up to Or- ford do as think its trusting wounded too much to luck - but Col. does good deal of trusting to luck went round and took a look at the new Siwashes - our camp after sunset from top of hill has quite a funny look - Inds fires gleaming through the gaps of underwood like candles in rat holes surrounded by juvenile bushes - tonight dutchmen in the deep shadows of forest - singing about vater land - indians gathering for a big dance old squaws and children are singing their mournful wail, or howling the medicine song over sick babes.

Friday, June 13. 2 Off at 6 1/2, 6 1/2 hundred Inds - expect a tedious march but got in at 2 1/2 one child died, one born, at Lobster Creek distance to camp near Lobster Ck 8 mi express Cantwell in - boat gone down before he got in, my letter to Molly I hope is gone too - with the communica-

---San Francisco Herald, June 28, 1856.

2 Pencil from here on.
tion to J G B - news from Oregon not very cheering, i e - that "Nez perces going to join the Yakimas -- hope it is only a rumor, to get more.

Saturday, June 14. Off at 6 1/2 in advance - marched 11 miles to camp on hill 3 miles S E of Halfbreeds I in advance - trail pretty good - air serene & clear got to camp at 2 1/2 this P M got orders to take B & H Cos Maj Rs to mouth of Rogue River - drew Rs for 51 men for 10 days from 15th send - Privt Jones - Fredeeking - Edge & Cashman to Ft Q - tomorrow & I with Reynolds Co - 50 strong & mine 47 - strong & 5 of Switzers men start for mouth of R-R- to receive Indians, kept awake most all the night by - the medicine making & howling.

Sunday, June 15. off at about 8 - for R River - offered Reynolds the command - as the party was of drift Corps "& a detachment from main body for a special purpose" - but he declined it - & I think I have done just right - had pleasant days ride got to R River at 4 P M and found Lamerick & 200 men on S side River - mouth of Indn camp - he came to see me - said he would send parties out after John - & would may be send 50 to Orford - that Bruce & Bledsoe were down after Chitco 40 strong and he was quite anxious to say he had met " & sent in a number of the Indians now here - he will claim then as his captives - found some 150 Indians scattered on the
beach the sick suffering from cold & want of shelter.

**Monday, June 16.** At camp mouth R R counted some 165 Inds of all sizes got 3 beefves & issued 1/4th to each Co & some to Inds & they are pretty much like the rest, but more to eat & some of them good looking - the tootneys have the asiatic eyes - and but few sick or old Jenny is quite a good looking girl and smart - they look quite hostile - Lameric came to camp - Says the Indians of 4 - they took & sent to Chetcos, are on Pistol River fortified & say they will fight before coming in - & he has sent 40 men to help them that Bruce has probably had a fight with them early this A M - it is cold & pretty clear.

**Tuesday, June 17.** In camp Mouth Rogue River 2d edition - wind high - Tichnor in this A M with letters & to send sick off, Dr. Crane with Lt. Switzer & about 65 men included - 26 of Cos B & H 3rd A - left at about 1 P M - Volunteers sick man left vols - wouldn't send to carry him - the Indians too tootneys are in a bad place subject to too many vols. must move em - P.M. Mr. Ehrie arrived this P M lost his way - passed Switzers camp at sunset didn't know who was there - he goes back tomorrow - we have a fine table - milk - fish & potatoes & the finest beef - men in pretty good health - rumors are rife at Orford that Regulars have had a fight & lost it - the wish

---

Ink begins here.
of the oregonians is father to the rumor — this climate is pleasanter than big bend — enjoyed Mr. Arnold as interpreter at $3 per day & ration —

Wednesday, June 18. today Lameric & Hart crossed to my side of the River — A M. sent off Indians for some others on Hunters Cr — this is the third party I have sent out — & at 1 or 2 P M — 6 men 9 women & 8 children came in — boy went back for 8 others — Too tostney Tyee, is off up the River to the Cosay teny ranches for some saddles — Mr. Whitman arrived with train of provisions, he has 25 animals & balance of 10 days rations for Co B — & 18 boxes hard bread for the Indians — gave two out today — and 2 quarters of beef — 1 box & 1/4 to each set — Indians in today say two of them were killed yesterday — Some Vols from below this P M — say they pitched in to the Chetcos — killed 3 — don't know if squaws — or not — & made 15-20 prisoners — sunset 1 man 5 women & 3 children came in — total today 31 ± 165 — old Tyee — back & his band moved under sentinals.

Thursday, June 19. Camp mouth R River 2d Edn — A M Issued 3 boxes hard bread to Inda — sent Foster & Walker out hunting — sent to old Fort to find pack saddles — weather still windy it seems the Vols killed but 2 Inda at Pistol River — & the whole of them made no resistance but lay down when the Vols rushed in and then came the quarrel whether or not they should

Ink begins here
be killed - took the census - of the Inds 242 total about
70 men - 1 man died today - of Inds killed 2 beeses - had
strawberries and milk at dinner, wrote this P M to Judge
Thompson & Ord - must write Senator Welln - and to the
herald.

Friday, June 20. 1 Camp R River 2d edn quite pleasant,
but wind still N W - some of the Vols - are coming in from
Chetco - the Vols - are not very well pleased Lameric called
with staff Get-some-2-mere-beeves-from-up-the-river- & a bot.
of Brandy from Genl. Lameric - went up to see the vols - are
pretty rough set - Bledso the best man among em is back
from Chetco & sick, says he will have such canoes as he cant
conceal destroyed -- G L - says tomorrow or next day most of
his men will leave & go up the river - & big Regt ---- ----
he goes to Ft O with Reynolds & & the Co of B - - brings in
the 25 Chetco prisoners - I gave orders this P M to have the
mules ready A M tomorrow to go -

Saturday, June 21. Camp R. River 2d edn - at 6 A M 15 c
- canoes pushed through the surf safely & I off at 9 - long
string of Inds ahead Tootooney Tyee couldn't get his 2 horses
vols had captured em old man mad - his daughter Jenny do - do-
gave her a mule & quieted both - took old man long time to

1 Pencil begins here.
get on his horse & short time to get off as horse tossed him - got him another and off -- Indn women packing the mules - thick set sturdy packers - they are - land party stopd - said twas too rough & the packing women were tired & the old were sick & one old man was dead & they would go on to Mollout but I sent Drysdale and Foster over to em, to say the vols were voming & they must push on - which they did suddenly - but it was a sorry sight to see - fat & lean staggering along - the old too tottering under heavy burdens - I stopd packtrain & relieved the most of them - Inds kept on the beach after, crossing Yucca Creek and stopd at burnt house above 3 Sisters boats are on the beach below us.

**Sunday, June 22,** this P-M got dispatches and mail 2 letters from Molly. I left early having read orders to stop command at the "Noma Mr Rinehardt" and recd notice of my Cos being ordered to Bia as soon as it can be spared - think its best to go & see about both, rode fast with Foster got in at 10 1/2 and found Col. in bad humor - he took exception to my writing to Qmr Mr 1 & not reporting to him - and then talked as if my private letters might have left idea on genl Wce that he B - had been deceived - then spoke of piece in S F Herald - told him it probably a compilation - & partly

---

The whole of this entry is very indistinct.
from my letters as it had copied one - then the Col. was
more polite - but said I'd have to go on reserve with 2d de-
tachd ----PM thought it over and came to con --------I cant
but ---- --if crooks came in ---- ---- vols(Lameric &
officers) talk of hanging Inds  Sent for Maj R to come in if
he could - got letters out to brother S & Judge & to change
em - wrote to both next day -

Monday. June 23. Men of my & Reynolds Cos in at M-
campd on hill - the canoes got in at last P.M (16) with 125
Inds about as many more inds with R - some old ones still on
road - Lameric & Officers - in - every one seemed on a small
spree - Col. Sanguine that John will be in tomorrow at Rine-
hardts & I am to go meet him². Col quite polite - asked me
to dine - Clary polite too - this PM thought about resigning
wonder if could get enough to do - concluded had better hold
on as there is a prospect of war with abroad - things look
squally as to CentralAg & C wrote to Molly that - Buck
would spare me when there was nothing more to do - expect to
be the last to leave - drew pay from Maj. Coffees Ck for
June - 56 - 11156  lent W Arnold - Interpreter - ten dollars-
paid Coma bill, bought tobacco for Co 15 - 2250 (to McFeely

1  Senatorial documents, 34th Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol 3, p. 156.
2  This indicates Ord. was sent to receive the surrender of
Chief John as the diary later indicates very clearly.
to date) this P M at sunset Col B had quarrel with Gen L &
told me he wouldn't let him hang Inds I talked to both and -
B said I wouldn't leave till M -

Tuesday, June 24. This A M up at 5 - ready at 6 - Col
B not up had to call twice on him to see if he wanted me -
said no - then had to get more mules and after all had to
hunt up Indian Bill and get him a mule - Cog left at 9 or 10 -
I got off at 11 with Bill - rode fast delightful day - 3 ill
behind - quite pleased - seen smooth canoes going up with
alct cos Met vols with Inds prisoners - 28 - bill ahead but
not afraid overtook men at Brush Creek & got to camp at 4 -
Reynolds in at 8 1/2 - camped in a sort of basin - good water
and grass but not very good place to defend - best I could
find - gave Arnold & bill some co H Rations -

Wednesday, June 25. Camp back of Rinehardts - sent out
scouts & found fresh mule tracks on hill back of camp - had
seemed to have come in & gone back this P M - kept men on
trail most all day & scouts out P M punished Corps of guard
for carelessness - men seem generally careless as to guard
duty - must stir em up a little - my Co - best in the field -
Reynolds - O D - read papers find matters are received in se-
rious light at home & people dont care what happens - about
time to think of fighting - rainy tonight
Thursday, June 26. Camp Rinehardts - expecting Jon Steemer seen going down - day cleared off some Scouts out saw nothing - in at dark - had small brush covers built for cook fires - Wind N W & getting tired of this place.

Friday, June 27. Pleasant A M tho foggy - sent Capt & five men to top of hill 1/2 mile who at M reported two Inds on horseback - These came in & were Jim (bills cousins) & a boy of Johns band named "Samsom," Say Johns people had begun to cross R R yesterday at M & they came on to let us know it - that all are coming - but 1 man is wounded and many women & children sick so they are slow, may be in tomorrow or next day - Sent express to Orford - Whitman with letters and papers &c

Saturday, June 28. A M Clear - Oregon papers dont confirm Rumors as to Col Wright - He is having grand wawa with Kamia-kin - they pitch on Gen W & to Col B - up in the correspondences of one V C F, from Orford - A M 10 oclock sent Indian Bill off to meet his father & with him sent Dobson & Arnold as far as Yucca Creek & they got back this P M. Also Walker from Ft O - W brings news that if yes will go by steam maybe 1

1 Pencil ends and ink begins.
will take the return steamer home

Sunday, June 29. A M the train came to my camp & brought 6 boxes paid bread and rations for one day - Bco 51 men & H 63 - no beef sent sent word to Col for one day's rations and started party down towards Rogue River for beef - quite anxious all day for return of P M who left with anxiety - 5 P M Indians reported coming over distant hill - sent Dobson & Jim to meet em - Dobson came in with Bill Jim & two youths says the rest are slow & somewhat tired - he reports squaws & all are behind & the men had a talk on hill top as to what was expected of them - presently calls for Dobson - who went short way up the hill & here comes a long file of fierce looking fellows - in paint & feathers each with a fine rifle - & at their head steps sternly & erect & hard faced grisly thin old man - in shirt sleeves & a small rimmed old hat on top of his Head - its "old John" - I know at sight! - I advanced a short distance up hill from camp alone and shook hands with him & led the file to my tent in center of my camp - where one by one as they came up - they laid down their rifles - some rather with a look of defiance - took John into my tent.

Victor, F. F., Early Indian Wars of Oregon, p. 414, says Chief John surrendered to Smith. Report on Indian Affairs #94 does not mention to whom John surrendered but merely says he surrendered but the Reports make it clear that John did not surrender at the time that George and Limpy surrendered to Smith.
after having the arms delivered up and gave him a drink - then issued bread &c and the Indians were sent to their camp which I pointed out. Still out a dozen or so of Johns men

Monday, June 30. beef came in - there are 37 men 90 women and maybe 100 children - they keep to themselves - news from Orford - John to stay here or not going in till Wednesday shall be off & go half way tomorrow - Indians this P M are getting more sociable - old John still stern & unsociable went to their camp & looked at sick man - this band has but few old & infirmed - their guns have been much used - are good.

Tuesday, July 1. Started for Orford - In at 7 A M Inds travel well reached the camp North of Brush Cr at 10 camped there & sent two Inds and one interpreter to Orford - as the Inds appear uneasy - Cantrell came to camp, gave out the last beef, & hard bread to the Inds.

Wednesday, July 2. off early & in town by 9 1/2 campd over on the beach - with John and his people the camp is windy but cool & may be pleasanter than town - Col quite jolly talked of his prisoners and read letter stating to Adjt Genl that war was over & he had 1500 prisoners of war - or Captives & sundry arms, the arms part to Wool

Thursday, July 3. Camp No Beach - Ft Orford got Rations for 4 days 184 Rs for Inds - Col had more talk with John.

Friday, July 4. Guns booming wrote to Molly Sch - goes tomorrow

Saturday, July 5. In camp at Ft Orford - north beach - quite windy

Sunday, July 6. Camp at No Beach Ft Orford went to point of rocks for muscles - quite bold wild shore, had old John to lunch & dinner Smith came in & was rather surprised to find him there - quite windy &c. Mc & Doctr G dined with us bad nights rest night mares &c.

Monday, July 7. High Wd 10 P M - Steamer in & letters from Monty - none from Molly - bad night letter from Hardee & Riteman Co Return of May-

Tuesday, July 8. Capt Dall breakfasted in in camp went aboard Steamer to see Old George & Limpy off lunched there returned & got papers - find politics & fanatics quite thriving - shouldn't wonder if the two combined got us in trouble at home may be SO & NO by the laws steamer off at 3 or 4-

Wednesday, July 9. A M Inds anxious to go 1 - P M Maj R got orders to start & I left camp for town with Co - Mule

fell down & rolled on me as I was riding down hill - & hurt my leg badly - must nurse it some or shall suffer - Got otter skin $25 owe Mac Feely $5 - commenced Mess 9 with him & Dr must write up docs tomorrow - owe Hall 7$.

Thursday, July 10. In Ft-0 laying up a little on acct of leg. P'M arrested Sgt H - for drunkenness - when it was time to mount the guard -

Friday, July 11. In at Ft 0 - leg better - packing - boxd up Co stuff - P M arrested Corpl - Kane - drunk at guard mount - did not know whether the guard had mounted or not - reported he was just going to march it on after it had marched on -

Saturday, July 12. in Ft-0 paid all bills and got $30 Co funds for Sale of Bacon


Monday, July 14. On Str Columbia pleasant & wind fair, Fielding - Krugger McGinnis sick - Mahoney, Mutschler - Powers - arrived at San Francisco at 7 P M Sent Co to Presidio with Mr Thrate - slept at Robt Thompsons proceeded to Benicia

Pencil begins here

Tuesday, July 15. Went with Co B to (Sweet Molly) Benicia Cal and home again—I thank God — found all well — all, means Molly — arrived in time for tea — at Mrs Masons till the 20th P M

Wednesday, July 16. At Benicia not very well—excitement of field service and the calm after its over is apt to produce a little fever — quite tired — the Co Property note all right Drysdale & my bows gone, wrote to Dale about em gone —

Thursday, July 17. At Benicia — making muster rolls & c— part of D Co — assd — with B — counted propty & c — news came of Genl Wa — being sick — rode to town found Molly had saved $100 — owe $50 to mess Turner & Co — for Jones —

Friday, July 18. At Benicia — Arranging to issue the Co preparing for duty — men good — PM news that Genl is better & that I must go South — to fix site for Post & c called on Wm McCale & Jones —

Saturday, July 19. At Benicia Cal. Gave Lyons his money 49$ — Rafferty asks for 7$ — walked with Molly to the ordnance & Molly got bonnet by dint of a little persuasion — busy at Rolls wrote to Qm Mst that my returns must be deferred — sent Muster Rolls.

Sunday, July 20. Got my orders to go South to select site
of Post near Sr Bernardino must see if tis wanted - find good ground for wood water health buildg mats - and see that the land is not claimed or if claimed rent not high - must see if the people really require troops & cast transportation.


Steamer Seabird

The remainder of the diary is devoted to the voyage to San Pedro and investigations as to the location of a Post.
Prvt Report of Expedition to and Battle of the Mackanoot- e-
nay Village.

On 26th at 8 1/2 A M I left camp at the Mouth of Rogue River
with Cos B 3d Art - Capt Ords - Lt. Drysdale in charge 55
strong and Co E 4th Inf - Capt Jones & 58 men of these two
Cos 30 were recruits who joined Buchanan a day or two before
the Command left Crescent City.

I was guided by a Mr. Walker good man a mile or two up
the coast thence N E over bald hills, for 2 or 3 miles & we
then ascended a steep mountain very hard on the men who car-
rried blankets & provisions --- thence we went N W along the
top of the ridge & turned down Ridge on East side and fol-
lowed trail through thick woods over some steep ridges by a
very obscure trail or trail path which led up a Southeast
course along down a bare ridge to the Mack-a-nootenay vil-
lage - distance marched 11 miles over as rough ground as I
ever crossed - reached the village about 2 o'clock - & found
it had been but just vacated & a fire still burned in some
of the huts - well built walls - & thatched Rooves over deep
square excavations. I counted 11 of them all in a line
facing the River - all situated on a pretty little River bot-
tom - This bottom was only about a hundred yards wide & 2
hundred long - wooded hills sloped to it in the rear & a
Spur of the mountain (wooded on the upper bank with thick willow Coppice on the lower flank facing the river & the river about 70 or 80 yards wide. Quite deep & Rapid -high timbered mountains coming down to the water-side on the opposite side - see sketch - near to and at East or upper end of meadow was a knoll bank on the sides, (as were the slopes that led up to the timbered Ridges in rear of & to the East of the village) but, this knoll had timbers & brushes on its top - hence before I commenced firing the town I marched Capt. Jones Company through the edge of timbers rear of town - filed them left when in the willows and kept them there in extended order from the River to Timber - Lt Drysdale I placed also in open order in the timber in rear of village - advanced guard which 2 of their number fired the town, lay down in rear of burning houses & a guard of twelve men were left in the timber to cover places where left mules & Blankets & c 2 men I sent to wooded knoll, as the houses burned I watched Indians on opposite side of bald mountain 1/2 mile up the River & soon saw they were signalling to others crossing & crossed and seeing from which flank they were coming I at once saw that if I let the Indians get to the edge of the timber next the village, to north & East I would be cut off & hemmed in by their very
commanding position so I ordered Capt Jones to go double quick with his Co - to timbered Ridge to NE of town - above blankets - Lt Drysdale I ordered to face to the right keep in the timber and go double quick & reinforce guards I left to cover blankets - & I took the advance guard and at double quick made for the knoll - Mr - Drysdale was quite near his station & got there about the time Indians came down with a yell on the guard over blankets & this guard stampeded towards the village. I met them and turned them back & with the advance charged up into the knoll & drove out some Indians who occupied it these ran for where they supposed their friends were at Blankets - but being exposed to cross fire from men on knoll & at blankets had a bad time of it - think I formed the advanced guard and other I had within knoll & charged by repeatedly sending the men down the side of knoll & up the opposite slope into the timber on top of wooded spur driving the Indians out of this by this time Capt. Jones (who had been too far from his destined ridge to reach it before the Indians did ) had urged his men up the bare slope in front of the enemy and driven them out of the timber on that ridge so that we had driven them from all their positions & I then directed Capt Jones to reinforce the men on the Spur - by skirting around in the timber, this spur commanded the crossing to which the Indians had fled & as they crossed in
their canoes three more were killed besides the five which they left dead & in our possession. The firing except a shot now and then from Indians on opposite side had ceased, some shots were fired from men on spur into groups across the River & two or three squaws were shot but it was getting near Sun Set I could not camp in the village bottom for it was too nice a box to be caught & shot at for me to stay there & there was no water by the trail (& but one trail) nearer than three miles men were very much exhausted had been marching, burning houses & fighting for eight or more hours and wanted rest so I called them all in from their positions saw they had all the traps & we started up the bare ridge via trail had gone only half a mile when worthless soldier one pretended to break down & swore he wouldn't walk another foot Sergeant Nash to whom I had lent my mule & who was in charge of Rear guard tried to lift him on to said mule & was fired from by party who had dogd us he was badly wounded Privt Mahoney was already wounded in the foot so as there were several broken down & sick men & the whole command was tired down and as it rained slightly I halted awhile near where Sergt. Nash was wounded then put him on my mule with driver but driver couldn't carry him poor Sergt was in such agony & his legs were paralysed that it unnerved driver I then had litter made
but that didn't work either, the ground was so rough & trail over logs & through brushes so narrow that he soon slid with his head under one bar of litter -- I then put him before me on my saddle & held him there for about two hours slow marching he all the time groaning & begging to be left behind & trail was so obscure that we had to light torches and grope for it at the rate of a mile an hour the men in the rear frequently losing it even at that slow rate -- at last the trail became better we reached one of the ridges along which it ran and I had the sergeant lifted out of my saddle & packed fore and aft on a mule the girt or hair cinch of which had been tightened -- but pretty soon though two men followed right behind the mule to hold him up as he went up hill -- the steepness of one of the ascents was so great that poor sergeant -- pack saddle & all slipped off behind -- then I took two muskets & a blanket & rigged the usual improvised litter very painful to carry -- as at one end the men support litter by the bayonets & there being no stretchers the carriers are required to not only lift the weight but pull on each other -- the men were so much fatigued that this was very hard work & every rod or two they would try a new set to spell them which new set could not be had always -- thus at a snail's pace the party groped their way
on to the 1st water where at the men rushed like good fellows—

here we camped — at one or two o'clock — and at early dawn much refreshed started for camp at mouth of Rogue River

Reached it at 9 or 10—that A M and in ten minutes after the men had gotten their coffee I don't think there was one of them who had not fallen down to rest — but not to sleep for men so fatigued cannot sleep — the Indians engaged against this party numbered about seventy — they were from two or three of the villages near the mouth of the river — & having been rioting in plunder from the houses of farmers & miners whom they had murdered during the last two months to the number of forty & having also kept some 90 citizens closely besieged in a mud fort at the mouth of the River for the last forty days — they thought they had only to rush down on the soldiers & they too would run for the Indians expected to find part of the soldiers — racing after a dozen or more horses, which had been left in the village bottom no doubt as a bait & another part plundering the houses — but they were mistaken that time to their cost for the soldiers had kept just where the Captain posted them and though the small party over the Blankets were driven in for want of an officer — to command them yet when they found the Indians yelled better than they aimed — they recovered their courage and joined the cheering parties who pitched in — so much for
the Battle of the Mackanootenays it was a small affair in itself but when we remember that it is the first time these Rogue River Indians have been driven from their position (generally a strong one) this same little affair will have large consequences and teach the soldiers how to go in & win.

Camp at Mouth of Rogue River March 28th 1856

There is a sketch to go with this.

E.O.C. Ord
Chapter VI.

At the close of the Rogue River Campaign of 1856, Chiefs George and Lumpy with the lower Rogue River people were carried by steamer to Portland and then to the northern part of the coast reserve in Polk County. The Pistol River and Chetco bands were sent to the southern end of the reservation by way of the valley of the Coquill and Roseburg. These Indians were kept separated from the others on account of their discontent. Chief John was such a constant source of disturbance among the Indians that later he had to be sent to the military prison on Alcatraz Island in the San Francisco Bay. Years later through the efforts of Captain Ord, Chief John was returned to his people on the reservation.

1 Bancroft, History of Oregon.
2 Account by Major E.O.C. Ord, 1921, son of General Ord.
3 Bancroft, History of Oregon, p.418.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Applegate, Linsy.

Armstrong, A.
 A Brief History and Full Description of the Territories of Oregon and Washington. Chicago, Ill. 1875.

Cole, Geo. E.
 Early Oregon 1850-1856, Washington 1901.

Hasting, L.N.

Hines, Z.


Lane, Joe.
Metcalf

Indian Affairs Report. 1851

Ord, E.O.C.

Diary MS(1856) Ord Collection. Berkeley, California.

Sargent, Alice Applegate


Schumacher, A.


Stearns, D.H.

Official Gazette and Guide to Oregon. Portland, Oregon. 1877. United States Statutes at Large IX., p. 437


NEWSPAPERS

Daily Alta California. San Francisco. 1856.

San Francisco Herald. 1856.

Secondary Sources

Bancroft, H.H.

History of the Northwestern Coast. San Francisco. 1884.

History of Oregon, Vol. I and II. San Francisco, California, 1890.
Bolton & Marshall

Goan, C.F.

Gaston, J.

Hodge, F.N.

Victor, F.F. (Mrs.)
Early Indian Wars of Oregon. Salem, Oregon. 1894.

Walling, G.A.
THE ROGUE RIVER VALLEY
Map of The Rogue River Campaign of 1856

[Map details including named locations and geographical features]
Map of The Rogue River Campaign of 1856

[Map showing geographical features, with labels such as Rogue River, Shasta County, Indian Creek, and others.]

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 miles