

**Assimilation's
Agent** My Life as
a Superintendent in
the Indian Boarding
School System
Edwin L. Chalcraft

Edited and with an introduction by Cary C. Collins

{ Assimilation's Agent }

{ Assimilation's Agent }

*My Life as a Superintendent in the
Indian Boarding School System*

EDWIN L. CHALCRAFT

Edited and with an introduction
by Cary C. Collins

University of Nebraska Press
Lincoln & London

Parts of the editor's introduction previously appeared as "Through the Lens of Assimilation: Edwin L. Chalcraft and Chemawa Indian School" in *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 98, no. 4 (Winter 1997–98): 390–425. © 1998, Oregon Historical Society. Reprinted with permission.

Previously unpublished materials used with permission from Alice C. Martin and the University of Washington, Seattle, and Washington State University, Pullman.

© 2004 by the Board of Regents of the University of Nebraska. All rights reserved. Manufactured in the United States of America ☺

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Chalcraft, Edwin L.

Assimilation's agent : my life as a superintendent in the Indian boarding school system / Edwin L. Chalcraft; edited and with an introduction by Cary C. Collins.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-8032-1516-9 (cloth : alk. paper) –

ISBN 0-8032-0435-3 (electronic)

1. Chalcraft, Edwin L. 2. Off-reservation boarding schools – Pacific, Northwest – History – 19th century. 3. School superintendents – Pacific, Northwest – Biography. 4. Indians of North America – Pacific, Northwest – Education. 5. Indians of North America – Cultural assimilation – Northwest, Pacific. I. Title.

E97.65.N4C43 2004

371.2'011'092—dc22

2004000623

Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	vi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	vii
<i>Editor's Introduction</i>	ix
<i>Chronology of Significant Events</i>	lxiii
<i>Note on Provenance of Manuscript and Methodology</i>	lxv
Preface	1
Foreword	3
1. Journey to the West	5
2. Chehalis Indian Reservation	16
3. Puyallup Agency and School	79
4. Salem Indian Training School	114
5. Private Citizens	126
6. Shoshone Indian Agency, Wyoming	130
7. Supervisor of Indian Schools	139
8. Salem Indian Training School, Second Appointment	203
9. Jones Male Academy	258
10. Siletz Indian Agency	265
11. At Home in Seattle	295
<i>Editor's Postscript</i>	301
<i>Appendix</i>	303
<i>Notes</i>	305
<i>Bibliography</i>	327
<i>Index</i>	341

Illustrations

following page 132

Edwin and Abigail Eells

Edwin L. Chalcraft, ca. 1915

Chalcraft family, ca. 1907

Ruthyn Turney, teacher,
Chemawa Indian School

George W. Mills, resident farmer,
Chehalis Indian Reservation

Edwin L. Chalcraft, Chehalis
Indian Reservation, ca. 1884

Teachers' Institute, Chehalis
Indian Reservation, September 1886

Chehalis Indians fishing on
Chehalis River, ca. 1900

Indians farming on Chehalis
Indian Reservation, ca. 1900

Acknowledgments

Institutions, faculty and family members, friends, and colleagues contributed immeasurably to the completion of my editing of this memoir. A huge debt is owed to the libraries at Washington State University and the University of Washington, where the bulk of the research was conducted. The Department of History at Washington State University, through the Pettyjohn Endowment, provided much appreciated — and needed — financial support. Sincere thanks are in order to the professors who assisted me in preparing this document as a dissertation: Orlan J. Svingen, LeRoy Ashby, and David Coon. Professor Svingen guided me through the Ph.D. program with the steady hand at the wheel and the unflinching support that his students have come to expect and rely on. His thoughtful suggestions helped shape and focus my analysis and writing. Professors Ashby and Coon, as all of their students know, are two of the really great guys. Their encouragement is unwavering, their teaching is masterful, and their commitment is total.

Alice Martin of East Wenatchee, Washington, the granddaughter of Edwin and Alice Chalcraft, invited me into her home and granted access to a large repository of family documents, letters, and photographs, some of which are reproduced here. The Chalcraft grandsons, Walter and Richard, generously shared their memories as well. My mother, Shirley Rose Collins, lent a much needed hand at several key junctures as did Shirley Stephens, a fellow prisoner in the study of Indian-white relations. The late Chehalis tribal elder Hazel Pete and her family, with whom I lived as a small boy, have been beacons of inspiration. Former

editor Rick Harmon and everyone at the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* encouraged me immensely as did Aaron McCright, now of the University of Chicago, one of the most dedicated and capable graduate students I have known and with whom I shared many a late Palouse night discussing the issues raised in this book.

I am privileged to work with the best administration, faculty, and staff of any school anywhere. My heartfelt thanks to everyone at Tahoma Junior High School in Maple Valley for their comradeship and support.

Four individuals stand apart. SuAnn M. Reddick, historian of Chemawa Indian School, read the manuscript, offering her usual sharp critique as well as invaluable insight into the formulation of American Indian policies. Charles V. Mutschler, archivist at Eastern Washington University in Cheney, helped in so many ways. Besides editing the manuscript, he added substantially to my knowledge of railroad history (is there anyone with greater command of this subject?) and the culture of nineteenth-century America. Joyce Justice, recently retired archivist-extraordinaire at the National Archives and Records Administration—Pacific-Alaska Region in Seattle, has been a part of every historical project of mine as has Kent D. Richards, professor emeritus of history at Central Washington University in Ellensburg. On so many occasions, Joyce, in pointing me toward historical treasures untold, exhibited a boundless enthusiasm for Pacific Northwest history that I worry has rubbed off more than a little. Like SuAnn, Charlie, and Joyce, Dr. Richards has been such a great friend, role model, and inspiration. He gave me my start in the field, hired me as his research assistant, served as the chair of my master's thesis committee, and suggested I continue in graduate school. Twice he read the manuscript, displaying a depth of knowledge and understanding that only a historian with some forty years immersed in the study of Indian-white relations could have.

Finally, I acknowledge my family — my wife, Tina, and my two sons, James and Nick. Truly it is the spouses and the children of historians who bear the burdens and suffer the sacrifices of our profession.

I extend my utmost and warmest appreciation to everyone. In the words of the late Puyallup tribal leader Henry C. Sicade, "I thank you all and may the Great Spirit guide and bless you."

Editor's Introduction

Americans in Full

Perfectly, the home reflected the man. Colorful dahlias and a lush garden of vegetables adorned an impeccably manicured backyard. Next to the two-story, brown-tinted, barn-style Sears, Roebuck, and Company “kit” house sat an attached garage wherein resided “Angie,” the owner’s 1918 Model T Ford. Throughout the immaculate little house, the walls and surfaces of the parlor, kitchen, and bedrooms exhibited exquisite displays of the finest Indian beadwork, basketry, and weaving. Dominating all was the ultimate symbol of conquest: an enormous mounted buffalo head, staring unseeing at his admirers from above the mantle of the fireplace in the living room.

In the master bedroom next to a high double bed a handcrafted utility closet spilled over with countless specimens of Indian history and culture, each object tagged and carefully labeled. Tucked neatly against the wall just inside the doorway rested an old oak desk, a treasured family heirloom and a workingman’s jewel. Once shipped around the horn of South America to Washington Territory, the desk had afforded a lifetime of valuable service through interludes of the deepest crises. It was here, in this room, on a manual Underwood typewriter sitting atop that wonderful desk at Ninth and Cherry Streets on First Hill in Seattle, that octogenarian Edwin L. Chalcraft faithfully labored each day for eighteen months in the early 1940s, reconstructing a career in the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) that spanned thirty-seven years.¹

The elaborate furnishings of Chalcraft’s modern home encom-

passed more than one man's lifetime of toil. They encapsulated nearly four decades of history in miniature, artifacts of the extraordinary relationship that existed between the United States and its Indian people. American Indian policies have always been a work in progress, but by the late nineteenth century the federal government had established an array of methods and procedures for seizing and maintaining complete control over the American Indians. Rooted in colonial times, formalized and implemented as early as the Jefferson administration, and undergirded by a supreme belief in the superiority of American culture and institutions, these called for a massive campaign of acculturation with one overriding objective: the reformation of an entire people, a transformation of identity, advancement from "savage" to "citizen," cultural and spiritual if not physical regeneration. After the Civil War and Reconstruction, a field army of unemployed idealists — administrators, missionaries, teachers, and many others — invaded and occupied Indian Country. Edwin Chalcraft among them, they were foot soldiers operating along the front line of the nation's policy of "forced" assimilation.²

Chalcraft and His Background

Born on November 13, 1855, in Albion, Illinois, Edwin Chalcraft entered the Indian Service at the age of twenty-eight, having already accumulated substantial life experience. A graduate of Albion High School, he attended Butler College in Indianapolis. For three years he taught in the public schools of Illinois and Kansas. He served as surveyor of Edwards County, Illinois, operated a small newspaper in his hometown, and, after moving to Washington Territory in 1880, co-owned, with the son of the president of the University of Washington, an engineering company in Seattle. Married and a member in good standing of the Christian Church, Chalcraft exemplified the late nineteenth century's highest ideals of home and family.³

Equipped with talent, experience, and ambition, and drawn by an economy gripped in a depression, Chalcraft procured employment in the Indian Service. His first appointment, as the superintendent of a small boarding school on the Chehalis Indian Reservation in rural southwestern Washington, spanned almost six years, from Oc-

tober 1883 to June 1889. Subsequently he served as superintendent of Puyallup Indian School at Tacoma, Washington, from July 1889 to October 1894; of Chemawa Indian School at Salem, Oregon, from November 1894 to April 1895 and from October 1904 to June 1912; of Wind River Indian School at Wind River, Wyoming, from May to October 1900; and of Jones Male Academy at Hartshorne, Oklahoma, from July 1912 to May 1914. He also served as a supervisor of Indian schools from October 1900 to September 1904, and as superintendent of the Siletz Indian Agency at Siletz, Oregon, from July 1914 to November 1925. Chalcraft liked to boast—and with ample justification—that the various posts he occupied in the Indian Service, particularly the four years he spent as supervisor of schools, took him “to nearly every place in the United States where a group of Indians could be found.”⁴

Indian Agents: Image and Reputation

Indian assimilation constituted a hard-fisted canon that proselytized stripping Indian people of their “barbarism” and remaking them in the “civilized” image of white American society. Chalcraft, as a school superintendent functioning under the auspices of the Department of the Interior’s Office of Indian Affairs, helped wage an all-out assault on the cultures of Indian America. It was an assignment underwritten with perhaps good intentions but often undermined by utter incompetence. To the chagrin of Chalcraft and other officials who lent themselves to the effort, Indian Service employees came to rank among the most maligned in the history of American government. Indian agents and superintendents, although held up as the icons of morality and decency, acquired notorious reputations among their clientele. In the 1920s one prominent Indian woman characterized the federal force as “an inferior class of white men, a class of white men that were a marauding, diseased arm of their own government.”⁵

Among the general public their reputation fared no better. Many Americans perceived agents as a seedy lot and the bureaucracy they labored under as a seething house of nepotism. The *Olympia (WA) Standard* may have captured the sentiment of a nation when it asserted on June 8, 1872, that “in no department of the Civil Service” was

there “more need for reform.” No longer was it possible to “delude” the American public “into the belief that a large fortune” could be “legitimately saved upon a moderate salary for a short time.” No longer could it be “thought proper” for the Indian Service to function as a “huge political machine, to which the will of the people must yield.” “The influence of money and official position” had “so corrupted popular sentiment,” the editorial writer charged, that it beheld “undismayed the most flagrant outrages and by silence” sanctioned “the most glaring wrongs.” Indian affairs could not “be managed worse.”

Thomas H. Tibbles concurred. A writer for the *Omaha Herald*, Tibbles “sought to cast the Indian agent as a universal type,” an “unprincipled opportunist who represented everything sinister in the machinations of the hated Indian ring.” As he expressed it, “An Indian agent under our system is an absolute monarch. He can practice any cruelty and there is no appeal as long as he is in favor with the Secretary of the Interior. Absolute unquestioning obedience to his orders is the only safety for either white man or Indian in the limits of his dominions. There is no court or jury. This breeds fawning sycophancy in those subject to his control. When he has become accustomed to that, then the slightest interference with his wishes throws him into a rage.”⁶

Reputation, however, did little to stem the flow of seekers to office, who came from all walks of life. Young and old, rich and poor, male and female, Indian and white, Protestant and Catholic, Republican and Democrat, civilian and military, the men and women of the Office of Indian Affairs defied easy classification. But a majority fell into one of several broad categories. Most were devout, holding ties to religious organizations. Many were Civil War veterans who, in a sporadic postwar economy, converted military friendships into coveted jobs. A considerable number owed their appointment to political affiliation and a spoils system that often rewarded party loyalty over merit and ability. Some were looking for employment and a better life for themselves and their families; others abandoned good careers in order to hire on. They were a diverse force. Made up of doctors, farmers, blacksmiths, matrons, seamstresses, laundresses, carpenters, teachers, and laborers of just about every sort, they brought with them

vital assets. All possessed skills essential to the successful functioning of an Indian reservation.⁷

Memoir, Autobiography, and Reminiscence: The OIA Literary Tradition

Despite a mammoth paper trail amassed by OIA personnel, most of these officials have remained obscure figures relegated to the margins of history, a reality which makes the Chalcraft memoir appealing. *Assimilation's Agent* belongs on a small shelf of OIA employee life histories that, given the number of twentieth-century boarding school histories and student autobiographies published in recent years, add to a more textured interpretation of the boarding school experience while providing another perspective on the lives of those individuals who served as the primary instruments of American Indian policy.

A criticism of the life history form has been the reliability and accuracy of memory. Chalcraft drew on recall, and he also worked from documents, which he even included verbatim. Yet he excluded that which he believed might impact negatively, and, in part, this introduction is intended as a corrective to such omissions. However, despite the limitations of informant-based history, it has gained increasing acceptance as a valuable aspect of the historical record.

For example, in assessing the benefits of these “unofficial” histories, the anthropologist Sally McBeth has noted, “It is important to consider that what is remembered (and why and how it is remembered or forgotten) helps us understand how storytellers struggle to shape their identity and understand their world.” She adds that “truth is highly subjective” and “what exactly happened in the past may never be understood fully, because the past is remembered differently by different individuals whose perspectives are influenced by timing, culture, insights, agendas, and the past.” Nonetheless, McBeth concludes, “Questions of reliability, accuracy, and bias” that “may be interpreted as a weakness of this approach . . . may also be perceived as a unique strength, for self-interpretation is a part of the human expression and a part of what life histories are.”⁸

As the conveyors of culture, and witnesses to the mixed reality

of that exchange, Indian Office officials had stories to tell, and in a handful of cases they told them. In compiling their reminiscences, these authors operated under a freedom of expression unavailable to them in their official reports and correspondence. Albert H. Kneale, in a memoir simply titled *Indian Agent*, devoted 420 pages to describing thirty years spent among the Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Shoshone, Crow, Ute, Navajo, Pima, Maricopa, Apache, and other tribes. Kneale seemed motivated by a sense of history and a conviction that his interactions with Indians were consequential and deserving of preservation. Similarly, *Indian Agent in New Mexico: The Journal of Special Agent W. F. M. Army, 1870* reproduced the diary the author kept while he visited the tribes and pueblos of New Mexico for the purpose of taking a census, discussing land titles, assessing the need for schools, and settling disputes.⁹

In many instances, Indian agents wrote for audiences who had experienced little or no contact with Indian people, looked with wonderment upon tribes and reservations, and could only imagine what it must have been like to live on the American frontier among the people who met Lewis and Clark or defeated George Armstrong Custer. Produced at a time when few published histories were available, OIA employee autobiographies provided firsthand accounts of government policies in action. T. W. Davenport served as Special Indian Agent on the Umatilla Indian Reservation in Oregon in 1862 and 1863. In his “Recollections of an Indian Agent,” serialized in the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* in 1907 (now the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*), Davenport painted a vivid portrait of reservation life and the daily challenges faced by Indian Office personnel in carrying out their duties.¹⁰

Another memoir, *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker among the Indians* by Thomas C. Battey, conveyed a similar purpose. Notwithstanding his title, Battey stated in his preface that he went among the Indians not “as an adventurer, but as an instructor and civilizer.” His aim, he said, was to render “a truthful and impartial narration of the home life of the Indian, and to exemplify the efficacy of the principles of peace in the life of one, who, for a period extending to years, traveled extensively — many times entirely alone and always

unarmed — among different tribes, regarded by the civilized world as savages.”¹¹

For others, in light of the reputation of the OIA and its administrators, they wrote out of a desire to set the record straight, to elucidate the intricacies of Indian policies, and to show how Indians had interfaced with them. Considering the nature of their charge, to sweep the American landscape clean of Indian cultures, some federal officials felt the need to document those cultures as they were entering what were believed to be their final throes. In *My Friend the Indian*, James McLaughlin, who worked in the Indian Service for an astounding fifty-two years, explained that he had been urged by “friends in official and private life” to record his observations of the Indians’ “losing struggle” to eke out “an existence according to his own ideals” and maintain “his manner of living, mode of thought, [and] habit in action and repose.” McLaughlin professed that he wrote from the Indians’ point of view, but “for the information” of his “contemporaries and the correction of some errors,” which, he lamented, were “unfortunately, but too common.”¹²

Elements of all these works are traceable and evident in the Chalcraft memoir. Although written for the deceptively simple stated purpose of providing his children with an intimate account of the lives of their parents, the prevailing focus on Indian affairs suggests a broader intent by the author. Chalcraft recognized that the unusual nature of his extensive involvement with the OIA privileged him with information and perspective that held relevance beyond the narrow scope of his immediate family. He appears to have wanted to document what it was to be an Indian agent and school superintendent, using his personal experiences, particularly his overtures of assistance and support, as a rejoinder to the predominantly negative perception held of OIA officials.

If his memoir deviated from those of some of his contemporaries, it was in its lack of sentimentality. Offering no apology for Native cultural loss, Chalcraft never questioned the propriety of American Indian policies, and he remained unwavering in his commitment to assimilation. In contrast to modern assessments, he declared federal Indian policies an unqualified success, a far from universally held

opinion, even in his times. Hence *Assimilation's Agent* transports readers into the uncompromising, unbending world of the OIA in which the Indian for his own benefit is to be “civilized” and made anew. For Chalcraft, his mechanical embracement of this mind-set would serve him well in advancing up the career ladder of the federal bureaucracy, but it would fail him at those times when attributes of caution and self-reflection might have been better guides for the choices he made.

National Background

Indian Service personnel became part of the first significant social engineering movement in the United States. The decades following the Civil War were an age of industry and reform, in which the “institution” and principles of scientific management gained wide acceptance as a solution to many of America’s social ills. Analogous to the “machine” of the manufacturing sector, institutions seemingly sprang up everywhere, impacting such targeted groups as the deaf, blind, and insane as well as criminals, juvenile delinquents, and orphaned children. The educating of Indian children became institutionalized in government-run reservation day and boarding schools and large off-reservation boarding schools. Many social reformers believed these schools, buttressed with their superior machinery for remaking Indian people in the dominant American image, held the promise of a viable means of assimilation and an effective formula for solving America’s venerable Indian problem. Blending strange bedfellows — elements borrowed from science and religion and joined with military strictness and Christian love — Indian educational policies were to radiate with the humanitarianism needed to lift the nation’s original peoples from the miserable condition in which they had become mired.¹³

Edwin Chalcraft fit easily into the new milieu. Young, educated, and idealistic, he patterned his life around the era’s defining principles. He possessed an active, scientific mind uncommonly proficient in problem solving. He personified the principles of order and organization and applied them efficiently to his work. Delighting in scientific management and its characteristics of precision and exactness, regimentation and discipline, structure and system, he devoted countless hours in searching for simple, cheap, and effective solutions. Embrac-

ing the latest technologies, he came to cherish the picture camera, an invention he used extensively to document Indian life in America.

Similarly, he took pleasure in reworking and rebuilding things. Reveling in applying new techniques to old problems and fascinated by process and methodology, he expended considerable energy rethinking more effective ways of administering Indian affairs. Disciplined, measured, and controlled, he applied a businessman's sense to the reservations and schools he supervised, implementing a strict system in which every employee, tribal member, and student, every spoonful of flour, and every second of the day were meticulously accounted for. With Chalcraft, there was no wasted motion, no wasted energy. Rarely donning, even on the most informal occasion, less formal attire than a pressed coat and a white shirt and necktie, he looked and acted every bit the part of the young bureaucrat.

Chalcraft's extensive involvement in Indian affairs encompassed an era that began with a total commitment to eradicating Indian cultures and ended with publication of the Meriam Report, a stinging indictment of the federal efforts undertaken to achieve that goal.¹⁴ The Chalcraft memoir, in describing one man's years in the Indian Service, produced a fertile backdrop for demonstrating the ways in which national policies played out in local agencies and larger institutions, while exposing many of the day-to-day problems, the paradoxes and fissures, inherent in the federal agenda. In terms of Indian education, the government's theory held that beautiful campuses, able administrators, talented teachers, and stimulating programs would alone provide sufficient incentives to bring about assimilation and identity alteration.

Yet these proved not enough. Chalcraft's career is a testament that forced assimilation often drove a wedge between Indians and whites, a wedge that gouged a deep divide and placed federal administrators in the unenviable position of trying to produce results that were largely unattainable. Ubiquitous and intrusive, the federal presence enveloped Indian Country. It sought a victory of assimilation at virtually any cost while wreaking havoc on everyone and everything it touched, Indian and white alike. Equally debilitating, both to patient and doctor, the encounter diminished each. In addition to the doubt-

ful fate of many of the Indian people who endured assimilation, Chalcraft and numerous others who strove to implement the dominant, top-down assimilationist policies ultimately fell victim themselves to the smug, uncompromising ethos those policies embodied.¹⁵

In part, federal policies faced impossible odds because of the daunting challenges posed by assimilation. The OIA assumed responsibility for the acculturation and identity transformation of approximately 250,000 people, one-quarter of whom were children requiring education in schools. The Indian population belonged to about 700 tribes and bands in the forty-eight contiguous states and another 223 village groups in Alaska. They occupied 275 reservations, spoke 300 languages, and claimed signature to 370 separately negotiated treaties and scores of other congressional acts, executive acts, and executive agreements. It all made for a monumentally complicated undertaking for which the federal government was less than fully prepared. Funding shortages on reservations were chronic, and the number of workers assigned to each reservation was paltry relative to need. In Indian schools the situation was none better, and what was lacking in personnel was made up in discipline. Recent scholarship has cited the low ratio of staff to students as an important factor in the rigid discipline maintained in boarding schools. Another problem was the federal government's implementation of a one-size-fits-all "national" Indian policy that failed to account for the vast complexity of conditions encountered on American Indian reservations.¹⁶

Also undercutting federal aims was conflicting perceptions among Indians and non-Indians of the larger meaning of assimilation and identity. From the vantage point of white America and as articulated through national Indian policies, these were related if not interchangeable concepts. Accomplishment of the first, it was assumed, would produce a corresponding transformation in the second. Complete assimilation — usually termed "civilization" — would render Indians indistinguishable from whites, facilitate their absorption into the broader American social fabric, and effect a fundamental change of identity in which the images Indians held of themselves as Indians would fade and eventually disappear. Assimilation would be fully realized when Indians ceased to exist, both in mind and being.¹⁷

Several factors influenced the federal government in moving in the direction of total assimilation. Primary was the conviction that America symbolized the finest qualities and values found anywhere, a confection of characteristics and beliefs that were manifested in the social, political, and economic institutions of the nation. Because the Anglo population was considered to be the human embodiment of those principles and ideals, it followed that all others, Indians included, should seek to emulate and copy them in becoming Americans in full. Unfortunately, those views spawned a sharp polarization that rendered it impossible for Indians to exist simultaneously as American Indians and as “good” Americans. In theory, there could be no middle ground, and Indians had to choose one world or the other. In a nation so forward-looking, there was no place for Indians.

The intellectual foundation for American attitudes and government policies lay partly in the budding fields of anthropology and ethnology. In the late nineteenth century, Lewis H. Morgan, sometimes thought of as the father of American anthropology, led a cadre of thinkers struggling to understand the origins and evolution of humans. Morgan developed a theory of “cultural evolution” that came to be known as “Social Darwinism.” His ideas, which garnered the praise of other prominent intellectuals of the day — among them John Wesley Powell, Charles Darwin, and Friedrich Engels — considered human advancement as occurring in the evolutionary stages of savagery, barbarism, and civilization. In that continuum Indians were placed at the savage stage, based on factors of climate, geography, society, and education.¹⁸

In terms of ranking at least, most Americans and Morgan shared common ground. According to one account, Indians’ “credulity and superstitions, their bouts of lethargy, their outbursts of emotion (violence), their lack of hair and ardor produced an effete portrait. Linked to nature and feminized, Indians were represented as ‘primitive types’ and stood in the minds of many as a force opposed to civilization, an adversary to be conquered, subdued and made productive.”¹⁹

Morgan believed an acceptance of education and Christianity was crucial to stimulating Indians’ progression to a higher stage and a first step in ensuring survival. To achieve these ends, a series of op-

tions were proposed ranging from the introduction of a system of schools (either mission or public) to the creation of separate Indian territories. Morgan also advocated mixed marriages between Indians and whites (thereby strengthening the gene pool and producing a mixed generation more acceptable to non-Indians), the adoption of a “factory” system of production on reservations, and the formation of a new Department of Indian Affairs, the head of which would be elevated to a cabinet position. Morgan’s views, which supported the Indian boarding school and the national agenda of survival through acculturation, warmed the engines of assimilation; however, they also aligned science on the side of those who considered Indians inferior to whites.

Morgan’s philosophy, from an American perspective, offered an appealing array of benefits and opportunities. For one, assimilation and a new identity for Indians could be exploited to help dislodge tribal people from their vast landholdings, which traditional communal subsistence patterns required in bulk but the new Indian agrarian economy of individual holdings needed only in slivers. Separating Indians from their land would help pacify the western tribes, open more of the West to immigration, and inculcate an ethic of work and individual responsibility. Similarly, the churches of America supported a transformation of Indian identity. Considering Indian cultures, life ways, and spiritual beliefs in opposition to Christian doctrines and mores, and discerning no better demonstration of conversion than an Indian shorn of his Indianness, denominations sought eradication of perceived “heathen” practices.²⁰ These prevailing ethnocentric views dictated a choice for Indian people between assimilating or suffering in perpetuity a status of inferiority and subordination relative to the non-Indian population.

It is doubtful that Indian people contemplated such an encompassing vision. For them, assimilation and identity were separate ideas. Many Indians accepted assimilation as an attainable, even desirable, outcome that could be achieved without exacting a corresponding diminution of Indian identity. Through selective adaptation, they concluded, the basic tenets of American society could be embraced, particularly those tied to education and work, and a separate identity

maintained. To dissuade Indian people from thinking of themselves as Indians (in a traditional sense at least), the government needed to provide sufficient incentives to induce such a revolution in thinking, but it could not. Blending beneficial non-Indian elements with traditional Indian practices, Indian people retained their identity and survived. In fact, the segregation and isolation fostered by federal policies and the attendant reservation system bound the national government and Indian people together in an ironically distinctive relationship.²¹

Initially, policy makers believed their process of social reconditioning could be accomplished in fairly quick order — a generation or two — and in isolation from mainstream America — on reservations and in schools on reservations. Treaty language stipulated, for example, that annuity payments be distributed over a span of only twenty years, based on an assumption that self-sufficiency could be achieved within that time frame. Such sunny projections, however, quickly proved ill-conceived. The Indians' world was indeed collapsing, but neither as rapidly, nor as completely, as had been anticipated.²²

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century that reality emerged unmistakably. Not only were assimilationist calculations falling below expectations, but basic Indian policy administration was oscillating between the ominous poles of fundamental incompetence and outright corruption. Most notably, the Grant Peace Policy, which assigned responsibility for carrying out Indian policy first to the U.S. Army and then to the churches of America, while perhaps well intentioned, had turned out a miserable failure. General mismanagement, combined with the crawling pace of assimilation, fueled a consequent shift in Indian affairs, and in the 1880s a new generation of leaders appeared on the scene that began seeking a richer vein of results by pushing Indian policy vigorously in the direction of a more rigid, uncompromising application of assimilationist ideals.²³

The most important figure to emerge in the field of Indian education was Edwin Chalcraft's closest professional colleague and confidant, Richard Henry Pratt. A career soldier, Pratt declared his own war on the cultures of Indian America. While accepting unconditionally the pressing need for assimilation, he envisioned a different method for achieving it. His perception of reservations as islands of "savagery"

scattered in a sea of “civilization” steeled him in the conviction that Indians needed to be set on a course of immediate acculturation. His plan preached emancipation, the liberation of Indian children from the retarding influences of their parents, families, and tribes through their placement in large boarding schools located far from reservations. In such a benign setting, in an environment unencumbered by outside interference, students could become fully immersed in white America. In 1879, Pratt and another army officer, Melville C. Wilkinson, convinced the federal government of the merits of this approach, which in turn approved funding for two off-reservation boarding schools, one on each coast, Carlisle in Pennsylvania and Chemawa in Oregon. Over the next two decades, dozens of such “total” institutions were built.²⁴

A second development, seemingly an escalation of federal involvement, actually anticipated a dismantling of the reservation system. The national government, although not bound legally, continued to support a substantial assimilationist infrastructure on Indian reservations long past what it had obligated itself to in treaty provisions. It was widely assumed that, commensurate with treaties and settlement, a trust responsibility followed for safeguarding Indians’ health, education, and welfare until such time as self-sufficiency could be achieved. Also, policy makers believed that to do otherwise would force Indians into a social milieu for which they were fundamentally unprepared. Hence agents and superintendents, teachers and schools, farmers and implements, doctors and missionaries were to remain prominent features of reservation life until the introduction of the Indian New Deal in 1934.²⁵

The instruments of assimilation carried a steep price. Therefore, to lighten the economic burden of maintaining reservations, Congress passed the General Allotment Act of 1887. Comprehensive legislation, with roots extending back to the Pacific Northwest and the treaties of the 1850s, the General Allotment Act, or Dawes Severalty Act as it was also known, provided at once a method for subsidizing federal Indian policies and breaking up reservations. The handiwork of Massachusetts senator Henry L. Dawes, the chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, the bill’s most noteworthy provision called

for subdividing reservation lands among individual tribal members. Surplus lands were to be sold with the proceeds placed at the benefit of the tribes. Indians accepting allotments were in return to receive a twenty-five-year Trust Patent, as well as citizenship and voting privileges at the end of the trust period. With its strong emphasis on destroying communal landholding, the Dawes Act was the most aggressive assault waged against tribalism short of military intervention. The legislation also had the presumably unintended effect of leaving “most Indians landless,” separating tribal people from over 90 million acres in the period between 1887 and 1934.²⁶

Those two key pieces of American Indian policy — off-reservation boarding school education and the Dawes Act — fit hand-in-glove with each depending on the other for much of their assimilative punch. In school, Indians were to acquire at least a basic knowledge of how to manage a small farm — from caring for livestock and equipment to knowing when to plant and harvest. Literacy was to enable returning students to supervise their affairs without being taken advantage of by unscrupulous outsiders. For its part, the Dawes Act was to furnish a framework by which Indians would come to adopt the mind-set of the independent yeoman farmer, an ideology that credited success and failure almost wholly on individual drive and ingenuity. In total, the impact of government policies on Indian cultures and communities was to be immediate, comprehensive, and permanent.

Edwin Chalcraft and Federal Indian Policy

Chalcraft spent the bulk of his career with Indians caught in a relentless crossfire between the twin pillars of education and allotment, the choking presence of each becoming ever more constricting for them as his responsibilities for administering national Indian policies grew. From him, those policies received a blanket endorsement and his wholehearted support. In a paper prepared for the Boston Institute in 1903 while he was serving as a supervisor of Indian schools, he discussed the building blocks of assimilation. It is unclear whether Chalcraft read the essay, but on his draft he noted that Estelle Reel, his friend and the national superintendent of Indian schools, incorporated his ideas in the speech she delivered. “Upon the efficiency of

these [industrial] schools depends the future of the Indian race," he boldly wrote. Indian education was providing "literary instruction" as well as strong lessons in hard "work" and "character building," a potent combination that was instilling in students a desire "to live pure and useful lives." Chalcraft confidently predicted that the finer qualities and principles of acculturation would remain firmly rooted in the psyche of the educated Indian long "after the restraints of school" were "removed."

Chalcraft addressed the issue of students working and subsisting on reservations. It was an arena in which a bright future for Indian schools was envisioned. "With this brief reference to the educational policy in general," Chalcraft continued, "I would say concerning the Indians of the Northwestern part of the country, that they possess agricultural land in abundance, and can support themselves in comfort by developing its resources [the same] as a white man would do if he were the owner." Chalcraft explained, "Upon many of the reservations in Oregon, Washington and Idaho, the Indians have received individual title to the land, and the work of allotting is being continued." It was therefore "reasonable to conclude that in a short time practically all Indians in this section will be classed as citizen land-holders, and be in a position to apply to the benefit of themselves and the Nation such education as may be given them, if it is in harmony with their environment and the vocation they should follow for a livelihood."

Chalcraft left no doubt of what he meant when he spoke of the relationship between Indian education and the development of a viable vocation for Indian people. "Apparently the road to usefulness and self-support is open to the mass of the Indians in this section of the country," he declared, "by [them] taking possession of their inheritance." In order to capitalize on the vast potential lying before them, the "rising generation" needed "thorough instruction and experience in agricultural matters—such as will prepare the boys to become successful farmers and the girls to take their places as home-makers and worthy helpmates."²⁷

Six years later, Chalcraft linked assimilation even more directly to education and allotment. In a paper read at the Indian Teachers'

Institute at the Seattle Exposition in August 1909, entitled “The Importance of Specializing the Course of Study to Meet the Needs of Local Conditions,” he identified a continuing role for Indian schools in the arduous and ongoing process of preparing Indians to become small landholders. In analyzing the decision to subdivide reservation lands, Chalcraft noted that the policy had been grounded in certain assumptions. “The argument seemed reasonable and to secure permanent title the friends of the Indians in connection with Senator Dawes, accepted the plan of giving a trust title that could not be alienated during the period of 25 years,” he said, “with the impression that within that time the younger generation would have become educated sufficiently to appreciate the value of their possessions, and be able to manage their affairs.”

Traditional cultures yielded grudgingly, however, and Indians had been left woefully ill-equipped to penetrate America’s market economy. In Chalcraft’s opinion, it was a problem that presented but a single solution: additional schooling for Indian children. “The intention [of allotment] was right,” he asserted, “and the authorities interested set to work vigorously at the task, but the time came when it was seen that more had been undertaken than could be accomplished in one generation and that it would take another generation at least to educate the Indian to the point of [him] being able to compete successfully with his fellowmen.”²⁸ As Chalcraft saw it, Indian schools were filling a vital niche — particularly with their strong emphasis on vocational training — that was bridging the deep divide between “savagery” and “civilization.” Lacking education, self-sufficiency and assimilation into the cultural and economic mainstream would likely lie forever beyond the reach of most Indian people.

This was the prevailing ethos governing American Indian policies throughout Chalcraft’s tenure in the U.S. Indian Service. Indians, smothering under the weight of their own cultures and life ways and backed up against the wall by a continuously and rapidly expanding non-Indian population, fell under a virulent strain of assimilation. The outbreak, unleashed with the overt intention of infecting them with the redemptive virus of Americanism, had Indian reservations

and Indian schools as acculturation zones, where Indian people went not simply to live but to learn *how* to live, how to farm, read, and write — how to speak, dress, and worship — how, and what, to think. They were places where the “contagion” of Indian identities were bleached out and replaced with the supposedly cleansed identity of non-Indian America.

Assimilation exacted a terrible toll. In the words of the historian Frederick Hoxie, unprecedented “levels of destruction and dislocation” occurred in the nineteenth century in which Indian people “saw their subsistence base, their religious systems, and their political leadership assaulted and crushed before their eyes.” Edwin Chalcraft, for much of his adult life, coordinated, facilitated, and supervised a large portion of that process of socialization for the American government. It represented, in the lives of Indian people, and in his life as well, a period of monumental change.²⁹

The Chehalis Years, 1883–1889

No formal training prepared Chalcraft for the immense obstacles that lay ahead of him. Like others who became involved in Indian Service work, his skills were refined on the job, with determination and ingenuity balancing a deficiency in experience. A quick study, he developed a keen knack for maneuvering the continuously changing currents of federal Indian policies and for confronting an eclectic range of issues, problems, and duties in the field. Foremost was the boarding school placed under his care. That responsibility alone could be all-consuming of a superintendent’s time and energies.

At Chehalis, Chalcraft taught in the shops while his wife labored in the schoolhouse. And there were other demands. The reservation supported a modest staff — a farmer, a matron, a cook, and a laundress — that required supervision. There were supplies and foodstuffs to be ordered, accounts to be kept, reports to be written, disputes to be settled, inspectors to be satisfied, policies to be enforced. The successful superintendent compartmentalized, shifting easily from duties as diverse as arguing the law to reciting the Gospel and from driving a plow to presiding over a funeral. In temperament he was tolerant yet rigid, patient yet demanding. Chalcraft’s charge, of infusing In-

dians with the highest ideals of Americanism, took place in a setting numbingly out of step with the dominant society, and under such conditions, with its Spartan regimen of long hours, miserly pay, and extreme isolation, Indian Service work constituted for the dedicated official — and Chalcraft was certainly that — an intense labor of love and an extreme act of personal sacrifice.³⁰

Despite the obstacles, Indian agents and school superintendents etched an indelible mark into the landscape of Indian Country. In ways unexpected and meaningful they remolded the contours of how Indians lived and survived. They did so on reservations, the most recognizable, dominant, and enduring feature of Indian life in the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Intersections of red and white, reservations constituted specially designated areas carved out from Indian land cessions and set aside for the targeted use and specific benefit of Indian people. They were the incubators of acculturation where at least from a standpoint of administering American Indian policies, officials of the federal government ruled with absolute dominion. On reservations — described by Gen. Nelson Miles as “social sore spots” and “breeding grounds for a mongrel race and a refuge for outlaws and indolents” and by some historians as “prisons from which escape was impossible without incurring severe chastisement” — men such as Edwin Chalcraft helped craft a new identity for Indians. They did so through a long series of invasive strategies that included subdividing lands into individual allotments, teaching the English language, educating Indian youth in the three-R’s, supervising in the construction of modern homes, exposing Indians to Christianity, demonstrating modes of work, modeling styles of dress, and dictating acceptable expressions of ritual and ceremony. Those underpinnings of assimilation remain very much in evidence on reservations today.³¹

Another contribution to the culture and social structure of reservations derived from perhaps an unexpected source. Although in an official sense the position of superintendent represented an individual appointment, in practice it constituted a joint assignment. The demands of the job necessitated a partnership of husband and wife. Edwin and Alice Chalcraft operated in every respect as a team, dividing the labors

and responsibilities of superintendent, duties onerous by any measure. Alice, the granddaughter of former Washington territorial governor William Pickering, delivered both academic and vocational instruction as a teacher in the Chehalis Indian boarding school. Furthermore, she provided an additional supervisory presence, preparing official correspondence and reports, assisting in religious exercises, reading papers at teachers' institutes, and maintaining the superintendent's residence. On those occasions when obligations took her husband away from the reservation, she stepped in as acting superintendent. She lent her support as his foremost advisor and closest confidante. Like him she toiled long hours, tediously and apparently without complaint, dedicating herself to the salvation of a people whom she perceived as teetering perilously on the brink of extinction.³²

Fortunately, Alice Chalcraft somehow found the time to maintain revealing diaries that chronicled the experiences of a superintendent's wife. The selected entries below document her and her husband's initial moments as employees in the Indian Service and the understandably difficult transition they encountered in moving from the relative bustle of Seattle to the stark seclusion of the Chehalis reservation. If Richard Pratt was correct, that reservations constituted the nation's last enclaves — indeed, last fortresses — of Indianness, then the white presence on reservations represented the country's farthest outposts of Americanism. The Chehalis reservation cordoned off the Chalcrafts from mainstream society, surrounded them with a population foreign in race, culture, language, values, and life ways, thrust them into a setting mired in poverty and bathed in destitution, and obligated them to apply federal policies to people not always accepting of national prescriptions. Under these circumstances, it would not be exaggeration to suggest that the Chalcrafts felt as if the Chehalis reservation represented another world.³³ Yet, despite their burdens, Alice Chalcraft's comments in 1883 reveal a couple even early on making strides in adapting to their environment.

Saturday, September 29 Today has been very busy for all of us. Several school children came in this evening ready for Monday morning's work, after a vacation of four weeks.

Sunday, September 30 We attended [for] the first-time an Indian church to-day. Mr. Henderson preached & with Mr. Eells at the organ we had good services. The Indians sang songs, talked, and offered prayers in their own language. This evening we had singing and prayer.

Monday, October 1 Mr. Eells left for Tenino early this morning. It was raining some. I was in the school room this morning some. This afternoon I did my first sewing for an Indian. The children take [to] their various parts of the work, and never have to be told the second time how things are to be done. All are tired.

Tuesday, October 2 This morning bright & early Mr. and Mrs. Henderson & family left for Olympia. All has turned quiet at the house. Everything is entirely new to us & the work is pressing us. All are well.

Wednesday, October 3 The school today was more systematical than heretofore — but not arranged to suit us yet by any means. All are pleased with the work, but it will be much more pleasant in a few weeks when everything is better arranged.

Thursday, October 4 I have been cooking & scrubbing today outside of school & sewing hours. As I am teaching from 8 to 10 a.m. & sewing from 1 to 5 p.m. I have but little time to attend to home affairs.

Friday, October 5 The most important event of to-day was going to the garden, which is one mile from here on the bank of the Chehalis River; it contains potatoes, onions, beets, carrots, corn, parsnips, cabbage, turnips and _____. My dear husband & I took the waggon & team & brought back Mr. Mills & the boys who had been digging potatoes. There were 17 of us in the waggon and the vegetables, & it rained all the time.

Saturday, October 6 This morning I washed & baked and this

afternoon I sewed & tried to iron but had not time to iron many pieces. All are well and tired.

Sunday, October 7 This is our first experience at conducting an Indian meeting. There were several Indians present without the school children. The prettiest part of the programme was the Lord's prayer, by the Indians in the Nisquallie language.

Monday, October 8 This like many past days has been bright and warm enough to be pleasant. All are progressing fine in the work.³⁴

Personal correspondence provides another window onto the Chalcrafts' management of the Chehalis reservation. Most strikingly, one issue surfaced that would dog Edwin Chalcraft throughout his Indian Service career: his administering of corporal punishment as a form of physical discipline and social control. The following letter, written by Ida M. Eells, the daughter of Edwin Eells, concerns her father's recollection of an inspection carried out on the Chehalis reservation in mid-October 1885. Eells related the story to underscore the political nature of Indian Service appointments and to emphasize the undue influence that party allegiances could have. But it hints as well at one of the seamier aspects of assimilative education. According to agent Eells, as relayed through his daughter:

Mr. Chalcraft the superintendent of the Chehalis school was one of the very best men in the service. I did not have to send him notice that we were coming, for everything was always in apple order. The floor of the warehouse where the school supplies were kept was so clean that a lady with a silk dress could sit down on it anywhere. [On this visit,] [i]t was necessary that we stay at the superintendent's house as there was no other place where we could be accommodated. At the break-fast table the morning after our arrival, Mrs. Chalcraft was very enthusiastic in her praise of an Indian who was known by the name of Old Choake, he was such a true friend, no tricks about him as with some

others she named, who could not be depended upon. Whatever he said could be believed.

We went into the school where we spent an hour, and [at] about ten o'clock the Indians came in. Special Agent [Charles H.] Dickson took a rough census, getting the approximate number of Indians on the reservation, then gave the Indians a short talk and was about to dismiss them when Old Choake stood up and struck an attitude and said he would like to make a few remarks, said he: — I want you to know and all we Indians want you, a man from Washington, and you Mr. Eells, our agent, to know what kind of a man we have here for our teacher. Do you think that the Great Father at Washington, or do you[,] want us to have a man here who whips and beats the children until the floor is all bloody! Is that the kind of man you want us to have here? He sat down and looked around. We were all dumbfounded. Mr. Chalcraft looked as though he would like to sink through the floor. I think Mrs. Chalcraft skipped out. I was not very easy myself. But the Special Agent was equal to the emergency. Rising to his feet he said: — I have traveled all over the United States and have visited many schools and seen a great many Indians. When I come to a school like this and look around I very soon know whether the teacher is a kind man and fit for the place. When I see the scholars cheerful and obedient, and active in doing what they are told as they are doing here I know that the teacher is not a cruel man, or unkind to the scholars. You have one of the best of teachers and ought to be thankful for so good a man. Old Choake then slowly rose, and with a slightly chagrined, but still persistent look on his face said: — I thought you were a *Democrat* and wanted us to say something bad about our teacher. We could not keep from smiling and were much relieved.

But the joke was on Mrs. Chalcraft. Old Choake her true friend, whose word could be depended upon had certainly let her down.³⁵

It is difficult to assess the weight to assign to Old Choake's retraction. Was he simply acting on political motives? Why did Alice

Chalcraft apparently leave the room? Why did Edwin Chalcraft not immediately refute such a pointed allegation of wrongdoing? Such questions defy easy answers. But the incident does provide some context when similar questions of Chalcraft's behavior surface at other points in his Indian Service career.

Questions also arose regarding the nutrition and treatment students received under Chalcraft's care. In June 1888, a former industrial teacher at the Chehalis boarding school, Alfred Livesley, charged the superintendent with starving students and treating them in other inhumane ways. Livesley alleged that on the school farm students routinely were forced to work in unhealthy conditions. Reputedly Chalcraft ordered one boy, a Nisqually named Leo Shipman, to drive a wagon twenty-five miles in a pouring rain. Shipman, who suffered from tuberculosis, later died. Livesley contended that the school children lived in fear of their superintendent and it was only through fear that Chalcraft was able to maintain their obedience.

Livesley and his wife, who also had worked as a matron at the school, accused Chalcraft of constricting student rations for the explicit purpose of improving his stature in the Indian Service. The Puyallup boarding school, they impugned, operated at less per capita than the Chehalis school and Chalcraft aspired to run his school at a less costly, more efficient rate than the other school. In sworn testimony, the Livesleys described a steady regimen of "foul" hash that was served at breakfast, every day, for eighteen months. Deemed unfit for human consumption by the Livesleys, the hash consisted of potatoes and whatever meat and fish was available for use. Eventually the food restrictions became so acute that students regularly complained to the Livesleys and other employees of being hungry. Some even resorted to eating from garbage cans.

The following, an excerpt extracted from Alfred Livesley's deposition, was given before Tacoma attorney James Wickersham, who later became an opponent of Chalcraft over issues involving Puyallup tribal lands. The circumstances of this case centered on charges brought by Wickersham against Indian agent Edwin Eells and his management of the Puyallup agency.

QUESTION (James Wickersham): Do you know what kind of food the school children received at [the Chehalis] school?

ANSWER (Alfred Livesley): Yes Sir.

Q. Is it an Indian boarding school?

A. Yes.

Q. How many scholars were usually in attendance?

A. It run to the best of my knowledge from 40 to 50 scholars.

Q. What kind of food did these children receive?

A. Well it lacked in quantity and quality.

Q. You may state what the usual breakfast consisted of.

A. Hash, what they called hash, oatmeal mush bread — that was usually the breakfast.

Q. Was the hash of good quality?

A. No Sir.

Q. Explain wherein it was bad.

A. It was got up with mixtures of potatoes, meat, whatever kind they might have, also fish has been found in it.

Q. Did it smell sweet?

A. Not when it was burning on the stove it didn't.

Q. How did it taste?

A. It would take a stronger stomach than I had to taste it.

Q. Was it not fit for food?

A. No Sir, I don't consider it was.

Q. Did the children eat it?

A. Well they had to eat what there was for them to eat, or go without.

Q. How often was this hash served?

A. Once a day for [the] first eighteen months during Miss [Nellie] Pickering's cooking.

Q. During the whole of that time was this foul hash served once a day to these children?

A. Never failed to my knowledge — It was a standard bill of fare.

Q. Do you think scarcity of food was due to Mr. Chalcraft's exaggerated ideas of economy or for his personal benefit?

A. I think the main object was to run as cheap a school as possible so as to make a favorable showing as possible for himself

in regard to running the school with economy as the chief motive.

Q. You think it was to satisfy his ambition to get a good name in the department for economy was it?

A. He was striving to beat the Puyallup school in expenses, his chief ambition seemed to be to bring it under the Puyallup school in expenses per capita. In conversation I had with Mr. Chalcraft in regard to the school he stated that the Puyallup school had been run the previous year for less per capita than the Chehalis and that he was going to try to beat or to come up [to the Puyallup school] with the present year. I asked him what the expenses per scholar included — whether it was the provisions and clothing furnished or did it include the full running expenses of the school and employees? He said he didn't know. I told him I thought he would find out if he would try that it did include the employees: such being the case there being more employees at Chehalis according to the number of scholars that he would have to make it up out of the children's food, if he came up to the Puyallup school expenses.

Q. Was Mrs. Livesley (matron) allowed to issue food to the children or to prepare bills of fare?

A. No Sir. The children were forbidden to come to her for food, they came to her lots of times and she fed them out of her own house. The larger ones would stop the little ones as they would speak to Mrs. Livesley about being hungry and say [they were] told not to ask Mrs. Livesley for anything to eat.

Q. Did not the children at times pick up food thrown out at your house?

A. Mrs. Livesley said she had seen them do it — I never did.

Q. Is it not true that these children ate refuse food from the slop barrel at your house because of hunger?

A. Yes Sir.

Q. Did you or your wife see them?

A. My wife saw them. I did not.³⁶

Chalcraft's management practices were illustrated in a journal that documented in obsessive detail how he operated his school. Stringent rules and procedures dictated every aspect of his students' lives. At the end of each day, for example, students were instructed in precisely choreographed ritual how to put away their books and prepare to receive orders. The pattern was robotic in execution and resembled a military rifle drill without the guns. At the signal and in unison, students rose from their seats. Their heads faced toward the front of the classroom. Their backs were arched forward. Their hands touched their knees. The process continued with students turning right, placing their left hands and forearms on the desks in front of them and their right hands on the seats at their sides. Now students rotated their bodies left, their left hands and forearms swinging to touch the desks behind them, their right hands and forearms falling and hanging at their sides. Students continued by turning toward the front again and, in a sequence of maneuvers, folding their arms, placing their hands back on their knees, then rising up, closing their desks, turning right, stepping into the aisle, and turning and facing the front for a third time. At this point, with everything meeting approval, Chalcraft gave the command and the outside doors were swung open. The front row of girls in the eastern section of the room marched out first, followed by a second row, then the front row of boys from the western corner, followed by the second row. Similar conventions were mandated for waking up, entering and exiting the dining hall, saying the Pledge of Allegiance, opening school, reciting lessons, attending prayer service, and preparing for lights out.³⁷

Edwin Chalcraft's inaugural assignment, when considered in the context of the range of responsibilities involved in Indian Service work, presented an ideal proving ground. Although it is unclear what the extent of his understanding of American Indian policies was when he entered the Indian Service—he pinpointed the streets of Seattle following his relocation from Illinois in the early 1880s as the time and place of his first significant exposure to Indian people³⁸—it is likely that Chalcraft possessed little inkling in the fall of 1883 that he and his young wife were stepping into a boiling cauldron of social

upheaval. The 4,442-acre Chehalis reservation had been transformed into a cultural battleground, with traditional and non-Indian life ways sparring for supremacy and control. Chalcraft, as superintendent, was looking on as no neutral observer. On him fell responsibility for the acculturation of the Chehalis Indians. It was a task he quickly warmed to and even came to relish. And in the course of his duties, he learned his lessons well, so well in fact that he eventually came to devise and implement his own approaches to undermining Indian cultures.³⁹

In the fall of 1883, shortly after his arrival on the Chehalis reservation, Chalcraft encountered the Indian Shaker religion. Federal officials viewed Shakerism, an Indian response to assimilation closely associated with traditional Indian beliefs, as a serious threat to acculturation. Chalcraft therefore adopted a policy discouraging adult conversions and prohibiting children's participation in the religion. His rich memoir recounting of his extensive experience with the Shakers, particularly in the formative years following John Slocum's initial revelations, constitutes the fullest documentation of this Native revitalization movement by a contemporary federal official. So intimate was Chalcraft's involvement that he (with Edwin Eells) coined the term "Shakers" in describing the adherents of the religion. His response to the Shaker issue demonstrated his ability to deal with difficult situations in the field, and left no doubt that he possessed a promising future in the Indian Service.⁴⁰

Another obstacle at Chehalis was one faced by all superintendents administering assimilationist policies on reservations and in Indian schools: enforcing rules requiring the mastery of English. Language, more than any other manifestation of assimilation, offered a telling gauge of acculturation. For federal officials, a discernable correlation existed between levels of fluency and levels of assimilation.⁴¹ Chalcraft, in his boarding school, insisted that only English could be spoken, and to enforce the policy he imposed a "bread and water" regimen of withholding rations from those who failed to conform. While such social controls indeed appear harsh when judged against modern norms, his policies paled in comparison to the methods adopted by some superintendents. There were those who achieved compliance through the use of corporal punishment, incarceration, and various other dis-

ciplinary measures. There were still others who resorted to applying lye to the tongues of their students.⁴²

Chalcraft, in concert with other officials of the Puyallup Indian Agency, participated in the first Indian teachers' institutes held in the United States. Predating by a decade those that became standard throughout the Indian Service in the 1890s, these occasions provided teachers and other reservation employees with rare opportunities — twice a year, anyway — to meet and discuss issues, share strategies, and solve problems. A significant aspect of the process involved the writing and presenting of formal papers. The inaugural session — officially coined the “Nisqually and Skokomish Teachers' Institute” — was held in March 1886 on the Puyallup reservation. Six months later, at the end of August, the Chehalis reservation played host to the second one. Subsequent conferences took place on the Skokomish and Quinault reservations and again on the Puyallup and Chehalis reservations. Chalcraft felt that these agency institutes, probably because of their strong local ties, were of greater benefit than those eventually held nationally.⁴³

Chalcraft worked for nearly six years at Chehalis, a considerable accomplishment considering he occupied a position hardly known for producing extended tenures of service. In the summer of 1889, Edwin Eells acknowledged the energy, devotion, and managerial skill that Chalcraft had brought to the job. In rewarding that excellent work, Eells offered the Chehalis superintendent his choice of either a clerkship or a head teaching position at Puyallup Indian School near Tacoma, Washington. Although previous advancement opportunities had been declined, the allure of working on a larger reservation in an urban setting at a higher wage ultimately proved too strong. In June, Chalcraft accepted the position as superintendent of Puyallup Indian School.

The Puyallup Years, 1889–1894

The new position presented both opportunities and challenges. On a personal level, it moved the Chalcrafts within sight of Tacoma, a metropolis of some 40,165 inhabitants,⁴⁴ thus bringing the superintendent and his family nearer friends and relatives. The transfer also

placed them closer to Seattle, where they maintained a rental home. Moreover, Chalcraft could hone skills at Puyallup that he had begun to develop on the Chehalis reservation, and he could expand his knowledge of American Indian policies while learning the most effective strategies for administering them. On the debit side, the tempo of life quickened at Puyallup. The reservation attracted a greater number of government officials than Chehalis, for him meddlesome visits for which he said Indian Service employees had to be constantly on their guard. In addition, the proximity of the reservation to Tacoma raised the specter of the negative influence that outsiders could have on the tribe. In his memoir, Chalcraft criticized the high rate of alcoholism among the Puyallups, a condition for which he placed no small blame on townspeople. Potentially a graver threat, however, involved the tribe's landholdings. Chalcraft extensively documented the efforts of both himself and Edwin Eells to thwart local land companies in their attempts to coerce a literal divestiture of the Puyallup reservation.⁴⁵

The Puyallup years also saw the trend first noted by Ida Eells on the Chehalis reservation come into sharper focus. What had appeared as only a faint allusion suddenly erupted center stage: an aggressive application of corporal punishment. Some years later, Henry Sicade, a Puyallup tribal member, wrote a brief history of Puyallup Indian School. His compelling first-person account, written in 1927, alleged that according to the proclivities and temperaments of the individual officials in charge, corporal punishment ebbed and flowed throughout the late nineteenth century as a form of discipline in the school. Sicade characterized Chalcraft's tenure as particularly violent: "The old and cruel system of beating boys and girls with clubs and whips again came into vogue and flourished until the parents took [the issue in] hand and lawyers came to interfere."⁴⁶

Chemawa Indian School — First Appointment, 1894–1895

In the face of such claims, Chalcraft thrived. Imbued with the spirit of assimilationism, he compiled a job performance record at Chehalis and Puyallup that elicited high praise within the Indian Service bureaucracy and distinguished him as a top candidate for further advancement. However, when such laurels did come his way, it was in a

spirit other than he would have hoped. In November 1894, the Indian Office offered Chalcraft the superintendency of its largest and most prestigious school on the Pacific Coast, Chemawa Indian School in western Oregon. As the second-oldest off-reservation boarding school in the nation following only Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, and the first such institution built specifically for educating Indians far away from their homes, Chemawa certainly represented a promotion. Yet Chalcraft agreed to the transfer reluctantly.⁴⁷

Two factors, each characteristic of the sectarian bickering and competition plaguing the Indian Service during the assimilationist era, underpinned his hesitancy. First, Chalcraft believed his nomination to be part of a larger movement to bring the Puyallup reservation under the control of the Democratic Party, of which he was not a member. Second, Chemawa possessed a notorious reputation as a hotbed of “political intrigue.”⁴⁸ In both instances Chalcraft’s suspicions were probably warranted, but his impression of Chemawa was especially on the mark. The school, since its founding in February 1880, had operated under ten superintendents. Half had survived in office less than a year.

Chalcraft, over his apprehensions, accepted the position. The change, which elevated him among the elite superintendents in the Indian Service and increased his ledger of responsibilities, perpetuated at least one constant: discipline. As had been the case at Chehalis and Puyallup, control was strictly enforced and any challenge to a teacher’s authority was met with severe censure. Chemawa maintained a jail known as the “guardhouse,” and a number of student offenders were sent there. The offenses and punishments offer insight into the Chemawa school setting. On November 24, 1894, Eddie Davis was assigned to the guardhouse for an unspecified period for “disobeying” his classroom teacher and “resisting” the principal teacher. (Davis’s incarceration lasted five days, until he and another student, Andrew Fogerty, broke out and deserted.) Two weeks later, on December 7, Guss Lucier and Henry Fitzpatrick were caught smoking tobacco, an indiscretion that earned them three days each in the guardhouse. Two days later, Carpenter Elmore was jailed for swearing in the dining hall. On December 11, two boys were “whipped” after they were found in

the company of two female students in the basement of the hospital kitchen. That same day, Peter Laflamboisie was whipped at the matron's request for conduct described as "stubbornness and insubordination." Two days after Christmas, Royal Charles was forced to "carry the log" for hitting another student. On February 18, David Lisk received a seven-day confinement in the guardhouse for "disobeying" a school official and a sergeant of one of the boys' companies.⁴⁹

Although Chalcraft seemingly enjoyed his work, his term of duty at Chemawa was to mirror those of his predecessors. Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas P. Smith, responding to two unfavorable reports submitted by inspection officials, dismissed Chalcraft from the Indian Service just four months after he assumed control of the school. Chalcraft blamed his removal on partisanship and the vicissitudes of holding a federal appointment before the adoption of effective civil service reform.

His tenure as superintendent had begun to unravel almost as soon as it had begun. He recalled that it had been "clearly indicated" to him when he accepted the position that he "was expected to get rid of all politically objectionable employees in the school to make places for democrats." Chalcraft, who was "known *not* to be of that faith," had quickly surmised that "without doubt" he was destined to "suffer the same fate later."⁵⁰ A local newspaper agreed. Salem's *Oregon Statesman* editorialized on March 30, 1895, that Chalcraft's politics had been exploited in "a systematic movement to manufacture a reason for the dismissal." Rank partisanship had resulted in a "hypocritical defeat of the aims of civil service."

Chalcraft complained bitterly to the Office of Indian Affairs, but to no avail. The acting commissioner's discharge order held firm. Though inspired by perhaps Machiavellian motives, the decision was probably justified. Documentation preserved in Chalcraft's personnel file supports the assertion that he was a political casualty, although he may not have been completely innocent of allowing favoritism to infiltrate his management practices. Whatever the truth in the case, Charles D. Rakestraw, the supervisor of Indian schools who removed him, did so on grounds unrelated to job performance. In a letter

marked “personal” written to Secretary of the Interior Hoke Smith on March 13, 1895, Rakestraw reminded Smith of a meeting that had taken place between them the previous autumn during which Smith asked to be kept informed if Rakestraw learned of school superintendents “working to the detriment of Democratic employees.” In compliance, Rakestraw reported that at Chemawa the Republican Chalcraft “singled out” the Democratic employees, made “life a burden to most of them,” and granted promotions to Republican employees “in their places.” “All that any of the Democratic employees here ask,” Rakestraw implored Smith, “is at least decent treatment at the hands” of their superintendent. “Such treatment” had not been “received in the past” and was not likely to be received “in the future from the present Superintendent of Salem Indian School.”⁵¹

Seattle, Reinstatement, and Wind River Indian School, 1895–1900

The indictment found its mark. Chalcraft’s career, following an auspicious beginning, came crashing to a halt. Rendering the removal doubly disheartening was Chalcraft’s conviction that he had been elbowed out of the service without cause. Nonetheless, his interest in Indian work had been piqued in a manner that would not be easily quenched. Hence, while he accepted his return to civilian life, he never lost hope of someday being restored to duty. Thrown back into the private sector, he led a somewhat peripatetic existence for the next five years on Puget Sound. There was another brief period as a surveyor, followed by relocation to the small town of Mt. Vernon where Chalcraft operated a grocery store and managed a shingle mill. Within a year, however, he was back in Seattle, surveying again.⁵²

Meanwhile events unfolding on the opposite coast portended a dramatic change in his life. In 1897, Republican William McKinley assumed the presidency from Democrat Grover Cleveland, prompting Chalcraft to rally the support of several influential friends — including Richard Pratt, superintendent of the Carlisle Indian School; Thomas Burke, a prominent attorney, businessman, and civic leader in Seattle; and Edwin Eells, his former boss on the Chehalis and Puyallup reservations — to lobby for his reinstatement in the Indian Service. Their

joint efforts paid dividends. In May 1900, the Indian Office directed Chalcraft to report to Wind River Indian School on the Wind River reservation in west central Wyoming.

Wind River was merely a stepping-stone. Chalcraft occupied the post for only five months. In July, Richard Pratt and Commissioner of Indian Affairs W. A. Jones met privately in Washington DC. In discussing changes under consideration in the Indian Service, Jones informed Pratt of a possible realignment of field personnel that if adopted would require Chalcraft and his old nemesis Rakestraw to switch jobs. Devised specifically as retribution for the prominent role the supervisor of Indian schools had played in Chalcraft's ouster from Chemawa, and a tit-for-tat replay of the very partisanship that had been so instrumental in the superintendent's dismissal, conjecture became reality the following autumn. In October, the commissioner appointed Chalcraft to Rakestraw's position and reassigned Rakestraw "to a small school in the southwest."⁵³

Supervisor of Indian Schools, 1900–1904

During the next four years, in his new assignment, Chalcraft evaluated the administration of federal assimilationist policy on reservations scattered across the United States. From Neah Bay, Washington, to L'Anse, Michigan, and from Taos Pueblo, New Mexico, to Siletz, Oregon, he served as the government's eyes and ears in the field. The first person "actively engaged in the Indian work" to be appointed to an inspecting office (Chalcraft was proud to stand separate from the pool of politicians who remained the primary source for inspectors), his duties consisted of "checking up [on] the executive officer's work and reporting . . . observations as to the conditions found, together with recommendations that seemed advisable" directly to the office of the commissioner of Indian affairs in Washington DC. According to Chalcraft, his responsibilities encompassed "about everything relating to Indian Affairs; viz., agencies, schools, selecting and surveying school sites, paying annuity money to tribes, determining amounts to be paid defaulting contractors on Government buildings, [and] taking charge of agencies and schools pending appointment of new appointees where vacancies had occurred." For example, Chalcraft

was forced to assume temporary control of the Fort Lapwai school on the Nez Perce reservation in Idaho on three occasions after it was determined that administrators there were either incompetent, dishonest, or both.⁵⁴

Serving as supervisor of Indian schools placed Chalcraft in select company, near the top of the Indian Office hierarchy. In addition, he received a hefty \$2,000 annual salary. But the position embraced less desirable qualities as well: It provided a solitary, fragmented, rootless existence that required him to spend most of the year (other than his thirty days of annual vacation) separated from his family, which now included two young children. Another drawback was the prominence of conflict resolution in his work. He disliked the nature of the investigations, which, by his own admission, he found “distasteful.” Consequently, in a meeting in Washington DC, in December 1903, Chalcraft confessed to Commissioner Jones that he “was pretty much of a home man and if a vacancy should occur at the Chemawa school in Oregon, I might ask to be sent there.” Jones responded positively. He wanted Chalcraft to continue as supervisor of Indian schools as long as he was the commissioner, but he promised to remember the request.⁵⁵

Jones held true to his word. In August 1904 a telegram arrived in Weatherford, Oklahoma, where Chalcraft was auditing the financial records of Seger Colony. “Superintendent Potter [at] Salem resigned his position. Offered you. Do you accept? Wire when investigation at Seger will be completed,” it concluded. Within two days of receiving the job offer, and only after consulting his wife, Chalcraft notified the Indian commissioner of his decision; he would return to Oregon.⁵⁶

Although Chalcraft and the Indian commissioner shared a close bond, the roots of the appointment lay in more than friendship. Superiors and colleagues alike held Chalcraft in high regard. Throughout most of his career he ranked among the most respected of the superintendents in the service. His predecessor at Chemawa Indian School, Thomas W. Potter, for example, learned in early August 1904 of Chalcraft’s selection to succeed him as superintendent. In correspondence with Charles M. Buchanan, superintendent of Tulalip Indian School, Potter enthusiastically endorsed Chalcraft for the position.

I suppose you know that Mr. Chalcraft will be my successor here. Isn't that fine. It will be like turning the school over to a brother instead of some stranger, who might be prejudiced against me, and try to find fault with things here. I feel I have scored a point in having Mr. Chalcraft here as my successor, and you cannot feel how happy and thankful I am. I believe he is the man for this place, as he knows all the Indians throughout the Northwest as well as the Agents and Superintendents. He will also be much better than me in many ways, and I will always be only too anxious to help him continue the good work here, and hope you will cooperate with him, just as you have with me, and I know you will.⁵⁷

A few days later, Potter commented even more emphatically. In a follow-up letter to Buchanan, he wrote:

Your favor of August 5th just received, and I thank you more than I can express for your kind words regarding my leaving here, and also Mr. Chalcraft's appointment. Yes, I am more than glad to have Mr. Chalcraft follow me, because if there is a man I love besides yourself, it is Mr. Chalcraft. While he and I are not of the same class in some particulars, yet there is a big wide sphere where we meet as equals. Of course you know my weaknesses and you know his perfections, and you know where you come in between. It makes no difference to me whether they appreciate my work or not, as you say, as long as I put forth my efforts, and many of my friends stand by me as I know you do. Mr. Chalcraft was in Colony, Oklahoma, a few days ago, where he has to look after some schools yet before he can come to relieve me. Just think, if they sent some new man here who would want to make a great name for himself and try to tear up everything I had done, criticize it, belittle it, how unpleasant it would have been, for myself and the school, but Mr. Chalcraft coming will make things seem just the same, there will hardly be a ripple on the surface, only he will improve many of the little working details, which I have more or less neglected.⁵⁸

The four years following his return to the Indian Service had exceeded Chalcraft's grandest expectations. He had garnered the esteem of both his peers and superiors and gained administrative control over one of the premier Indian schools in America. Those weighty accomplishments represented a harvest of good fortune not lost on their beneficiary. Chalcraft knew that to serve again at Chemawa afforded rare vindication, and he viewed his appointment as a product of fate. Savoring the moment, he recalled: "I must confess that coming back to Chemawa . . . after all these experiences caused some feeling of exultation, which I hope may be pardonable; especially as there was a thought in my mind when we left in April, 1895, strong enough to cause me to save some unused printed tags that had been made and attached to our baggage when coming to Chemawa from the Puyallup school. These were used on our baggage coming from Canon City [where his wife and children had been staying in Colorado] to Chemawa."⁵⁹

Chemawa Indian School, Second Appointment, 1904–1912

During his second appointment, Chalcraft was Chemawa's fourteenth superintendent in twenty-four years, and the revolving door of administrators had kept the school in a state of perpetual transition since its founding. Originally located twenty-six miles southwest of Portland in Forest Grove on land rented from adjacent Pacific University and from local farmers, Chemawa was first called the Normal and Industrial Training School. Subsequently, it was known as Forest Grove Indian Training School, Salem Indian Industrial School, and Harrison Institute. Most commonly, however, the name Chemawa Indian School was used. In 1885, after fire destroyed the girls' dormitory, administrators determined the Forest Grove acreage insufficient to support the school farm and moved the facility to the permanent Chemawa site four miles north of Salem where it has remained continuously in operation for more than a century.

Students contributed much of the labor for the new campus. James Stuart, a Nez Perce from the Fort Lapwai agency in Idaho and a member of Chemawa's first graduating class, remembered the construction activities: "The boys cut poles and set them in the ground for studs; the frame work was made with poles with the bark on; big fir trees

were felled and cut up into proper lengths for shakes to cover the roof and sides; earth floors were used; bunks were made in which to sleep. For desks and benches rough lumber was used. The sidewalks were made by laying down poles and placing fir boughs thereon; candles furnished lights, although occasionally lighted pine sticks were of a necessity used.”⁶⁰

The school Chalcraft inherited stood nearly unrecognizable compared to the original three crude buildings that had made up the physical plant at Forest Grove, or even in contrast to the facility James Stuart knew at Salem in the mid-1880s. The superintendent provided the following sketch of the Chemawa campus as he knew it during his second administration:

Here was a magnificent school-plant of about fifty-five buildings, many of them being large brick structures, all well equipped for their special purposes and, with exception of the farm and dairy buildings, were grouped on a beautiful campus of about forty acres, covered with green grass summer and winter. About the grounds were fir trees of considerable size, walnut trees and maples, and a number of ornamental trees and shrubs. All about the campus were cement walks lined on each side with rose bushes, some of the choicest varieties. This is the scene that meets the eyes of passengers as they go by on the trains [that run through the grounds], and impresses the visitor first as he enters the campus from the Chemawa depot.⁶¹

Seventeen Puyallups and one Nisqually Indian had composed the first student body when the school opened in 1880, but enrollments under Chalcraft’s leadership exceeded six hundred, with a staff of almost fifty. Chemawa’s large off-reservation boarding school was part of an elaborate federal system that included reservation day and boarding schools. Strategically located in the fertile Willamette Valley, Chemawa served the Indian population of the western United States and Alaska, and policy makers considered the facility an outstanding instrument of Indian assimilation. Educators, far removed from

parental and tribal influences and interference, could inculcate their students in the primary tenets of Americanism: patriotism, Christianity, the English language, and husbandry.⁶²

Typical of federal Indian schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Chemawa coupled vocational and academic instruction. In Chalcraft's words, "Attention . . . [was] about equally divided in training both the hand and the mind, the object being to prepare the students to go forth after graduation and take their place with other citizens of our country." Students split their time studying behind desks, laboring in shops, and toiling on the farm. Chalcraft illuminated the logistics of the instructional system: "The usual plan of arranging the pupils in two divisions, so that each could be in the classrooms part of the day, one while the other was attending to their industrial duties, was in vogue at Chemawa. The time of attendance was changed at regular intervals, so that all pupils had the same amount of morning and afternoon study." According to Chalcraft, the dual emphasis on academic and vocational training (known as the half-and-half curriculum) took nothing away from either specialization. As he expressed it, "Notwithstanding [that] the hours of study were shorter than in the public schools, the grades were kept fully up to the standard, and it was not uncommon for pupils leaving Chemawa . . . to skip a grade" upon enrolling in a public school.⁶³

The vocational program was diverse. Boys studied "steam and electrical engineering, carpentry, painting, plumbing, blacksmith and wagon work, shoe and harness making, tailoring, baking and printing" in addition "to the courses afforded by the farm, garden, and orchards." For breadth of training, Chalcraft required students taking "the mechanical course to spend enough time in the agricultural departments to get some knowledge of the work; and on the other hand, the farm boys were given some instruction in carpentry, harness, and blacksmith work." Meanwhile, girls "enjoyed all the academic privileges of the boys." Their vocational education combined "canning of fruit and preparing other supplies for winter use" with "everything worth while" that fell "under the head of Home Economics."⁶⁴

A farm of some four hundred acres made up the core of the agricul-

tural track. The school's facilities included a horse barn, a twenty-eight stall dairy barn, and a feed-storage silo. The grounds were planted in orchards and assorted berries, and each year several thousand bushels of potatoes and other fruits and vegetables were harvested. Chalcraft believed that this bounty afforded Chemawans "a more healthful and satisfactory living" compared with students attending schools offering nothing more than rations.⁶⁵

Military-style regimentation maintained order and discipline. Students were organized into companies, and boys wore "uniforms of blue army jersey" manufactured in the school's tailor shop. During his tenure, Chalcraft encouraged the cadets to buy rifles, belts, swords, and saber slings to complete their dress. In 1915, three and one-half years after Chalcraft left Chemawa, the school newspaper commented on the martial aspect of student life: "Military training is one of the important features of the boy's training at this school. Through this medium he is trained in military tactics, obedience, promptness, and self-possession. Much time is spent in the open air of spring in preparation for the competitive drills held at Commencement under the direction of the officers of the regular army and state militia. The rivalry for the honors at that time is of the keenest."⁶⁶

Systematization figured prominently as well. Each Sunday Chalcraft conducted dormitory inspections, a process he described in detail in his memoir:

When visitors were present on Sunday, we usually invited them to accompany us on the regular inspection of the pupils' quarters at 9:30 a.m., on that day. The pupils were all in their rooms, most of which were occupied by two persons. Besides any visitors that might be present, I always invited two or three of the larger boys to go with me when inspecting the girls' dormitories; and when going to the boys' quarters it would be the same number of girls.

When in the girls' rooms, the boys were on the lookout for dust in unexpected places, such as behind pictures on the walls, and sometimes wiping the top of open doors with their handkerchiefs in trying to find some. The girls with me in the boys' rooms were equally active.⁶⁷

Extracurricular and social activities also conditioned student life. Young women had their choice of membership in two literary societies, the Nonpareil or the Estelle Reels, and boys the Excelsior Society or the Nesika Club, a thirteen-member “burlesque organization” whose stage productions “attracted the general public.” The YMCA and YWCA maintained chapters as well, and the Catholic Church and Protestant denominations offered Sunday services and religious instruction.⁶⁸

Both sexes participated in sport. “Sane athletics,” the *Chemawa American* commented in 1911, “are given a place in all of our educational institutions, for the reason that quick thinking and quick action are thereby linked together to go hand in hand through life. It creates a desire on the part of the youth for physical perfection.” The editorial cautioned, however, that athletics should never rank “first in life’s possibilities.” Chemawa’s faculty and administrators took “little pride in the athlete who has won his spurs on the track” but considered himself “too strong to chop a little wood for his mother if she needs it.” In the writer’s opinion, “useful things” mattered most, and sport could be beneficial only when applied as an extension of academic and vocational training.⁶⁹

Chalcraft acknowledged the prominence of athletics. In his memoir, he listed football, basketball (for both boys and girls), baseball, and track as Chemawa’s team sports and boasted that his students’ participation “was a credit to the school as well as to those taking part in the contests.” Chemawa’s varsity football and baseball teams, he exulted, “were rated on a par with the state universities of Oregon and Washington teams, and games were won from both of them.”⁷⁰

Employment opportunities were available for students in neighboring communities. Although parents “frequently sent spending money,” Chalcraft reported that more was earned from picking hops and from labor performed for non-Indians during school breaks. As a teaching tool, the superintendent established a Pupils’ Bank in which students opened savings accounts. He kept “a set of books,” and “printed checks were used in drawing money from the bank.” The summer hop season could return as much as \$3,500 to the student body. “The boys with one of the male employees camped in the

hop-fields; and the girls with a female employee in each party, were taken to the hop-fields by team in the morning and returned [to their dormitories] in the same way every evening,” Chalcraft explained. For calculating earnings and disbursing wages, “hop-tickets were given [to] pupils for [the] hops [they] picked during the day, which were filed in the school office, and at the end of the season the grower came to the office and made payment in full, which was then credited to the pupils’ individual accounts.”⁷¹

Reaction to the Chemawa experience varied. A large number of students clearly enjoyed their stay at the school. “I like to go to school,” one pupil wrote home. “We have a teacher . . . and she is good to us and I like her to. They play basket ball here and play football here to and I like to go to football games.” Another student reassured her mother: “I am trying to learn all I can for you. We are studying about citizen ship for a long time. Are matron is good to us when we are good to her, and our teacher is very good to us when we behave our self.”⁷²

Many students loyally defended Chemawa, even in the face of ridicule and the threats of their fellow tribal members. Paschal George attended Chemawa and returned to his home on the Coeur d’Alene reservation in Idaho. In April 1907, he wrote Chalcraft at length describing the hostility he experienced:

I miss my kind instructors and my many friends, but never the less I thank them all for what they have done for me, although I don’t know much, and what I have learned there is already doing me and my folks [a] lot of good and makes me feel good.

The other day I was to Tekoa [Washington] and went into one of the stores when [one] of the Indians pointed at me and said that soldier that just came in “because I had my [Chemawa] uniform on,” is going to be the one that’s going [to] cause me from loosing my land. [W]hen we tell him not [to] go to Chemawa he wont listen to us so there fore I am going to Washington D.C. and have him put off the reservation, him and the rest of his friends. Some of the people asked me what was he saying,

well, I explained to them and at the end I said he is going to the one that's trying to make some body out of me the one that's trying to show me the white man's ways he is going there [to] tell him I want Paschal George out of the reservation and make me stay with the white people where I am trying to go. Well, [he] will be asked why by the commissioner of indian affairs, why do you want him out? he'll say for going to Chemawa Indian school. Well I said they'll think him crazy. I said you might as well go and tell my mother kick me out of the house, and which she wouldn't do. Of course, every body laughed, and said that would be a great joke if he would go, that is why I am thankful for what I learned and perhaps if I didn't go to school I would no doubt have the same ideas as this Indian had.⁷³

Not everyone shared George's view. Chemawa recorded as many as seventy runaways annually.⁷⁴ And, contrary to Chalcraft's glowing accounts, some parents openly criticized Chemawa's academic program. One father voiced displeasure that his son had been in school for nine months and had failed to "learn much more as he was, while he was a little boy. So I know its no use for him, if he stays there long. So please send him home, right away."⁷⁵ In December 1908, Chalcraft received a letter from an Indian parent that exhibited both frustration and anger:

I wrote to you a while back asking you to arrange for Myrtle to go to Chemawa but since then I have changed my mind and will not let her go there. I asked you several questions about the boys that are at the school and you did not answer them either.

I asked you about McKinley's ear to and you did not answer that either, he has had more or less truble with [it] ever since he has been there. [S]o I wish you would see to it. I do not want it to become cronic so it will truble him the rest of his life. I know that will be the case if not attended to.

And another thing he went up there to learn a trade, and besides six months is to long for him to stay in the londry and

wash clothes. [H]e could learn that much at home. So if he can't learn any thing besides working in the laundry he can come home.⁷⁶

Family separation and limited communication between Chemawa and home were other sources of parental concern. "I don't know why or cant understand why I do not get no letter from Charley," a mother anguished. "I dont even get his Reports from school," and "I gave him money to buy stamps." But the greatest fear of parents — realized in all too many instances — was the death of a son or daughter. "I can not tell you how it did hurt me to hear that my dear little darling child was taken away from me," a grieving mother lamented to Chalcraft, "and to lose her with out seeing her dear little face befor[e] she was laid away."⁷⁷

It was in the area of preventing deaths that Chalcraft made what he considered to be his greatest contribution to Indian affairs. In the early twentieth century, tuberculosis was rampant in Indian communities, particularly in Indian boarding schools. Infection rates ran high at Chemawa and many stricken students were transferred to a tuberculosis sanatorium located in Lapwai, Idaho. To treat the disease, Chalcraft pioneered an "open-air" method in 1907 in which he had patients living outside in tents and later in buildings constructed for exposing them to fresh air. Chalcraft alleged that none of the students who underwent his treatment died. When Indian commissioner Francis E. Leupp learned of this remarkable record, he mandated that Chalcraft's technique be implemented throughout the Indian Service. Chalcraft's response to the scourge of tuberculosis, similar to his participation in the first teachers' institutes held while he was superintendent at Chehalis and Puyallup, illustrated a genuine concern on his part for the children under his care and his total commitment to the position he held.⁷⁸

Chalcraft, for all of the obvious shortcomings, considered assimilative education a boon to Indians. He grounded his assessment in a contemporary ethos: Chemawa showcased Indian peoples' best hope for long-term survival. He was proud of his work, his school, and federal Indian policies. From Chalcraft's perspective and from the

perspective of the government he served, manifestations and symbols of “civilization” abounded at Chemawa. They could be divined in the architecture and construction of the dormitories, schoolhouses, and vocational buildings; in the hospital that monitored student health; in the mandatory chapel service conducted every evening; in the primly attired twenty-eight-piece parade band; in the 1,200-volume library; in the solemn flag-raising ceremony each morning; in the cultivation of the farm each spring; in the boys’ close-cropped haircuts; in the military-style uniforms students wore.

At the same time, Chalcraft recognized the problems common to off-reservation Indian schools. He knew students often suffered from culture shock, family separation, overcrowding, antiquated facilities, unappetizing and inadequate food, poor sanitation, and deficient health supervision, among others. And as superintendent he enforced the institution’s emphasis on regimentation, student labor, and discipline. Nonetheless, Chalcraft perceived Chemawa above all as an opportunity, a singular chance, the one hope for Indian people to improve upon what he regarded as their otherwise sorry lot in life.

Ultimately, his role in the assimilation process at Chemawa was cut short by his own actions. Six years into his second term, Chalcraft’s aggressive response to a student transgression plunged him into controversy and culminated in his dismissal. Among other lessons, the incident illustrated how the strictly enforced policy of total assimilation could harm administrators as well as students. Chalcraft’s problems began in October 1910. Thirteen female students climbed out of a McBride Hall window and walked about a mile off campus. The girls later explained that they had asked the matron to escort them on a walk and, after she refused, decided to go alone. Chalcraft surmised that the girls—who ranged in age from fourteen to twenty-one—had left to rendezvous with boys living nearby. On their return, he administered corporal punishment, a form of discipline that by now had been banned in Indians schools. With a switch he struck several girls across their shoulders and backs and he ordered the ringleaders to “whip” their fellow students until they cried.

Chalcraft’s actions reflected poor supervisory judgment. The girls later described his angry demeanor. Consumed by the moment, he

admonished them after the whipping that “the door of McBride Hall would be open [later that night] . . . and that they could go.” He told them that he “wanted them to go, [and] that they would be cowards if they did not go.” The unfortunate episode ended with Chalcraft gloating that he “hoped they would go, as there were sixteen girls coming from Montana” to take their places. To his surprise, three girls accepted his ultimatum, fled campus, and ended up forty-three miles away in Portland.⁷⁹

Reports of Chalcraft’s conduct eventually reached the Indian Office in Washington DC, where they hit like a thunderbolt. Chilling accounts and graphic descriptions of open wounds and bloodstained clothing stirred the commissioner of Indian affairs to take immediate action. R. G. Valentine’s initial survey of the evidence convinced him that Indian Service regulations had been violated. In March 1911, he charged Chalcraft with both superintendent- and student-administered whippings and student immorality. Chalcraft was given three days to justify his actions or face removal. The superintendent submitted a lengthy explanation, but without effect. On April 28, the commissioner drafted a suspension order. Meanwhile Chalcraft braced himself for the defining battle of his life. “A fight to the finish was now on,” he vented in his memoir.⁸⁰

Chalcraft, in support of his disciplinary policy, mounted a furious defense. Deeming his to have been a reasonable approach to controlling inappropriate student behavior, he began by outlining the difficult circumstances he believed he had been up against. The administrator considered decadence a problem in all Indian boarding schools, Chemawa “no exception.” In fact, he admitted he had only accepted the superintendent’s position with explicit “knowledge that there were serious difficulties to be encountered.” In order to restore institutional control, he had elevated attendance and discipline as his foremost priorities, and by November 1906 he felt sufficiently confident of the progress that had been achieved to confide proudly to an associate: “We have been trying to clean up everything about the school that would reflect upon its morals and I think have about succeeded.”⁸¹

His proclamation, however, had been issued prematurely. Chemawa, despite the energetic prevention measures of the superinten-

dent, continued to experience “illicit intercourse between pupils” — three incidents during the 1910–11 academic year alone. Disappointed yet ever resolute, Chalcraft decided to impose every conceivable deterrent. Regarding sexual promiscuity, he assured authorities that “every effort” had been made “to suppress not only the practice, but information regarding the same.” He enumerated the many steps that had been taken to thwart student intimacy: screening windows, installing door locks, and posting a night watchman. In addition, faculty and staff had been advised to remain vigilant, and female employees were instructed to chaperone girls to and from school and wherever else contact with boys might occur.⁸²

Chalcraft believed this firm stand held the greatest potential for shaping student conduct. Several girls had become troublemakers, and he determined that reining in their defiance required a forceful response. Every superintendent, Chalcraft reasoned, applied corporal punishment at some point to maintain discipline, even if it meant overstepping the rules. “It had reached the point in this case,” he argued, “when the pupil must be conquered or dismissed.” He considered expulsion, particularly if it resulted in “sending the girl out into the world,” as more punitive than corporal punishment. Judged against this backdrop, he rejected as “absolutely false” the “charge of cruelty” levied against him. He admitted he had resorted to the switch, but only to convince the girls that “they were to be controlled even if it became necessary to give them a real whipping to accomplish it.”⁸³

Chalcraft perceived other forces at play. In reacting to the action taken against him, he claimed that, once again, political motives were responsible. According to Chalcraft, shortly after Valentine assumed the office of Indian commissioner, large appropriations were authorized to increase the student enrollment and staff at Puyallup Indian School. However, after enrolling all school-age children living within the agency (which encompassed the Puyallup, Nisqually, Squaxin, and Chehalis reservations), Commissioner Valentine realized those numbered “not nearly enough to fill the school, making the overhead expenses high.” Fearing “a large school” had been built where one was “not needed,” Valentine appealed for help. He recruited Chalcraft to write an official letter to him, recommending that the territory

from which the Chemawa school drew pupils should be divided at the Columbia River.⁸⁴

The superintendent wanted no part of such machinations. The intent of Valentine's proposal, Chalcraft believed, had been to provide the Puyallup school with "a larger field from which to secure pupils." For two reasons, he refused to comply: "This would take from Chemawa about one-half of our pupils and ruin the school, for which I would receive the blame if I took the initiative; and the Oregon delegation in Congress would be after my 'scalp.'" ⁸⁵ Chalcraft accused the Indian commissioner of devising a plan to increase the student body of the Puyallup school at the expense of the Chemawa enrollment. The only way Valentine could justify a realignment of school-attendance boundaries was to claim that a subordinate on the scene, Chalcraft, had requested it. "The desired letter . . . and the failure to get it was the one, and only reason, for the attack he made on me later," Chalcraft insisted.⁸⁶

The explanation persuaded no one. Chalcraft was partly right; Valentine had wanted to enlarge the Puyallup school. The superintendent's defense, however, had largely degenerated to damage control, a vain attempt at self-vindication and a futile attempt to deflect the legitimate concerns of national officials with whom responsibility ultimately rested for safeguarding students' health and safety. His explanation of his actions was not completely ineffective; he retained his employment in the Indian Service. But he lost in his bid to continue at Chemawa.

In September 1911, Acting Secretary of the Interior Samuel Adams reinstated him, convincing Chalcraft that his "troubles were about over" and, finally, he could relax. Within two weeks, however, Commissioner Valentine reassigned him to Jones Male Academy, a Choctaw school for boys located near Hartshorne, Oklahoma, an arrangement obviously devised with the intention of isolating the superintendent from female students.⁸⁷ Although Chalcraft contested the transfer, the Indian commissioner refused to budge. He informed his subordinate his conduct had been of a nature that simply could not be ignored. Yet in light of Chalcraft's lengthy service and considerable contributions to Indian affairs, he was willing to grant a single chance at redemption:

I recognize all the excellent work which you have done and the results you have accomplished at the Salem School; at the same time I recognize also those conditions over which you should have exercised control which negated [*sic*] in a large measure the excellent administrative features of your work at that place. You are given here [with the appointment to Jones Male Academy] an opportunity to develop and bring out the best which is in this school and by your conscientious adherence to the rules of sound administration and the avoidance of those things which culminated in the investigation of your school, in time you may be again promoted to a school of the class which you have left.⁸⁸

The commissioner's words failed to placate the embattled superintendent. Chalcraft waged yet another challenge to Valentine's ruling, forcing immediate intervention by the Secretary of the Interior Walter L. Fisher. In October 1911, Fisher endorsed Valentine's handling of the case. "The conditions which have grown up under your administration at Chemawa," he lectured Chalcraft, "raise substantial doubt as to your administrative capacity." With that last comment, Chalcraft capitulated. His reservoir of options depleted, he prepared to go to Oklahoma.⁸⁹

Fisher's letter signified the nadir of Chalcraft's career in the Indian Service. Left permanently crippled as an influential force in Indian affairs, he was never able to extract the poison from the wound. While he heeded Valentine's admonition to avoid the problems that brought down his management of Chemawa, overcoming the stigma of the incident remained a mountain in the distance. Two debilitating years were spent in the sweltering heat of Oklahoma before Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells was finally persuaded to appoint him to the Siletz Indian Agency on the Oregon coast. Assuming charge in July 1914, it would prove to be Chalcraft's final, and longest, assignment.⁹⁰

Siletz Agency, 1914–1925

Chalcraft was fifty-nine years old and embarking on an undertaking that probably required the energies of a man half his age. Similar

to the Chehalis and Wind River reservations and Jones Male Academy, Siletz agency represented a lightly regarded position for OIA officials. The reservation, located in rural western Oregon, lay isolated from major urban centers and carried a vicious reputation for the levels of alcohol consumed by the Indians living there. But it was an ideal situation for Chalcraft. Despite his advancing years, he possessed experience and skills impossible to duplicate in a younger man. His background with Indian drinking dated to the Puyallup reservation. Commissioner Sells knew that. He also knew that Chalcraft's strong personality and zero-tolerance attitude would afford him a chance at success where others had failed.

For Indian people, particularly those living on reservations, alcohol ranked among the most pernicious impacts of contact. For decades, the federal government had desired to control Indian drinking, even including a provision in treaties making it a crime to sell liquor to Indians on reservations. But that measure had met with limited success. In Chalcraft's appointment, the Indian commissioner hoped to institute a program that could be duplicated elsewhere. The strategy was simple enough — a throwback to previous decades when the word of the Indian agent was law. At Siletz, Chalcraft ruled with an iron hand, backed up by a court system standing by to prosecute reservation bootleggers. It was an approach that proved effective. Although alcohol remained a problem at Siletz, on the whole Chalcraft considered his efforts a success. Most important, his accomplishments in Oregon allowed him to finish his career on a high note. On November 12, 1925, reaching the mandatory retirement age of seventy, he left Siletz and returned to Seattle.

Conclusions

Chalcraft, like most Indian agents and superintendents, compiled a mixed legacy of skills and flaws, virtues and failings, brilliance and vanity. On the positive side, his contributions to American Indian affairs were significant. He helped coin the term "Shakers" in describing members of what has since become known as the Indian Shaker Church, participated in the first formal conferences in the United States organized specifically to address issues of Indian education,

intervened successfully to protect Puyallup tribal lands, pioneered an “open-air” method for treating tubercular patients, the success of which resulted in the adoption of his system throughout the Indian Service, and spearheaded the first significant federal effort to curb alcohol consumption on Indian reservations.

Conversely, Chalcraft crafted the federal government’s initial response to suppress Shakerism. He introduced methods of social conditioning such as “bread and water” punishments for boarding school students who broke the rules by speaking their Indian language. He continued to administer corporal punishment as a form of discipline after the federal government prohibited the practice. Most of all, Chalcraft symbolized the federal effort begun after the Civil War to reform all facets of tribal life and the excesses that resulted from that undertaking.

In many ways, Chalcraft’s Indian Service career was a microcosm of the national assimilationist policies he struggled to administer. Both possessed a dual nature, contrasting “Jekyll and Hyde” qualities, simultaneously reformist and reactionary, creative and destructive, liberating and restricting. Each offered a chance at success or failure. Most striking, Chalcraft occupied a position within the federal bureaucracy that allowed him to dominate those under him, a power relationship that may have fulfilled his need to control others and that may have accounted, at least in part, for his long interest in the Indian Service. Revealing are the implications of Chalcraft’s career. That he was able to survive, rise, and even thrive in the Indian Service speaks to the unregulated climate dominating Indian affairs during the assimilationist era, particularly a spoils system in which party affiliation — not ability and conduct — was paramount. In fact, Chalcraft’s career is an excellent case study of how politics could affect Indian administration at the local level at the turn of the century.

Despite the good intentions of federal policy makers and field administrators such as Edwin Chalcraft, historians and even the national government ultimately deemed the assimilationist era a failure. As the stranglehold of assimilation slowly began to give way to the brighter lines of the Indian New Deal, interest in building more nonreservation schools waned (although enrollments remained high in existing

schools through the 1930s), and eventually federal emphasis shifted from reservation day and boarding schools to public schools.

The change was born of necessity. In 1926, under pressure from reformers, the Interior Department authorized a survey of Indian affairs and its own Indian Service bureaucracy. The findings of this comprehensive investigation, known in published form as the Meriam Report, reached the disturbing conclusion that the government's assimilationist policy generally was deeply flawed, particularly with regard to education. The report judged the schools grossly deficient in almost every category — reliance on child labor, meager rations, overcrowding, unqualified personnel — and suggested the possibility of widespread demoralization among students. The Meriam Report, in its critique of the nonreservation boarding school, recommended that students be raised “in the natural setting of home and family life” and that all federally sponsored educational programs establish as a first priority “the understanding of human beings.”⁹¹

Chalcraft seemed slow to recognize the subtle and not so subtle changes taking place in Indian affairs. Like many professionals in any field, he remained wedded to the policies and methods in place during the formative years when he began his career. Frederick Hoxie has pointed out that after passage of the Dawes Act, the U.S. government kept up the rhetoric of assimilation, but slowly backed off in its commitment of resources and leadership. Even Indian commissioners such as Cato Sells expressed reservations about the practicability of the program. While Hoxie's viewpoint is not shared by all historians, it does raise the question of how long it took for shifts in philosophy in Washington DC to make their way into Indian Country and the long gestation between the adoption of policies and their implementation in the field. In the case of Edwin Chalcraft, at a time when the OIA seemed to be retrenching, he was operating on principles more reflective of the aggressive assimilation of the 1880s and 1890s, a situation perhaps exacerbated from a sense of needing to do more with less.⁹²

In fact, Chalcraft continued to believe in assimilation long after American policy makers had abandoned the assimilationist ethos. Basing his conclusions on his extensive background and a tenure of service among the longest of any in the history of the Indian Service,

one in which his administering of Indian policies touched the lives of literally thousands of Native people, Chalcraft defended the earlier policy. In comparing the Indians he encountered on the Chehalis reservation in 1883 with those he observed a half-century later, he saw dramatic evidence of the heroic efforts of himself and others to save and transform a dying people. In a 1942 statement he said: "That this government policy was a success is attested by the fact that a large number of the younger Indians are living on their reservations practically free from the superstition and habits of their parents; while hundreds of others are filling positions of responsibility and trust as respectable citizens among those of our own race."⁹³

In 2004, however, shifting perspectives have cast the policy of assimilation in a new light. Chalcraft's assertions, if judged simply on whether national policies hastened the integration of Indian people into the social mainstream, will find some defenders. But when evaluated against stricter criteria, and from the hindsight of the sixty years that have elapsed since Chalcraft wrote his memoir, the results appear more uncertain.

Assimilation came with a heavy cost. Disease, mortality, unemployment, alcoholism, emotional anguish, generational conflict, and social and family breakdown numbered among the consequences of federal Indian policies aimed at destroying the cultural identity of American Indian people. In addition, most Indians, despite the very real success stories that Chalcraft spoke of, continued to languish on reservations mired in excruciating poverty.⁹⁴

Nor was the apparent acceptance of some aspects of American culture an abrogation by Indians of their own identity. If anything, Chalcraft and the federal assimilationist policies he and others enforced promoted the development of a distinctive Indian identity as Indian people and the national government came to be uniquely intertwined. Chalcraft downplayed those realities (if he recognized them at all) that had left Indians a melancholic mix of red, white, and *blue*, as he did his own sometimes questionable administration of national policies.

Yet, in the context of today, it is these issues—the treatment of people and man's sometimes inhumanity to man buried in the pretext

of good intentions — that perhaps weigh the heaviest. To borrow from the unfortunate and ironic terminology that has so often been used against Indian people, it may very well be in that fundamental arena of human relations where a nation’s own “savagery” and “civilization” must be judged.

Chronology of Significant Events

- 1853 Washington established as a territory
- 1854–55 Washington Territorial Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens negotiates treaties with Pacific Northwest tribes
- 1855 Edwin L. Chalcraft born near Albion, Illinois
- 1858 Alice Fawcett Pickering born in Albion
- 1862–66 William Pickering serves as governor of Washington Territory
- 1880 Edwin Chalcraft and Alice Pickering marry in Albion
- 1880 The Chalcrafts travel from Albion to Issaquah, Washington
- 1883 Edwin Chalcraft hired as superintendent of Chehalis Indian Reservation
- 1887 Congress passes the General Allotment Act
- 1889 Washington admitted as the forty-second state to the Union
- 1891 Edwin Pickering Chalcraft, son of Edwin and Alice Chalcraft, born in Seattle
- 1894 Alice Pickering Chalcraft, known as Hallie, daughter of Edwin and Alice Chalcraft, born in Seattle
- 1924 Congress passes the Indian Citizenship Act

- 1925 Edwin L. Chalcraft retires from the U.S. Office of Indian Affairs
- 1934 Congress passes the Indian Reorganization Act
- 1938 Alice F. Chalcraft dies in Seattle
- 1942 Edwin L. Chalcraft completes memoir entitled “Memory’s Storehouse”
- 1943 Edwin L. Chalcraft dies in Seattle
- 1963 Edwin Pickering Chalcraft dies in Seattle
- 1988 Alice Pickering Chalcraft dies in Seattle

Note on Provenance of Manuscript and Methodology

According to archivist Lawrence Stark, Washington State University purchased the Chalcraft-Pickering family papers and photographs in late 1986 from Florian Shasky, a dealer in out-of-print books and manuscript materials. Included in the Chalcraft-Pickering acquisition was an original copy of the Chalcraft memoir. Apparently Chalcraft's daughter had sold it shortly before her death. It is unclear how many copies of the original memoir were produced, but Washington State University holds the only known extant copy. Extracts from the manuscript are available at the Lewis County Historical Society, Chehalis, Washington. The Chalcraft-Pickering collection was accessioned under the heading "Chalcraft-Pickering Family Papers," and it makes up the contents of cage 560 in the Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections division of the Washington State University Libraries in Pullman. Titled "Memory's Storehouse," the original Chalcraft manuscript numbers 277 typed pages.

The paramount goal of the editor has been to present the manuscript in a form as close as possible to the original, maintaining the voice of the author as reflected through his writing style. At no point have alterations been made which change the meaning that Chalcraft sought to convey. For purposes of clarity and readability, extensively long passages have been broken into paragraphs and some misspellings have been corrected. Brackets have been used for inserting identifying material—such as given names—and clarifying difficult text. In most cases, given names have simply been inserted

into the text in front of proper names. In addition, Chalcraft had a penchant for repeating the year in which events took place, and some of those deemed unnecessary have been deleted. Due to space considerations, a few redundant passages have been eliminated and marked with ellipses, and annotations have been limited to significant items. If two words should have been separated by a space, the space has been added. Capitalization has been standardized for consistency; errors have been corrected with caution and moderation. Abbreviations used by Chalcraft appear as in the original, for example, Sup't. (Superintendent), &c (etc.), and Ore. (Oregon). Grammatical errors, such as agreement in number, have been corrected for clarity, according to current standard usage. Some punctuation has been added or changed for clarity. Some single words have been separated into two words, for example, *enroute* to *en route*. Chalcraft's various spellings of the names of Indian tribes have been preserved as in the original manuscript. Obviously misspelled words that would be confusing to readers have been corrected, except when changing misspelled words would dramatically alter Chalcraft's style or voice. Misspelled proper names have been corrected. A few sentences have been reconstructed for clarity with care taken to ensure that meaning was not altered. Quotations, correspondence, telegrams, newspaper articles, and other documents are presented as in the original.

{ Assimilation's Agent }

Preface

A personal narrative of incidents relating to the lives of Edwin L. Chalcraft and his beloved life companion, Alice Fawcett Chalcraft, written for the information and remembrance of their two children, Edwin Pickering Chalcraft and Alice Pickering Chalcraft.

Foreword

In writing the following, there is no thought in mind that it is to be a formal biography, but rather a simple and brief statement of some of the experiences of two young people whose acquaintance and association covered many years prior to the time they were united for life, which proved to be a life of activity and contentment, with a full measure of love and happiness for both, until a ripe old age, when the time came for the beloved wife to pass away and leave the husband, a son with his wife and three children, and a daughter to revere her sacred memory.

The husband, Edwin L. Chalcraft, oldest son of Richard and Lucy Chalcraft, was born November 13, 1855, on his father's farm near Albion, Edwards County, Illinois, where he lived to the time of his marriage. His father was born at Abbot's Pond, near Tilford, in Surrey, England, and came to America with his parents in 1838. His mother was born at Wanborough, near Albion, of English parents who came in 1818. The two families were known as Episcopalians and their children were baptized by Reverend Benjamin Hutchins, Pastor of the Episcopal Church in Albion. On August 19, 1877, Edwin L. Chalcraft, under the preaching of Rev. George E. Flower, united with the Christian Church in Albion, and has since been connected with that Church.

The wife, Alice Fawcett Pickering, oldest daughter of Richard and Emily Elizabeth Pickering, was born at Albion, June 16, 1858, in the dwelling later known as the "Emmerson" house, where her parents were then living.¹ The greater part of her life was spent on her father's

farm near Albion. After finishing her education, she taught school in the village of Bone Gap, a few miles northeast of her home. Both of her parents were born at Albion, and were earnest Christian people whose ancestors came from England in 1818, to establish a colony known as the "English Settlement in Illinois."² She united with the Christian Church in Albion, under the preaching of her cousin, Rev. Flower, on August 12, 1877, and continued in earnest Christian work throughout the remainder of her life.

On October 13, 1880, Alice Fawcett Pickering became the wife of Edwin L. Chalcraft, whom she had known so many years. The ceremony was performed in the Christian Church at Albion by the Rev. R. A. Gilchrist, the Pastor, and was followed by a reception at the home of the bride's parents. At this time, the husband was teaching in the Albion Public School, was County Surveyor for Edwards County, and in company with Benjamin O. Flower, was publishing the "American Sentinel," a county newspaper they had established.

In the summer of 1881, William Pickering, a brother of the bride's father, living in "Squak Valley" (now Issaquah), thirteen miles east of Seattle, Washington, was urging that some of the family at Albion make him a visit, which resulted in the newly married couple deciding to do so. The husband sold his interest in the newspaper to Quaint Bunting, and appointed Joel Brown his Deputy to take charge of the Surveyor's Office, making him free from local obligations, and opened the way for a trip to the Far West which was then thought would be of much shorter duration than it proved to be.

As the future interests of both, one of which is the writer of this, had been united by the most sacred of ties, I shall continue in a more personal way in relating subsequent events. This, as far as practicable, will be in chronological order.

{ 1 }

Journey to the West

Chalcraft opened his memoir with him and his young wife, Alice, leaving their home in Albion, Illinois, for Seattle and the Pacific Northwest in late 1881. He closed the chapter with one of the most significant events in their lives: his decision two years later to enter the United States Indian Service as the superintendent of a small boarding school on the Chehalis Indian Reservation in southwestern Washington. The Chalcrafts, yet unburdened with the responsibilities of home and children, left Albion for what they believed would be only a short visit with Alice's uncle. The uncle convinced them to remain a year, a period of time that stretched into permanence. In addition to Chalcraft's involvement in Indian affairs, he contributed significantly to the development of early Seattle, surveying many of the original streets of the town.

We left our home at Albion, Illinois, on December 10, 1881, accompanied by Miss Eliza Flower, one of my wife's cousins, who was going to Bickleton, [a small town located in south-central] Washington Territory, where two of her brothers, Samuel P. and Charles E. Flower, were living.¹ On the trip we passed through St. Louis, Kansas City, and Los Angeles to San Francisco where we had to remain two days waiting for a boat going to Seattle. At that time, there was no railroad entering Washington Territory from outside points and only two boats a month from San Francisco to Puget Sound where Seattle is located, and three boats a month to Portland, Oregon, where Eliza had to go before arriving at Bickleton.

Traveling in those days was not what it has since become. There were no comfortable sleeping cars, at least on the western roads. The only car of this kind that we could secure was called a "tourist car," in which the wooden seats could be moved at night to form the base for a bed.² Fortunately, we met a man in the depot at Kansas City, where we changed cars for the West, who introduced himself as Dr. [S. W.] Dodd, health officer at Astoria, Oregon. He said he had made this trip twice and was now trying to make up a party of twenty-five persons going through to San Francisco, and if he succeeded the railroad would assign a special tourist car for the party. Being somewhat skeptical, I talked with him about the Henry Powell family who had gone from Albion to Astoria many years before. His replies to my questions convinced me that he was a reliable man, and I accepted his invitation to join the party.

We went among the people in the depot and made up the required number, selecting those we thought would be the most desirable companions on the trip. After a special car had been assigned us, Dr. Dodd suggested each person buy a straw mattress that would be delivered in our car for seventy-five cents. This was done. There were no curtains in the car to enclose the berths at night, but several of the passengers had shawls, in common use by women then; and these, together with blankets passengers had in their baggage, were used to partition off the berths at night, and all was comfortable.

Our car was one of several attached to a freight train going through to San Francisco. It stopped at many of the stations to discharge and take on freight, sometimes for an hour or more, which permitted the passengers to leave the car and visit places of interest and purchase such things needed on the train.³

The most striking and impressive feature observed from the train was the topography and general appearance of the country after entering New Mexico. It was so different from that to which we were accustomed at our home in Illinois. There were high and rugged mountains on the north of us most of the way. The railroad track was on practically level land which appeared to be of inferior quality, having little vegetation other than sage brush and cactus. It seemed to be sparsely settled and many of the buildings in the towns and

country districts were constructed of adobe. The mental picture that had been created in our minds from various sources had now to be reconstructed to agree with the facts as we now saw them to be.

This began at Servilleta, New Mexico [northwest of Taos], where Indians from the Taos Pueblo were at the depot selling curios. A little later, Mexicans began to appear at the stations and from then [on], Mexicans and Indians were frequently seen until we had been in California for some time.

At Yuma, there was a small group of houses on the east side of the [Colorado] River, occupied by Americans and Mexicans; and on the west side an encampment of athletic looking Indians, not overburdened with clothing. Los Angeles was a small town and did not indicate that it would be the important city it has since become. I feel that it is not out of place to mention an incident occurring during the trip that embarrassed Alice, very much, but made me feel rather proud of what she did. Later, she considered it more amusing than otherwise. It was this:

The train had stopped at a water-tank, between stations, because of a "hot box" on one of the freight cars.⁴ While there, some of the passengers left our car and began shooting at a small stone lying on the track, back of the train. I was taking part in the shooting, using a small revolver that I owned, when Alice appeared at my side and said, "Let me shoot." The request astonished me, because I knew she had never shot a gun and was afraid of fire-arms; but I handed my revolver to her, and with the others looking on, she raised the gun quickly and fired, hitting the stone and driving it about a foot from its original position. This caused a shout of approval from the spectators and they immediately credited her with being an expert in the use of a gun. Alice, bewildered by what had happened, handed the gun to me, and, without saying a word to anyone, went back to the car.

Of course, it was purely an accidental shot as she was without previous experience, but those present did not know it. This placed her in a false and embarrassing position, distasteful to both of us, and rather difficult to explain at the time. After returning to the car, both of us denied that she was qualified to receive the honor they were trying to confer, and let it go at that. About two years later, I met a

man in Seattle who said he was on that train and asked if I was not the man whose wife was such an expert shot. He was told that I was the man, but he was mistaken about my wife being an expert in using a gun; and [I] finished by telling him the whole story. This was the last of it.

While the train equipment for passengers was meager and primitive, they made the best of it in a cheerful way and, on the whole, were congenial traveling companions, making the trip to be remembered as comfortable and enjoyable, notwithstanding the lack of things now considered absolutely necessary in traveling. After eight days on the train from Kansas City we arrived in San Francisco, where Alice and I had to wait two days for the Puget Sound boat before going on to Seattle; and Eliza had to wait three days for the boat to take her to Portland.

Doctor Dodd said he knew the city and invited us to go to the hotel where he usually stopped when in town. We accepted the invitation and found he was well and favorably known there. This made us feel at ease about having to leave Eliza in his care and having to delegate responsibility to him for seeing her safely aboard her boat the next day.

That afternoon and the next morning were spent in visiting places of interest. In the afternoon of the second day in San Francisco, Alice and I went aboard the steamer "Idaho" to take our first ride at sea.

Our boat left San Francisco for Seattle soon after we went on board. The sun was shining brightly and the sea was comparatively smooth. The evening meal was splendid, and our state room was a comfortable one on the upper deck. Everything seemed to indicate a pleasant trip was in store for us, but it was not to be so! That night we began to realize, more fully, what "feeding the fishes" meant, when people returning from their first trip at sea use the expression. There were many empty chairs in the dining room during the first two days and the waiters had not much to do, then business in the dining room began to increase.

The fair weather continued until the last night out, when a severe storm of wind and rain was experienced, causing the ship to pitch and roll at a terrific rate while the waves dashed over the decks and against

our state rooms. This continued until we had passed Cape Flattery and entered the smooth water of the Strait of Juan de Fuca early the next morning. Some of us had not eaten much coming up the Coast, but all of us certainly did do justice to our meals that day. The ship made a stop at Victoria, British Columbia, and then went on to Seattle, where we arrived in the evening of Saturday, December 24, 1881. We went to the New England Hotel, because we could not proceed further until Monday morning.

The day after our arrival in Seattle being Christmas, Alice and I went out to find a place to attend Church. At what is now Second Avenue and Cherry Street, a gentleman stopped and spoke to us. He proved to be Rev. W. S. Harrington, Pastor of a little Methodist Church one block up Second Avenue. We accepted his invitation to attend services there and heard a good Christmas sermon. In the afternoon, we looked over the town. The buildings that we saw were all constructed of wood, excepting two small brick buildings and a one-story stone building. The sidewalks were wooden planks and the streets were not paved. The few people we met in the streets and elsewhere were very friendly and full of enthusiasm about the future of their town.

At seven o'clock, Monday morning, we took passage in a coach attached to a coal train going to the Newcastle coal mine, located twenty-seven miles from Seattle and six miles from Squak Valley. Mr. Pickering knew we were coming, but did not know when we would arrive in Seattle, and there was no way of communicating with him to let him know. Because of this, Mr. S. S. Bailey, manager of the hotel and a personal friend of Mr. Pickering's, said it might be necessary for us to stay overnight in Newcastle, and if this did happen, to go to the home of a miner he named, and tell them we were friends of William Pickering and we would receive royal treatment. This did happen.

Tuesday morning I hired the only horse owned in Newcastle, and with Alice riding it, we started on the last six miles of travel before reaching our destination. This was on a trail over "Squak Hill," about eleven hundred feet high. We had not gone far before the horse stopped in the muddy trail and Alice could not make him go any further, and I had to take the rein and lead him up the hill. When part way up, we met Mr. Pickering with two horses for us to ride. While we were

talking, Patsy Welch, a coal miner, came along, and he took the unruly horse back to Newcastle for us.

We arrived at Mr. Pickering's home in Squak Valley at noon, December 27, where we received a hearty welcome. His family at this time consisted of himself, his wife, Savilla, William W., aged three years and six months, and Roy R., aged one year and seven months. Ernest E. Pickering was born later. We had been seventeen and one-half days on the trip from Albion, two and one-half of them having been spent in going from Seattle to Squak Valley. Recently I came from there to our home in Seattle in an auto in twenty-three minutes.

We spent the remainder of the winter at Mr. Pickering's home. Much of the time was given to discussing personal and general matters, in which we were all interested. He was a man of strong character, well informed on general subjects, and an unusually interesting conversationalist. His life had been most romantic from boyhood days when he left his home at Albion, to the time he came to his present home while his father was the Governor of Washington Territory.⁵

Naturally, there was much he wanted to know about his early home and associates that we could tell him; and we were equally interested in what he had experienced after leaving Albion. He said that after coming to Washington Territory, he had told his father some of his former life, but not all, and he felt it was only proper and right that someone in the family should know the whole story, from beginning to the end; and he was glad to have the opportunity to tell it to Alice. It took several evenings to tell the whole story, giving us plenty of time to make notes of what he said, which have been kept for reference because he wanted Alice to make it known to his children when they were old enough to understand.

There were many details that I deem not necessary to repeat here, and shall confine myself to brief synopsis of the principal events, as he told them to Alice and me in January, 1882. He said:—

When my four brothers, Edward, Richard, Thomas, and John, were small boys, our mother died, and our father placed us with a family named Holt living at Wanborough, two miles west of Albion, paying for our support and care. He lived in Albion and

was away much of the time attending to his business and political affairs. My recollection of this part of our lives is that we were contented with our lot for a time, but as we grew older I began to realize, more and more, the absence of parental influence and affection that is the misfortune of all orphaned children. Finally, when a little more than half grown, I decided to leave home and go to St. Louis, Missouri, with another boy who was going there.

There were two brothers in St. Louis, Dr. Samuel Thompson and Dr. Frank Thompson, both known to us. We went to Dr. Frank Thompson's and he received us in a kindly manner and gave us a home. My companion remained in St. Louis for a time and then went away. I was sent to school until I was old enough to learn a trade, then Dr. Frank Thompson apprenticed me to a hatter and I worked at that trade until the news of discovery of gold in California was received in St. Louis in 1849.

The gold discovery caused much excitement and there were wild stories afloat concerning it. With many others, I went to California. The trip was a difficult one, but we finally reached our destination. We found life there was wild and venturesome, but I was successful in searching for gold. Every piece of ground that I prospected seemed to be full of it. After securing what I thought would last the remainder of my lifetime, I returned to my old home at Albion, with the intention of remaining there and enjoying the future.

When we arrived at Albion, I learned that the state of Illinois had been trying to construct a system of canals and railroads, which it had failed to accomplish and was nearing bankruptcy. The failure caused the state to sell the uncompleted projects at auction. One of these, known as the "Southern Cross Railroad," crossed the state from Mount Carmel on the Wabash River, going through Albion to Alton on the Mississippi River. My father had bought the right-of-way of this road, including all grading done and other improvements made on it, for \$300, and was trying to complete its construction.

About the time of my arrival in Albion, his own money and that of friends who were assisting in the enterprise had been

spent on the road, and I was urged to put my money into it. I was unwilling to do this, because I considered it a hopeless task and any money put into the road was certain to be lost. When the pressure became too strong to stand any longer, I went to Cincinnati and engaged in business there, and was doing very well when gold was discovered in Australia. After my California experience, I was a fit subject for an attack of "gold fever," said to be common to miners, and contentment was a thing of the past. I sold my business and with the proceeds, together with a large portion of my reserve funds, bought a large stock of supplies that I knew from experience were needed in a mining camp, and set forth for Australia, expecting to realize a good profit on the supplies and then try my hand again at mining. It was here that I made a serious mistake.

When I arrived at Melbourne, it was found that the Australians would not buy anything not made in England and imported from there. A large portion of the goods were sold at a price that did not quite reimburse me for the freight paid on them, and some were a complete loss. I got a fair price for some of my flour after buying new English sacks and resacking it in them. While the unfortunate supply venture reduced my financial condition very much, there was enough left for mining purposes.

I used some of it in securing a well located mining claim in one of the best producing districts and worked it thoroughly without getting anything of value, while claims all about mine were producing gold in paying quantities. I tried other claims with the same result and did not stop until my money gave out and I became discouraged and quit. I remained in Australia several years and my post-office address became unknown to members of my family. While my father was the Governor of Washington Territory, he wrote to the United States representative in one of the Australian cities, asking him to make an effort to find me; and he put an advertisement in the papers and I saw it. This resulted in my father sending money to pay fare to San Francisco and asking me to inform him when I would

arrive there. He met me in San Francisco and I came with him to Olympia.

After we had been in Olympia a month or two, my father and Arthur A. Denny went up the Snoqualmie Pass to investigate the possibility of making a wagon road through the Pass into the eastern part of the state, and to look at a deposit that was thought to be graphite. I accompanied them. On the way back, we stayed overnight at Mr. [James] Bush's house in Squak Valley. There was a piece of land, known as the Casto claim, containing 160 acres, that could be bought for six hundred dollars. That evening, I borrowed a spade from Mr. Bush and dug holes at various places on the land and found that if my father would buy the land for me, I would settle down there and stay the remainder of my lifetime. My father bought the land and it has been my home since then, the only home I have had in Washington Territory; in fact, the only real home to me since the death of my mother.

William Pickering died March 16, 1883.

When Alice and I left our home to come west, it was our intention to return to Albion after a reasonable visit with her Uncle William and his family, but he was full of enthusiasm about the future of Washington Territory and finally persuaded us to remain a year. In the springtime, I went to Seattle, where I met Mr. Charles M. Anderson, a recent graduate from the Engineering Department of the Territorial University, of which his father was the President. We formed a partnership and opened an office in civil engineering under the title of Anderson and Chalcraft. Alice remained at Squak Valley while we were getting established in our work. Issaquah was the Indian name for the wide valley in which Mr. Pickering lived, but the early settlers had corrupted the latter part of the Indian into "Squak," hence the name Squak Valley, and Squak post-office to which mail was formerly addressed. It is now Issaquah post-office.⁶

There had never been a school in the valley because of the small number of children living there. When it became known that Alice had been a teacher, a school-room was provided by those having children

of school age, and she taught the first school established in that locality. She taught school for a short time in Newcastle, also.

When our engineering business had reached the point where it seemed safe to do so, Alice joined me in Seattle and we began house-keeping in a new duplex building at the intersection on Ninth Avenue and Jefferson Street, now the northeast corner of the Harborview Hospital grounds. The other part of the house was occupied by Rev. [F. G.] Strange and family.

One of our most intimate friends in Albion, Henry Brandon, with his brother John and Ed Crome, came to Seattle and was with us several months. They were in our employ working as chainmen much of the time. One day, while [I was] working on the plat of a new addition to the city, I told Henry that I was naming one of the streets "Brandon" in his honor. He raised no objection, so now we have a Brandon Street in Seattle, about three miles in length, extending east and west across the southern part of the city from Puget Sound to Lake Washington. We had hoped they would remain with us in Seattle, but they returned home, leaving on a steamer sailing March 19, 1883, for San Francisco.

Alice and I were both at her Uncle William's bedside when he passed away. He had been making trips on foot to the Black Diamond coal district, several miles from his home, prospecting for a new vein of coal. The weather had been bad during his last trip and he caught a severe cold that developed into pneumonia, from which the doctor said there was no chance for his recovery. When I arrived and saw the situation, I immediately sent a messenger to Seattle to inform Judge Thomas Burke, who was one of Mr. Pickering's closest friends and would want to know about his serious condition.⁷

The Judge came on the next train and brought his family physician, Dr. [Rufus] Willard, with him. Mr. Pickering asked Judge Burke to write his Will bequeathing his property to members of the family and to specify that Judge Burke and I were to be named as executors of it. He died the next day and, two days later, his body was laid away on a hill near his home. It has since been removed to Lake View Cemetery in Seattle where it now lies near the graves of our beloved Alice, with her father and mother, Richard and Emily Pickering.

Alice's sister, Miss Nellie Pickering, and Jacob Dierning arrived in

Seattle on the steamer, "Mexico," late the night of August 26, 1883. The next morning, Jacob came up to our house before we were awake. Hastily getting ready, we went to the boat with him and brought Nellie to the house. The reunion was a happy one and there was much joy and talking for a long time about home people and affairs there.

Business had been good with the firm of Anderson and Chalcraft until the summer of 1883. The Northern Pacific Railroad had recently made connection with Tacoma, a new town site thirty miles south of Seattle, thus complying with a provision in its charter requiring the road to reach tidewater in Puget Sound by a certain date. The Tacoma town site was owned by a company composed of prominent officials of the railroad, having enough influence to prevent the road continuing on to Seattle, originally selected as its western terminal.⁸ The ensuing depression caused our business to suffer, as others did.

At this time, I had an opportunity to enter the Government service as Superintendent of the Chehalis Indian Reservation, [located] seventy-five miles southwest of Seattle, which was accepted with the understanding that I was to remain at least one year. We left for the Chehalis Reservation a few days later.

{ 2 }

Chehalis Indian Reservation

The superintendency of the Chehalis Indian Reservation, like several positions that Chalcraft would hold during his Indian Service career, was not a coveted appointment. The reservation, located about twelve miles west of present-day Centralia, was small, isolated, and a low federal priority. Its inconspicuous nature, however, may have benefited a young superintendent just learning to navigate the complex currents of the OIA. At Chehalis — where he worked from early 1883 until mid-1889 — Chalcraft began to implement an administrative system that would serve him well for another four decades. Most notably, the stability and organization he brought to both his school and his reservation became a model for a branch of the federal government notoriously lacking in those qualities. The Chalcrafts, besides the boarding school under their care, assumed administrative control over the entire reservation.

In the evening of Thursday, September 27, 1883, after having supper with our next-door neighbors, Reverend and Mrs. Strange, and spending the evening with them, Alice and I left Seattle to take charge of the Chehalis Indian Reservation and boarding school under supervision of Hon. Edwin Eells, Indian Agent with headquarters located at the Puyallup Reservation near Tacoma.¹

We secured berths aboard the steamer “Emma Hayward,” which was to leave Seattle at 3:00 a.m., to make connection at Tacoma with the Northern Pacific train leaving there at 7:00 a.m., for Tenino. This was necessary because there was no railroad operating from Seattle

at that time. We had breakfast on the boat and went aboard the train with tickets for Tenino, where we arrived at 9:00 a.m. This was a small place of one store kept by a Mr. [Joseph] Blumauer, and there were three or four dwellings.

We were met by Mr. [George W.] Mills, Industrial Teacher at the school, who had come with a team to take us to the reservation. This was a splendid ride of fifteen miles across level prairie land and then three miles through heavy timber in the Chehalis River bottom. When we left the timber, the boarding school buildings came in view, situated on the north side of a small prairie. We were soon entering the school premises where we found Mr. Eells, who had come down from Tacoma to transfer the Government property from the retiring Superintendent, Mr. [J. L.] Henderson, to me. We met also Mrs. [H. E.] Henderson, the Seamstress, who was leaving with her husband; Mrs. [Isabella] Mills, the Matron; and Miss Florence Humphry, the Cook and Laundress. On Saturday, after invoicing the property, I signed for the same preparatory to taking charge on Monday, October 1st, 1883, the date we began work in the Indian Service, not thinking we would be connected with it for so long a time as proved to be the case.²

We attended the Mission Church Services on Sunday. Mr. Henderson preached a regular sermon in English, which was translated into the Indian language by an interpreter standing by his side. Agent Eells was at the organ and led the singing, which was very good. The sermon was followed by several Indians talking to the congregation, offering prayer, and singing Gospel hymns. After conclusion of the services, Indians having children in school visited with them awhile and then went home. From our experience later, we found the religious services that day were the regular Sunday Program.

The religious work on the Chehalis, Nisqually, and Puyallup Reservations was supported by the Presbyterian Board of Missions, of which Rev. J. R. Thompson, living in Olympia, was the Western Superintendent. Rev. M. G. Mann, living in Tacoma, was the local Missionary for the three reservations, and [he] visited Chehalis one Sunday in each month. When he was absent, the school Superintendent had charge of the religious services.

During the administration of President U. S. Grant, he became con-

vinced the Indians needed more religious instruction than they were receiving and inaugurated a plan that became known as the "Grant Peace Policy." Under this plan, he assigned different reservations to the various Church organizations that agreed to undertake mission work with the Indians, and permitted the Church authorities to submit the names of men to be appointed Indian Agents as vacancies occurred.

The politicians did not favor this plan because it reduced the number of places at their disposal for pressing office-seekers; but the President carried it out to the end of his term in office. When we entered the Indian Service, there were but three of the Grant appointees left: Hon. Edwin Eells, Congregationalist at Puyallup Agency; Col. James McLaughlin, Catholic at Standing Rock Agency; and Peter Ronan, Catholic at Flathead Agency.³

Edwin Eells was first appointed Indian Agent at the S'kokomish Reservation in June, 1871, succeeding Lieutenant J. W. Kelley, an army officer. In September, 1882, several other reservations were placed under his control, which finally ended by his being in charge of those when we went to Chehalis. He remained in charge of these until the Agency was abolished in 1895 and the duties placed in the hands of a Superintendent. He then retired from the Indian Service.

In 1882-3, Agent Eells allotted land to Indians on the reservations under his charge and gave each allottee a Certificate, signed by himself, as temporary evidence of ownership. Senator [Henry L.] Dawes, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, was a personal friend of Agent Eells' and when in Tacoma he spent considerable time at the Agency. He became very much interested in allotting land to the Indians, visited their homes and talked to them about it, and had long discussions with Agent Eells as to the wisdom of taking Congressional action towards giving the Indians a better title to their allotments than the Agent's Certificate, and if this was done, what should be the provisions embodied in the Act. I was present at two or three of these conferences, and it was evident the Senator was very much interested.

An Allotment Act, known as the "Dawes Bills," was passed by Congress and approved by the President on February 8, 1887. This authorized the issuance of "Trust Patents" to Indians, covering a period of twenty-five years, free from taxes, judgments, and all other

financial claims that might be made against the allottee. In addition to this, it conferred the right of franchise to those accepting allotments.

Edwin Eells was born July 27, 1841, at his father's mission station, Tsh-i-ma-ka-in, northwest of Spokane. His only associates during early life were the Indian children about the station. He related many interesting incidents about that time. I remember distinctly one. He said he and his younger brother, Myron, were always fearful and would hide away if a strange white man came to their house; but if it was an Indian man they were not afraid and "He could turn the tongs upside down in the fire-place if he wanted to do it."⁴

Agent Eells' father, Reverend Cushing Eells, was a co-laborer with the lamented Dr. Marcus Whitman, murdered at his mission, Wailat-pu, in 1847. At Dr. Whitman's funeral, Cushing Eells made a vow that he would raise a monument to the doctor's memory, which he did later by starting a small school for Indians and the few white children within reach of his station, with his wife and himself as the only teachers, and naming it "Whitman Seminary." This little school has grown to be the large and prosperous educational institution, Whitman College at Walla Walla, Washington, a lasting memorial to the patriotic Missionary who made that historic mid-winter ride from this Coast to Washington City in the winter of 1842, and had so much to do in preventing this part of our Country from being awarded to England in a treaty then being considered by our Government.⁵

The experience and record of Agent Eells and his father caused me to realize they knew the Indians' virtues and faults, and that their counsel and advice in important matters were valuable to any novice, which was my status; and to my contact with them, I attribute no small part in any success that may have come to me in later years.

The Chehalis Reservation containing 4,225 acres was established by Executive Order, dated July 8, 1864. The school plant consisted of five buildings; viz., a large dormitory, occupied by pupils during the school year, school house, Superintendent's cottage, hospital, and a barn for the horses and other stock. A commissary building was erected later. The Matron had charge of the domestic affairs and the Industrial Teacher looked after the boys and their industrial pursuits. The Superintendent taught in the school-room during the morning

and spent the remainder of the day in supervising other work and attending to official matters relating to the Agency. In fact, the status for the school was much like that of a large family, excepting for two months' vacation when all the pupils were at their homes.⁶

The Government policy at this time was to give the younger generations academic and industrial instruction, to fit them for life as individual citizens in any community, and while this was being done, [to] care for the physical needs and supervise the affairs of the older Indians, whose native ideals and habits were too fully entrenched in their lives to be changed.

That this Government policy was a success is attested by the fact that a large number of the younger Indians are living on their reservations, practically free from the superstition and habits of their parents, while hundreds of others are filling positions of responsibility and trust as respectable citizens among those of our own race. I make these statements from personal experience and knowledge acquired from long service in charge of different reservations in widely separated localities; and four years as Supervisor of Indian Schools, during which time duties took me to nearly every place in the United States where a group of Indians could be found.

A political change in the Government usually caused some minor changes in Indian policy, but it remained for the New Deal to discover that everything previously done was wrong and "sweep the slate clean," even to [the extent of] asking the allotted Indians to return their Trust Patents to the Indian Office for cancellation, which would turn their land back to tribal ownership again, a purely communistic proceeding.

According to "Indians at Work," a semi-monthly magazine published by the Indian Office, wonderful results have been obtained by casting aside the former policy, but it is quite noticeable to those familiar with Indian affairs that the personnel performing the work upon which the results are based are the product of the former policy. This opinion is the feeling of practically all the mature educated Indians with whom I have come in contact, and they are not few in number.

On Monday morning, the third day after [our] arriving at Chehalis, the children with their parents had arrived from their summer vacation and were ready to attend school. At eight o'clock that morning,

Alice and I went to the school-house to begin our new work. I was to teach the more advanced pupils until noon; and she, the younger and less advanced, until ten o'clock when they were to be dismissed to play and she was at liberty until noon. In the afternoon Alice had charge of the sewing-room, teaching the girls to mend clothing and make new garments from material furnished by the Government. My afternoon was occupied in the office and at other work. The Industrial Teacher, Mr. Mills, had the boys old enough for industrial instruction at work about the school and farm. The girls not in the sewing room attended to other domestic affairs under direction of the Matron.⁷

We had thirty-one in school the first week and thirty-nine the second week. The number gradually increased until the average attendance was about forty-five, some coming from Nisqually and Squaxon Reservations. The total number of pupils enrolled in the school between October 1st, 1883, and June 30th, 1889, when we left Chehalis to take charge of the Puyallup School, was one hundred and one. In addition to these, there were nine white pupils in attendance for a time, six of them being children of employees. One was Alice's little cousin, Willie Pickering, who was visiting us from April 1st to September 7th, 1885; and the other two were Alice's younger sisters, Mamie and Cora Pickering, who were at the school for a short time.

The class-room work covered about the same studies as the country schools at that time, but practically all the new pupils had to be taught to speak English before they could do anything with books. Some of the parents could use the English language fairly well, others could hardly make their wants known, and many knew but few words in our language. The Chehalis and Nisqually Indians were closely related, but their native language was entirely different. This caused us to have new pupils using different languages to contend with, and Alice became quite an expert in substituting our way of speaking for the native way. While acquiring the use of English words such expressions as these were common by pupils; viz., "string shoes" for shoe strings, "drink the horse" for water the horses, and "me you catch" for you catch me. Alice saw a crumpled leaf in a girl's book and asked her about it. The girl promptly replied, "Joseph Choke's slate stepped on it."

Fortunately, the Indians were not addicted to the use of profanity.

The only case that came to my notice was one day when a little boy named Sammy Smith accused his playmates of swearing at him. They explained that they had called him “American,” “Captain Ed. Smith,” “Washington,” and “Son of David.” To him, it was a serious offence, but not so to some of us.

The older Indians understood and spoke the Chinook Jargon, a trade language developed by the Hudson’s Bay Company at an early date, and this was commonly used by members of each tribe when talking with each other.

Agent Eells was the most fluent user of the Chinook I have ever known, yet he advised me to avoid using it if I could do so, as we were trying to get the Indians to use the English language as well as their own. Most of the Indians could make me understand when they wanted something of me; but when it was the other way and I wanted to tell them anything, few would admit they understood, making [it] necessary for me to get an interpreter.

This went on for about two years, until when Marion Davis, a young man educated at the Chemawa Indian School in Oregon, was in my office one day, and we were talking about Indian language. I said to him, “Marion, suppose that when I was in Olympia the last time, I put a package on the shelf above the door to Littlejohn’s livery stable and forgot to get it when I came home, how would I tell you in Chinook to go there and bring it to me.” His reply was:—

Me-si-ka klat-a-wa ko-pa Olympia, ko-pa Littlejohn ya-ka

You go to Olympia, to Littlejohn his

kui-a-tan house, ik-tah mit-lite sagh-a-lie ko-pa la-pote

horse house, package remain above to door,

is-kum pee lo-lo ko-pa ni-ka

get and carry to me.

I committed Marion’s reply to memory without any thought of ever using it, but occasionally it was convenient to use a word or two instead of getting an interpreter to make an Indian understand what I

was trying to say to him. Almost unconsciously, my vocabulary grew until I could use it without any hesitation and [I] frequently addressed groups of Indians in Chinook.

The daily program for the school year of ten months was as follows:

- 5:30 a.m. – Morning bell, for all to arise.
- 6:30 a.m. – Breakfast.
- 8:00 a.m. – School bell. All pupils go to school-rooms.
- 10:00 a.m. – Fifteen minutes recess. Smaller pupils play until noon.
- 12:00 noon – Dismiss school for the day.
- 1:00 p.m. – Work bell. Boys go to the Industrial Teacher, ready for work; and the girls to sewing room.
- 5:00 p.m. – Quit work and prepare for supper.
- 6:00 p.m. – Supper
- 8:00 p.m. – Chapel exercises in the school-room, after which pupils retire to their dormitories

On Saturday, the pupils performed such duties as were assigned them by the Industrial Teacher and the Matron.

The winter program was the same as the above, with the exception of the rising bell and breakfast, each of which was one-half hour later. Sunday-School and the Church Service began at 9:30 a.m., on Sunday. This seemed a pretty stiff program, but we soon found it was necessary if the work before us was to be carried on successfully.

The school vacation of two months during the school year was always a time of relaxation, as all the pupils were at their homes and no one but the employees left at the school. This was the usual time for employees to take their official annual leave of thirty days, which Alice and I seldom did. In lieu of the official vacation, we would take a short time off duty, when it was necessary to go to Seattle or elsewhere, to give something needed attention, when we could be spared from our duties.

The most impressive part of the advice given me by Mr. Eells the first evening we were at Chehalis was, "Of course, you will be just and fair in your dealing with all and treat Indians kindly, but firmly, and

guard against word and act that might cause them to lose faith in your good intentions. Never undertake to do anything, or tell an Indian to do anything, and then change your mind and let him know it. It is better to make your word good, even if you should do differently, but do not get wrong too often.”

This was the opposite to all my views on the subject, as I had been taught to acknowledge an error and correct it, when made; but I accepted and followed his advice, although I did not then know his reason for giving it. I found out later that with many tribes there is no knowledge of what is meant by being mistaken. With them, a change from an original intention is done with an evil purpose in mind, and they lose confidence in the person making it. His advice was for the purpose of preventing me from making the error which any uninformed person was likely to make, and I have always been grateful to him for it.

Another piece of advice was, “Never loan anything to an Indian, because if you lend a handful of nails to an Indian, every Indian on the reservation will come to borrow a handful of nails.” After following this advice for a long time, an occasion arose when it seemed an act of mercy to loan a sack of flour to Indian Choke, and I let him have it after deciding the action I would take if he did not return it.

As Mr. Eells had intimated, I soon had other requests to borrow flour, which if refused would offend the applicants, so I told each one the only sack of flour I had to loan was at Choke’s house and as soon as he returned it I would gladly loan it again. Whether the applicants used any pressure on the borrower or not is unknown; but that one sack of flour was returned and again loaned many times, until getting to Thomas Heck’s house, where it still remains, as far as I know. This ended the loaning experience.

Saturday, October 13th, was the third anniversary of our wedding. On that day Alice, Miss Humphry, and I went to the Chehalis River, a short distance south of the school, to get some salmon Mr. Mills and the school boys had caught. A number of Indians were there spearing fish in the river. While we were talking, [a] large salmon was seen swimming slowly up stream. One of the Indians handed his spear to me and said, “Spear it.” I did, sending the spear through the fish. I did

not know at the time that the act was a joke on me because [I was] spearing an "old man salmon," one that had been in the river so long after coming up from the ocean that its flesh was spoiled and unfit to eat.

I went to Puyallup Agency on October 30th to consult the Agent about some Agency business, then to Seattle, and arrived back home November 8th, accompanied by Alice's sister, Miss Nellie Pickering. Miss Humphry had resigned to go home, and Nellie took her place in charge of the school dining room and the kitchen on November 10, 1883.

We noticed the pupils were using the Indian language almost exclusively while playing and at other times when they thought none of the employees could hear them, notwithstanding they were urged to use the language they were learning in the school-rooms. We had been told that when the S'kokomish School was first established, about one-half the pupils were employees' children, consequently the Indian children acquired the English rapidly. With us, all the pupils were Indian, with the exception of Jessie Mills, the ten-year-old son of the Industrial Teacher, who had become so well versed in the Indian language that I frequently used him as an interpreter in talking with Indians.

From this, it appeared our weakness was in the playtime situation. To remedy that, I deemed it necessary to have the co-operation of parents and pupils, both, and [I] assured them that we did not want to discard the native language, but were trying to add another that would be more valuable to them in dealing with people of our own race. With this in mind, we all began to stress the subject at every opportunity in conversation with parents and pupils, in the classrooms, and as much as seemed proper during the Church Services. This continued for about three months, when it appeared the time for action had arrived.

I was always present at the pupils' meals. At the breakfast table on Monday morning, I told the pupils I thought they felt as I did about the benefit it would be to them if they could speak the English language well, and that they were trying hard to do so; that I had carefully thought the matter over and come to the conclusion there was only one thing in the way, and that was, they would forget at times when they should not do so.

As an illustration I said, "When playing marbles and one boy wants to tell another to 'shoot,' he is apt to forget and say it in Indian instead of English and it is necessary to do something to cause him to remember which to use. The best thing I can think of for you to do, if you say anything in Indian between now and dinner time, is to push your plate back and say to the waiters, 'Bread and water please.' This will cause you to remember not to talk Indian while at school. Can any of you think of anything better to do?" Several replied, "No," and the bread and water plan became effective.

At dinner, about three-fourths of the number pushed their plates back and had bread and water. A small number tried to cheat, but for each of these there was one or more of their playmates who pointed them out and said, "You talk Injun," and back went their plates. The bread and water repasts diminished rapidly and in a short time disappeared entirely. I remember a good-natured nineteen-year-old boy, Dave Ben, who tried so hard to not talk Indian but failed so much that Alice's sympathy for him caused her to give him a "handout" between meals sometimes, when it could be done without attracting attention. We had no further trouble about Indian language.

The daily routine of work went on without anything of special importance taking place until Christmas Eve, 1883, when about ten o'clock we heard someone at the front door. It was Mr. William S. Mayfield, who afterwards became our brother-in-law. It was an unexpected visit, at least to Alice and me. The next day, Christmas, Mr. and Mrs. Mills had dinner with us, and in the evening there was a party for the children in the dining room. Altogether it was an enjoyable day.

We had a Police Department on the reservation, consisting of four Indian men who were furnished regular uniforms, official badges, and revolvers. While their pay was small, they were proud of their positions and faithful to duty. Changes in the personnel were seldom made. A Police Court was established, consisting of the Superintendent, acting as Chief Judge, and three policemen, as Associate Judges. This Court had jurisdiction over various offences prescribed by the Indian Office in Washington, and anything else that occurred among the Indians that the Superintendent deemed worthy of Court action.⁸

The usual procedure after the Court had convened with all mem-

bers present was examining all witnesses for the prosecution, one at a time, by the three Associate Judges; then the same with the witnesses for the defense. If anything appeared to have been omitted, or had not been clearly explained, the Chief Judge recalled witnesses to explain their testimony more fully. The three Associate Judges then retired to an adjoining room to act as a jury and render a verdict. Frequently the Chief Judge was called into the jury room to assist in closing the case. This Court was of much value, and its verdicts were always respected by the Indians. Legal technicalities had little weight in its decisions, but justice to the litigants did, as shown in one case I will mention.

Jake Ben was brought before the Court, charged with whipping his wife. The prosecution proved the charge. In Jake's defense testimony, it was shown that he did it because his children had some matches and were putting them in their mouths. He told his wife to stop them from doing this, and she refused, so he whipped her to teach her to be more careful with the children when he was not present. The Court fined Jake three dollars for whipping his wife and fined the wife two dollars for letting the children chew matches. Jake paid the fine for both and seemed satisfied with the verdict. The result amused me, but I felt justice had been done to both.

Indian Shaker Church

Squ-sacht-un, known to the white people as John Slocum, was a Squakson Indian living at Mud Bay, a few miles west of Olympia. He was fond of "fire water," pony racing, gambling, and other things not very creditable to his reputation. He was about forty-one years of age and without education, as we use the word, but while growing up he had become familiar with all the Indians' old beliefs and customs, including the Indian doctor's "Ta-mah-nous," a method of curing the sick by incantations, rubbing and blowing on the patient's body, and chanting Indian songs, in which others present took a part. The thought was that evil spirits had entered the patient's body causing sickness and that this would frighten them so much they would leave and the patient would be cured.⁹

In later years, Slocum had received some instruction from Catholic Priests visiting his tribe, and while living on the S'kokomish Reser-

vation, he attended the Congregational Mission Church, in charge of Reverend Myron Eells, brother of Agent Eells. Thus, he had some knowledge of the white man's religion, together with the Indian's customs and beliefs.

When superstition, ignorance, dreams, imagination, and religion are mingled together among people of any race they are apt to produce a strange compound, which appears to have been the case with John Slocum. It is said, and I believe truly, that for some time before his supposed death, he seemed to be filled with remorse because of his wicked life and the evil days that had come to his friends through the use of whiskey, idleness, and general vice, which was exterminating his people. This seemed to disturb him so much that he became sick.

In the autumn of 1882, (possibly 1881), while still in a sickly condition, John Slocum apparently died about four o'clock one morning, according to [the] testimony of several Indians present at the time, and his body was laid out for burial. His brother went to Olympia for a coffin and a grave was prepared. In the middle of the afternoon, he again resumed life, and got up from where he was lying and ran off a short distance to some people and began talking to them.

He told those present that while he was dead, his soul had been to Heaven, where it had been met by the angels, who, after inquiring his name, told him that he had been bad on earth, and [they] reminded him forcibly of his shortcomings while there, and wound up by informing him that he could not enter Heaven, but he could either go to hell or could go back to the earth and preach to the Indians and tell them the way to Heaven. He said the angels told him that if he returned to earth, he must teach the Indians to put behind them all bad things, and to cure the sick without taking any pay for doing so. He chose to return to earth and help his people to live as God wanted them to live.

Whether he was in a trance and imagined these things, or was simply "playing possum," is an open question, but it is certain that Slocum was a changed man and had put behind him all the things that previously injured his personal character, and did all he could to get others to follow his example. He began preaching to his associates at Mud Bay with the spirit of a crusader in urging them to put aside

the evil things they had been doing and walk in the path leading to Heaven.

He said he had received a great and shining light in his soul from that good land and knew what Jesus wanted them to do, and God would punish those who did not obey and help to make men better on earth. It was easy for those who had personal knowledge of what had taken place to look upon him as a Prophet bringing divine instructions directly to them. Later, this thought was declared to be the case. They claimed to believe in the Bible, given to white people because they could read it; but the Indians were poor and could not read and for this reason, God appointed Slocum to tell them what to do.

Converts were made at Mud Bay. One of these, Louis Yow-a-luch, commonly called Mud Bay Louie, became an important figure. He was the principal doctor in attending to sickness which was now declared to be the result of a sinful condition of the patient. A religious program was substituted for that of the old Ta-mah-nous program, with which it seemed a twin brother.

The doctoring was usually at night, or with the windows darkened. A picture of the Virgin Mother was hung on the wall above a table with three lighted candles on it. Kerosene lights were not used because it was supposed to come from the infernal regions. The patient was seated in a chair facing the picture on the wall. A Gospel hymn, translated into Indian, was sung by those present, and then a man standing near with a bell in each hand, rung them in a peculiar manner, that once having been heard, is never forgotten. At this signal, the doctor begins rubbing the patient's body with his bare hands to get hold of the sin, which is then clasped in both hands and thrown outside the room with a blow of the breath. This is repeated until the doctor becomes satisfied that he has thrown away all the sin making the patient sick. The bells are rung all the time.

There were many unusual things connected with the new religion, probably caused to a large extent by undue excitement of the nervous system, since a manifestation of being a convert was a spasmodic twitching of the limbs and shaking of the whole body, which gradually became more violent and sometimes lasted for hours. This was said to be caused by sin trying to escape.

Others would stand with outspread arms shaking so fast that a common person, not under excitement, could hardly shake half as fast. Some would stand gazing into the sky, trembling, and shaking their heads sometimes for hours. They would brush each other with their hands to brush off their sins, for they said they were worse than white people, the latter being bad only in their hearts, while the Indians were so bad that the badness came to the surface of their bodies and the ends of their finger nails.

Affairs went on in this way at Mud Bay until the next August when it was decided to introduce the new religion to the Indians on the Chehalis and S'kokomish Reservations. Emissaries were sent to both places to secretly investigate the outlook as there were strong mission stations at both. This was a few weeks before we went to Chehalis on October 1st, 1883. At that time there was no indication the Chehalis Indians were giving any attention to the new religion.

The second session of the Chehalis Police Court was held on January 19, 1884. Just before adjournment, John Smith, one of the most progressive Indians, and an active member of Chehalis Presbyterian Mission Church, asked permission of the Court to go to Mud Bay. While the Government Regulations provided that Indians shall not leave their reservation without a written pass from the officer in charge, it had never been enforced at Chehalis, nor at any of the other reservations in the Pacific Northwest.

Consequently, I was at a loss to understand why permission had been asked, and equally so, to find [that] the three Associate Judges were all opposed to his going, but evaded giving me any definite information concerning it. A few days later, John went to Mud Bay, taking his family with him, and remained about three weeks. I shortly learned that his object was to learn something about the new religion, and the Indians knew this at the time he made his request.

Shortly after John Smith returned from Mud Bay, strange things began to happen. The first was on March 3rd. After the girls had returned to their dormitory for the night and should have been asleep, Mrs. Mills, the Matron, heard them moving about the room. She went upstairs and found about fifteen of the larger girls standing in a circle

waving their arms and their bodies trembling, evidently trying to imitate members of the new religious sect. They were sent to bed.

The next day, Nancy Smith, an intelligent nineteen year old girl, complained to me that an Indian man from Mud Bay, visiting John Smith, said it had been decided that she was to marry Cap Carson, an Indian bachelor, which she did not want to do, and if she did not do so, they would put her in prison where she would be made to stand, with outstretched arms like a Cross, holding a candle in each hand, and she would have to stand there until the candles were burnt out.

I told her what she did was none of their business and to inform me immediately if molested again. By this time, I had received some information about the new Mud Bay religion and its adherents which caused me to speak of them as "Shakers" when talking with my police. Agent Eells and I used the same in our conversation and correspondence and it was not long before members of the Slocum followers took up the name and called themselves the "Shaker Church," the name by which it has since been known.

On Thursday morning, March 6th, Dick Case reported the death of his infant child at Choke's house the night before. It had lived only a few days, and the mother was now a very sick woman. I gave Dick some things he said were needed and Mr. Mills made a coffin for the child. There was no Minister to be had, and not feeling it would be right to lay the body away without some kind of religious service, I offered to see to that.

The funeral was at the school house that afternoon. After singing the Gospel song, "Nearer, My God, to Thee," with Alice at the organ, a prayer was offered by Jim Walker, the Head Chief. Then I read the first twenty-two verses of Chapter XV, I Corinthians and made a short address. Marion Davis, a well educated young Indian, followed this with a prayer. After this service we went to the Indian graveyard, about one-fourth of a mile distant, where the body was laid away. This was my first attempt in conducting a funeral service.

Rev. Mann, the Missionary, came the next day, bringing his two little girls with him, to conduct his monthly Church Service at Chehalis.

He told me much of what was going on at Mud Bay that I had not known, including the Shaker method of doctoring the sick, which so closely resembled the old Indian Ta-mah-nous practice, prohibited in Rule 6 of the official "Rules Governing the Courts of Indian Offences," that special attention should be given it.

Saturday morning, March 8th, a policeman told me a Shaker meeting was to be held at Choke's house that evening to doctor Bruce Ben, a young man who was very sick with consumption and could not live much longer. The Agency Physician had been treating him for a long time and knowing his condition, I decided to make a personal investigation. I went to Choke's as soon as it was dark, taking three of our pupils, George Quinotle, George Heck, Athen Secena, and Athen's older brother, Dan Secena, with me.

When we arrived at a slough in front of the house and called [out], an Indian came and took us across in a canoe. Upon entering the house, we found a group of Indians sitting on the floor eating their supper from dishes on a cloth spread in the middle of the room. Just as the supper dishes were being removed, John Smith with several other Indians, including Bruce Ben, the sick man, came into the house holding their right hands up and making crosses on their breasts with the left hand. After shaking hands with all of us without lowering their hands, they took seats on benches previously placed for their reception.

After a short pause, John Smith said to me, "Why are you and the boys here?" To this I replied, "When we have a prayer meeting at the school-house, you folks come and take part, so we have come to yours. Go on just the same as you would do if we were not here." Then, nearly all the Indians present, with their right hands uplifted, formed a circle in the middle of the room and sang an Indian song, crossing themselves while doing so. After they were seated again, John Smith and several others made short speeches through an interpreter, the tone of which was the high esteem they had for me and the work I was doing for them. In John Smith's talk he referred to the presence of Bruce Ben and said there was no intention of doctoring him. In my reply to their speeches, I thanked them for the good words they had spoken, and then tried to give them as much or more "taffy talk" than

they had given me. I closed by saying, "It was getting late and we must return to the school."

Old Man Heck put us across the slough and took the canoe back. We went about a hundred yards toward the school and then stopped to listen. Shortly we heard a hand-bell back at the house. We returned to the bank of the slough and laid down on the grass where we could hear quite well and not be easily seen from the house. The bell ringing continued in a peculiar manner, slowly and softly, then rapidly and harshly. There was some singing and chanting in a guttural tone, which the boys said had been used by the Indian doctors in earlier days. There were sounds like people jumping up and down on the floor, and others like [someone] striking the bare body with the palm of the hand. In the midst of the confusion we heard Pike Ben's voice saying, "I've got the sin, I've got the sin."

A moment later, the door opened and there was Pike with hands clasped as though there was something in them, which he threw out of the door while at the same time blowing his breath after it. When the door opened we could see Bruce Ben, the sick man, sitting on a chair stripped to the waist, with others prancing around him. A little later we heard someone say, "He could not doctor well because there was too much sin left in the house by the white man," — referring to me. Several of them went to work purifying the room by "catching" the sin and throwing it out the door.

They had not finished purifying the room when we went on home, where I found Mr. Mann waiting for our return. I told him what we had witnessed and he agreed with me in considering there was serious harm done by such treatment of the sick. He told me [he] had heard of a Shaker meeting at John Smith's house recently, where Dick Case's wife became so excited she prematurely gave birth to a child at Choke's house the next day. This was the first I knew of the meeting, but I could tell him about the child's death and burial the day before his arrival.

There was an average attendance at the Church Service on Sunday morning, including John Smith and many others [who had been] at Choke's the evening before. Mr. Mann preached an appropriate sermon referring to false Prophets, in part, without mentioning any names. He did not give the Indians an opportunity to speak in Church,

as had been the custom, but pronounced the benediction at the close of his sermon and we were dismissed. He then went directly to our house without stopping to talk with members of the congregation as he usually did. After lunch, I called John Smith to the office and he came with Jim Walker, Marion Davis, Kager and Dick Case.

I rehearsed what had taken place at Choke's the preceding evening, much to their surprise, and charged John Smith with leading his people back to the old Ta-mah-nous and other practices to which the Government objected. They were given a pretty stiff talk and Mr. Mann told them I had spoken truly. No objection was made to anything said but they surely were surprised at some of the things we knew and said to them. Bruce Ben died at Elma, May 19th, next, and was buried in the Indian graveyard at Oakville. His Shaker friends asked me to conduct the funeral service, which was done because no Minister was available, it being my second experience in officiating at funerals. My remarks were from Hebrews IV, 1-11, and I Corinthians XV, 50-58.

Mr. Mann understood Indian character well and his contact with them inspired their confidence and esteem. His attitude on Sunday must have worried them to some extent, because on Monday morning, Jim Walker said John Smith was at his house, a few rods distant, and wanted to shake hands and talk with Mr. Mann, and he would be at the office the next day to do the same with me. We sent word to him to come now, as both [of us] were in the office.

John came and, after shaking hands with us, said that he was still a Presbyterian and believed in God and what the Bible taught. He said he knew the Bible told white people what to do to be saved, but Indians were different, so God had given John Slocum additional instructions for them to follow. Further, he said that he and Mr. Mann were brothers in the work of helping people to live the right way and should not be angry with each other. While Mr. Mann let John do most of the talking, he explained that he was not angry but was much disappointed. Before Mr. Mann left for his home at Tacoma, the next morning, John Smith and several other Shakers came to shake hands with him and seemed very friendly.

On the following Sunday, I conducted the Church Service and

followed the action of Mr. Mann the preceding Sunday in not asking any of the Indians to take any part in it before closing. In the afternoon, Marion Davis told me about some Mud Bay Indians having been at John Smith's house that had succeeded in getting several Chehalis Indians to become Shakers. Marion said "a man would be taken into a separate room to make his confession of sins and when he came out of the room he would be shaking all over. Then another man or woman would be taken into the room and come out shaking. Charlie Walker had to go into the room twice before he was free from sin. Shaking was a sign that the sin was gone. Dick Case went into the room several times because he could not lose his sin. He could not shake all over, only his little finger shook. He was too bad to shake."

On March 18th, Agent Eells and Inspector [Henry] Ward, representing the Secretary of the Interior's office, came at noon, and after checking my accounts and the Government property, left the next afternoon. Before they were out of sight, Peter Heck came to our house. He shook hands with Alice and me in a solemn manner, and then said, "Last Saturday night my hands began to shake, and then they crossed each other and shook two hours. I was sitting on a pile of rails. Then I knelt down and shook two hours; then stood shaking three hours; then stood with my arms stretched out straight, one-half hour; then [my] right hand took hold of the left wrist, one-half hour; then I took hold of a rope that reached to Heaven, with both hands."

At this point I asked, "Could you see or feel the rope in your hands?" His answer was, "No, I could not see or feel the rope, but I know it was there. Next, I heard a voice in Heaven say, 'Pull the rope and ring the bell in Heaven.' I did so. Then I crossed myself three times and commenced to walk but stayed in the same place; then to run but did not go any. I heard the voice of God saying, 'He come to see me.' Then I talk English, I say, 'I am glad.' God wanted me to preach to everybody what He tell me. He said, 'Nobody can destroy me. I am God. I am going to destroy the world a second time, one and one-half days from now.' This means one and one-half years from now."

I asked, "How do you know God means one and one-half years?" Peter answered, "Something in my breast tells me He means that time. God said, 'Go to Oakville and preach there next Sunday, it is my holy

day.' He said, 'Go to Mud Bay week after next, and preach there; and in three months go to Quinault and tell them there what to do.' There is something wrong there so God cannot send his voice. That is the reason He wants me to go there. The voice said, 'Come back and stop at your home. Take back that wagon where you got it from Perry Eu-cha-tan, you never pay for it; and take back that lumber to Joe Mormon, you buy it and never pay him.' The last God said was, 'All who believe on you and what you do, will be saved.' The shakes make our sins fall to the ground, that is all they are for. In seven months, the shaking will stop as all our sins will then be gone. The world itself will shake next July 4th all day." This is Peter's story, written as he was telling it, and had he been a good Prophet, the world would have come to an end about September 16, 1885.

The day after Peter's visit, George Quinotle, one of our pupils, told me that while he and Peter were out hunting a few days before, they heard a grouse up in a tree but could not see it at first because of foliage in the way. Peter "shook" and his hand pointed to the bird. After shooting twice and missing each time, Peter shook again to take the bird's soul away so it could be killed. His next shot brought it down. George was not as impressed as Peter expected him to be. He told me he was going to hide his pocket knife and ask Peter to find it by shaking.

The annual sixty days vacation was divided into four parts, being thirty days in September, and ten days each at the end of December, March, and June. At this vacation in March, many of the families went to Mud Bay. After their return, fantastic stories began to circulate, such as "All white people are bad and Indians don't count with them. They say all Indians are crazy and want to send them to [the territorial mental hospital at] Steilacoom where many white people go. The Government people and Mr. Mann no good, and it is true they work only for money. They won't let Shakers alone. The world will shake all day the next Fourth of July, all Shakers believe that. Soon God will send a big water, it will cover all the world. God will come in a big canoe to take and save all Shakers. All white people and Indians not Shakers will be drowned. He will not save any of them."

I remember Old Heck coming to inquire if it was true, "That all

Shakers were to be sent to Steilacoom, and if so, he did not want to plant any more crops as there would be no one left to harvest them.” I assured the cautious old man that no well behaved Indians would be sent there. He went away apparently satisfied.

At the Church Service on April 6th, no reference was made to the Shakers. A rumor was afloat that they wanted to have a part in the Sunday Service and it appeared to me they might have selected this as the time to begin. When I finished speaking, it was noticed that a number of Indians were looking about the room in rather an expectant manner. I looked towards Alice and she began to play the closing hymn and when the singing ended the benediction quickly followed without giving anyone a chance to say anything. We subsequently learned they had planned to rehearse some of the things learned during the recent visit at Mud Bay.

While it had been necessary to be firm and positive with the Indians, at times, it had always been in a friendly way; and nothing had appeared to indicate other than full confidence in my good intentions in their behalf; yet, Agent Eells had been advising me to be careful and not go out on the reservation without having some trustworthy person with me. He wrote me to take into my own house the revolvers and ammunition kept in the commissary for police use.

The revolvers and ammunition were removed, but I continued going about the reservation as usual until one day, I found Mr. Mills following me on horseback, which he explained was being done, “Because he was afraid something might go wrong with me, and if this happened, he wanted to be nearby.” The next time I went out, there was a revolver with me and it was my companion for some time, but nothing arose indicating it was needed.

On April 12th, I went to Oakville with Jim Walker, the Head Chief, to see Dick Case’s wife who was still sick from the excitement at John Smith’s house, to inquire about a girl that had not returned to school. As we approached the house, we heard bells and knowing what that meant, we tied our horses and, at the house, entered the door without knocking. Our coming was a complete surprise. Charlie Walker, a policeman, was sitting on a chair, barefooted and with his trousers pushed as high as possible, being treated for rheumatism in his feet.

He was slapping his feet and limbs with both hands and assisted by two others who were doing the same.

Cap Carson was standing in front of him with a bell in each hand and ringing both. There was a large picture of the Cross on the wall behind Cap and lighted candles on a table beneath the Cross. John Smith appeared to be in charge of the doctoring. The other people, men and women, were in a circle around the “patient,” jumping up and down with arms extended horizontally and their whole bodies trembling and shaking.

When we appeared, those in the circle stopped shaking and took seats about the room. The principal actors continued a minute or two, when Jim Walker said something to them in the Chehalis language, causing them to stop and sit down. The Shakers had claimed that after beginning to shake they could not stop until God told them to do so, but this was definite evidence that they could and we were [now] in a position to prove it. I made no comments and with my companion went on home.

When we arrived home from John Smith’s, we found Mr. Mann there. He had come to conduct Church Service the next day, Sunday, April 13th. There was a large attendance, including many of the leading Shakers. Mr. Mann preached a very appropriate sermon for them to hear. He particularly mentioned John Smith and Peter Heck as two misguided men, losing the true faith and now leading their people astray. After the Church Service, he ignored them completely. As we came out of the building, Peter Heck made an insulting remark about Mr. Mann and the school employees, and Mr. Mills, standing nearby, took him by the collar and shook him. This made Peter hustle off home in a hurry.

A few minutes later, I heard that Doctor Jim, a prominent Mud Bay Shaker, was at Old Man Heck’s house. I immediately went there with George Quinote as interpreter, and ordered him to leave the reservation within two hours, or I would have him locked up in the “skukum house,” our jail on the reservation. I told him to tell his Mud Bay friends that if one of them came on the reservation again without my permission, I would have him locked up and fed on bread and water. Doctor Jim was gone ten minutes before the two hours expired.

I felt that the point had been reached to take some definite action, and quickly too, without waiting to consult Agent Eells. After talking the matter over with Mr. Mann, it was decided to call a special session of the Indian Police Court, to convene at one o'clock the next day. The policemen were sent out to notify all Indians to be present at the meeting.

The Police Court convened promptly at one o'clock on April 14, 1884. Associate Judges Jim Walker, Charlie Walker, and Pike Ben were in their places on the rostrum when I took my seat as Presiding Officer, with George Heck, interpreter; an awe inspiring array of "legal talent," indeed, to tackle the serious job before the Court.

The attendance was large, including Shakers, non-Shakers, and two white men, Rev. Mann and [Mr.] Mills. One of the leading Shakers was absent and I had him brought in. The Court was opened with a short address explaining the object of the meeting. The Indians were told it was for the purpose of getting definite information about the Shakers having power to cure all kinds of sickness among Indians, and their method of treating the sick people.

They were then reminded that the Government, in a book entitled "Rules Governing Courts of Indian Offences," prohibited such things as Ta-mah-nous doctoring, and Government employees were ordered to see [that] the rules are obeyed. [I told the Indians that] "from the information we now have, it does appear like Ta-mah-nous, but this Court does not want to take any action that is not right, and for this reason you have been asked to come here today to tell us all about Shaker doctoring. This is the time for you to express your thoughts and feelings freely. If you are right, we want to know it. If you are wrong, the Judges will decide what is to be done. Neither the Judges, nor I, shall interrupt any of you while speaking, but will listen patiently to all you may have to say. We may ask you some questions if there is anything we do not understand. Any one of you that wants to speak may do so now."

No one seemed inclined to say anything at first, so I called on John Smith, the Shakers' leading man at Chehalis, to do so. He arose and said, "If I speak, you will not believe me." To this, I replied, "If you speak what the white man calls the truth, we will believe you; but not

if it is like things you have sometimes told me for the truth.”

John then addressed the Court, saying “that he believed all Mr. Mann had taught from the Bible, but it was for the white man and not for Indians because they could not read the Bible; that he believed John Slocum’s statement of having died and gone to Heaven; and his coming back to earth again with a special message from God to the Indians, because they were poor and could not read. He had known John Slocum a long time before he went to Heaven and he was a bad man. He ran horses and gambled for horses and blankets, drank whiskey, and did other bad things. When he came back to earth, he put all these things behind him, and he has been a good man ever since, teaching Indians how to live right, do good, and cure sick Indians without taking any pay for it. John Slocum is God’s man, same as white preachers. That is all.”

When John sat down, he was asked, “Did God tell John Slocum how to cure sick people?” His reply was, “He tell him to cure sick people and take no pay, that is all.”

Peter Heck was the next to speak. He said, “Many bad Indians had listened to white preachers for a long time without it changing their bad habits any, but when they became Shakers they put behind them everything that was not good to do.” He represented himself as one of this number and now he could see the right way to go and not do anything wrong. He then retold the story of his “vision” that came to him while sitting on a pile of rails, as first told to Alice and me on March 19th.

John Smith and Peter Heck were the only Indians to address the Court, but there was considerable conversation in the Chehalis language, among the spectators, some of which, [when] interpreted to me, showed the audience was divided on the subject under investigation.

After asking the Indians if anyone else had anything to say and getting no response, the four members of the Court retired to an adjoining room for consultation, accompanied by Rev. Mann and Mr. Mills, but they took no part in our discussion.

I knew that one of our Judges, Charlie Walker, was a full-fledged Shaker, but thought the other two, Jim Walker and Pike Ben, felt about as I did, but [I] was mistaken and found it necessary to use some

diplomacy in dealing with them. Charlie Walker began the discussion by saying that Mr. Mann was doing good in teaching white people how to live, and John Slocum was doing good in teaching Indians. Both believed in God, and should walk together like brothers teaching the people.

I replied to him, "That which you suggest is impossible, besides, Mr. Mann and the Church has nothing to do with the question we have to decide. It is doctoring the sick we have to talk about as was told the Indians when we were in the other room. They said nothing about it. Maybe they were ashamed to tell us what they did."

Pike Ben then brought up the Shakers' claim, "That when an Indian began to shake, he could not stop until his sin was all gone out of him, as that was God's way." I told Pike that if it was true they could not stop shaking when they tried to do so, it would be wrong to punish them. He then spoke of some other things of no importance, until he asked if it would be wrong to give the shakes to friends, if they asked for it. This caused Jim Walker to say, "If the Indians did not go to Mud Bay, so often, there would not be so much trouble," and asked my opinion about it. I told him this had been my belief all the time, and said we could prevent much of the trouble by issuing passes as authorized by the Government regulations.

At this point it seemed to me that enough subjects had been brought up to enable us to frame a suitable set of regulations that could be enforced without much trouble. I deemed it advisable to include Jim Walker as having the same authority as myself, in enforcing the Court's action as shown in the regulations adopted. This was safe because Jim was loyal to me, and anyway he could not write his name to a pass. The Court's Order, signed by all the Judges' names and their thumb marks, is as below:—

COURT OF INDIAN OFFENCES

ORDER

The Police Court on the Chehalis Indian Reservation, Washington Territory, in session this 14th day of April, 1884, hereby issues the following Order for the guidance of all Indians residing on or being on said Reservation:

1ST. All Indians visiting the Reservation shall go directly to the Head Chief, Jim Walker, or the Superintendent, for permission to remain, which shall be given in writing.

2ND. No Indian belonging to the Chehalis Reservation is to leave the Reservation for any purpose without a written Pass, signed by the Head Chief, Jim Walker, or the Superintendent.

3RD. The giving of "shakes" to sick people, in treating them for sickness, is in violation of Rule 6, in "Rules Governing Courts of Indian Offences" and is prohibited, but if an Indian begins to shake and cannot stop doing so, he must not have any other person present, unless it be his wife, or the husband, as the case may be. Children may not be present.

4TH. No one shall offer to give another Indian the "shakes," but if an Indian requests it be given him, it may be done, providing they apply to the Head Chief, Jim Walker, or the Superintendent, in advance, so that both may be present to see that no Government Rule is violated.

5TH. Any violation of this Order, and punishment for the same, will be determined by the Police Court on this Reservation.

(Signed)

Jim Walker

Pike Ben Charlie Walker

(All by thumb marks)

Approved

Edwin L. Chalcraft,

Superintendent

This Order was read to the Indians and they received it without any signs of disappointment. They were given some friendly advice, and were all invited to come to the school and bring their friends with them on Wednesday, the 16th, at 2:30 o'clock p.m., and we would have a feast and general good time.

When we returned to the office, Mr. Mann was highly elated over the afternoon's work. I felt somewhat as he did, because we now had something that could be used as the basis of any further action it might be found necessary to take. Up to this time, there had been several things done on the Chehalis Reservation by the Shakers, the most serious being that of Dick Case's wife at John Smith's house, from

which she was still sick. Reports of a serious nature had been coming to us from the Nisqually and S'Kokomish Reservations, notwithstanding the Agency Physician's service was available to all the Indians, without expense to any, but the Shakers refused to have him attend them when they were sick.

When 2:30 o'clock on the 16th arrived, there was a satisfactory crowd of men and women on hand and others came later. They were invited into the school house for a short program by the pupils which was followed by speeches in which men and women took part. Some of them spoke in English, but most of them used the native language, which was translated into English by an interpreter. This continued until 3:30, when dinner was announced. There were long tables on the lawn loaded with food and decorated with flowers gathered by the pupils. Jim Walker was seated at the head of one of the tables with his wife, Susie, at the other end of it. After Jim had arisen and said grace there was a busy time for the next half-hour. The remainder of the evening was spent in playing ball and other sports. The day's program was a kind of "potlatch," indicating friendship and goodwill, and it was so received by the Indians.

Following the Police Court action on April 14th, there was not much activity among the shaking element that came to my notice. Many of the Shakers attended the Church Services regularly, and while there, appeared to be pretty good Presbyterians. Agent Eells came on May 9th and remained three days, he said, "to congratulate me on the good that had been accomplished." Be that as it may, he would not compromise with the Shakers in any way, and told them to "do as Mr. Chalcraft says to do."

On June 11th, Mrs. John Smith was at the school. While there, she tried to pull, or shake, rheumatism from a school girl's arm when they were alone in a room. Seeing Mrs. Mills, the Matron, coming towards the room caused Mrs. Smith to hustle off as fast as she could go. On August 2nd, while passing Charlie Walker's house, I heard a bell ringing in the house, "Shaker fashion," but I thought it best to take no notice of it, nor let anyone else know what I had heard.

The issuing of passes began on the day the Police Court enacted the pass provision. The first was issued to Cap Carson, good for two days,

to take a horse to Mud Bay and return. The second was issued to Harry Ho-wa-nut permitting him to go to Tumwater, five miles from Mud Bay, to visit a sick Indian and good for one week. I was suspicious that the real object in asking for these passes was to inform John Slocum and his followers at Mud Bay of what was going on at Chehalis. There were requests for passes nearly every day and Alice represented me in issuing them when I was away from home. No Indian was ever refused a pass, and as far as I know, no Indian ever left the reservation without having one.

On October 1st, the shaking element apparently had lost enough of its vigor to permit discarding the Pass Order, for a time at least, and on that date I issued an order to the effect that passes were no longer necessary. This was just one year from the time we began work at Chehalis Reservation. In looking back over that period in our lives, Alice and I were agreed in that it was the most strenuous we had ever experienced, yet it had been most interesting and thoroughly enjoyed, especially as there seemed to be no hard feeling on the part of the Indians.

From this time and during the year 1885, little was seen or said about Shakers at Chehalis. Rev. Mann continued his monthly visits and I conducted the Church Service in his absence. On Sunday, February 1st, the Indians complained about not being permitted to speak at the Church Services, which was true because neither of us thought the time had arrived to permit them to do so. On Sunday, May 17th, Mr. Mann brought with him Rev. Peter Stanup, an ordained Presbyterian Indian Minister, [and] also Joe Swa-iel and Coates, elders in the Church at Puyallup. They all took part in the services and spent a couple of days visiting the Indians. Their visit had a good effect which was felt for a long time.

Practically nothing more concerning Shakers took place until February 27, 1887, when I personally caught a lot of them at George Walker's house doctoring Puyallup Bill, an Indian from the Puyallup Reservation. Ten were arrested and brought before the Police Court the next day. The testimony showed that Puyallup Bill had been spitting blood at times for a month or two, and had come to Chehalis to have the Shakers cure him, which they were doing by giving him the

usual treatment in such cases. John Smith, assisted by Peter Yo-kum, Thomas Heck, and George Walker, were in charge of the doctoring, and with the patient, Puyallup Bill, were given a sentence of ten days at hard labor and to be locked up in the skukum house. The other five were found “not guilty” by unanimous decision of the Court and were discharged. The guilty five served their full time of sentence.

A strange feature of the case, to me, was that none of the five showed any resentment in the matter. When Mr. Mann came the next time, he was pleased with the Shakers’ punishment, and said he had come to the conclusion that it was useless to try to do anything more with the older people, but best to concentrate the work on bringing the younger generation into a better life. I agreed with him. The punishment of these five men did have a quieting effect on the Shakers at Chehalis, because we had no further trouble with them up to the time we were to begin work at the Puyallup Reservation, June 30, 1889.

There were no Shakers on the Chehalis Reservation when we went there on October 1st, 1883. Mention has been made of the second session of the Police Court on January 19, 1884, when John Smith, an intelligent Indian and an active member of the Presbyterian Mission Church, asked permission to go to Mud Bay and the Court took no action on the request. At that time, the Indians had been leaving the reservation whenever they wished to do so, without asking anyone. He went to Mud Bay with his family and returned a zealous supporter of John Slocum and his new revelation.

About four years later, I asked John Smith to tell me why he went to Mud Bay at that time, and he said,

You know my boy, Sammy. He been sick with consumption a long time. White doctor try cure him. He say Sammy die soon. Indian Ta-mah-nous try, did no good, John Slocum and Mud Bay Louie said bring Sammy there, they could cure him. I did not want my boy to die so I took him to Mud Bay. When I get to Mud Bay, John Slocum want me believe same as him and go on same road, and they cure Sammy. I say no, cure Sammy first, then I believe same as him. He say if I not believe, it will be hard work to cure Sammy, but we will try. They work on Sammy one

time and he feel better. I stay there two weeks and they take away Sammy's sickness. He now in school. You know that. So I know John Slocum speak truth, and I believe as he believe. I know there is God and He gave Bible to white man because he can read. Indians cannot read so God tell John Slocum to show Indians how to live. No whiskey, no tobacco, no horse-race, no gamble, only do good. White doctors take money from sick; Indian Ta-mah-nous take blankets and money. That is wrong. God not want Indians that believe in Him to take pay, because He gave them power to cure sickness.

Whatever may have been the cause of Sammy's sickness, or his recovery, I do not know, but the boy lived and attended school, apparently in good health, until we left Chehalis in 1889. Paternal love is strong and I feel that the father's action in going to Mud Bay at that time should not be held against him too strongly.

In concluding the remarks concerning our experience with the Shakers on the Chehalis Reservation, I quote from a record made at the time, the statement of Pike Ben, an intelligent Indian who spoke our language well, as it is typical of the Shakers in general. He said:—

I did not know anything good until about four years ago. Before that time, I worked for white people during the week time and cleared my land on Sundays. I ran horses, chewed tobacco and gambled. Sometimes I lost money and felt bad about it. Sometimes this was with cards and sometimes with Indians' "stick gamble" on Sundays. I believed in Ta-mah-nous, and if sick, gave the Indian doctor a pony to cure me. After a while he would want another pony for the same sickness and I must give it to him or he would make me sick again. To cure a child he would want a gun. Big Ben was the first to mention the Shakes to me. I did not want to get it. I thought it was bad and felt like shooting him. Now the Shakes came to my thoughts. I dreamed and saw a great light and fine land near to God where everything appeared glorious and people never die. That was about four years ago. I did not want to do any work, especially

slashing brush, because I was so happy and wanted to go to God quickly. All kinds of work, slashing the most of any, made me dirty. I wanted to be clean inside and outside so as to be ready to go to God, as I felt that I must go to Him soon. I shook some and was afraid for a time that I would go crazy. It made me think best to stop chewing tobacco. I thought why and it made me to think that tobacco causes me [to] smell all the time I use it and makes me spend money, too. I then threw my old coat away because it made me smell of tobacco. God don't want people who smell of tobacco and I will be thrown into the dark land if I smell of it. I quit the bad things I had been doing. I burnt my cards and threw my gambling sticks into the river. I now see that the Indian Ta-mah-nous doctor is a *real* devil. I am afraid of him now. That Shake comes to me now if I am sick, and sends the sickness away, and God is angry if the Shaker charges anything, because He gives the Shaker power to send the sickness away. All people, young and old, can cure sickness if they are Shakers. To do this, they must catch the sickness in their hands. We call the Shake a medicine sent from God. That time John Slocum died and went to Heaven, God told him what the Indians must do to be saved, and we are trying to do what He said we must do. White people will be saved, too, if they believe in God and do as He tells them in the Bible.

Since leaving Chehalis, we have had but little contact with the Shakers. They had a cheaply constructed Church building at Mud Bay. While at the Chehalis and S'kokomish Reservations they attended the Mission Services on Sunday. Later, Church buildings were erected at other places. About May, 1892, James Wickersham became the Shakers' attorney and on July 6, 1892, he met them at the house of Louis Yow-a-luch in Mud Bay and organized their Church into a legal corporation. Wickersham was a bitter opponent of Agent Eells' because the Agent had defeated him as attorney for land grabbing companies in their efforts to illegally get possession of Indian lands on the Puyallup Reservation. The Shaker Church had now become a legal body in common with the other Churches. As time went on, their Church

Service became less excitable until it was very much modified, but their frenzied doctoring practices continued in about the same way.¹⁰

My last direct contact with the Shakers was in the autumn of 1898, while in camp on the bank of a small stream on the S'kokomish Reservation. There was a Shaker Church just across the stream. On Sunday morning, the Church bell rang. I crossed the stream and entered the Church where I took a seat on one of the benches which projected from the wall on opposite sides of the room about seven feet, leaving an aisle about eight feet wide, from the door to the rostrum.

As the people came in, some of them set on their knees and remained there through the entire service. There was a picture of the Cross on the wall [in] back of the pulpit with lighted candles on a table beneath the picture. When the preacher came in, he took his place at the pulpit, and I recognized him as Mud Bay Louie, leader of the Shaker doctors. He offered prayer, which was followed by the congregation singing a Gospel hymn that had been translated into Chinook.

Louie then quoted a text from the Bible, which probably had been selected and taught him by someone who could read. He preached a fairly good sermon in the Chinook Jargon, which I fully understood. The service was closed with singing and prayer. It seemed to me a devout and reverent service.

A few in the audience had known me at Chehalis when I wore a full beard, which had now disappeared, causing them to not recognize me until after we had gone outside the building. One of our old pupils then did so and came to me. The others then came and greeted me cordially and we spent about an hour in conversation.

The next evening I heard a Shaker bell ringing in a house near the Church. Taking a companion with me, we went to the door and rapped. There was a short delay in admitting us because the man with me was not known to any of them. They said there was no objection to me, and after I had vouched for my companion, a compromise was made whereby we could be in a room adjoining the one where the doctoring was being done, and have a door between the two rooms open so we could see what was going on. I suppose this arrangement was to prevent my friend's sins from interfering with the doctor's

work. There we found a group of Indians doctoring a young man, as previously described in other cases. Mud Bay Louie, the preacher of the day before, was in charge of the work, assisted by members of his congregation.

In the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1892–3, Part II, on page 746, will be found the Bureau's Report concerning the Shakers, which is a fair record of facts, with the exception of the letter written by the Shakers' attorney, James Wickersham, under date of June 25, 1893. This letter is full of erroneous statements and conclusions, especially those relating to Agent Eells and his employees, who were guided by the Government instructions only.

Agent Eells was a sincere Christian man in every way. He knew Indians as few men do and was their kindly friend under all circumstances and nothing would induce him to do them an injustice, or let anyone else do so if he could prevent it. James Wickersham was the active attorney for two land grabbing companies that had been for several years trying to secure valuable Indian lands illegally on the Puyallup Reservation adjoining the town site of Tacoma, and in every attempt had been defeated by Agent Eells.

Twice, it had been necessary for the Agent to have a Company of soldiers come from Vancouver Barracks to assist him in preventing them from carrying out their designs. When Agent Eells' appointment as Indian Agent expired in 1888, Wickersham had charges filed in Washington against his reappointment and Eells was called before the Senate Indian Committee to defend himself. He went before the Committee with two Indians as his only support, excepting his official record on file in Washington, and his reappointment was quickly confirmed by the Senate. This caused an Indian celebration on the Puyallup Reservation in which Shakers and non-Shakers took part.

Under these circumstances, it is easy to understand the kind of testimony a man like Wickersham would give when he had the chance, such as his letter of June 25, 1893, to the Bureau of Ethnology, referred to above.

Now, going back a little in my narrative, such events as are mentioned will be practically in the order of their occurrence.

When bidding County Commissioner Compton Woodham good-bye, just before we left Albion in December, 1881, he said to us, "I have a brother, William Woodham, somewhere in the western country and we have not heard from him in years. If you should see him, tell him to write."

I thought no more of this until on June 18, 1884, when I went to Centralia, our railroad station sixteen miles east of the school. It was a small place of one store, which was also the post-office, and a few dwellings. While buying some goods at the store, the clerk asked me if I was the Chalcraft whose mail from Albion passed through the Centralia post-office to the Chehalis school office. Upon receiving an affirmative reply, he said his name was Woodham and his father came from Albion. The father lived nearby and I delivered his brother Compton's message. When in Albion a few years later, Compton told me they had been hearing from his brother regularly since the message was delivered. We saw much of the William Woodham family after the first meeting.

A month after meeting the Woodham family, Mary Hanson, with her two little girls, came from Astoria and remained with us from June 25 to July 28. It was a delightful visit, especially for Alice. Mary was the daughter of Henry Powell, one of our neighbors in Edwards County who came west and settled at Astoria, several years before Alice and I came to Seattle. We had visited the family for a few days in 1882, at Astoria.

There were plenty of eels in the Chehalis River. My first experience in fishing for them was the night of August 1, 1884. In company with Joe Walker, Johnnie Dick, Bruce Jack, Johnnie John, Mosale Bill, Pe-ell Case, and Jessie Mills, we went to the river where we found the Indians had a platform built about eight inches above the water at the head of a "riffle," or shallow swift flowing place in the river.

The platform was about six feet square, and when fishing, three or four of us would be standing on it with pitch torches in our hands, which caused the eels to be easily seen in the water. Coming up through the swift water of the riffle made the eels tired and when they reached the upper end, they stopped to rest, making it easy to grasp them with the right hand, which had previously been rubbed on the inside with

resinous leaves from a local plant to overcome the slippery surface of the eels.

We caught a good supply. Alice cooked the choice part of one, but the flavor was too strong for us to eat any of it. There was good fishing for trout and salmon in the Chehalis and Black Rivers, and they were more attractive to us than the eels were.

There was excellent hunting on and near the reservation. Deer were plentiful and they were frequently in our fields near the school. I remember Jim Walker killing three one day within a mile of our house. The regular price for venison was seventy-five cents for a ham, large or small. Elk were not so plentiful as the deer, but the Indians killed several. One day Sam Smith, one of our pupils, killed four elk and I had the horns of one of them several years.

My favorite hunting was for grouse, usually on horseback and sometimes accompanied by Alice, on her pony "Daisy." We would put our little dog "Nixy" on the horse behind one of us and ride about a mile to the edge of the timber surrounding the prairie where the school was located. The grouse is a fine bird for the table and we killed many of them. When at the timber, we would put Nixy down on the ground and it would not be long until the dog had frightened a bird up into a tree and we would hear him give a yelp or two. When we rode to him, he would be found sitting upright on his haunches awaiting our coming. When the bird was killed, Nixy got one of the feet as a reward for his work. This was the usual procedure in hunting birds.

Nixy was the only dog Alice and I ever owned, although our son, Pickering, owned one known as Prince, while we were at Chemawa, many years later. An Indian at Chehalis gave him to us when he was very small. When full grown, he was not more than ten inches high. His hair was of medium length, pure white with a faint brownish yellow spot in one ear and two other spots on the back. His eyes were large and brown. He was an intelligent looking animal and drew attention wherever he went. His sitting upright was natural with him when asking for food or anything else he wanted. He disappeared from the Puyallup Reservation, where we left him while at the Chicago Exposition, probably taken by Alaska Indians who had been camped there during the hop-picking season.

Daisy was a medium size pony that I bought for Alice to ride. Later, I bought her a two-wheeled cart that was just suited for the pony, and the combination was enjoyed on many trips.

Mr. and Mrs. Eells came on August 14th, 1884, to spend a week with us. Before leaving on the 18th, he told me his Superintendent at the Puyallup School was leaving, and offered me appointment to the position. After talking [over] the matter with Alice, I told him we were contented and felt that we would like to stay at least another year at Chehalis, but would leave the matter with him. He complimented me by saying, "It was a deserved promotion and he wanted his best timber at the larger school." It was agreed that if he could not find a suitable man for Puyallup, I should go there. On September 5th, I recommended Mr. A. R. Campbell of Seattle for the position, and after an interview with him, Mr. Eells appointed Mr. Campbell and he made a first class Superintendent.

I voted at Oakville, just off the reservation, on November 4, 1884. Indians did not have the right to vote at that time. As [Grover] Cleveland was elected [President], we were looking for some interesting times after he was inaugurated on March 4, 1885, but things moved on in about the usual way until his second term in office began.

The second section of the Dawes Allotment Act granted citizenship and the right to vote to all Indians who had accepted individual allotments of land, to be held under a Trust Patent issued by the Government. By this time practically all the Indians [living] on reservations under Agent Eells' jurisdiction had complied with this law and were now ready to vote at the next election, November 6, 1888. I went to the voting place at Oakville on that date and found a large number of Indians there, but none had voted. There seemed to be no special objection to the Indian vote, but the Judges were uncertain as to its being legal. After reading a copy of the law I had brought with me, and [following] a short discussion of its terms, the Judges became satisfied as to the legality of Indians voting. Marion Davis was the first Indian to vote and he was followed by all the others.

In 1924, Congress passed an Act making all Indians born within the United States full citizens and entitled to all the rights of white citizens. Since then there have been no non-citizen Indians.

The first half of 1885 is remembered as the sentimental period during our sojourn at Chehalis School because of the unusual number of "love letters" that came into our possession during that time. I quote first [from] one sent me by Agent Eells because the girl, Lydia Dick, was one of our pupils. The young man wrote, as follows:

Skokomish, W. T.
January 16, 1885
Edwin Eells,

Dear Sir:

You will call to mind a letter I had written to you respecting Miss Lydia Dick. And although I had dropped the matter with you then, but still I did not forget it, and I asked her permission by Lottie, who is quite familiar with her. Lottie received an answer with permission for me to write to her. Accordingly I wrote introducing myself and telling her that I saw her and liked her and if I am too bold she can but tell me and I will stop writing. A short correspondence took place and she told me she saw me on the 4th of July, 1883. So then you see I am not entire stranger to her and I venture to tell her by way of a hint, that my little house will be quite ready for next summer and would be happy to have some one come and live in it with me. She wrote back and said she would like to see my little house and that she was 15 years old. This too is a little hint. Sally Sickman is telling her all she knew about me. Now my petition for that is what I call it, is that you say give me leave to ask her father to engage her hand till next 4th of July, 1885. As to her age she is 15. I have a Book, a very popular one and perhaps you have seen it, entitled "Hills Manual of Business Forms" in which I see this paragraph, "In most of the states the common law requires that the male be 14 years and the female 12 years before the marriage take place. In certain States 17 for males and 14 for females. In others 18 for males and 14 for females." And Lydia is 15. Two years ago by next July I saw her and thought her a little grown up woman. As to myself,

Sir, I really think I have been single long enough. Of course my friends want me to marry Lucinda. I have tried repeatedly and have been told by my friends in school, that she has said often, that she will never marry an Indian. I saw then that she considers herself quite my superior and I concluded to bother her no more. And now here is a chance. You told me she is a good girl. Shall I let this chance pass? Shall you Mr. Eells, please excuse me, deprive me of the chance? Because, Sir, if you refuse me this you refuse me happiness. I earnestly and hopefully ask you to give leave to negotiate with her father through her relatives here who are Charlie Jack, Billy Waterman and Bros. I shall be very much disappointed if you deny me the privilege I ask for. Please consider my case well and answer me. If you are favorable I will let my friends know. If I have to wait two or three years I shall have to let the whole thing go, for how can a girl I mean Indian girl many miles away wait so long? I think now I am able to support a wife. My little house is now nearly ready. I shall anxiously and hopefully wait for your reply. I do not intend to buy the girl or give anything of value to her relatives, but simply to get the girl's consent through her relatives here for her hand next 4th of July 1885. Awaiting your reply.

Respectfully and hopefully
Andrew P. Peterson.

The next is a shorter communication and it seemed to us somewhat uncertain what the writer sought to convey. Nancy Parsons was a bright fifteen year old girl and she thought it was intended as a love letter, which made her very angry and [so she] gave it to Alice.

Independence P. O. Wash. Ter.
J 13, 1885
Miss Nancy Passnips

Dear Sir.

as i am sitting thinking of the Past and think it bast to write these few lines may you wish to read Something and hoping

that i may receive some subscribers word from you it offers me
pleasented to write these. meet your wishes hoping you will
give me trial. Should you employ me Sooner would be glad to
hear further from you. Doing best to write this.

I would respectfully make and thanking you for past kind-
ness.

I am Sir very
Sincerely yours
J. S. Peterson
J. Shelton Peterson

The following is a letter from Jimmy Sickman to Maggie Smith.
They were in no way related. The word “cousin” is used as an endearing
word such as beloved.

Oakville, Chehalis County, Wash. Ter.
June 15, 1885
Maggie J. Smith

My Dear Cousin.

I was thinking about you this morning and I took my pen
to Write a few Words to you to let you know how I am getting
along here in my home. Well I am very Well and Strong here
Also my folks, here, oh dearest living cousin I never forget you
because you are kind to me Dearest living cousin I am going to
ask you where you Will go to forth of July I want know before
I go away Dearest living or live cousin. I tell you where I Will
go to forth July Well I am going to Puyallup forth july I got
letter from Laura Sickman last week he told me that Puyallup
Indians have big time forth July and Laura he tell me that I
will tell everybody. Laura he want some of the Chehalis girls
Dearest living cousin Sometime get little sorry for you I think
that all say Maggie I wish you look to your living cousin Jim-
mie and laughing, ho- ho- ho you and me, ha- ha- ha- ha-
good for my living girl—oh my cousin I send 5 kisses to you
ho- ha- ha- good for you and I Want you to answer me soon if

you afraid give to me your letter you just give it to Sally and
tell her to put it in my sing book in school house dont be
afraid Sally I will be there

your Dearest living Cousin
Jimmie Sickman

The following letter was written to Jim Smith by Lydia D. Case:

Chehalis School, W. T.
July 1885

Jimmie my dear darling and Best loving,

I thought of you this evening to ask you what you think
about what father said something to you about me do you
wish to do it or not. if you not I will go to Forest Grove school
in oregon. if you dont want me there is no other girl here that
can want you. There always saying that they dont like you but
I never say anything myself, dear loving boy. I wish you dont
tell anyone of this letter. Please tell me what do you think of
this letter and you must not be afraid at me about your words.
Say anything you wish too. I wrote 5 letters besides this and
I want to see who will be smartest one will write first your
friend Miss Lydia D. Case. Good bye good night. I shall never
forget I have seen you before at Olympia about one year ago at
4th of July. I was the one with Mrs Pike and you was trying to
smile at me but I did not smile to you because I wasn't known
to you. Please answer soon. Excuse this bad writing for I am in
a hurry it is getting dark. Good bye if you dont want me.

Answer soon
Lydia D. Case.

After the death of Alice's uncle, William Pickering, on March 16,
1883, it was found in his Will that he had requested Judge Thomas
Burke of Seattle and I be appointed joint executors of his estate. The
Judge could not serve because his partnership papers with U. M. Rasin

provided that neither should give bonds while the partnership lasted. While this prevented him from legally acting as an executor, he said he would attend to all legal matters and aid me in every way he could without cost, and he did so. He told me about friendly acts Mr. Pickering had done in his behalf when he first came to Seattle as a young lawyer without friends nor practice.

At this time, he said to me, "I may as the years go by, lose contact with William Pickering's three little boys but you will always keep in touch with them. If at any time, under any circumstances, I can do anything for them, financially or otherwise, don't fail to let me know. I mean this to the fullest extent." This was Judge Thomas Burke, a man who became internationally known as a friend of all races of people, and died in New York City suddenly, while making an address on this subject. The city of Seattle erected a magnificent monument to his memory now standing in Volunteer Park. We were intimate friends from 1882 to the time of his death.

I went to Seattle and Squak Valley on March 23rd, 1885, to attend to some matters relating to the Pickering estate, and returned home on the 31st, bringing with me from Squak Valley, Alice's cousin, Willie Pickering, who was seven years of age.

We had been looking forward to a camping trip to Snoqualmie Falls when the next vacation time came, which was to begin September 1st, 1885. On the 7th, Alice, Nellie, and I, taking Willie Pickering with us, started on the trip in a two seated carriage and [we] took Alice's pony, Daisy, with us so she and Nellie could ride on horseback when either of them wished to do so. We had a camp outfit, with exception of a tent, which we did not need as the carriage had a top to it.

We camped the first night two miles east of Olympia, and the next night we were at Puyallup Agency, having passed old Fort Nisqually on the way. The Agency Physician and his wife joined us here, and we continued our journey on the 11th through the immense hop-fields in the Puyallup and White River Valley and camped at a place about twenty-five miles from the Agency.

The next night we were at the Newcastle coal mine where Alice and I spent our last night before reaching her Uncle William's house when we came west. The 13th was spent in Squak Valley where we

left Willie Pickering with his mother at their home. We went on to the Snoqualmie River at Fall City, and camped in a Mr. Baxter's barn because it was raining. At eleven o'clock the next morning, the 15th, we arrived at our destination, Snoqualmie Falls, where the next two days were spent in sight-seeing and fishing for trout that were found to be plentiful. We returned to Squak Valley where we stayed a couple of days; then to Puyallup Agency and on home, where we arrived at 8:00 o'clock in the evening of September 25th. The trip was very much enjoyed by all of us.

Water Works

Sometimes, we undertake to do a job without fully realizing just what is before us. I did this once at Chehalis when we decided to improve the bathing facilities. The domestic water supply came from a well with quicksand at the bottom that interfered with the force pump operated by hand. Mr. Mills had taken the pump out of the well to clean it, when the subject of making the supply more convenient came up. The well was on the south side of the main building, and the boys' quarters, where they bathed, was on the north side, making it necessary to carry their bath water in buckets through the dining room, or go around the building to the bathroom, where it was heated on an iron box-stove, altogether an awkward situation.

There were a few lengths of iron pipe with couplings on hand, but no fittings of any kind, nor tools for cutting and threading the pipe, making it seem a hopeless task. We had a blacksmith shop and a few tools for shoeing horses and welding small pieces of iron, but neither of us had ever done any blacksmith work. After a time, it dawned on me, that we might succeed with the limited material on hand if we tried, and I made a set of plans for the job, as follows:

FIRST— Set up adjoining the boys' bathroom, a log about 20 inches in diameter and 18 feet long, with an auger hole bored through its entire length and plugged at the bottom to prevent water escaping. Then put a water barrel on top of the log, connecting the hole in the log with the barrel by using a short piece of pipe. This made a stand-pipe with a reservoir on top of it.

SECOND—Lay an iron water pipe from the well to the stand-pipe and insert the end in the log to intercept the sugar hole that had been bored in it.

THIRD—Use iron pipe to connect the auger hole in the stand-pipe with the stove. This pipe [is] to enter the bathroom above the pupils' heads and bend down directly over the opening in the stove, covered with a lid, which is to be replaced with a sheet iron lid, because we had no tools to make a hole in the stove.

FOURTH—The coil was to be made from one of the shorter lengths of pipe [by] heating it in the blacksmith shop and bending it over a small log, until it was of suitable shape and size to fit in the stove with the farther end projecting up to the top of the smoke hole and bent outward towards the bath tub. This was to be extended to the tub and a valve put on the end of it to control the flow of water and keep it at the right temperature.

FIFTH—A new tub [was] to be made of wood by Mr. Mills, to replace the wash tubs. It was to be large enough for three boys to bathe at one time. There was to be an outlet, so the water could constantly flow in one end and out the other.

After we had finished the job, as outlined, Alice said she wished there was running water in our house, about 150 feet from the log stand-pipe. The iron pipe had all been used, so I had Mr. Mills cut and haul to the school enough 8 foot logs about 10 inches in diameter to cover this distance. Then I went to the blacksmith shop and succeeded, after several trials, in welding an auger bit to the end of a nine foot rod, and with this, the school boys bored a hole through all of them. To connect these logs, we burned short pieces from the legs of discarded iron bedsteads in the blacksmith shop. These were driven into the ends of the logs, making a continuous pipe line to our house, and from then on we had running water in our kitchen.

This amateur water system worked satisfactorily and was in good condition when we left Chehalis about four years later. I would say, if anyone should ask, that we *did not have it patented*.

Agent Eells, Superintendent Campbell, and I were discussing school matters one evening, when the subject of employees meeting for the

purpose of exchanging views concerning their work came up. It appeared to us a good thing to do, and upon the suggestion of Superintendent Campbell, arrangements were made to have the first meeting at Puyallup, the Agency headquarters, on March 23 to 26, 1886. This was during the spring vacation and would permit practically all the employees to attend. Invitations were sent to the employees at Chehalis and S'kokomish Reservations, requesting their presence at that time as guests of the Puyallup School, and there was a good attendance.

A part of the first day was spent in effecting an organization and in appointing various committees. The name of the Agency, "Nisqually and S'kokomish," seemed most appropriate, and the name "Nisqually and S'kokomish Teachers' Institute" was adopted. The school had been continued until the second day [of the conference] to permit the visitors to spend a part of the day in the class-rooms. The remainder of the time until adjournment on the 26th was spent in discussing problems relating to Government work among Indians. In all it was a successful and interesting meeting, and it was decided to meet in this way twice each year. This was the first meeting of the kind, organized at any place in the Indian Service, of which there is any known record.

When the Institute adjourned at Puyallup, it was agreed to have the next session at the Chehalis Reservation at the beginning of the September vacation. Our guests arrived on August 31st, 1886. The next morning, the Institute was called to order by the President, Edwin Eells, who announced the daily program of the school was going on as usual, and invited inspection of the class-room, domestic, and industrial work of the school. The Institute came to order again at two o'clock that afternoon, to hear an address by the President, and receive the reports of Committees appointed at the Puyallup meeting.

Formal papers and discussion concerning their contents took up the remaining time of the session. These were:

Short Cuts in Teaching Arithmetic, Teaching Beginners,	Supt. A. R. Campbell Mrs. [Alice P.] Chalcraft & Mrs. [Georgina] Bell
Industrial Work,	Mr. Geo. W. Mills & Mr. [Samuel] Keady

School Management,
Geography,
Object Lessons,

Supt. E. L. Chalcraft
Mr. G. W. Bell
Miss [Susie T.] Brewster

The Institute adjourned the evening of September 2nd, and our guests went home the next morning.

The third session of the Nisqually and S'kokomish Teachers' Institute was held at the S'kokomish Reservation on June 28, 29, and 30, 1887. This was followed by sessions at Puyallup, Quinaiaelt, Chehalis, and other places under Agent Eells' jurisdiction, until the autumn of 1894, when the Superintendent of Indian Schools in Washington, D.C., began to organize District Institutes, resembling ours, in other parts of the Indian Country which employees were expected to attend. This caused us to give up our local efforts. The new Institutes were fine places for budding orators to display their talent, but of lesser value to the average employee than our local Institutes.

Bishop [John Adams] Paddock of the Episcopal Church, residing in Tacoma, came to visit us on August 27th, 1886. He was a pleasant, fatherly gentleman and we enjoyed his visit very much. When leaving he invited Alice and me to let him entertain us when we went to Tacoma again. I took the Bishop to see an old cedar tree, two miles south of Oakville, that had quite a reputation for size. We found the tree had evidently been killed by fire many years before, and was broken off about seventy feet from the ground, leaving a hollow stump. We took a tape-line with us and the Bishop and I measured the part still standing. The measurements were:

Circumference of tree, two feet from the ground	88 feet
Circumference of tree, five feet from the ground	62 feet

A large opening would permit a man on horseback to ride into the hollow tree.

Inside diameter on the ground	27 feet
Inside diameter six feet from the ground	14½ feet
Inside diameter twelve feet from the ground	12¼

The outside diameter at twelve feet from the ground was 15 feet, and this outside diameter appeared to be maintained on above the bell-shaped bottom below the 15 foot measurement. It must have been *some tree* at one time!

Bishop Paddock returned to Tacoma on the 31st.

There was no place near the school where the pupils could buy the little things they wanted, and we thought it would be of educational value for them to get some experience in this line. On December 1st, 1886, I suggested to two pupils, Johnnie Leslie and Mosale Bill, each thirteen years of age, that they start a little store at the school. They were glad to do so, but had no money to pay for a stock of goods. It was arranged with Nancy Smith, another pupil, to let them have ten dollars at ten percent interest, for which they gave their note payable in three months. I fitted up a small store-room for them, and a ten dollar stock of goods was bought from Mr. Blumauer, the store-keeper at Tenino. I helped mark the sale price, keeping it at a reasonable figure.

The stock was replenished a number of times during the months, and when the note was due, they paid it off in full and had about eleven dollars left. Some time after this Leslie bought Bill's interest and continued the business alone. He was careful and his stock gradually increased until it was quite a respectable one. On May 15, 1889, he sold out to Charlie Conhepe, because he was going to Puyallup Agency to work. The understanding was that if he returned Charlie was to let him have the store back, or I would fit up another room for Johnnie where he could carry a stock of goods different from Charlie's.

Johnnie did not return to Chehalis, but attended the Puyallup School after we went there. Later, he went to the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. After he graduated from Carlisle, he returned to Seattle and I helped him to get a job as fireman on a steamer. He made friends with the engineer and studied books on engineering until he was able to pass the Federal examination and get a license as second engineer. The boat company then put him in the engine room. The boy did not stop here but continued his studies until he received a first class engineer's Federal license.

Some time after this, I received through the mail a marine magazine published in Seattle, in which there was the picture of a new steamer

named "City of Shelton." In the description of the boat was the following [caption], "Captain Gustavenson is going on her as Master, and John Leslie as Chief Engineer, two of our well known steamboat men on Puget Sound." This was a long step from what he was when we first knew him. He called Olympia his home place, and the Cashier of the First National Bank there told me he was highly respected in Olympia. He never married, and died at Squaxon Island about four years ago.

Christmas week at Chehalis in 1886 is remembered for two important things, our Christmas presents and Nellie's wedding. Alice gave me a handsome solid gold watch chain and I gave her a gold watch, and both are in good condition at this time in 1941.

William S. Mayfield had come from San Francisco on the boat with Nellie and Jacob Dierning in August, 1883, and we had seen him several times before going to Chehalis a month later. On December 24th, 1883, he came to Chehalis and stayed a few days and we all enjoyed his visit. He came at other times, and it was not long before Alice and I concluded we had a brother-in-law coming our way, and we were not mistaken, because that did come to pass in due time, and the wedding day was set for Monday, December 27, 1886.

On that day, Mr. Mayfield and Mr. and Mrs. Eells came about one o'clock; and Reverend Mann with Reverend Henry L. Bates, Pastor of the Congregational Church in Seattle, came later. At 9:00 o'clock that evening, Reverend Bates performed the marriage ceremony making William S. Mayfield and Eleanor (Nellie) Pickering husband and wife in the presence of our visitors and school employees. Reverend Bates and the happy, newly married couple went to Seattle the next day.

In 1866-7, Governor William Pickering bought a tract of land containing 557 acres on the south side of the Snoqualmie River at "The Falls." His son, William Pickering, had been looking after it alone until Alice and I came in 1881. The other heirs in the east were anxious to have it sold, and we both used our best efforts in trying to find a buyer. The price asked for the whole tract was two thousand dollars, but no one could be found that would consider buying it at any price. We were assisted in this by A. A. Denny, Judge Thomas Burke, and other friends of the Pickering family.

At this time it was thought the Snoqualmie Falls might become an

important sight-seeing place, but there was no thought that it would ever be used for commercial purposes. After William Pickering's death in 1883, the eastern heirs sent me a Power of Attorney for use in representing them in handling the land. This was rather troublesome. The most important incident of this kind was in clearing up a tax-title that had been illegally gotten by George Tibbetts covering the whole tract of Snoqualmie land, which, after much difficulty, was deeded back to the Pickering owners for three hundred dollars.

I received a telegram at Chehalis Reservation on January 6, 1887, from Thomas Burke saying, "I wish you would come to Seattle immediately, business very important." I wired reply saying I would be there the next evening. When I arrived in Seattle it was about 9:00 p.m., and I found him in his office waiting for me. He had papers for a railroad right-of-way through the Snoqualmie land ready for my signature as legal representative of the eastern heirs. I was aware of the fact that since the Northern Pacific Railroad had made Tacoma its western terminal it had endeavored to crush Seattle.

Judge Burke explained that because of this, Daniel H. Gilman of Seattle, Franklin K. Jones of New York, and he had quietly organized a Company with the intention of building a railroad from Seattle to the east, and there was a narrow pass on the Pickering land only wide enough for one railroad that they wanted to make sure of getting. He said they were afraid that when the Northern Pacific people heard what was being done, some steps would be taken to check-mate them. J. G. Scurry was out there surveying and setting stakes through the pass, and this, with a right-of-way, would give them legal possession.

I spoke about selling the Snoqualmie land and he said he would see it sold to someone, and I replied that I would sign the right-of-way papers, and did so that night. I took them to Mr. Denny the next morning, to see if there were any changes to suggest in the provisions and he said the papers were all right. Judge Burke and I spent the remainder of the day in trying to sell the land to people interested in land matters, but failed. On January 10th, Gilman said he would buy the shares of the three eastern heirs at the price offered, \$500 each, to make good Burke's promise to me.¹¹

I wrote Alice's father on January 12th about the right-of-way and

sale of the land, and on February 9th, 1887, I bought from the Dexter Horton and Company Bank in Seattle the following Drafts on Eugene Kelley and Company in New York:

No. 3377, for \$541.85,	Payable to order of	Delia A. Pickering
No. 3378, " \$500.00,	" " " "	Emma Maurer
No. 3379, " \$504.90,	" " " "	Richard Pickering

All were dated February 9, 1887.

All the Drafts were sent Alice's father and a letter from him dated February 25, 1887, said they were received.

Originally, Indians owned all the land and the different tribes claimed special sections of large size as their place to live and obtain the things necessary for their kind of life. As the white population increased, more land was needed for them. The Government then made treaties with the Indian tribes in which they agreed to give up the greater part of their land and live on a small portion of it reserved for their use. These portions are called "Indian reservations." That given up became Government land. The treaties provided that payment for the land given up should be made in various ways, such as furnishing schools, farmers, mechanics, blankets, food, and many other things. This was generally done at future times as the Indians needed them.

At the Chehalis Reservation there was a different condition as to land ownership. It was Government land on July 8, 1864, when the President issued his Executive Order making it an Indian reservation for the Chehalis Indians. This made it necessary to have another Executive Order throwing it open to public entry which would permit any citizen to file on the land. This was a dangerous situation as all the Indians had been living on their allotments longer than it was required by the Land Law.

To guard against any outside interference, Agent Eells arranged through the General Land Office in Washington to have the local Land Office at Olympia notified to not accept the filing of any one but an Indian, and only such Indians as the Agent certified to as Chehalis Indians. This fixed things just right. During the last week in March, 1887, Agent Eells met the Indians in Olympia and assisted them in filing

on their allotments. Instead of the usual patent given white people, the Chehalis Indians received the customary Trust Patent.

Two of our pupils, Sam Pete aged twenty-three, and Cecelia Louie aged eighteen, both sensible and excellent young people, had been interested in each other for a long time. With my consent, the Matron, Mrs. Mills, had let them use her kitchen one evening each week as a place to do their courting. Some months later, Sam came to me in a happy mood and said, "Cecelia and I are engaged." He received my congratulations and we had a long talk. He said he intended to build a new house on his land and was told that was a good thing to do so they would be independent, and as his land was not far away he could live at the school and omit all school duties and devote the time to building his new house. With the help of his father and other relatives he soon had lumber for a two-room house on the ground.

Construction work was begun and went on well for a time and then began to slow down. Sam wanted permission to marry before the building was finished, but he was told Cecelia would be much happier in a new home than if she had to live with his parents or with other relatives, and he would, too. His father took the matter up with Agent Eells, and he said I was giving Sam good advice.

It was time for gardening just before the house was completed, and Sam was told to plant his garden while finishing the house, and all would be ready for the wedding. I examined the house and garden and praised him for what he had done, adding there was but one thing left undone and that [was the acquisition of] some furniture and cooking utensils. He procured these and the wedding day was set for Sunday, May 29th, 1887, when Mr. Mann would be at Chehalis for the regular Sunday Service. Sam had overlooked several things needed in housekeeping and these were given them as wedding presents as he had done so well.

Immediately after the Church Service, Sam and Cecelia entered the room with their attendants, and were married by the Minister, Mr. Mann.

The final act was a wedding dinner for the newly married couple in the school dining room. A special table had been set apart for the

wedding party, upon which was a large decorated cake and plenty of other good things. Sam and Cecelia with their relatives and special friends were seated at this table and they did justice to the meal. In the afternoon, Sam and Cecelia went to their new home. The whole incident seemed to have been worthy of the attention given it as everybody was satisfied, and at least, it set an example for others who would follow.

October 5, 1887, was a joyful day, specially for Alice, because her parents and two sisters, Mamie and Cora, coming from Albion, were to arrive at Chehalis that day. I went to the railroad station at Centralia and brought them to the school. While they were pretty tired that night, there was so much to talk about that no one wanted to retire until a late hour.

Mr. Pickering had sold their farm at Albion and intended to remain in the west if they liked the country. Mamie was fourteen years old and Cora was twelve. Both attended the Indian school, Cora for thirty-six days and Mamie one hundred ninety-nine days. After a good visit with us, Mr. and Mrs. Pickering, with Cora, went to Seattle where Nellie was living, and left Mamie with us until September 7, 1888, when she went to Seattle with her mother who had been visiting us for a few days.

Mr. and Mrs. Pickering liked Seattle and lived there many years, near enough to permit good long visits after we went to Puyallup Reservation and to the Chemawa School in Oregon. Alice's mother died in Seattle February 25, 1918, and her father in Boston, Massachusetts, June 17, 1919. Both are buried in Lake View Cemetery in Seattle.

Mr. Eells came down to Chehalis on January 5th, 1888, and remained a couple days. At this time, he told me his appointment as Indian Agent would expire soon and he felt there was little chance of his being re-appointed. Since his first appointment in 1871, he had been re-appointed every four years without any opposition, but this time he was strongly opposed by influential land grabbing companies in Tacoma, led by their attorney, James Wickersham. Besides this, he was not of the same political faith as the Administration. The outlook did not appear very encouraging. Before he left, it was agreed that in case

he was not re-appointed, he should consider my resignation was in his hands and be effective on the day previous to the time his successor took charge of the Agency.

The unexpected happened. On February 3rd, the Agent notified me that President Cleveland had re-appointed him "on his record," which was specially pleasing because Mr. Eells was a Republican. The Wickersham people filed charges to prevent his confirmation by the Senate, and he was ordered to Washington with such witnesses as he desired, to defend himself. He was given plenty of time to prepare his testimony before appearing before the Senate Committee. On June 25th he came to Chehalis and legally appointed me Acting Agent during his absence, effective June 26, 1888.

I went to Puyallup Agency the next day to assume the new duties. Mr. Eells went on to Washington, taking with him two Indian witnesses, Peter Stanup, an intelligent educated man, and Joe Swa-iel, an older man who had never attended school. Upon his return after the hearing, Mr. Eells said he found the Senate Committee looked upon a land grabber about as they did a horse thief, and little testimony was needed. On July 23 he wrote me that he had been confirmed by the Senate as Indian Agent.

Alice had been in charge at Chehalis while I was at Puyallup and when I returned on July 7th, it was found she had made a good job of it, and I told her it might have been better for the School if I had not returned. She did not agree to that.

Reverend Cushing Eells, D.D., father of the Agent, came to Chehalis on August 25, 1888, to conduct the Church Service on Sunday. He had a large attendance in the morning service, and again in the afternoon. He was in the school-rooms until 10 o'clock. After lunch, he went on to Olympia in the little buggy he had made many years before, specially built for missionary work. He was driving La Blau, a horse he had bought when a colt and was now nineteen years of age.

September was always vacation time at Chehalis to let the children and their parents go to the hop-fields, and there were practically no Indians on the reservation during the month. Alice and I decided to go down to North Cove on the Pacific Ocean. We started on this trip September 24, 1888, on horseback, and went to Montesano and

stopped overnight. The next morning, we left our horses and went aboard the steamer "Corsair," a small boat going to Peterson's Point. When dinner time came, we found the dining table was attached to the boiler in the forward of the boat, but the meal was all right.

At Peterson's Point the water was so shallow the boat could not get near the shore and we were transferred to the mail stage, going to North Cove, out in the shallow water far from the shore. There were four passengers, two men besides Alice and I. One was a traveling salesman, who described our party as being "one lady, two gentlemen, and a drummer." After crossing a narrow strip of land, the stage plunged into the Ocean tide-water a foot or two deep, and from there to North Cove it was sometimes in the rolling water and [at] others on the sandy beach. The return trip was much the same, excepting a few hours stop at the County Fair at Elma on the way home where we arrived on the 28th.

I went to the railroad station at Centralia to attend to some business on June 3, 1889, and while there came across Ben Bowers who had arrived with his family and opened a blacksmith shop since we had been there. He was an excellent workman and a likable man. I had known him from boyhood days and his wife was one of Alice's intimate friends at our old home town. It was a real pleasure to find them so near us.

Soon after coming to Seattle, we bought Lot 6, Block 6, in the Eastern Addition of Seattle, upon which a home could be built if we decided to remain long in the west, and if not, it could be sold at a profitable price as real estate was then increasing rapidly in value. On February 8, 1889, we bought Lot 5, in Block 6, in the same addition, which gave us a piece of land 120 feet square on the corner of East Cherry Street and 10th Avenue. The second lot cost us a little more than three times the cost of the first lot. In the spring of 1889, we had an architect draw [up] the plans for a five-room house, and on April 5th [we] made a contract with Johnson and Clanahan to build it on the first lot we bought. On June 11th when the house was nearly finished it was rented to Mr. H. F. Baker for \$30 per month and he moved into it on July 2nd, 1889.

Our house is fourteen blocks from the Water Front of Puget Sound

and at the time it was built there was brush all about the place. This has all gone now and the ground in every direction is covered with paved streets and buildings.

The Indians liked pets and thinking we did too, they gave us some. This was true but did not include all kinds. I shall mention only two. The first was a little spotted fawn, weighing only thirteen pounds, that Shot-ta Squat-ta brought us. We named her Lulu. A movable pen was made and placed on the lawn near our house, so she could have the benefit of outdoor life, and she was fed on milk until she was old enough to eat grass and other things that deer like. She was very tame and it was not very long before Lulu was out of the pen and going about rounds, making friends with everyone, which included our little dog, Nixy, and another dog that was at the school. If a strange dog appeared, her hair would raise and she was ready for a fight.

Some attention was given to training her to do things, such as running races with the school-boys, jumping over the fences when ordered to do so, and staying close by my side when walking about, until told she could go. One thing in which she took the initiative was to rattle the door knob with her nose until someone would let her in, when she wanted to come in the house. When in the house, she most always went around the room apparently to see if there was anything new or strange to her, then she would come to Alice or me to be petted. I taught her to get up on the sofa with me and stand with one front and rear foot on each side of me and eat crackers from my hand. In all she was an interesting and likable companion.

But evil days finally came when Lulu was about two years old. She began to wander off into the woods but came back at night for some time. We felt sure no hunter who knew she was our pet deer would injure her, but she could easily be mistaken for a wild deer when in the woods. To prevent this we put a broad leather band covered with red flannel around her neck and attached a bell to it, and she continued her rambles. She was away about three weeks the last time, and when she returned she was badly crippled in the hips and very cross. There was nothing to indicate she had been shot.

One day, she attacked Mrs. Kager, an Indian woman, but did not hurt her much. Fearing she might hurt someone more, it was decided

to have her killed. I did not feel like doing it myself and asked the Industrial Teacher, Mr. [Mark E.] Hartsook, to do so. He got his gun and called Lulu to him and they went off together into the woods where he shot her. When he came back he said he felt like he was committing a murder when he shot her.

The other pet was a cub bear that Sam Smith brought to us. He had killed the mother bear and caught the cub. It was an innocent looking, frisky little thing, and a pen similar to the one made for Lulu was put by the side of our house. It was fed with milk and little scraps from our table, and seemed contented and happy during the daytime, but late every night we were awakened by its crying, which was much like that of a little child, [and] I had to go down stairs to feed it before it would stop crying. It was not long before Sam was again owner of the young bear, and I was getting my usual sleep.

The Agency Physician supervised the sanitary conditions and care of the sick but his office was at the Agency, sixty miles away, which included an eighteen mile ride from the railroad station at Tenino, where we had to send a team to get him, each time he came to Chehalis. The practical result of this was his visits were only when there was some real need for him and the Superintendent had to attend to all minor ailments at the school and on the reservation. We had a good stock of drugs at Chehalis for the doctor's use. While I understood the use of some of these, I was in no way qualified to be a substitute for the doctor. The Agency doctor planned a course of study to help me out, brought me medical books to study, and questioned me about what I had learned since his last visit. This was continued about four years by him and his successors.¹²

As time went on, I became able to care for some rather serious cases without the doctor's help, but I did not care to attempt extracting teeth. I never did like to refuse a request when the person making it thought it was reasonable, and this nearly caught me once, but the lucky answer to a question saved me. A man rode up to the gate one day and asked for "Dr. Chalcraft." When I went out, he said a tooth had been hurting him terribly for two days and asked me to pull it out. I said, "Yes, I will do it for you." As he was getting off his horse, a happy thought came into my mind and I added, "I have never pulled

a tooth but I am sure I can do it.” He said, “Thank you, I think I will go to Olympia,” and then rode away. It was a narrow escape for me.

I received payment but once for my medical services. Athen Secena, a very fine educated young man had been sick a long time with consumption and the Agency doctor had done all he could for him. One night, his father, Old Se-ce-na, called me from bed and said his son was dying. I went with him and found Athen was unconscious. I knew what the doctor would do, and in a short time had him conscious again, and stayed with him until about 2:00 o’clock a.m. When I spoke of going home, the father said in Chinook, “Mitlite tenas lale,” meaning wait a little while, and went from the room. When he returned, he had in his hat four sets of the “Wak-shk” game, each set consisting of ten disks about two inches in diameter with peculiar markings on them.

Wak-shk was an old gambling game and I knew he had been keeping them as a valued keepsake for a long time, because the Indians had quit playing the game. He had brought them in to give me in expressing his gratitude for my coming to his son. I tried to not accept the offer, but he insisted so strongly that I did so. [My son] Pickering and I visited the Chehalis Reservation in the summer of 1939, and while there, I gave one set of the Wak-shk game to Athen’s brother, Dan Secena, who said his father would never tell what had become of the disks he had, other than to say “He had given them to a Government man.”¹³

An interesting case of sickness was that of Nancy Smith, an eighteen year old girl who entered the school in January, 1884, and was in good health until the latter part of 1886, when it began to fail and the Agency doctor visited her several times. He said she had consumption, and instructed me as to her food and caring for her so as to not endanger the lives of other pupils; but she kept getting worse, until she said she wanted to go home to her mother, the wife of Kli-lak, living near Tenino, and she was taken home on a bed in a spring wagon May 16, 1887.

Kli-lak’s house was a one-room building constructed of small round logs. The walls were about six feet high and there were plenty of cracks between the logs to let the air pass through. There was no floor, except the ground, and in the center of the board roof there was

a square hole about two feet in diameter to let smoke out of the room. The only heat was from a fire on the ground floor beneath the hole in the roof, from which the smoke escaped. When the girl was left there, we thought the next information received would be news of her death.

Alice and I went to see her a few weeks later, and found she had partitioned off one corner of the room with unbleached muslin for her own use and, although she had received no medical aid, she seemed to be better and was cheerful. Nancy continued to improve and about October 1st, 1887, she came back to the school apparently in fair health but not very robust looking. By April 23, 1888, she seemed to be getting into the former condition again and a scrofulous swelling appeared on her neck which she said her mother knew how to cure.

We had Dr. [Z. N.] McCoy from Tacoma to see her and he agreed with the Agency doctor's diagnosis that the trouble was from consumption. We took her home again, where she remained until November 2nd, 1888, when she returned to the school and had no further sickness. On April 1st, 1889, she was appointed Assistant Cook at the Puyallup School. She married later, raised a family, and lived many years.

This was before the practice of open-air treatment for consumptives came into vogue, and it seemed unusually remarkable that this girl, in such a home and without medical treatment, should have recovered. After eliminating all else that seemed not worthy of consideration, there were but two things left that could have benefited her: one being the constant smoke in the room which smelled strongly with the balsam from burning fir wood, and the other the fresh air coming from the outside through the walls. Remembrance of Nancy Smith's case had much to do with our building an open-air sanitarium at the Chemawa School in Oregon many years later, which became well known in the Indian Service.

It was the old-time Indian custom in burying the dead at Chehalis to have the grave shallow enough to permit the cover of the box in which the body had been placed to be level with the surface of the ground, and then build a small house, about three feet high, over the grave. There were some deeper graves when we went there. It

was the Indian belief that a grave should not be dug before the body had arrived on the ground, and it took quite a while [for them] to overcome this.

It had been the custom to take small cooking utensils and dishes to the graves, break them, and leave the pieces in the little houses over the graves, not for use as is popularly believed, but [as] tokens of affection as we use flowers. I was at this burial place last summer and found the names of many we had known, marked by excellent monuments and flowers about the graves. In the older part of the graveyard I observed the older graves, and remnants of the little houses that had been built over them could be seen.

The Flathead Indians in Montana never disfigured their heads by flattening them. The name was derived from another source. This had been the common practice of the Chehalis Indians and others of the Coast tribes from the Columbia River to British Columbia, but it had practically been discontinued when we went to Chehalis in 1883. At that time, most of the older Indians had flat heads, which was a flat sloping forehead extending backward from just above the eyebrows to or near the crown of the head. This was done by hinging two boards at one end with a piece of leather, so they could be opened into the shape of the letter "V."

The small child with some soft material beneath it was placed on one of the boards with its head towards the apex and at the right distance from it to produce the desired shape of the forehead. The other board was then brought down onto the child's forehead and the loose ends of the two boards fastened in such a way as to maintain an even pressure. The child was taken out at times, but kept there long enough to get the desired shape of the head and until the frontal bones were hard enough to retain the shape. None of the pupils in school had flat heads, but two attempts by mothers were made during our first year at Chehalis to revive the practice. The police reported it and I went with them and made the mothers remove the children from the boards. The boards were then destroyed, but I have since wished we had saved them, because this has been said to have been the last known attempt to continue the practice.

Rev. Mann's last trip to Chehalis before we went to Puyallup Reser-

vation was on June 14, 1889, and at that time many incidents concerning his past work were recalled. One of them occurred on Sunday, March 14, 1886, when Old Se-ce-na's sister was baptized and became a member of the Presbyterian Church. She was about seventy-five years of age, and had been totally blind for many years. She was a firm believer in the old Indian doctrine that a "Great Spirit" existed who had a place called the "Happy Hunting Grounds" prepared for worthy Indians after they had died, a belief common in most tribes with which I have since come in contact.

She was led to the rostrum at the close of the sermon by Jim Walker and she told Mr. Mann in the Chinook language what she wanted. Mr. Mann asked her a few questions, then baptized her, and gave her the name Hannah, because she had no English name. Jim Walker then led her back to her seat. It was an impressive sight to see this old Indian woman grasping in the darkness seeking for light and one to be remembered. This inherent belief in a Supreme Being, imbedded in the hearts of all people, from the savage to the most enlightened, however faulty this belief may have been in practice, if considered alone, seems to be unwritten evidence of a Ruling Power, that from the beginning had planned for all.

As Se-ce-na's sister was being taken back to her seat, Pike Ben and his wife came up before Mr. Mann and Pike said they had been married years before, "Indian fashion," and now they wanted to be married [in] "the white man's way and lead Christian lives." Mr. Mann granted the request and performed the marriage ceremony.

It was natural that some ludicrous things occurred. There was a rule that dogs were not allowed in the buildings. On the Sunday when Sam Pete and Cecelia Louie were married, a little dog belonging to Sam's mother sneaked into the room and just as the bridal party was entering the door, they were met by the mother holding the dog by the hind feet and in the act of throwing it out of the door. This unexpected part in what we thought [was otherwise] a well planned program undid some of the solemnity of the occasion.

There were inspecting officials in the field whose duty was to keep the Government informed of what was being done at the Agencies and schools. They were Inspectors representing the Secretary of the

Interior and Special Agents representing the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Eight of these came to Chehalis. Their names and dates of visit were:

Inspector [Henry] Ward	March 18, 1884
Inspector Ex. Gov. [William A.] Newell of New Jersey	October 27, 1884
Special Agent, Charles H. Dickson	October 12, 1885
Inspector [E. D.] Bannister	February 8, 1886
Inspector [M. A.] Thomas	January 17, 1887
Inspector F. W. Armstrong	August 4, 1887
Inspector R. A. Gardner from Carmi, Illinois	November 17, 1887
Inspector Thomas D. Marcum	April 17, 1889

The arrival of an inspecting official was usually looked upon somewhat as an unavoidable misfortune, because this was before Civil Service days, when the political faith of an employee had more consideration than his ability and success in performing his duties. The Inspectors were generally broken down politicians with a pompous air and a high opinion of their abilities, while in fact, they knew little or nothing about Indian matters. Two of those visiting us knew their business thoroughly and were helpful in many ways. These were Special Agent Charles H. Dickson and Inspector R. A. Gardner, whose personalities had little in common, but both were able, conscientious, and true to their convictions. Dickson was a gentle unassuming man, while Gardner was the reverse, so much so, that he became known in the Indian Service as “the man that violently hated oat meal mush.”

My experience with him illustrates his character to some extent. He and Agent Eells arrived at noon. After lunch, Inspector Gardner turned to me and said abruptly, “They tell me that you starve the school children.” Of course my answer was, “We do not.” After a few more questions along this line, he said, “We will now go to your commissary,” and he took from his grip the Agency copy of my last Property Return. He checked off all the supplies on hand and found them correct and sufficient in quantity. We were so interested and busy

that I did not hear the children's supper bell, for which I apologized and asked him to go with me to see them at dinner.

I was out of the house part of the evening leaving him with Agent Eells. When I came down stairs after showing Gardner to his room, I found Mr. Eells almost roaring with laughter, and he said, "While you were out of the room, Colonel said to me, 'Your Clerk at the Agency stuffed me about this man. I find he is all right, and won't that Clerk get h_____ when I get back there? I'll give him enough to settle him for the rest of his life.' I feel sure he will do it and I congratulate you." This put me in a position to understand and respect him.

When we went to the children's dining room the next morning, they were just beginning to eat their breakfast and, sure enough, there was oat meal mush and milk on their tables, a dish they liked very much. Gardner picked up a dish and holding it up high said, "Not fit for a cow to eat," and put it down again. He then said, "Do you get enough to eat," and about all the children answered in a chorus, "Yes." He then made a little speech.

We had a flock of Government chickens, and as we were returning to the house for our breakfast, he heard a hen cackling, and said, "Hello, there is a fresh egg for my breakfast." This was my time to get back at him, and I said, "But Colonel Gardner, that is a Government egg and can be used only in feeding the children." He looked at me a moment, then said, "You are all right in that, but Inspectors come so seldom that the Government can let them have an egg for breakfast." Alice saw to it that he had eggs for breakfast. Colonel Gardner, in later years, inspected the Indian schools at Shoshoni, Wyoming, and Chemawa, Oregon, while we were in charge of them, and treated me as a personal friend.

Two positions at Puyallup Agency, a Clerk and the school Superintendent, were to become vacant on June 30, 1889, and Agent Eells offered me the choice of either. My choice was the Clerkship because there was less responsibility, but after talking it over with Mr. Eells and finding he was anxious for me to take the school, I agreed to do so and all arrangements were made on June 4th [for me] to take charge of Puyallup School on July 1st, 1889, succeeding Willis R. Hall, who was retiring from the Indian work.

My successor at Chehalis, Mr. F. D. Newberry, arrived on June 22nd, so as to have plenty of time to invoice the Government property and get some information about the school before we left. On Sunday the 23rd, we had a full house at the Church Service, and again on the 30th. There were many white persons in the congregations on both days. On the last day [we were] at Chehalis, the employees gave us a dinner party. We fully appreciated all this kindness and felt that we were indeed leaving home, although it had been a temporary one.

On Monday morning, July 1st, Alice, her sister Cora who had been visiting us, and I departed for the Puyallup Reservation at Tacoma, where we arrived that evening and were entertained at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Eells.

{ 3 }

Puyallup Agency and School

His appointment as superintendent of Puyallup Indian School in Tacoma in the summer of 1889 increased Chalcraft's responsibilities compared with the same position he held at the Chehalis boarding school. In addition, the location of the agency headquarters on the Puyallup reservation brought Chalcraft and his superior, Edwin Eells, into continuous contact. Consuming much of Chalcraft's memoir coverage of his Puyallup experience was a controversy over tribal lands. The question of whether to place reservation acreage on the open market split the tribe, with some members supporting the protectionist stance of Eells and Chalcraft, and others seeing an opportunity to strike a blow against paternalism and the unremitting involvement of the federal government in tribal affairs. Chalcraft worked at the Puyallup school for five years, from 1889 to 1894, at which time he accepted an appointment as superintendent of Chemawa Indian School in Salem, Oregon.

We arrived at Puyallup Agency on July 1, 1889, and on that date I succeeded [Mr.] Hall as Superintendent of the school. We found life here somewhat different from that at Chehalis. The school was one mile from the city of Tacoma and only thirty-five miles from Seattle by railroad or boat. We could now have closer contact with many more congenial people than was possible at Chehalis, making it a more pleasant place to live. On the other hand, there were more evil temptations before the Indians for us to guard against and, most of all,

our duty of protecting them from the avaricious white men scheming to get possession of their valuable lands illegally.

The reservation land adjoined Tacoma and was worth from \$200 to \$1,000 per acre for farming and town site purposes. Two companies, led by James Wickersham, an attorney, were the most persistent in these efforts, which had been going on for several years but, so far, Agent Eells' integrity, foresight, and ability had frustrated all their plans. Twice, while we were there, the land cliques became so aggressive that it was necessary to have a company of soldiers sent from Vancouver Barracks on the Columbia River, to aid the Agent in protecting the Indians from these people.¹

The first treaty with the Indians on the Puyallup Reservation was made at Medicine Creek, December 26, 1854, and ratified [by Congress] on March 3, 1855, when they gave up large tracts of land for a reservation, which they understood would be ample and suitable for their use. After the treaty had been completed, it was found to contain only 1,280 acres of timber land on the hill where Tacoma now stands and unfit for any agricultural use.

The Indians had been misled or simply tricked by the officials representing the Government, causing discontent about the acreage and character of the land. There is no doubt this treaty was one of the leading factors bringing the Indian War of 1855, that threatened to exterminate the white settlers about Puget Sound. Subsequently, the Indians were transferred to their present location containing 18,062 acres, by Executive Order of President Pierce, dated January 20, 1857.²

School opened on July 9, after ten days vacation, and it was several days before all the pupils had returned. They were somewhat more advanced in their studies than those at Chehalis, as all spoke English fairly well when they entered school, making it not necessary to spend the first part of their school-life in learning our language.

The organization was similar to that at Chehalis School, excepting the students were divided into two groups, one in the class-rooms in the morning and the other in the afternoon; and the studies covered a wider range in academic and industrial instruction. Here, Agent Eells handled all Agency affairs as the Superintendent of all school matters. In the Agent's absence on official business the school Superintendent

was Acting Agent, and handled all matters that came up. Our employees were efficient workers and during the first year some beneficial changes were made in details of their work that became permanently established.

On July 26, 1890, a reporter from the Tacoma Daily Ledger visited the school. As his statements are from a disinterested source and describe the school, I quote from his report, published in his paper the next day, as follows:

A visit to the school is very entertaining. The visitor is first ushered into the boys' dormitory, where there were twenty-five nicely made beds placed side by side. The bedsteads are iron and the linen, without spreads, is clean and neat. The visitor is convinced of the young Indians' wealth of wardrobe by seeing forty-nine pairs of shoes in an even row against the wall, forty-nine extra suits of clothes and an indefinite number of shirts, undersuits, etc., systematically arranged. Order, tidiness and cleanliness is the prevailing rule.

In the school building the children were engaged in obtaining the rudiments of knowledge. Most of them speak English. Their ages vary from four to about eighteen years. The reporter was surprised to find a class at the board in drawing. He had not supposed that Indians possessed artistic ability. One little girl was faithfully copying a drawing of a rose. She had a freedom of stroke and accuracy of representation that showed true artistic ability. Another little girl was instructed to draw whatever she pleased. Through the open door she saw the house of the agent, and, without hesitation, she rapidly drew a perfectly natural picture of it on the board. Then some girl drew a picture of mountain scenery, in sight of which her short life had been passed, which was a really fine crayon representation. A ship in colored crayon, and capital letters, decorated with fancy strokes, which seemed to the scribe would be creditable to any educated person, were drawn by a sixteen-year-old boy.

A large number of drawings of various kinds were shown, all the fruit of the natural genius of the Indians, directed only

by such training as the teachers could give them. Miss [Gerty] Teachout [is] in charge of this department and has the young Indians under perfect discipline. It was noticeable that no desire, whatever, was manifested by the scholars to whisper or make any disturbance. Perfect quiet and instant obedience seemed to be part of their natures. Scholars of the intermediate and advanced grades remain in school but half of each day. In the morning the intermediate ones study while the advanced ones work. In the afternoon it is vice versa. After passing the primary grade, industrial education is a part of the curriculum. The boys must do farm or carpenter work half the day; the girls must sew and do housework. In the advanced grade the fifth reader is finished, practical geography and practical arithmetic and enough supplementary studies to enable the students to enter high school, were any in reach, is completed. The reading of the intermediate pupils, while not equal to that of white children, since the language is far from natural to them, is perfectly plain and intelligible, and the intonation such that it is plain they understand the meaning. Penmanship was shown which will compare favorably with that of white children. In arithmetic, which is supposed to be their weak point, the children multiplied, divided and added fractions. It was interesting to notice in the trial of speed which, were had, the race was not an uneven one between the Indian and white children, several of whom were present. These branches are finished at the age of 18 or 19. The teacher, Mr. [Henry J.] Phillips, said that there was little, if any, difference between the ease with which white and Indian children learned.

A visit to the sewing room disclosed several girls patiently and skillfully handling the needle under the direction of Miss [Jennie] Ranson. The girls' dormitory included beds for forty-seven girls. Each girl has a drawer in which to store her belongings. Lights are out at 8:30 o'clock and bells ring for rising at 5:30. Meals are eaten in a large dining room. Housework is done by the girls under supervision of Mrs. [Clara M.] Harmon, and is neatly, quickly and willingly performed.

A trip to the reservation is worth the while of any towns-

man. At the village where the school house and the houses of the employees are located, he will find himself royally treated by everyone. Superintendent Chalcraft will courteously show him through the buildings; Agent Eells will be willing to answer questions concerning the past history or the present condition of this interesting tribe, and the visitor can but go away feeling that he has learned enough to well pay for the journey.

Tacoma was a growing young city being extensively advertised by its railroad owners of the town site, which brought large numbers of tourists, including Government officials, to the town. Many had never been on an Indian reservation nor seen Indians. Puyallup Agency was in plain view and only a short distance from the principal hotel in town.

This brought us a goodly share of the visitors and among these were Senators [Henry L.] Dawes, [James K.] Jones and his wife [Susan], [Francis B.] Stockbridge, and [Charles F.] Manderson, members of the Senate Indian Committee, who came on July 29th. They spent the whole day at the Agency and we had the honor of entertaining them at lunch. The first two Senators and Mrs. Jones dined with us, and the other two with Mr. and Mrs. Eells.

On September 16th, we had a nice visit from Carl and Mary Hanson, on their way to Vancouver, B.C., to attend a YMCA Convention. They were old time friends from Astoria.

Dr. and Mrs. [Daniel] Dorchester made their first visit to us on November 4th, 1889. He was an able conscientious man, appointed Superintendent of Indian Schools by President [Benjamin] Harrison. They made us quite a long visit and we saw much of them later. He told us the western schools were more efficient than those farther east, and that Puyallup School was the best he had visited anywhere.

Professor C. C. Painter, Washington Representative of the Indian Rights Association, came on November 12th, on his way to Vancouver, to meet Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce tribe. Professor Painter was a loyal supporter of the policies [being] pursued by Agent Eells. Inspector James H. Cisney came on the same date to arrange for an election on a proposition of the Ross land grabbing company to build

a short railroad on the reservation to which the Agent had objected. The election was held on December 2nd by Inspector Cisney and the proposition was lost by a large majority.

Funds were raised for a Christmas Tree. Perhaps it is better to say that the money for the Christmas Tree came to us. The first installment for that purpose was \$55 brought by Peter Stanup and Jerry Meeker on December 11th.³ They had received it from the Ross-Naubert land grabbing companies, and Mr. Eells shook his head upon learning from where it had come and said, "Taking it might give them some hold on us that would be detrimental."

I had expected he would feel this way and had planned how the money was to be used. When I explained, he said, "All right, go ahead." I then took the money. On Sunday the 15th, a collection was taken in the Church and we got \$3.85 more, making \$58.85. I appointed three of the teachers [as] a Committee to spend this money for presents for the pupils which they did in Tacoma.

At this point in the transaction, the Matron said something about gloves for the girls. Peter Stanup spoke up and said, "I can get them." He went to town and came back with an order from Ross and Naubert on one of the stores authorizing the purchase of gloves for the girls and a present for each of the boys. The Committee returned to town and spent \$81.55. This was \$140.40 spent for presents.

On Christmas Eve we had a literary program in the large dining room, which was appropriately decorated. There were two large trees, one on each side of the rostrum. The Indian band, led by Professor [Boston] Davis, furnished music. The trees were loaded with the presents bought, and there were many presents from individuals, old and young. It was a great Christmas time, and there were no strings left for the Ross-Naubert bunch to pull. Thanks to Peter Stanup and Jerry Meeker.

January 16, 1890, was a sad day for Mr. and Mrs. Eells. Their youngest daughter, Edna, died on this date and was buried on the 17th. Rev. [A.] Powelson of the Congregational Church in Tacoma conducted the funeral service, assisted by Rev. [Minot S.] Hartwell and Rev. Mann. This was during the time a sickness known as La

Grippe, apparently new on the Coast, was causing many deaths in this part of the Country.

A large building intended to furnish quarters for the school employees and pupils, with exception of the boys' dormitory, was about completed on January 18, 1890, and Alice and I moved into our quarters in it on this date, being the first to occupy the building. We had good rooms on the first floor in the front of the building and my office was just across the hallway. A full view of Tacoma was had from our sitting room, making it a very agreeable location. The building was fully occupied by March 30th and the old building completely removed. Alice had spent much time at Mr. Eells' house, both day and night, while Edna was sick, and was unwell when we moved into our new quarters. A serious illness followed, similar to that of Edna's, and it was a long time before she recovered her usual health.

April Fools' Day came along in 1890, as it has a habit of doing, but this year it did not worry me so much as was experienced by a Teller in the Merchants' National Bank in Tacoma. On this date I took \$712.24 in Government checks to the bank to be cashed. The Teller counted out the money in piles. I noticed there were seven piles and some odd change. Being all gold and silver, the Teller put it in a bag and handed it to me.

As Mr. Eells and I were dividing the money to be paid out we discovered there was just \$100 too much. It was too late to go [back to] the bank that night, making it necessary to wait until the next morning. When we spoke with him the following day, the Teller said he found he was short \$100 when he counted his cash the night before and had no idea where it had gone. He looked as though he needed sleep, but became wide enough awake when I relieved his worries. This is the only time I ever knew a Teller to make such an error.

Dr. Julius E. Garst of North Brookfield, Massachusetts, became the Agency Physician on August 5, 1889, and remained until March 3, 1890, when he resigned to take up practice again in his old home. We were very sorry to lose him because of his sterling qualities. He had a brother, C. E. Garst, who with his wife were Missionaries of the Christian Church in Japan. Alice corresponded with the wife, Mrs.

Laura DeLany Garst, for several years. Her address was Shiba Ku, Tokio, Japan.

Professor [Franz] Boas of the Smithsonian Institute in Washington City, came on July 28th, 1890, to make measurements of full-blood Indians, to be used by the Institute in efforts to determine the origin of the Indian race. His work was interesting to me.

Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Hon. R. V. Belt, came on August 20th and we had the pleasure of entertaining him at lunch. He was a very affable man and it was a pleasure to talk with him.

Dr. and Mrs. Dorchester appeared again on August 28th, in company with General E. Whittlesey of the Board of Indian Commissioners, Washington, D.C. The visits from all of these were always pleasant and helpful.

A session of the Nisqually and S'Kokomish Teachers' Institute was held August 27th to 29th. There were a large number of Teachers and others from Tacoma. General Whittlesey with Dr. and Mrs. Dorchester took part in the proceedings, and were lavish in their praise of the Agency and school, speaking of the latter as an Indian College.

Alice's sister, Martha P. Flower, living in Boston, came to visit her on June 17th, 1890. They had a good time together at Puyallup, visiting with the folks in Seattle, and going to Astoria to visit with the Henry Powell family. Martha started from Seattle at 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon, September 1st, 1890, on a Northern Pacific train to go to her home in Boston. The next morning we received word she was at the Tacoma Hotel in Tacoma, having been badly injured in a train wreck at Eagle Gorge the night before.

Alice and I hastened to the hotel, taking our Agency Physician with us, and found she was under the care of the railroad physician and badly injured. Telegrams were sent to her husband, Dr. A. H. Flower, in Boston, and he wired Dr. [Henry C.] Reno at Spokane to see her and he arrived the next day. She was able to be moved to our house at the school on the 10th, where she remained until the 21st, when she went to Seattle. Martha started home again on September 22nd, accompanied by Mrs. [G. H.] Heilbron, a trained nurse, and arrived home safely.

The Republican State Convention was coming along soon, and the

County Convention was to be held in Tacoma in a few days. A week before the County Convention convened, Peter Stanup asked me to serve as one of the Delegates from the Reservation Precinct. I took it under advisement and consulted Agent Eells, as we were supposed to not take an active part in political affairs. He said he thought there would not be anything annoying come from it.

Peter Stanup was an educated Indian, an Ordained Minister of the Presbyterian Church, a staunch Republican, and a fine orator. He was a popular man, not only on the reservation, but also in Tacoma and Pierce County as well. We thought it would be a fine thing to get Peter nominated to the State Legislature from our district, which we thought might be done.

I agreed to go as a Delegate and with Peter Stanup, Jerry Meeker, Nugent Kautz, and August Kautz, went to the County Convention September 23, 1890. We succeeded in getting Peter Stanup nominated to the State Legislature, which he declined to accept, because he was not financially able to stand the expense of the necessary canvass for votes. There were fifteen Delegates to the State Convention at Walla Walla to be elected. Peter Stanup's name was the first put on the list. When the other fourteen names had been added, a vote was taken and Stanup received the largest vote of any on the list. This proved his popularity.

The first Inspector [to visit] at Puyallup after we went there was the Colonel Gardner mentioned in my remarks concerning the Chehalis School. He came on September 23rd and remained a week. He was critical in his examination of things while doing his work, but at the end he said he found everything was all right. He then displayed a congenial spirit.

Our tenth wedding anniversary was celebrated by a reception given by the employees. It was a rather noisy affair as everyone present was provided with a rattle or a tin horn, and these were in constant use until the refreshments were served.

We learned on December 11th that Tommy McArthur, one of Alice's relatives, was in Tacoma. We soon found him and went over our mutual experiences since we had last met. Tommy remained in Tacoma until October 18, 1891, when he went to Rock Springs, Wyoming.

I went to Olympia on October 28, 1890, and bought from Talcott Brothers a hand job-press for the school. This was the first printing press of any kind taken to Lewis County, Mr. Talcott said. We used it considerably at the school. Mr. Phillips was at the head of the “printing department,” and he produced some interesting documents, especially booklets containing plays! We have kept one of the latter for reference.

The Ross-Naubert clique, led by James Wickersham, contained some influential men in Tacoma and elsewhere. They held that the Dawes Allotment Act, approved February 6, 1887, which made allotted Indians citizens, together with some provisions in the [1854] treaty, gave them authority to treat with the Indians in land matters without approval of the Agent. They pressed their claims so strongly that Congress appointed a Committee to make an investigation and report to Congress what action, if any, should be taken.

This Committee arrived at Puyallup Agency on January 17, 1891. It consisted of Judge [Charles D.] Drake, Chairman, and Judge [George B.] Kinkead, Mr. [B. F.] Harness, and Mr. [Charles B.] Titus the other members. They held their first meeting with the Indians at the Agency on the 19th and submitted to the Indians a long list of questions to be answered on the 26th, together with any other information they desired to give the Committee.⁴

Another meeting was held on February 13th. These conferences were largely attended by the Indians. Their reply to questions submitted to them on the 19th, was made in writing by their Committee composed entirely of Indians. It was complete and answered in detail all information requested, including the names of deceased allottees and number of their children, names of Indians making contracts with white men for the sale of their land, the amount of money each had received, and the names of Indians making contracts with other Indians and the amounts received. The totals of these were:

Number of deceased allottees and their children	40
Number of allottees making contracts with whites	87
Amount received from white people	\$26,411.00
Number of contracts between Indians	0
Amount of money paid	\$1,315.00

There was much other information secured by the Congressional Committee, principally related to removing restrictions from the Indian land. Agent Eells was considered an ex-officio member of the Committee and he assisted in framing the report to Congress which recommended retaining that part of the land containing the greater number of allotments as a reservation; and have Congress authorize the sale of the remainder under Government supervision with the proceeds deposited in the United States Treasury to the credit of the tribe.⁵

The Committee returned to Washington on February 25, 1891. A couple of weeks later, Agent Eells reconsidered the boundaries of the reserved part [of the reservation] and had me prepare a map showing the changes he would advise. This was sent to Judge Drake in Washington and received his approval. The Congressional Act refers to this map and specifies that "The black lines shown thereon, shall be the boundaries of the Puyallup Reservation, near Tacoma, in the State of Washington." A large portion of the unreserved land, that adjoining the city of Tacoma, has since been laid out in town lots and sold, bringing a large sum of money to the Indians' credit in the U.S. Treasury.

One morning in April, 1891, we woke up to find that five one-room buildings had been constructed on the Agency tract of land, containing about 500 acres, that had been reserved for the Government buildings and farming purposes. These were portable buildings that had been moved to the land and erected during the preceding night. They were occupied by George Herriott, James Morrison, Richard Roediger, William McIntyre, and William A. Berry.

Their attorney, James Wickersham, claimed that since the Dawes Allotment Act had been passed, the Indians were citizens of the United States and there was no longer a Puyallup tribe of Indians. He claimed further that all unallotted land on the reservation had reverted to the Government and was subject to entry under the Federal land laws. These men had taken possession as "squatters" on the public domain. Agent Eells notified the Indian Office and was instructed to put the squatters off the reservation and destroy their buildings.

On April 10th I was directed to take the police force and do this.

Mr. Eells went with us. When on the road near one of the buildings, we were met by James Wickersham and the County Sheriff with a restraining order from the local court. They were on Indian land where local courts have no jurisdiction, causing Mr. Eells to say to them, "Gentlemen, neither you nor the court issuing this order has any authority and I could put both of you in the reservation jail where you would stay until I said you could go, but I shall obey your order."

I did not understand his action at the time, but did when we were back at the office and he explained that he thought the restraining order was an attempt to get some kind of court action, and that getting into court did not always insure justice being done, especially when the white man was on one side and the Indian on the other. He said, "We will try another plan that may cause the squatters to leave voluntarily and thus abandon any claim they possibly may have."

Mr. Eells then requested the Indian Office to have troops sent from Vancouver Barracks to aid him. Lieutenant [Henry C.] Cabell with his troops arrived on June 2nd, 1891, and went into camp just north of the Agency buildings. Mr. Eells instructed Lieutenant Cabell to have his men guard each of the houses, day and night, and if any one of the squatters went off the reservation, to put one or more of the soldiers in his house, and notify him. This was almost like the squatters were in jail, as they could not leave to get provisions or anything else. Their only way to get needed supplies was to have someone bring them.

The squatters held on rather tenaciously and did not give up until the night of January 28, 1892, when Morrison, Roediger, McIntyre, and Berry went away and we tore down their houses on the 29th. Herriott left that night and we destroyed his house the next day. The soldiers remained a couple of weeks and [when] nothing else happened they returned to Vancouver Barracks. Thus the matter ended as the Agent had planned [and] without getting into court.

Our first Annual Commencement, the first graduating exercises held in the school and, in fact, the first at any reservation Indian school on the Coast of which there is any record, took place on July 1, 1891. The members of the class were: Eddie Spott, Allan W. Bobb, John Itwis, Laura T. Gard, Jennie Sahn, and Matthew Seattle.

A large number of Indians and people from Tacoma were present

and seemed to enjoy the exercises. The Tacoma Daily Ledger of July 2nd had a column length article from which I quote:

Yesterday was an important day in the history of the Puyallup reservation. The first class of Puyallup Indian pupils having completed the course laid down for the grammar school were graduated last evening with exercises which, though simple, were in accordance with the importance of the occasion. The citizens of Tacoma, recognizing the especial interest of the exercises turned out in force to be present. They included many prominent in educational and religious circles. The exercises were held in the chapel, which had been tastefully decorated for the occasion by the pupils. The programme, which was as given below, was printed by the Indians, and was headed by the motto:—

Aseco Ca Ga Ba Hideoka

Music	
Prayer	Rev. Cushing Eells, D.D.
Music	
Education	Eddie Spott
Benefit of School	Laura T. Gard
Music	
The Bag of Gold	Johnnie Itwis
Object of Living	Jennie Sahn
Music	
Glass	Allan W. Bobb
The Indians	Matthew Seattle
Music	
Address to Class	Rev. A. Powelson
Music	
Presentation of Diplomas	E. L. Chalcraft
Music	
Benediction	

As for the papers, Eddie Spott argued along the line of natural selection — that the boy who learned the most would get the

best position and his arguments were copiously illustrated from animal life. Miss Gard's essay was characterized by its thoughtfulness. Johnnie Itwis' paper was an impromptu one, or nearly so. His graduation essay was too much in line with some of the others and he wrote the paper which he read the day before he delivered it, the subject being of his own choosing. It supposes Johnnie to have become possessed with a bag of gold, with which he proceeds to gratify his desire for travel, and he starts for a trip around the world. His first stop was in Chicago, which he describes; the next, New York, and then London. Here, he finds his bag of gold half gone, and so, with a true Washingtonian faith in real estate, he buys a lot and builds a house. The ebb tide from his exchequer continuing, he resolves to realize on his property an advance, but this proves not to be feasible, so after doing his best he leaves the British capital with half the amount he invested. Then the redoubtable traveler drifted up among the Esquimaux, where he had nothing to eat but tallow. He tried to make his visit of some historical importance by finding out what tribe he had visited and also something about the chief. He asked the latter, but as he was not understood, he got no answer, and to this day Johnnie is unable to tell exactly where is the scene of his visit. Miss Sahn's paper was noteworthy for the high moral and religious ideas it contained. Mr. Bobb took the ground that the other papers had been too serious, so his dissertation was addressed to the children, and he told some stories of the uses to which glass had been put by the Indians when it was yet new to them. Mr. Seattle's paper was the product of a brain of no mean order. The language used showed familiarity with words of Greek and Latin derivation and freedom in the use of them. His theme was the development of the Indian mentally, socially and morally. Superintendent Chalcraft, in presenting the diplomas, made an appeal for further faithfulness in study, and urged the pupils to be self-reliant.

The music was praiseworthy in the highest degree and reflected great credit upon Mr. H. J. Phillips, the instructor in this

branch. The staff under Agent Eells and Superintendent Chalcraft are as follows: H. J. Phillips, principal teacher; Miss Gerta Teachout, assistant teacher; Mrs. [Julia A.] Babcock, matron; Miss Anna Montgomery, boys' matron; Miss Ranson, seamstress; Mrs. Harmon, cook; and Frank I. Hubbard, industrial teacher. The school system of the reservation has been entirely reorganized by Mr. Chalcraft and is now a model reservation system.

Agent Eells' fiftieth birthday was on July 27, 1891. A jolly party of mirth makers, composed of employees and people from Tacoma, went to his house in the evening with a prepared program in harmony with their own feelings and respect. Humorous speeches in which serious thoughts were conveyed seemed to be the rule, and his replies were made in like manner. After the program, refreshments brought by his visitors were enjoyed.

The most distinguished of the visitors at Puyallup while we were there was Chief Justice Melville W. Fuller of the United States Supreme Court, who spent most of the day on July 30, 1891, with us. We found him to be a pleasant likable sort of a gentleman without a tinge of the egotism and pomposity prevailing among officials of lower grades down to the lowest, increasing as the grade decreases in importance. Chief Justice Fuller impressed all of us as being a man that would be the same, whether he was in his exalted office or out of it, and it was a real pleasure to entertain him. From our experience with him and other people, I am of the opinion that this difference in conduct depends entirely upon the personality of the individual, some being endowed with a heavy load of self-esteem for which there is little or nothing to warrant.

August 17, 1891, was one of the happiest days in the lives of Alice and me. Her father and mother were then living in our house in Seattle and Alice had been there since July 23rd. I had made frequent visits and was present on August 17th, when a son arrived at 11:00 o'clock p.m. Naturally, my visits were not discontinued and when I was there on August 23rd, Alice said she and both her parents thought "Edwin

Pickering Chalcraft” would be the most appropriate name for him as he was the first grandchild. I had in mind a name somewhat different, but having no objection to this, he was so named.

On September 14th, I brought Alice and the baby to Puyallup. Alice’s mother came with us and remained some time. Agent Eells had moved to Tacoma on September 1st, to permit his children to attend the city schools, and [he] had authorized us to use his residence, which, in the meantime, had been prepared for my family, and we lived there until we left Puyallup, October 31, 1894.

Alice’s youngest sister, Miss Cora Pickering, went to Boston, Massachusetts, on August 13, 1891, which has been her home since then.

While talking with a clerk in John McBeady’s hardware store in Tacoma on October 2nd, 1891, he told me he knew several families of “Chalcrafts” at Peterfield, England. This was the first time I had heard of our name outside of our immediate family.

My father, mother, and sister, Rosa, came from their home at Albion for a visit with us on November 1st, 1891, and remained until February 22nd, 1892, when they returned home. They made trips to Seattle to visit friends, and just before leaving, father went to Bickleton where he spent a few days with Sam and Charlie Flower. It was their first visit to Washington and they were fully interested all the time spent here.

My father enjoyed fishing in Illinois where fish are not so plentiful as in Washington streams. One day when the school boys were going to a stream on the reservation to get salmon, I asked him if he would not like to go with them, which he did. They went in a wagon and instead of hook and lines they took pitch-forks. He could not understand this until they got to the stream and the boys began using the pitch-forks to throw salmon out of the water. The boys said he used a pitch-fork, too, and became so excited that he went into the water to get fish. When I was visiting Albion, later, he said that when he returned home he told some of his friends about the fishing in Washington and they responded with, “Dick, we always took you for a truthful man but you can’t stuff that story down our throats.” He said he quit telling about it.

The Civil Service Rules were extended [in] March, 1892, covering Superintendents and Teachers in the Indian Service. Prior to this time, Indian Agents made all those appointments, but from this date

they were made by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from names submitted to him by the Civil Service Committee in Washington, D.C. These rules prohibited dismissal of employees for political or religious beliefs, but the Appointing Officer in Washington, D.C., could remove an employee for any other cause without giving him reason for doing so. This made the prohibited items of no effect as far as protecting the employees' interests. A few years later, the rules were amended so as to require the Appointing Officer to give the employee the reason for dismissal and permit him to submit such evidence as he might wish to do in the case.⁶

In the morning of April 5, 1892, George Jackson, one of our pupils, reported that as he was coming down the railroad track from his home about five o'clock two nights before, he met two men who captured and tied him to a tree in the woods nearby. They kept him there without food or water until late at night the next day when he escaped and came to the school. He gave a good description of the men and their clothing.

On April 16th, the same two men tried to capture George again but, as Dan Varner was with him and helped to fight off the men, neither was captured. We sent the police out to search the woods and they found a camping place beneath a fallen tree from which the wagon road and railroad could be watched, evidently in the interest of smugglers operating at that time. The two men were captured in the woods near the camp.

When we put them in the reservation jail they gave their names as Charles Schmidt and Jake Smith. A warrant was secured and on the 18th they were tried before Nugent Kautz, an Indian Justice of the Peace. He released Smith and held Schmidt to finish his case the next day.

When I sent George Westley and George Jackson to the jail with Schmidt's breakfast the next morning, they found him hanging from a window grating and called Mr. [John] Clanahan and me from the boys' quarters and we took him down. The Agency doctor arrived at this time and said the man was dead. The County Coroner, Dr. P. French of Tacoma, was notified. He said it was a clear case of suicide and no inquest was necessary. The county authorities took charge of

the body for burial, and the Tacoma newspapers, next day, confirmed our opinion that the man belonged to a band of smugglers.

The regular clothing of the boys at Puyallup School consisted of uniforms made from blue jersey, similar to that used by the army, and they all had military caps. This caused me to try an experiment in self-government which was put into effect on May 5th, 1892. On this date, the boys were organized as a military company and the officers' clothing marked with insignia of their rank. There was one captain, two sergeants, one quarter-master sergeant, and four corporals.

The officer's rank indicated his authority over all beneath his rank, whether at their duties or during playtime. When any matter came up where there was dispute, the ranking officer present decided the question at issue. Appeal could be had, but only to the captain, and through him to me. Ordinary offences, such as breaking school rules and personal conduct of the boys, sometimes turned over to them by the Superintendent and at other times taken up on their own initiative, were handled by court-martial, with the Court consisting of three officers appointed by the company's captain. In these cases the Court's verdicts were brought to the Superintendent for his signature before it was effective. I have no record of any verdict of the Court having been overruled. In all, the experiment was a complete success and was continued as long as we were at Puyallup.

Another experiment with [the] children proved quite satisfactory. We had a large well furnished library room with a fair supply of suitable books, magazines, and daily newspapers, mostly furnished by Miss Frances C. Sparhawk of Newton Center, Massachusetts, and other friends of the Indians.⁷ The room was on an upper floor, far from where any employees were working, which made supervision difficult, and the children used it more for playing than anything else.

To overcome this, a card-rack was made, large enough to hold the card, with [the] name on it, of each pupil above the primary grades; and they were instructed to see that their cards were in place when entering the room. If the card was gone, they could get it in my office. A notice above the card-rack contained rules of conduct stating that if anyone observed another violating a rule, he was to take his card from the rack and put it on my office table downstairs.

I have been told by persons of a suspicious character that such confidence in human nature is all wrong because it opens the way for a person, having a grudge against another, to do him harm. This criticism may be true, to some extent, but so little, there is always left in my mind the thought that the critic would do this very thing if he had the chance.

Be that as it may, we avoided injury to anyone. Cards came to my table pretty fast for a few days, and were returned to the owners as they came for them, without asking any embarrassing questions or censure of any kind. They gradually decreased and in a reasonable time, only an occasional card came to my table, and the reading-room had become strictly what it was supposed to be.

Agent Eells received notice on July 25, 1892, that the Indian Office had notified him my salary had voluntarily been increased \$300 a year, making it only \$100 less than his salary as Indian Agent. This was entirely unexpected but, nevertheless, was fully appreciated by me.

When I was shipping some goods from a Tacoma dock August 8, the Shipping Clerk said he knew a merchant named Fred Chalcraft at Bradford, Ontario. We had some correspondence, but nothing was discovered indicating relationship [between us].

The second Annual Commencement of the school was on August 16, 1892. It was similar to the first commencement, although the student body had increased to about 150 pupils. The names of the graduates and their subjects were:

Our School	Johnnie Leslie
Influence of Earth and Character	Alice Lane
Cruiser Baltimore	Dan Varner
Evils of Life	Lilly Arquette
Our Country	Alice John
Value of Education	Archie Isaacs

The address to the class was made by Dr. F. B. Cherington, D.D., and Agent Edwin Eells conferred the Diplomas.

Of this class Johnnie Leslie, Dan Varner, and Lillie Arquette went to the Carlisle Indian School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, on the 20th, to take advanced studies. The others remained in school to take post-

graduate studies in company with those graduating the previous year. On September 5, 1893, Archie Isaacs entered Northwestern Military Academy at Highland Park, Illinois, from which he graduated with the rank of second lieutenant. He then came back to his home in Washington.

I had lost track of Matthew Seattle, until one day in 1904, when going from Grand Junction to Durango, Colorado, on the train, my seat-mate told me Matthew had been a classmate of his in the Kansas State University and had died there. He said Matthew was a popular student and one of the brightest young men he ever knew, a statement I would make, too.

The Nisqually and S'Kokomish Teachers' Institute held a meeting at Quinaielt Reservation on August 23rd to 26th, 1892. It was a successful gathering on the shore of the Pacific Ocean. The trip itself was worthwhile, as long distances of the road traveled were on the beach.

Miss Gerty Teachout became one of our teachers on January 1st, 1890. She was a most estimable young Christian lady and well qualified for her work, one whom all the Agency people would have liked to have remained with them; but cupid, represented in the person of Mr. George P. James, stepped in the way and said, "No." They were married in our house at Puyallup the evening of September 21st, 1892, by Rev. Cushing Eells, D.D., in the presence of sixty invited guests, among whom were relatives of the bridal couple, teachers of the school, and other friends.

Samuel McCaw, an educated young Indian man of the Puyallup tribe, had been a bookkeeper in Chicago and at the same time was preparing himself for entering Dartmouth College, when he decided to visit his mother, the wife of General [Peter] Spott, and arrived at Puyallup on September 10, 1892. Finding his mother needed his assistance, he gave up going to Dartmouth and remained with her. Later, he became a Clerk in the Agency Office where he remained until his marriage in October, 1893, and went to Yakima to live.

One day in July, 1892, Mr. Thomas Henderson, City Treasurer at Fairhaven, Washington, visited the Agency and told us he had adopted a little Indian girl when he was conducting a trader's store on the [Fort Peck] Reservation at Poplar River, Montana, soon after the Custer

massacre, and she was now teaching in an Indian school in Montana, too far away for him to see her often. His visit was to see if we had a place for her. She was nineteen years of age.

He said that when he first met her she belonged to a wandering band of Sioux Indians that had just returned from British Columbia in mid-winter and she was poorly clad. He noticed this when she came to the store and he gave her food. Finally, he asked if she would not like to stay with him and she said she would. She was living with her grandmother and did not know where her parents were. He bought the child from her grandmother for a few dollars and put her under charge of the colored woman cook at the employees' club where he took his meals and, after she had been properly dressed up, she was a nice looking little girl, and he named her Kate Henderson.

When old enough, Mr. Henderson took Kate to the Riggs Missionary School at Santee, Nebraska, where she remained several years and, while there, she became a member of the Presbyterian Church and grew up a good Christian young woman. Later, he took her to Hampton Institute, General [Samuel Chapman] Armstrong's school at Hampton Roads, Virginia, where she remained until graduated. After finishing school, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs gave her a teacher's position at the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation in Montana, where she was working when Mr. Henderson visited us. He had a series of photographs, taken as she grew up, that showed the subject was a fine, intelligent looking young woman.

When it became known that Miss Teachout was to be married and leave the school, the Indian Office was asked to transfer Kate Henderson to Puyallup to take her place in the school, and she arrived September 30, 1892, ready to begin work the next day. She proved to be a good teacher in the class-room and was an excellent pianist which, with her amiable disposition, made her a valuable employee. The fact that she, an Indian girl, had reached this place in life demonstrated to the school girls what they might accomplish if they tried.

Mr. Henderson wrote her regularly and made frequent visits at the school. He was a bachelor and told me that when the time came for him to leave this world, half of his possessions would go to Kate, and the other half to a niece, which did prove to be the case.

Along in March, 1893, it was noticed that Kate and Samuel McCaw were becoming interested in each other and, feeling it a duty to keep Mr. Henderson informed, I wrote him a full account of McCaw's life and what had been observed about their interest in each other. He replied promptly, thanking me for the information, and said he was strongly opposed to Kate marrying a white man, but had no objection to her marrying an Indian of the right kind, as my letter indicated McCaw to be. During his next visit, he met McCaw and was pleased with his personality and what he learned about him. The marriage took place early in October, 1893, after Alice, Pickering, and I had gone to the Chicago Exposition.

Sam and Kate had good positions at the school and we supposed they would remain, but both resigned soon after the marriage. The husband said that as he now had a wife to support, they would begin life in a new locality and not depend, in any way, upon Government aid. They went to the town of Yakima, where Sam supported himself and his wife by doing odd jobs about the town. He did some work for the President of the Yakima National Bank, who, upon learning Sam was a bookkeeper, gave him employment in his bank, where he remained seventeen years. When Sam died, they had two children, a boy and a girl, and Kate went back to teaching on the Yakima Indian Reservation.

While I was Supervisor of Indian Schools, duty took me to the Standing Rock Reservation in South Dakota, where I inspected the Bull Head Day School, taught by Robert Higheagle, a young Indian graduate from Hampton Institute. I asked him if he had known Kate Henderson while there. He said she had left before he entered the school, but she was one of his wife's cousins.

I was invited to his house to meet his wife, and I told her about knowing Kate. The old grandmother was still living, but too far away for me to see her; and they said Kate's mother, whose Indian name was "The Woman with the Pretty Hand," was the wife of a policeman at the Devils Lake Reservation [in North Dakota]. As I was leaving, Mrs. Higheagle gave me one of the handsomest beaded hunting bags I have ever seen, and we still have it. I was reluctant to accept it until the husband explained that I must do so or she would be offended.

When I got back to the railroad station, I went to a millinery store and bought a suitable present for their little girl and sent it to them by the stage driver, thus completing the transaction according to Indian custom. I was at Devils Lake a couple of weeks later, and Agent [F. O.] Getchell had Kate's mother come to his office where we had a long talk about her daughter. She was a poor old decrepit Indian woman, stone blind, and while talking with her about the daughter, tears streamed down her cheeks. I asked if she ever heard from Kate and she said, "Yes, she sends me money every three months in letters to the Agent." Agent Getchell confirmed this and said he always read Kate's letters to her mother and wrote replies when requested to do so.

The next time I was on the Yakima Reservation, I told Kate about meeting her mother, and at the first opportunity after this she went to Devils Lake to visit her, the first time since childhood days. Kate's second husband was a white man named Calvert, an employee in the Tacoma Post-office. He was transferred to the San Francisco Post-office and we lost track of them until the summer of 1936, when I received a telephone call from Kate saying she had been living in Seattle since her husband's death, and that she was having difficulty proving she was the daughter of her mother, "The Woman with the Pretty Hand," and the legal heir to her mother's allotment on the Devils Lake Reservation.

She said that as [far as] was known, I was the only person, then living, that had ever known both her and her mother, and my testimony would assist her very much. She was awarded her mother's allotment and a portion of her grandmother's allotment on the Standing Rock Reservation. These, with her inheritance from Mr. Henderson, have been conserved, so now she is living in her own comfortable home with her daughter, in Seattle. The son is a Government employee at Fort Hall, Idaho. Her Seattle home [address] is 5202-42nd Avenue, South.

On Sunday, January 29th, 1893, we attended the Dedicatory Services of the Central Christian Church in Tacoma, and on the 30th, Alice, her sister Mamie, and I signed the necessary papers and became Charter Members of the Church. We attended services here until we were transferred to the Chemawa School.

Reverend Cushing Eells, father of Agent Eells, died at 2:00 o'clock, the morning of February 16, 1893, his eighty-third birthday. When Agent Eells moved to Tacoma, September 1st, 1891, his father wanted to remain on the reservation and we invited him to stay with us, which he accepted and lived in our home until shortly before his death.

In the latter part of February, 1893, the Frank C. Ross land company with their attorney, James Wickersham, came into the lime light again. This time they undertook to get possession of the valuable reservation water front [on Commencement Bay in northeast Tacoma] from Browns Point to where the reservation line leaves the water, several miles south of Browns Point. The Puyallup land Trust Patents contained a clause that permitted the allottee to rent his land without Government supervision for a term not exceeding two years, and [to] make such improvements as he desired.

Taking this clause as the basis of their action, the Ross people organized a railroad company to build a road across the Indian land on the water front. The allottees owning land needed for the right-of-way were included as members of the company, and when grading took place across an allotment the owner was made manager of the company and directed the work under supervision of the company's white manager.

It was the same procedure with each allotment along the line. This road, if built, could be of no practical use because there was nothing but unoccupied land at either end of the line, and the company's object was readily understood. They had no authority from any source. Agent Eells gave them several notices to stop work, the last being on April 12, 1893, but no attention was given to any of them. He then notified the Indian Office and asked that troops be sent from Vancouver Barracks to enforce his orders.

The troops, under command of Captain [G. A.] Carpenter and Lieutenant [W. P.] Goodwin with fifty-seven men, arrived on May 12th and went into camp near the Agency buildings. Three days later, Captain Carpenter with his troops moved to Priests Point, where the principal grading was being done, and went into camp. They stopped the work without any serious trouble, and remained in camp there until it was evident the Ross people had given up hope of being per-

mitted to continue with their plans. Ross and Wickersham tried to get the case in the Courts, but were unable to do so, being left without any grounds upon which to base a legal complaint.⁸

Peter C. Stanup was reported missing on May 17th, 1893, five days after arrival of the troops. He had been active in supporting the Ross-Wickersham people, and they made every effort to connect Agent Eells with his disappearance, in which they failed. When last seen, he was in Zinder's milk wagon and [had been] left at his home on the north bank of the Puyallup River, which is where he was when he told his wife he was going back to Tacoma. It was after dark at the time he started off on foot up the north bank of the river. This information came to us on the 20th and, accompanied by Joe Swa-iel, an elderly reliable Indian man, I went to Stanup's to make an investigation.

We searched for foot-tracks and found where he had crossed two fences and followed the river bank to a place where there was a log about half buried in the sand. His steps were plainly seen in the sand where he had stepped over the log at the end nearest the river bank which was about four feet high at this place. There was a projecting limb from a small tree on the opposite side of the log and, apparently, this had struck and thrown him off balance and into the water in the river. On the 22nd, Indians found his body in the river a short distance down stream. He was buried on the 24th in the Agency Cemetery.

Here is a hint for the little boy that has no playmate. As I was going across the grounds on April 26th, 1893, I came in sight of a little fellow who evidently possessed an inventing mind. Being alone, he had rigged up a "teetering board" by placing the board across a log and fastening a small barrel to one end of it. He then had put stones in the barrel to balance his own weight, then he got on the other end of the board and was having a royal good time when I saw him. It was a new stunt to me and I thought it was worth remembering when difficulties arose that must be overcome.

A young man named Henry J. Phillips became one of our teachers at the Puyallup School February 1st, 1890. He was a likable sort of a chap and soon became one of our most important employees. He was an excellent musician and possessed unusual ability as an instructor. There had been an Indian band on the reservation in charge of Profes-

sor Davis that had been only moderately successful because of many changes in the personnel, and the last time it had appeared in public was at our Christmas Eve exercises December 24th, 1889. Through the influence of Peter Stanup, the band instruments were turned over to the school and Mr. Phillips undertook the task of developing a school band, composed of pupils only.

He selected the required number of boys, none having any knowledge, whatsoever, of music, and went to work. Naturally, progress was slow at first, but within a reasonable time, he had a band capable of playing in public, not only at the school but including various places in the city of Tacoma. They played at the principal tourist hotel for the entertainment of the guests, and took part in parades on festive occasions. The evening of February 22, 1894, the band was at the office of the Tacoma Daily Ledger, and the next morning the paper said,

The Ledger was favored last evening with a serenade by the Puyallup Reservation band, composed of Indian boys. A number of selections were rendered in a most praise-worthy manner, when the music played and the ages of the players are considered. At the conclusion of the impromptu concert the players watched with deep interest the working of the Ledger's type-setting machines.

Members of the band and their ages are as follows: H. J. Phillips, leader and principal of the school; Matthew Seattle, 17; Dan Ross, 12; George Northrop, 13; Joseph Dan, 13; James Ross, 12; Harry Bobb, 10; Walter Harris, 14; Joseph Craig, 14; James Arquette, 12; John Arquette, 16; Charles Dan, 17; Willie Arquette, 8.

The band played for the entertainment given by Troop B last evening.

One member of this school band, Willie Arquette, is now living in Seattle, and during the 1941 season he played Third Trombone in the Seattle Symphony Orchestra.

The time for us to have another brother-in-law came on May 15th, 1893, when Henry J. Phillips and Mary (Mamie) Pickering, Alice's sister, were married at the home of the bride's parents in Seattle at

8:00 o'clock in the evening. Alice went to the wedding at 10:00 a.m., and I on the 4:15 p.m. train. After the ceremony, they left for a trip to California, and returned to Puyallup on June 11th. A few evenings later, they were given a reception party by the school and Agency employees. Mr. Phillips remained at Puyallup a few years longer, then took up work elsewhere in the Indian Service.

There was considerable drinking among the older and more ignorant Indians on the reservation, which is usually the case when they are near a city, because of their association with men of our own race who induce them to do so. Efforts to reform men who had acquired the habit seemed practically useless, and it was apparent that better results might be obtained in some other way. It was finally decided to begin with the children in school by teaching them the injurious effects of alcohol. Text-books for school-room use were secured and the subject became a part of the regular studies. To supplement the class-room work, it was decided to establish a Temperance Lodge which any Indian, old or young, could join.

Because Alice and I had been members of the Sons of Temperance Lodge at our old home in Albion in our younger days, it was decided that we should join the John B. Finch Lodge of Good Templars in Tacoma to familiarize ourselves with its work. We did this on November 11, 1890, when employees and some of the older pupils in the school met and organized the R. H. Milroy Lodge of Good Templars No. 83, named for General R. H. Milroy.⁹ Alice and I joined by card from the Tacoma Lodge and the others by application. Officers were elected and installed by District Chief Charles Drury and assisted by other members from Tacoma. Our next meeting was on November 12th. On June 13th, 1891, I went to the S'Kokomish Reservation and instituted the S'Kokomish Lodge of Good Templars No. 10, for which I had received authority as Lodge Deputy. It consisted of seventeen members.

The R. H. Milroy Lodge prospered in membership, which besides pupils and employees included many of the younger Indians on the reservation. Good temperance programs were produced and the lodge had close contact with other lodges in the district. This continued until we left Puyallup, October 31st, 1894.

Following the visit of Chief Justice Melville W. Fuller on July 30, 1891, to April 27, 1893, we were visited by the following named Government officials; viz., Inspector B. F. Miller, February 15, 1892; Supervisor of Schools W. T. Leeke, June 3, 1892; Special Agent F. A. Leonard, July 18, 1892; Darwin R. James, Member of Board of Indian Commissioners, June 22, 1892; and Superintendent of Indian Schools, Dr. Dorchester and his wife, April 27, 1893.

Agent Eells did not show up at the Agency on July 17, 1893, but he was there bright and early the next morning to say that a son had arrived at his house the previous day. This was Edwin Eells, Jr., who is now in 1941 a Congregational Minister in Chicago.

We had a visit from members of the Russian nobility on August 10, 1893. They were Prince Cantacuzene, Russian Minister to the United States with his daughter and her governess, Prince Sieven, and Mr. Quod. They all spoke English and were much like other folks.

Alice and I had been planning a trip to the World's Fair in Chicago and to our old home at Albion, which we had not visited since leaving there to come west in 1881. We started on this trip August 25, 1893. Besides Alice, Pickering, and I, John E. Malone and Archie Isaacs were in our party, the latter to enter the Northwestern Military Academy at Highland Park, Illinois. We went on the Canadian Pacific Railway and arrived in Chicago at 9:30 p.m., on the 30th. Lodging was secured at 7534 Ford Avenue, Windsor Park Station, on the Illinois Central Railroad, near the fairgrounds.

Mr. Malone remained in the city and I left Archie Isaacs with Colonel [Harlan Page] Davidson at the Military School. We registered at the Washington State Building on September 1st and then devoted our time to sight seeing. We met Captain R. H. Pratt, Superintendent of the Carlisle Indian School, and Dr. Sheldon Jackson, at the Hotel Endeavor. This began an acquaintance [with Captain Pratt] that ripened into personal friendship covering many years. The only person seen at the fair whom we had known in previous years was Lee Woods from Albion.

We remained at the fair until 10:00 p.m., September 12th, when we went aboard a sleeping car on the Illinois Central Railroad leaving at 3:00 a.m., for Albion, where we arrived at 3:00 p.m., the next day. Our

old home town seemed much the same as when we left in 1881, with exception of our not being able to recognize the younger generation, grown up during our absence. The Edwards County Fair was held while we were there, making it possible to meet many more old-time friends than ordinarily would have been the case.

Will S. and Nellie Mayfield came to Albion on October 1st, and left with us on the 6th for Chicago on the way back to our western home. At Centralia, Will Emmerson, an old schoolmate who afterwards became Governor of Illinois, got on the train and rode with us a couple of hours. We spent the 7th at the World's Fair grounds and left in the evening over the Wisconsin Central Railroad for Tacoma, where we arrived at 4:00 p.m., October 11th, 1893. The trip was very much enjoyed by all of us.

During [Grover] Cleveland's first term as President, there was little political disturbance that came to our notice, as far as the Indian Service was concerned; but from early in his second term, beginning on March 4th, 1893, political affiliation seemed to be the only qualification necessary for appointment to official positions. Information received from a reliable source indicated this change in policy was caused by Vice President [Adlai E.] Stevenson having acquired control of the political patronage. However this may have been, all the supervising officers in the field, such as Inspectors, Special Agents, Supervisors of Schools, and the Superintendent of Indian Schools, were promptly dismissed and Democrats appointed to fill their places. These new men made lists of Republican employees at places visited and recommended their removal from office.

The Civil Service law was defective at this time in not requiring any reason for dismissing an employee, making it easy to carry out the policy being pursued. New employees were appointed through the Civil Service Commission in Washington to take the place of those removed and if it proved to be one of the "faithful," he retained his place but, if a Republican, he was discharged and another appointment made through the Civil Service Commission. If this one was a Democrat, it was all right, but if not, he too, was dismissed. This was called "running them through the fence," and it was continued until the Republican employees were as scarce as "hen's teeth."

The first intimation at Puyallup of action along this line was on October 19th, 1893, when Agent Eells was notified by Commissioner of Indian Affairs [Daniel M.] Browning that his Clerk, Mr. G. W. Bell, was removed and a man from Kentucky, named [Thomas B.] Wilson, had been appointed to his place. Wilson began work on November 8th and Mr. Bell, who had been a faithful employee for many years, was out of a job.

A Committee appointed by the President to have charge of the sale of Indian land segregated from the Indian allotments by Act of Congress, as recommended by the Judge Drake Commission in 1891, arrived in Tacoma, December 2nd, 1893. This Committee consisted of Colonel John W. Renfro of Atlanta, Georgia; Ross G. Alexander of Bridgeport, Ohio; and James J. Anderson of Nashville, Illinois. They had the land surveyed and platted in town lots, as an addition to the city of Tacoma.¹⁰

The lots sold rapidly and created a large fund in the U.S. Treasury, placed there to the credit of the Puyallup tribe. Most of this fund was spent in later years by R. G. Valentine, then Indian Commissioner, in a futile effort to build up a large school, which caused serious condition in my official relations with him, more fully explained in my note concerning the second time I was Superintendent at Chemawa School.

Christmas, 1893, was observed about as in former years. Colonel Renfro and his associates were in the audience. This was our last Christmas at Puyallup, but we did not know at the time this was to be the case.

January 15th, 1894, was another important and happy day in the calendar for Alice and me. It was the birth of our dear daughter, Alice Pickering Chalcraft, at our home in Seattle where Alice's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Richard Pickering, were then living. Alice and our little son had been there since January 1st. I had been making frequent visits and was present when our daughter came to us.

When the time came for selecting a name, Alice asked me to say what it should be, and I said, "I would like it to be Alice, for you." She appreciated my suggestion and said, "Let it be my full maiden name then, Alice Pickering," and Alice Pickering Chalcraft became her name (although she became best known as "Hallie," our nickname for her).

I went to Seattle for Alice and the children on February 12th and brought them to Puyallup the next day.

Our first Democratic supervising officer, Inspector Province McCormick, came on February 6th, 1894, and remained three days, then he went to the Chemawa School, in Oregon. He gave little indication to Agency matters and there was apparently no special object in his visit. On February 19th, I received a telegram from Frank C. Armstrong, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, offering me the position of Superintendent at the Chemawa School, near Salem, at a salary of \$2,000 a year. While we considered this a promotion, I did not wish to accept the offer. On the 20th, I wired my appreciation, but declined to accept the promotion because of interest and contentment in my work at Puyallup.

In the morning of April 28th, 1894, men began to collect in the play grounds in front of the school and by noon there must have been about two thousand of them. They were members of the "Commonwealth Army" [or "Coxey's Army"], meeting then to start as an organized body to Washington, D.C. [to urge Congress to take action to relieve joblessness following the Panic of 1893]. It was a motley looking crowd, in charge of [Frank P.] "Jumbo" Cantwell, that started off about two o'clock, some on a freight train that had stopped at Puyallup, and the remainder on foot. Discouraged members began coming back the next day. Many returned and we never heard that any reached their destination.

For some time, it had been thought that Wilson, the new Clerk, was secretly communicating with officials of the Indian Office in Washington, D.C., and with some inspecting officers. Government Regulations required that all correspondence with officials by employees must be transmitted through the officer in charge, and violation of the rule was cause for dismissal of the employee. That Wilson had been doing this was confirmed on June 26th, 1894, when Agent Eells received a letter from the Indian Office about a brother-in-law of Wilson's being appointed to a position in the school. Nothing was done about it.

A District Indian Teachers' Institute, conducted by Dr. [William N.] Hailman, the newly appointed Superintendent of Indian Schools, was held at the Chemawa School July 24th to 27th, 1894. My part on the

program was to read a paper prepared by Agent Eells, who could not attend the meeting. Captain Pratt was there; and when the Institute adjourned, he came up to Puyallup for a visit with us.

Our little daughter, Alice, was just eight months old on August 15th and, with her future in mind, Alice and I went to Tacoma and bought a new Hinze Piano for her. It cost \$235 and it is still in good condition in our home in Seattle.

The last Commencement Exercises while we were at the Puyallup School were on August 16, 1894, when school closed for the autumn vacation. Henry Kross was the only graduate this year.

The final session of the Nisqually and S'Kokomish Teachers' Institute was held at the S'Kokomish Reservation August 21st to 24th, 1894. A large number of employees from the other Agency schools were in attendance. I am sure all regretted it was the last to be held.

John Hawk and Emily Hines were married at the school on September 18, 1894. The groom was an educated young Indian man. The bride became one of our pupils at the Chehalis School in October, 1884, when she was a little nine-year-old orphan girl, and came to Puyallup soon after we did. From the beginning, Alice took special interest in her because she seemed to have no one particularly interested in her. When older, she lived in our home part of the time and helped Alice with the housework until she seemed almost like one of the family. I have visited their home on the S'Kokomish Reservation in recent years, where they have a well built house and good buildings on their farm, which is adequate in size and well tilled.

General Armstrong, Assistant Commissioner, came to the Agency on August 9, 1894, accompanied by his wife and Inspector Thomas P. Smith. They were friendly and nothing was said or done to indicate what they had under their hats. This came to light later when we began to hear from the Indian Office. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs had authority to abolish an "Agency" and put the school Superintendent in charge of the unfinished work, whenever the Indians had become civilized to a reasonable extent, and it could be done without injury to them.

The powerful land grabbing companies in Tacoma, that Agent Eells had been fighting for so long a time, had brought political pressure to

bear on the Indian Office to abolish the Agency, which would remove Agent Eells from office. As I was known to be in harmony with Agent Eells' policies, it was necessary to get me away, and appoint a school Superintendent more in sympathy with those urging the change. The business of Assistant Commissioner Armstrong and Inspector Smith was to make a final survey of the situation before definite action was taken.

Action was not delayed very long after the visit of these two men, as the following telegram from Commissioner Browning indicates:

WASHINGTON, D.C.

AUGUST 28, 1894

TO EDWIN CHALCRAFT,

C/O EELLS, TACOMA, WASH.

WILL YOU ACCEPT SUPERINTENDENCY SALEM SCHOOL AT
FIFTEEN HUNDRED PER ANNUM, BOND FIFTEEN THOUSAND.
WIRE REPLY.

D. M. BROWNING, COMMISSIONER.

The reduction of five hundred dollars in salary from the previous offer, dated February 19th, seemed to indicate that my resignation was desired, or [that I was] to accept punishment for not accepting the first offer. No charges of any kind had been made against my record, nor that of Agent Eells, and we had formed an opinion that the Indian Office feared their plans might come to light if I was removed without cause and the action was protested [by us]. With those thoughts in mind, it was deemed best [that I] decline the offer again and wait [and see] what might develop. I telegraphed the Commissioner as follows:

AUGUST 29, 1894

TO COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D.C.

I APPRECIATE HONOR CONFERRED, BUT MUST DECLINE
SUPERINTENDENCY SALEM SCHOOL, WITH THANKS.

EDWIN L. CHALCRAFT

We did not have to wait long for a reply to this as shown by the following letter:

*Washington, D.C.,
September 6, 1894
Edwin L. Chalcraft,
Indian School,
Tacoma, Washington*

Sir:

You are hereby appointed to the position of Superintendent of the Salem School, Oregon, at a salary of \$1,500 per annum. You will be required to give a bond in the sum of \$15,000.

The Secretary of the Interior will be requested to designate you a special disbursing agent, which when done, full instructions regarding the completion of your bond will be sent you.

It is expected that you will at once make arrangements to complete your bond. This position has twice been offered you, and it is considered by this office as a promotion. Your successor at the Puyallup School has already been selected, and you will therefore at once telegraph your acceptance or declination of this position. Changes in the Indian Service are made for the good of the service, and not for the sole convenience of the employee.

Very respectfully,
D. M. Browning,
Commissioner.

This letter was not a third offer of the Superintendency of the Salem School, but [one] appointing me to that position. To refuse now would make me guilty of insubordination, and [furnish] lawful grounds for [my] dismissal from the Indian Service. This put me in a position to accept, or be discharged for insubordination. After going over the matter with Agent Eells and Judge Thomas Burke, one of my most intimate Democratic friends in Seattle, both of whom agreed with my opinion that it was best to accept, I sent the following reply:

TACOMA, WASHINGTON,
SEPTEMBER 14, 1894
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

I ACCEPT SUPERINTENDENCY SALEM SCHOOL, PROVIDING CAN
COMPLETE BOND.
EDWIN L. CHALCRAFT.

This separated me from the work at Puyallup Agency, in which I was very much interested, to take up work in a school known to be a place of political intrigue. My successor at Puyallup, Robert E. Lee Newberne, arrived on October 29th, and relieved me on the 31st. I went to the Chemawa School where I arrived in the evening. The following quotation concerning my transfer is from the Tacoma Daily Ledger of the latter date:

E. L. Chalcraft, who has been superintendent of the Puyallup reservation school for the past five years, has been promoted to the position of superintendent of the Indian training school at Chemawa, near Salem, Oregon. Dr. Robert E. Lee Newberne of Washington, D.C., lately of Texas, has been appointed to fill the vacancy. He arrived on Monday and took charge on Thursday. Mr. Chalcraft left for Chemawa last evening. He has been in the service eleven years, and the Puyallup school has been brought up to its present degree of perfection largely through his efforts.

On November 23rd, I received a letter from Agent Eells, informing me that the "Puyallup Agency" had been abolished and a "Superintendency" created instead, with Superintendent Newberne in charge of affairs. This relieved Mr. Eells from all official connection with Indians, and they lost the advice and assistance of a most conscientious friend and advisor, who had spent practically all of his life since childhood days with them, a man of unblemished record.

{ 4 }

Salem Indian Training School

Chalcraft sensed that but briefly would he hold the superintendency of Chemawa Indian School, located just outside Salem, Oregon. He entered the position with the school languishing in a state of chaos, and left four and a half months later with the situation little improved. In stark detail, Chalcraft's reminiscences illustrate the clenched grip that political influences had over Indian affairs. According to him, high-level Democrats in Washington DC set the table for his removal when they deliberately isolated him from the friendly confines of the Puyallup reservation and the Republican colleagues there who could assist him. Chalcraft believed that a complaint — in this case, partisan hiring, the very tactic he accused them of — was then manufactured as justification for his dismissal.

I arrived at Chemawa, where the Salem Indian School is located, on Saturday evening, November 3rd, 1894. Chemawa is a station on the Southern Pacific Railroad five miles north of Salem, Oregon. Supervisor of Indian Schools, Charles D. Rakestraw, temporarily in charge of the school since Superintendent O. H. Parker had been removed a few weeks previously, was at the train and greeted me cordially. The next day was spent in observing the Sunday program and meeting the school employees.

On Monday morning, I gave Supervisor Rakestraw my Oath of Office to be sent to Washington with a report of my arrival. We then began invoicing the Government property that is necessary when there

is a change in the officers responsible for it. As we were leaving the school office, Supervisor Rakestraw handed me three petitions that had been submitted to him by Salem men seeking positions in the school, all stressing the fact that they were loyal Democrats. One of these, containing ten signatures, was from Lyman Benson, asking to be appointed school Engineer; another, with one hundred and twenty-two signers, was from a Mr. [G. W.] Zaenker seeking employment as Shoemaker. I was advised to give attention to these; and then told that the school Clerk, John P. Clark, was not competent to do his work and it would be wise to let him go and get Mr. [George] Wills, a Democratic politician in Salem.

Rakestraw's wife was at the school, serving temporarily as an Assistant Matron, and he informed me that it was understood in the Indian Office she was to become the Chief Matron when that position became vacant; and if the Chief Matron, Mrs. Lillian E. Ellis, did not resign within a reasonable time, I was to recommend her transfer to some other school so she could be appointed by the Indian Office. In closing our conversation, Rakestraw wasted some breath in taking the precaution to say, "These instructions are not given in my official capacity, but as a personal matter."

What Rakestraw had said clearly indicated to me that I was expected to get rid of all politically objectionable employees in the school to make places for Democrats; and, as I was known to *not* be of that faith, I would, without doubt, suffer the same fate later. I had made no comments on the subjects brought up, but there, surely, was plenty in my mind.

Civil Service rules at this time covered the work of class-room teachers and Superintendents only. All other employees were appointed and dismissed by the officer in charge, subject to approval by the Indian Office. This permitted unscrupulous men to appoint personal and political friends without regard for the qualifications for service. I have always been of the belief that neither political nor religious convictions should disqualify Indian Service employees, if they were otherwise competent; and I would have carried out Rakestraw's instructions, as far as filling vacancies was concerned, if I found the

applicant competent and of good character; but to create a vacancy by removing a satisfactory employee from office for that purpose was another thing.

Changes in management of the school had been frequent since March 20, 1889, when Superintendent John Lee left the school. He was followed by Wm. H. H. Biddle, who served until August 5, 1889; then by G. M. Irwin, who held office until March 31, 1892; C. W. Wasson was in charge until February 15, 1894, when he was relieved by Special Agent Charles H. Dickson, who was in charge until Mr. Parker was appointed on June 13, 1894. Parker served until September 14, when Superintendent Charles D. Rakestraw, who was in charge when I arrived on November 3, relieved him.

These frequent changes in management gave no opportunity for any one of the incumbents to effect any improvement in the condition of the school, which was in a deplorable condition when I arrived. The normal attendance of about 400 pupils had dwindled down to 210, being 114 boys and 96 girls, ranging from 5 to 18 years of age.

Just here, I will quote from an article in the Portland Daily Telegram, dated November 3, concerning the Salem School, which for a short time was known as "Harrison Institute." I quote:

Visitors at the Harrison Institute, better known as the Chemawa Indian School, are grieved to see that this institution, once the pride of the entire Indian service, has, during the past two or three years, lost much of its efficiency and prestige, in contrast to its appearance a few years ago. The grounds look untidy and neglected, the Indian boys are more ragged than ever they have been seen before, and the institution has every appearance of falling into decay, and, as President Cleveland would say, innocuous desuetude. All that is lacking to give the Harrison Institute the appearance of an aborigine village is the presence of camp-fires and tepees. The modern buildings and the presence of white teachers alone remind one that it is a modern institution, born of a higher civilization. What is the cause of this? is asked. The answer is not hard to find. The school has been neglected while contending factions warred with each other for the possession of

the superintendency. During the past few years superintendents have come and gone with nearly every change of the moon, and what good was accomplished by one administration has been undone by the succeeding one.

At present the Chemawa Indian school has no superintendent, although Superintendent Chalcraft of Tacoma, for a number of years connected with the Puyallup Indian reservation, has been assigned to the post. During the interim, caused by the relief of Superintendent Wasson, the school has been in charge of Charles D. Rakestraw, government supervisor of Indian schools. Mr. Chalcraft expects to assume the management as soon as his official bond is approved. He is a man of large experience in Indian school work, and it now lies in his hands to again make the school one of the most efficient of this kind in the country.

Invoicing the property was completed the evening of November 13th, when I signed the schedules; and on the morning of November 14th, I assumed charge of the school with a fair understanding, none too rosy, of what was before us. After appointing the Clerk, Mr. Clark, to represent me during the absence, I left for Seattle to bring Alice and our two children to Chemawa, where we arrived on the 16th, at nine o'clock in the evening. During my absence, the employees put our house in good order, and there was a nice supper on the dining room table waiting for us to enjoy, a kindly act that was very much appreciated.

During the short time Supervisor Rakestraw had been in charge, prior to my arrival, he had dismissed four of the employees and appointed others to fill their places, one of whom was his wife. These, with Eugene Nardin, Principal Teacher, all Democrats, constituted the dangerous element in the school.

Rakestraw was a large man and always dressed in what was called a "long tailed coat," white vest, striped trousers, and silk hat; and possessed an exalted opinion of his importance, making him a conspicuous figure as he went about the grounds, impressive to behold! His arrogant and uncivil attitude towards the employees is fairly indicated by the following illustration. He and I were crossing the lawn

together when we met Miss [Ella] Watts, the Music Teacher, and she stopped to ask him a question about one of her pupils, to which he replied, "Do you think I carry the office around in my vest pocket? Come to the office when I am there, if you want to see me about anything." He then started on. His attitude towards me, at least in my presence, was always respectful, and nothing between us occurred to indicate we were not good friends; yet, it seems hardly necessary to say there was a feeling of relief in my mind when he left for Carson City, Nevada, on November 30th.

Things went on smoothly until after Rakestraw left for Carson City, and there was some time for legitimate work until after the arrival of W. J. Nolan, a Teacher transferred [to Chemawa] from Captain Pratt's school at Carlisle, on December 21st. He, with the support of the four new employees appointed by Rakestraw, soon began making complaints about a number of the old employees, known to be objectionable to the Supervisor, evidently for the purpose of influencing me to discharge them. All of the complaints were trifling and unworthy of any action, other than an effort to restore harmony, which I tried to do. The first two complaints made to me are fair examples of others that followed. One [was] that Mrs. [Hattie E.] Bristow, a Teacher, "had robbed Mr. Nolan of his seat at the dining table."

Investigation showed that she had, unintentionally, taken his seat and when he came in and wanted it, she moved to another seat. The other was that Mrs. [Mary C.] Clark, Assistant Clerk, and Mrs. Roberts, the Baker, had "insulted Mr. Nolan in the dining-room." Nolan was telling a rather strong story about worms being ground up in making cider and said, "The fatter the worms, the better the cider."

This was too much for the two ladies and they left the table. As they went from the room, Mrs. Clark remarked that "She had all she could stand," and Mrs. Roberts said she "Wished he would stop talking about such things at meals." This is all there was in the complaints; yet, both of these reached the Indian Office in some way, unknown to me, but probably through Mrs. Rakestraw reporting to her husband, and I was directed to make an official report, which I did explaining the facts.

It was necessary to increase the depleted number of pupils in attendance to cover the total expenses of the school, which was based upon an allowance of \$167 per pupil; so I started out on my first trip for that purpose on January 4th, 1895, going up into Washington for them. I returned to Chemawa on the 11th with a fine group of pupils.

Supervisor Rakestraw came back to the school on January 17th, and on the 19th he censured Miss Watts so severely that she immediately resigned and went to Salem. He left on the 23rd, going to Colville Agency, Washington; but returned to the school on February 27th, which he said was for the purpose of making a general inspection and checking up my report on Nolan's complaints about the lady employees. I did not see him as much as usual, because he spent most of the time with his wife and her friends; but he found time to tell me my report was correct and he had approved it. It was found out later, however, that he had condemned it. He left for Portland on March 14th.

While Rakestraw was away, between January 23rd and February 27th, I decided to reopen the blacksmith shop, which had been closed for several months. Thomas J. Roberts, in charge of [the] shoeshop work, was also an experienced Blacksmith, and wanted to change his work, so I transferred him to the blacksmith shop, which I had full authority to do and was proper in every way. Then I went to see Mr. Zaenker, one of the three Democratic men who had filed petitions for appointment at the school, that Rakestraw had given me on November 5th.

I found Zaenker to be an educated foreigner who spoke the English language with difficulty and in conversation with me used profane language like a "trooper." I learned from reliable sources that he used strong drink too freely, and it was evident to me that he was not fit to be in any kind of a school.

Our Indian Disciplinarian, David Brewer, suggested that Samuel A. Walker, Shoemaker at the school when it was located at Forest Grove, might be available to fill the vacant position. He praised Walker so highly that I told him to let Walker know there was a vacancy at Chemawa. When Walker came, I found him to be a Christian gentle-

man, well educated, and apparently qualified for our work. This, with a statement from David Brewer that he was a *Democrat*, caused me to appoint him to the Shoemaker position.¹

On March 2nd Captain Pratt transmitted a letter to me, dated February 4, written by W. J. Nolan to Miss Bessie Hailman, daughter of Dr. W. N. Hailman, National Superintendent of Indian Schools in Washington City. Miss Hailman was a Teacher in the Carlisle School when Nolan was there, but had just resigned and gone home. School girls, cleaning the room after she had left, found a letter that the Captain thought I ought to see and sent it.

I had Nolan read the letter in my presence, much to his embarrassment, especially as he did not know how it came into my hands. The following is a copy of it:

Chemawa, Ore.
February 4th, 1895.

Dear Friend:—I received your kind and welcome letter, last Sunday. I am glad to hear from you. But, I am sorry you could not remain at Carlisle, for I know that you so desired. Yet I think the sooner you leave the better for you.

When I was leaving I thought “Pratt and [O. H.] Bakeless” were my friends. How much different I found them! Instead they were deceitful, false and ____ I can’t say it. I was deceived by them, so were you.

You spoke to me about his honesty, several times. I have thought of it several times since I was at W____ and thought how often people are deceived.

In your letter you spoke of the prayer meeting business. We have the same “plague” here. Last Sunday night, a harangue from Y.M.C.A. Tuesday from W.C.T.U. woman, who knew less than her audience, to-morrow night one from a M.E. minister from Salem: Don’t you think we have enough?

My work has been very agreeable and pleasant. I like the Principal teacher, but, cant say I like the Superintendent, and some of the employees.

The music teacher who was here when I came has retired from the field and that leaves the place vacant. Why cant you come here?

We, (new people) would like to see you here and would make it as pleasant as possible for you. We have the matrons, cook and principal on our side and what do we care for the rest. I think if we had a few more changes here the Supt. would be different. He is a man who tries to please some here whatever the cost may be. You know what I mean by that.

What became of Miss Kamp? She went back to Carlisle to take my place? Is Mr. [J. W.] Hendren still there? You may tell him I will write him soon.

With best wishes for
your future, I am,
Miss Bessie Hailman
Your sincere friend,
Carlisle, Pa. W. J. Nolan.

After Rakestraw left the school on March 14th, I went out again for pupils. Upon returning on the 19th with a party of pupils, I found a letter dated March 12th, from Dr. Hailman in which he said, and I quote,

With reference to the transfer of Mr. Roberts to the position of blacksmith and the appointment of Mr. Walker to the position of shoemaker, certain objections have reached me from Superintendent Rakestraw. The reasons do not reflect in any way upon the efficiency and character of these men. They touch merely a matter of judgment on your part in their selection, chiefly of a political character. Supervisor Rakestraw says he will talk the matter over with you, and I shall abide by whatever you decide to do.

Rakestraw never mentioned the matter to me. This communication could be considered in no other way than simply a political objection to my actions, and I was now in a frame of mind to speak plainly, come what may, so I wrote Dr. Hailman as follows:

A couple of days after my arrival at Chemawa, and before I had taken charge, Supervisor Rakestraw gave me three political petitions from men seeking positions in the school. The petitions all certified that the applicants were residents of Salem and were loyal democrats. He suggested at the time, that I give the applicants consideration as vacancies occurred. I had no objection to doing this, if the applicant was competent and of good character. When Roberts was transferred to the position of blacksmith, I went to Salem to interview a Mr. Zaenker, one of the three petitioners, having in mind to appoint him to the shoemaker's position as he requested. I found him to be a man of foreign birth who spoke the English language with difficulty and in conversation with him he used profane language like a "trooper." I learned from other reliable sources that he used strong drink too freely, and it was evident to me that he was unfit for any position in any kind of a school. Mr. Walker is a man of excellent reputation and an experienced mechanic; and as he professed to be a democrat, I saw nothing in the way to prevent his being appointed to the shoemaker's position. I believe my action is for the best interests of the school, but if it is desired that Mr. Walker be dismissed, I will relieve him if so instructed.

I went to visit the Indian settlements in the southern part of Oregon, and the northern part of California on March 23rd. When I returned home on the 28th with a party of twelve pupils, I found Supervisor Rakestraw at the school. The next day, I received the following telegram from the Indian Office:

WASHINGTON, D.C.,

MARCH 28, 1895

CHALCRAFT, SUP'T.

SALEM, ORE.

YOU ARE HEREBY DISMISSED FROM THE SERVICE, SUPERVISOR
RAKESTRAW ORDERED TO TAKE CHARGE. FULL INSTRUCTIONS
BY MAIL.

THOMAS P. SMITH, ACTING COMMISSIONER.

The “full instructions by mail” consisted of the following letter, which was received in due time:

*Washington, D.C.,
March 28, 1895.
Edwin L. Chalcraft, Sup't.,
Salem Indian School,
Chemawa, Oregon.*

Sir:

Upon the basis of Supervisor Rakestraw's report and the recommendation of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, approved by the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, you are hereby dismissed from the service, for reasons satisfactory to this office.

Very Respectfully,
J. H. D. (A).
Thomas P. Smith,
Acting Commissioner.

The newspapers in Salem and Portland commented strongly about the Indian Office action. I quote from the Salem Daily Statesman, dated March 30, 1895. It said:

Superintendent Chalcraft, who has been in charge of the Indian training school at Chemawa for some months, received a telegraphic message from the department yesterday notifying him that he was relieved and that Supervisor Rakestraw would take charge until his successor should arrive. The latter at once assumed control and an invoice of the institution is being taken.

Mr. Chalcraft is a republican, which probably accounts for the change. He was eleven years in charge of the Indian schools at Puyallup, Wash., and came here at the urgent, or almost insistence, of the department, to handle the Chemawa school and the change looks very much like a systematic movement to manufacture a reason for his dismissal.

Superintendent Parker, who preceded Mr. Chalcraft, met with a similar fate and the thing savors a great deal of a hypocritical defeat of the aims of civil service.

So long as Mr. Chalcraft was in a school where he had served acceptably his dismissal could not be harmonized with civil service reform, but by getting him in a new place, it could be an easy matter to hatch up or manufacture a "cause" to get him out. It is said he and Parker are two of the best men in the Indian service on the coast.

Supervisor Rakestraw receipted me for the Government property on April 1st, which ended my official connection with the school. On the 4th, he dismissed Mr. Walker, the Shoemaker. While I was working on official papers to close my accounts, which were completed and sent to the Indian Office on the 11th, many of the employees expressed their regret that we were leaving and offered to render any aid they could give towards undoing what had been done. They all realized that my dismissal was a political act in violation of Civil Service rules.

I told them I thought the best thing they could do was to send me affidavits stating that they personally knew nothing had occurred that indicated improper official action, nor personal conduct, on my part while in charge of the school; and that it was their firm belief that my dismissal was entirely a political action. I arranged with Scott Bozarth, a Notary Public in Salem, to take such affidavits from any Chemawa employees coming to him for that purpose, and send the bill to me in Seattle. This was done by many of them, and the affidavits were useful afterwards.

At Chapel Service, the evening before we left Chemawa, Supervisor Rakestraw asked me to speak to the audience composed of employees and pupils, most of whom were our friends, and I accepted the invitation. As I arose to speak, something of the "Old Nick" nature must have come into my mind, because I began by saying, "I have been familiar with the history of the Chemawa School since it was established at Forest Grove by Captain [M. C.] Wilkinson in 1880, and have always thought it a great honor to men considered worthy of becoming its Superintendent; but in this, it appears that I must

have been mistaken, because Supervisor Rakestraw finds that I am unworthy, and it is necessary for us to leave Chemawa.”

At this point Rakestraw arose and said, “Mr. Chalcraft, I assure you that I have had nothing to do with your leaving,” and then took his seat. I made no comment, but repeated from the beginning what I had previously said. This brought him to his feet again, saying, “I assure you that I had nothing to do with it.” When he sat down, I repeated my statement for the third time, and having no further interruption, finished what I had to say without making any further reference to him. This ended my career at Chemawa the first time I was the Superintendent there, covering a period of four months and seventeen days.

The next morning, April 12th, Alice, the two children, and I left for our home in Seattle, where we arrived in the evening.

{5}

Private Citizens

Chalcraft returned to Washington state dismissed from the Indian Service but with an eye firmly locked on gaining reinstatement. Although his memoir is silent on the subject, apparently he had committed himself to a career in Indian affairs. This brief chapter documents the five years that elapsed between Chalcraft's removal from Chemawa Indian School in the spring of 1895 and his appointment as superintendent of Wind River Indian School in the spring of 1900.

We came from the Salem Indian Training School to Seattle on April 12th, 1895, and established our home in the house we had built at 617 Tenth Avenue in 1889. As we were now private citizens, and the time our own to be used as we saw fit, little was done until May 2nd, when I engaged in civil engineering work again with my former associate, Mr. Charles M. Anderson. Our work was, mostly, surveying additions to the city of Seattle and a proposed railroad from Port Angeles to Olympia, which was never built. We went to Mt. Vernon, Washington, in the summer of 1897, where I had bought a grocery store and had the management of a shingle mill for Williams & Henry. We remained there until the summer of 1898, then returned to Seattle, and [I] took up surveying again, which was continued until I was reinstated in the Indian Service and went to the Wind River School on the Shoshone Reservation, Wyoming, in May, 1900.

During this time, I was giving attention to my removal as Superintendent at Chemawa. Before leaving the school, I informed Captain

Pratt in Pennsylvania and Judge Burke in Seattle that I had been dismissed from the Indian Service. Both of these men were intimate friends of mine, and in addition, Judge Burke was a man of influence in the Democratic Party of his state. Captain Pratt telegraphed me on March 30th, saying —

GIVE ME ALL THE FACTS IN YOUR CASE PROMPTLY BY MAIL.
I WILL GO TO THE TOP IN YOUR BEHALF. HEADS ARE FALLING
EVERYWHERE.

Judge Burke's reply was a letter dated April 1st, in which he said —

I am just in receipt of your line enclosing telegraphic notice of your dismissal from the Indian service, and I need hardly to say that I am greatly astonished at such news. Of course, I will do anything in the world that I can for you. Let me know upon receipt of this line just what you would like me to do.

It seems an outrage after your long and faithful service to be thus summarily dismissed.

A long and encouraging letter was received from Agent Eells at this time, urging me to fight the Indian Office action, and saying that I had plenty of friends ready to back me up in doing so. With the support of these three men, I felt that we could make a pretty good fight by insisting there was nothing, other than that I was politically objectionable to the Government officials, that caused my removal from Chemawa, which was in violation of Civil Service laws. Taking the affidavits sent me by the employees after I left there, as the basis of our claim, we went to work.

There was a session of the "District Indian Teachers' Institute" held in Tacoma in July, 1895, in charge of the Superintendent of Indian Schools, Dr. Hailman, [and] assisted by Supervisor Rakestraw. I attended the meeting and found Captain Pratt there. We both tried to talk to Hailman and Rakestraw about my case and they refused to listen to us. After this attempted interview, I wrote several letters to the Indian Office, to which no reply was made. As time went on, Captain

Pratt, and others, visited the Indian Office in my behalf, but none were able to do anything, until there was a change in the administration and President [William] McKinley was in office, and he had appointed Hon. W. A. Jones Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Then things began to hum. Politically we were aided by Senator John L. Wilson; Senator [George W.] McBride; Congressman Francis W. Cushman; and Senator A. G. Foster of Tacoma. The latter was a close personal friend of Agent Eells' who kept him informed, which gave him some advantage over the others. The climax came on April 3rd, 1900, when Senator Foster telegraphed Mr. Eells to "Please notify Chalcraft immediately that the Indian Commissioner agrees he should be reinstated in the service and appointed as superintendent of the Wind River school on the Shoshone Reservation in Wyoming."

On April 11th, Senator Foster transmitted my reinstatement in the Indian Service and appointment to the Wind River School, dated April 9, in the following letter:

*Washington, D.C.,
April 11, 1900
Mr. Edwin L. Chalcraft,
No. 617 10th Avenue,
Seattle, Wash.*

My dear Sir:

I beg to hand you herewith your credentials for reinstatement and appointment at \$1,400.00 a year. I have already called the attention of Mr. Eells to the action that has been taken in this matter, and I trust you will find your new duties entirely congenial and satisfactory. Please acknowledge receipt of the attached paper, and notify the Department by telegraph as requested.

The statement made by you to me, about three weeks ago, re-viewing the case, is still on file with the Department here.

Yours very truly,
A. G. Foster.

I telegraphed my acceptance on April 17th, and on May 1st was directed to report at Shoshone Agency for duty.

We had owned the vacant lot next to our house for several years, and as it was a corner lot facing on two streets, East Cherry and Tenth Avenue, we decided to sell the home in which we were living and build a house on it. We sold the home to Judge [Alfred] Battle, and were just moving into the new house, [at] 923 East Cherry Street, in which we are now living, when I received notice of my appointment to the Wind River School. This delayed my leaving Seattle for Shoshone Agency until May 13.

Thus ended the long drawn out political contest with the Indian Office officials, that became well known throughout the Indian Service, bringing unexpected congratulations from officials and others, some of whom I had never met. I have always felt that the successful ending of the contest was due to the loyal support and perseverance of our personal friends, and to them belongs the credit for that result.

{ 6 }

Shoshone Indian Agency, Wyoming

Chalcraft's reentry into the Indian Service in May 1900 found him stationed on the 1.7 million-acre Wind River Indian Reservation established in 1868 through the Fort Bridger treaty and home of the Eastern Shoshone and Northern Arapaho tribes. This, his fourth appointment as a school or reservation superintendent, but the first to a location outside the familiar confines of the West Coast, offered a smooth transition. His natural curiosity for learning attracted Chalcraft to the history and geography of west-central Wyoming. He acquired considerable knowledge of Chief Washakie, the late Shoshone leader, who was buried on the reservation, and the hot springs located near the agency fascinated him as well. Although the superintendent's position at Wind River Indian School was considered entry level, that did not prove the case with Chalcraft. Benefiting from the efforts of influential friends such as Richard Pratt and Indian Commissioner W. A. Jones, Chalcraft received an appointment as supervisor of Indian schools in October 1900, only five months after his arrival in Wyoming.

I left Seattle to take charge of the Wind River School at the Shoshone Reservation in Wyoming on May 13th, 1900, and arrived at Rawlins, Wyoming, late at night on the 16th. From here, it was necessary to travel by stage 160 miles to the Agency. The next morning at seven o'clock, a large thoroughbred coach drawn by four horses came to the hotel for passengers.¹ It so happened that I was the only person going on the stage. The driver started off with the horses in a fast trot,

which at times became a gallop until we came to a stage station, 20 miles from Rawlins. The horses were left here and four fresh horses were attached to the coach. This was done every twenty miles on the trip. Meals were had at the stage stations.

The stage carried mail and when nighttime came, the driver piled mailbags between the two seats and I got some sleep lying on them. Drivers were changed once during the trip. We arrived at Shoshone Agency at three o'clock the next afternoon, having covered the 160 miles in thirty-two hours. There were very few signs of civilization after passing the first station, until we were nearing Lander, a small town a few miles south of the Indian Agency.

I met Captain H. G. Nickerson and some of his employees when we arrived at the Agency, which consisted of several buildings. We could see the Wind River School buildings about a mile northeast of the Agency, and Fort Washakie, occupied by troops, about the same distance towards the northwest. The general appearance of everything in view made it seem, almost, that I had come to a new world.

The environment was so different from anything I had previously experienced, especially the Indians, who were lounging about the grounds. Some were on horseback, and others [were] moving about or squatting on the ground. A few wore citizen clothing, but most of them were dressed in old-time Indian garments. Some of this was made of cloth, and the rest of it was beaded buckskin. All wore the hair in two long braids hanging down the back. Many, mostly women, had spots and lines of red and yellow paint on their faces. Altogether, they were quite in contrast with the Indians we were accustomed to seeing on the Pacific Coast.²

After having had supper at the home of Agent Nickerson, he took me to the Wind River School and introduced me to the school employees. He telegraphed the Indian Office that I had arrived and taken charge of the Wind River School that day, May 18, 1900.

The next morning, accompanied by Dr. [F. H.] Welty, the Agency Physician, I inspected the school plant. All the buildings, excepting those erected for farm work, were constructed of brick and heated with steam, and the equipment was adequate. The Superintendent's quarters were in one of the larger buildings and comfortably furnished.

In going over the buildings with Dr. Welty, I noticed there was no provision made for bathing, by either employees or pupils, and asked him about it. He said they had no need for bathtubs because they all bathed in the hot spring about a mile east of the school. This seemed to me a dangerous thing to do, as the altitude was about 7,000 feet and the winters were long and extremely cold. I could not conceive how it was possible to go a mile and bathe in a hot spring, then ride home in zero weather without causing serious injury to health. The doctor declared he had been at the Agency a long time and had never known of an employee or pupil that had even caught a cold from bathing in the hot spring. The ladies and school girls used the spring Saturday mornings and the male employees and school boys in the afternoon.

Finding the doctor's statements to be absolutely true, we used the hot spring all the time we were at the school, the last time being in freezing weather the day before we left Shoshone Agency on October 4th, 1900, and I always found it enjoyable.

I do not know the analysis of the water in the spring. It is whitish in color and evidently contains some kind of medical element that affects the human body in a favorable manner. The quantity is large, and it rushes up in the center of a saucer shaped basin about three hundred yards across, located in open prairie land near the Little Wind River, which contains cold water coming down from the mountains. The hot water in the center of the basin is about thirty feet deep and gradually becomes shallower towards the edge of the basin. The out-flow of water from the basin is about six feet across and two feet deep. This keeps the bathing water reasonably fresh.

There were four large bath houses built on the edge of the basin for use of the school people, the Agency employees, the old Indians, and the soldiers at Fort Washakie. One-half of each bath house extended out over the water so that the bather could remain in the building, or swim out beneath the water side into the open water, if he wished to do so. The other half of the bath house had a floor. In the wintertime, the moisture arising from the hot water formed ice, sometimes several inches thick. When this occurred, blankets were taken to the spring and spread over the ice, making it more comfortable in dressing. I suppose the spring is still being used as it was when we were there.

My family had been left in our new home that had just been built in Seattle, to await a report from me about the conditions found at Wind River School. Finding everything satisfactory, I wrote Alice to come to the school. Mr. W. W. Cochrane, the school Engineer, was expecting his family to come, so we arranged for both families to be at Rawlins on the same date. Mr. Cochrane met both families with a team and two seated carriage. It took him eight days to make the trip, four days going to Rawlins and four days returning to the school.

There were two tribes of Indians on the Shoshone Reservation: the Shoshone, living in the vicinity of the Agency headquarters, and the Arapaho, living on the eastern end of the reservation, twenty miles away. There was no love lost between the two tribes, and this made it necessary to have a company of troops at Fort Washakie to keep peace between them.

On May 6th, a week after my arrival, a group from the Arapaho tribe, led by Chief Sharp Nose, accompanied by Lone Bear, Little Cole, Eagle Head, Gun, Sunny Robe, Big Head, Ute, and Runs Across the River, visited me to pay their respects, which they did in a most dignified and respectful manner. They had brought Garfy Wolf, a graduate of the Carlisle School, to act as interpreter. The Chief and two others made short speeches, to which it was proper for me to make reply; then after some general conversation, all of them shook hands with me, saying, "How," at the same time, then mounted their horses to go back home. This was my first experience of this kind.

The Episcopal Church had a Mission Church about two miles east of the school, in charge of Rev. John Roberts, a refined Christian gentleman. Sacajawea, the Shoshone Indian woman who led the Lewis and Clark Expedition across the Country in 1805 and 1806, is buried in the little cemetery at this mission and her grave is marked with a headstone. Reverend Roberts said he personally knew that this was the grave of the noted woman, because he had officiated at her funeral.

He had arrived at Shoshone on February 10th, 1883, to establish the mission; and the next day Dr. James Erwin, the Agent, took him to see an aged Indian woman who was sick. The doctor spoke of her as having been connected with the Lewis and Clark trip across the Country. She was in the teepee of her adopted son, Bazil, near the

Agency; and her real son, Baptiste, with her on the journey, lived about three miles away. Sacajawea died on April 9, 1884. He was positive that from information he had received from the mother and the son, without considering that from other sources, was sufficient to prove the grave was that of the noted Indian woman.³

Fort Washakie was named in honor of Chief Washakie, who died in 1900, just before we went to the Wind River School. He had always been a good friend to the white people, and had taken an active part in preventing trouble between them and the Indians of his own and surrounding tribes. When he died, he was buried in the Army Cemetery at Fort Washakie by order of the War Department. The services were attended by all the officers and soldiers at the fort and were conducted by the Post Chaplain. His monument was erected by order of the Secretary of the War. It is a massive block of granite rock, faced with an inscription reading as follows:

WASHAKIE.

1804–1900

Chief of the Shoshones

Always Loyal to the Government

And to His White Brothers

I learned many things about his life, and among them the following incident, which interested me especially. Mr. J. K. Moore, post-trader at the fort for many years, said that President Grant, wishing to show his appreciation of Chief Washakie's loyalty, presented him with a beautiful horse, saddle, and bridle, which were delivered to him at the trader's store. Washakie appeared to be spellbound while the messenger was making his presenting address, and at its close was apparently unable to make any reply. After waiting a reasonable time, Mr. Moore asked him if he had anything to say about the present. Washakie went to a window and after looking at the horse a moment, returned with tears streaming down his cheeks and, facing the messenger, said to him, "Frenchmen have plenty of words and no heart. Washakie has plenty of heart and no words. Tell our Great Father in Washington."

The messenger told him that he appreciated his feelings and would tell President Grant what he had said. Leaving the store, Washakie walked far out on the prairie, alone, and did not return until the next morning. We can only imagine what solemn thoughts of the past, coupled with the present, may have passed in review through his mind, while he wandered alone in the darkness of that night.⁴

There was an interesting full-blood Indian at Shoshone that we knew quite well, whose father had been killed in battle between the Arapaho Indians and the U.S. troops. This was Reverend Sherman Coolidge, an Episcopal Minister conducting services for the employees and other white people on the reservation. Reverend John Roberts' work was with the Indians. After the death of their father, Sherman and his two younger brothers were taken in charge by the officers at Fort Brown, later named Fort Washakie.

One of these officers, named [Charles A.] Coolidge, took charge of the older boy and named him Sherman Coolidge. This officer gave him a good education in eastern schools, including the Shattuck Military School at Faribault, Minnesota, and Seabury Divinity School at the same place, from which he was graduated in 1884, and he later took a post-graduate course of three years in Hobart College. He was ordained Deaconate of the Episcopal Church by Bishop [Henry B.] Whipple in 1884, and advanced to the Priest-hood by Bishop [John F.] Spaulding in 1885.

After graduating, he spent some time writing articles for the Church periodicals, newspapers, and magazines, while traveling over the east making addresses on Indian matters. Finally, he came back to the Shoshone Reservation to see what he might do for his own people, some of whom were his close relatives.

Reverend Coolidge was a fine looking man and an interesting conversationalist. He was fond of the ladies' company, but never showed special interest in any particular one of them. About two years after we left Shoshone, he married Miss Grace C. Wetherbee, a wealthy New York woman, and went to New York City, where he became Pastor of an Episcopal Church, and later, an Episcopal Bishop.

A few years ago, the Pastor of one of the Churches in Seattle attended an Episcopal Convocation in Denver and upon his return wrote

an article for one of the Seattle papers, describing the gathering, in which he said, "One of the most thrilling sights was seeing nearly a hundred Bishops, wearing their beautiful robes, march into the building, led by Bishop Coolidge carrying an American flag." This climax was the result of giving an unenlightened little child a chance for life.

Early in June, the Arapaho Indians began to prepare for a "Sun Dance," about three miles down the Little Wind River. Formerly, these performances had been more brutal than this one was intended to be, and the Government had forbidden some of the practices. The main object of the Sun Dance, as it appeared to me, was to test the endurance of the participants.

A place was prepared for the dance by setting up a center pole about forty feet in length, then enclosing around it a circular space about thirty-five or forty feet in diameter. The side walls and roof of this space were made of small poles covered with brush. Small bags containing something, called "medicine bags," were fastened to the center pole up near the roof, and several rawhide thongs were securely fastened at the same place. These were long enough to reach to a person standing near the side walls of the enclosure. Each of the participants in the dance fastened one of these thongs to his body, so that he could prance back and forth at its full length around the circular enclosure.

Everything now being ready, the dancers began prancing around the center pole with their eyes on the medicine bags, and keeping their thongs taut. With Indian drums sounding and Indian women singing, or rather chanting something in their own language, the dance went on, night and day, without the participants sleeping or taking food.

If a dancer became exhausted and fell, his friends gave him a drink of water. He would then get up and begin dancing again. This was repeated until he failed to get up after being given water. He was then out of the dance and another Indian took his place. Those dancing the longest were considered the best men and their standing in the tribe went up a notch or two. This dance lasted from June 17th to 27th, 1900.

Our experience in the class-room work and industrial pursuits here was much the same as at the other reservation schools, excepting that in producing crops, irrigation was necessary.

The Shoshone and Arapaho Indians have different native languages; but all of them understand and use the "Sign Language," common to many tribes east of the Rocky Mountains as a means of conversation between Indians not understanding each other's native tongue. The hands only are used, and no vocal sound is heard, unless it may be laughter at something that has been communicated. The Sign Language is similar to that used by the deaf and dumb of our own race, but seemed to me more simple and expressive.

On July 10th, I received a letter from Captain Pratt, now Major Pratt, written at his school in Carlisle, in which he said:

The other day while in Washington, I had quite a talk with Commissioner W. A. Jones about several matters and he told me it was in his mind to order Rakestraw to take charge of the Shoshone school as Superintendent and promote you to Supervisor of Indian Schools in his place; that he believed in retribution and thought such a move would be excellent retribution. I told him I thought so too, and while I had another suggestion to make about a supervisor, I would withdraw that in your favor. Whether he will do that or not is perhaps something of a problem, for he said he had never seen you; but if he could see and talk with you five minutes, he would know whether he could do so or not. The fact that it was in his mind, I thought would be some gratification to you, and so I write it, of course confidentially.

This information, coming from Captain Pratt, was a most agreeable surprise; and considering that it came after my treatment at the Chemawa School by Rakestraw, I may be pardoned in admitting there was some exultation feeling in my mind when I replied to the Captain's letter. In it I said:

I have never, up to this time, accepted an offer of promotion without having declined to accept it one or more times; but under the circumstances, I am tempted to change my previous custom if the supervisor's position is offered to me.

Nothing more was heard about the matter until August 18th, when Agent Nickerson received a letter from Commissioner Jones directing him to inform me that I had been appointed Supervisor of Indian Schools, and would be succeeded by Mr. G. W. Meyers, coming from Yakima Agency. Rakestraw was sent to a small school in the southwest.

My Commission as Supervisor of Indian Schools, dated August 14 and signed by the Secretary of the Interior, was received in due time. Alice was quite sick at this time, making it necessary for me to telegraph the Indian Office asking for a delay in our leaving and permission for me to take my family to Albion, which was granted by wire.

My successor, Mr. Meyers, arrived on October 2nd; and on the 4th, we started to our old home in Albion. As we were bidding goodbye to the employees and Indians present, I noticed Old Bishop wearing a pair of beaded leather leggings that I had several times tried to buy from him and he always refused to sell them. I said, "Bishop, I will give you my overcoat for your leggings." He looked at me and at his leggings a couple of times, then slowly removed them from his legs and handed them to me, and I took off my overcoat and gave it to him. I still have the leggings, and think the beadwork on them is the finest I ever saw.

We left Shoshone Agency in a two-seated covered hack, made at the Carlisle Indian School, with our Farmer, Mr. A. F. Duclos, driving en route to the railroad station at Rawlins. The first night out was spent at Hailey's Ranch; the second at Rongis, where we encountered a heavy snowstorm; the third night at Lost Soldier; and the next night at Rawlins where we arrived in the evening.

The next morning, Mr. Duclos started back to Shoshone and we took the train for Albion, where we arrived at 2:00 o'clock a.m., on October 11th. After being in Albion three days, I left the family at my father's home for a visit, and then went on to Standing Rock Agency in South Dakota, where I began work as Supervisor of Indian Schools on October 17, 1900.



Supervisor of Indian Schools

Chalcraft devoted more space to this period of his Indian Service career than any other. He was one of four supervisors of Indian schools charged with overseeing the work being carried out across America on reservations and in government Indian schools. The Indian Department implemented the inspection system in 1873 as a means of centralizing Indian affairs and diminishing local agency control. Chalcraft, the first inspector having prior experience with the Indian Service, held the position for four years. This chapter shows Chalcraft active in the field, moving from one reservation to another, completing inspections, making out reports, and implementing changes. The constant travel and sometimes contentious nature of the investigations wore on him, however, and in 1904, at his request, he was again named superintendent of Chemawa Indian School. This last appointment marked the second time — the other was his selection over Charles Rakestraw as supervisor of Indian schools — in which Chalcraft was able to extract what he considered revenge for perceived past wrongs.

I arrived at Standing Rock Agency, North Dakota, the evening of October 16, 1900, met Agent George H. Bingenheimer, and wired the Indian Office that I should begin work as Supervisor of Indian Schools the next morning.

One of the first objects meeting the eyes of a visitor is a monument about seven feet high, from which the Agency takes its name. The base is built of brick, upon it there is a large boulder, and on top of

this, a smaller one has been placed. These two stones are said to be the bodies of an Indian mother and her infant child, found at a spot in the mountains where they had perished after leaving their home, grief-stricken because the husband had deserted them.

The new work before me was quite different from that to which I was accustomed. In fact, it was directly the opposite. Indian Agents and Superintendents are executive officers in the field work, while Special Agents and Supervisors of Indian Schools are inspecting officials checking up the executive officers' work and reporting their observations as to the conditions found, together with recommendations that seemed advisable, directly to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Formerly all inspecting officers were political appointees. I have no hesitancy in saying that many of them were honorable men trying to conscientiously perform their duties, but a considerable number were not so, being governed by political and personal interests. None that I knew, while engaged in Agency and school work, had any experience, or knowledge of Indian matters, previous to their appointment, which was a serious handicap in the work to be done. I had seen a number of unjust cases that could be solely attributed to this lack of experience, caused by inspecting officials with the best of motives in mind, and I had also seen the rankest injustice done by others politically minded. My experience with Supervisor Rakestraw at the Chemawa School in 1895 is a fair example of the latter.

It happened that my appointment was the first given an inspecting position from those officials actively engaged in Indian work, and I felt that failure to make good would tend to discourage [the Indian Office from] selecting non-political persons for these positions. This, with the knowledge gained from experience, was of considerable concern and study as to the work before me.

The egotistic demeanor of many inspecting officials while visiting reservations caused their presence to be looked upon by the employees as somewhat as a calamity and all were glad to see them depart. This attitude did not appeal to me as being of the best interests of those visited, nor to the inspecting official himself, because it was a barrier to a frank statement of facts relating to matters under discussion.

I resolved to avoid this and take a different course, so that while strictly performing my duties even when severe corrective action was necessary, I would be doing so in a way to inspire confidence and credit for fairness, while creating at least enough respect to permit a return visit not to be feared, but welcomed. This was not a mistaken policy, as subsequent visits to reservations proved to my satisfaction.

The title "Supervisor of Indian Schools" seems to indicate the duties are confined to Indian schools only, yet in practice, it involves about everything relating to Indian Affairs, including Agencies, schools, selecting and surveying school sites, paying annuity money to tribes, determining amounts to be paid defaulting contractors on Government buildings, taking charge of Agencies and schools pending the appointment of new appointees where vacancies had occurred, all of which it became my duty to do.

The Indian Office instructions to Supervisors mention the following named items to be covered in their regular reports on each place visited:

1. Agency and school sites
2. Distance from R.R. station
3. Buildings, their description and number
4. Water system
5. Sewer system and sanitation
6. Heating and lighting
7. New buildings and improvements, if needed
8. Employees, number and efficiency of each
9. Condition of Indians on the reservation
10. School and pupils
11. Domestic affairs, food, clothing, etc.
12. Farm and stock
13. Other industries
14. Supplies furnished
15. Fire protection
16. In general, this includes anything observed that is not covered by these instructions that should be made known to the Indian Office.

These general reports were somewhat voluminous, ranging from about eight to thirty type-written pages, depending upon the size and importance of the Agency and school covered by the report. In case it was necessary to conduct an investigation and take the testimony of witnesses, a separate report was made, together with copies of the testimony and a recommendation to the Indian Office of the action to be taken.

At Standing Rock Agency there was nothing observed that required special attention in addition to that specified in the general instructions from the Indian Office. There were three boarding schools, four day schools, and the St. Elizabeth Mission School, the latter being conducted by the Episcopal Church. Separate reports were made on the boarding schools and the Mission School, and another covering the day schools.¹

The noted Indian, Sitting Bull, is buried in the Military Cemetery at Fort Yates, near the Agency. At the time of his death, a company of soldiers was stationed here, and Sitting Bull's camp, containing a large number of Indians, was a few miles away. The Indian Agent, Colonel James McLaughlin, having received orders to arrest Sitting Bull, and wishing to do so under civil authority without using military force, selected six men from his Indian police and detailed them to make the arrest, and, unbeknown to the police, he directed a squad of soldiers to follow the police to a place near Sitting Bull's camp where they could remain out of sight and not make their presence known, unless they saw the police were unable to make the arrest without their help.

The police had succeeded in getting Sitting Bull into a vehicle by the side of Lieutenant Bull Head, the Chief of Police, and started to leave the camp. At this moment, a shot from the Indian camp struck Lieutenant Bull Head causing his death, but he was able to draw his revolver and shoot Sitting Bull, saying at the same time, "I will take you with me."

Both died there, and five of the other policemen were killed in the battle that followed. Those killed were Lieutenant Bull Head, Sergeants Shave Head and Little Eagle, and Privates Afraid of Soldiers, Strong Arm, and Hawk Man. Their graves are marked by a large granite

stone, upon which are engraved their names and the date of their death, December 15, 1890.

When the policemen received orders to make the arrest, they bade their friends goodbye and said they did not expect to return alive; yet [they] gave no intimation of any desire to avoid the task. These statements were given me by persons present at the time, and were corroborated by Agent Bingenheimer. When standing by the graves of these men, it was with the deepest respect and honor for the fidelity and courage of these heroic policemen.

It was at the Bull Head Day School on this reservation that I met the wife of Robert Higheagle, a cousin of Kate Henderson, an Indian school teacher, mentioned in my notes about the Puyallup School.

Leaving Standing Rock Agency on November 2nd, I went to Fort Berthold Agency, North Dakota, where there was little to do, other than get data for my report. I wrote my Standing Rock report here, and then went to Devils Lake Agency, North Dakota, to investigate an order of Agent F. O. Getchell, demanding that the Episcopal Missionary, Reverend W. D. Rees, leave the reservation. It was a rather delicate matter to handle and required a lot of sworn testimony, which showed clearly the Agent was not justified in issuing the order. There was also bitter opposition from the Indians backed by Agent Getchell against Superintendent W. J. Canfield, in charge of the Fort Totten bonded school on the reservation.

Both sides were given an opportunity to present all the testimony they desired to do, then I selected a number of persons who had taken part in the controversy, and in whom both sides said they had confidence, and put them on the witness stand. Their testimony confirmed an opinion I had already formed, that there was nothing to criticize Canfield for in the management of his school. I announced my opinion to all the participants in the controversy, and both sides agreed that I was right, and said this would be the end of their differences. All the testimony with my recommendation was sent to the Indian Office.

The Devils Lake Indians invited me to visit them at their "Lodge House," a few miles from the Agency, the evening of December 1st. I accepted the invitation and in company with Agent Getchell, his Clerk,

and another employee, went to the Indian Lodge House. This was a log structure, about 40 by 50 feet in size, with "nature earth" for the floor. We were given seats on a rostrum at one side of the room, [which was] occupied by the Head Chief and a couple of other Indians. The building was pretty well filled by Indian men and women. After the Chief had shaken hands with us, the house was called to order and the business began. There was an address of welcome from the Chief and short speeches from the other two Indians, to which it was necessary to respond.

This was followed by a ceremonial Indian dance [performed] for my benefit, in which about twenty-five men formed a line, and the same number of women took their places in a line facing the men and at a distance about six feet away from them. The Indian drums began to sound and the participants to dance in the places where they were standing without approaching one another. This continued until the drums stopped. This was all, excepting I would add, that the women dancers wore their usual dress, and the men wore only a "breech-clout" and eagle feathers in their long braided hair. After spending a couple of hours with them, we returned to the Agency.

It was at Devils Lake that I met and had a long talk with Kate Henderson's mother, "The Woman with the Pretty Hand."

I left this Agency on December 6th, going to White Earth Agency in Minnesota, where I arrived the next day and found nothing more was needed than to make inspection and write an official report. While there, I visited Mrs. [F. C.] Wiswell at the Episcopal hospital, manager for Miss [Helen] Clark of New York City in developing lace making among the Indian women, who had been taught to do the work by lace makers brought from Europe by Miss Clark. I bought a lace handkerchief for \$4.00, and three yards of lace for \$2.40, which I knew my wife would like to have.

The next place visited was Leech Lake Agency in Minnesota, where I arrived on December 20th, and found an army officer, Captain [W. A.] Mercer, was the Agent. He had a large district under his charge, with boarding schools at the Agency, Cass Lake, Bena, and Pine Point, the latter three being at a considerable distance from his office at the Agency. I had received through the Indian Office a letter from Edward

Balentine, who was in charge of the Albion Public School when I was a pupil there, inviting me to visit him. Not having seen him since my school days, and being near, I decided to spend Christmas with him in Breckenridge.

As the time was short, I left on the 23rd for his home. On the way, I stopped off at Cass Lake, where I had a six mile ride to the school across the lake, and back to the railroad station, on shining new ice in a cutter drawn by two horses shod with sharp-edged shoes to keep them from slipping. It was my first ride of this kind and I found it thrilling. I arrived at Mr. Balentine's on Christmas Eve, and left late the next night for Morris School in Minnesota.

Arriving at the Morris School on the 26th, I found Supervisor Charles H. Dickson had been there in November and made a pretty thorough clean up of a bad condition that had existed for a long time. He had caused the dismissal of Peter Trotershow, Industrial Teacher; Mary J. Wheelock, Baker; and Cornelius H. Wheelock, Laborer. This was followed by the resignations, because of sympathy of those removed, of Delilah Trotershow, Assistant Seamstress; Electra Elm, Assistant Cook; Louise Smith, Assistant Laundress; and Cora Cornelius, Assistant Matron. Some of the vacant places had been filled by new appointees before my arrival. I had known Supervisor Dickson many years as a fair and just man of large experience. He had inspected my school on the Chehalis Reservation in 1884, while he was a Special Agent, and I had seen much of him since that time.

There was one employee, Alfred Worsdell, the Carpenter, who showed signs of being disgruntled. Superintendent [W. H.] Johnson said he was a good employee and thought he could manage him; but it seemed unwise to leave him at the school, and I recommended he be transferred to some other place where he would have new associates. On January 2nd, 1901, I left for Mackinac Agency at L'Anse, Michigan, under special instructions from the Indian Office to investigate Agent John O. Zellen's management of his office affairs.

I arrived at Mackinac Agency on January 3rd. The Agent was a young physician who had been in charge of the Agency but a short time and did not fully understand his duties. He had an excellent reputation in the community and impressed me favorably. The principal trouble

was his neglecting to submit official reports at the proper time, and not answering official communications promptly.

I had him arrange the office files properly, then helped him complete neglected reports and unanswered letters, bringing his work up to date, at the same time stressing to him the value of promptness. He seemed grateful for the assistance given him, and I left the Agency on January 6th, en route to Birch Cooley School near Norton, Minnesota.

One day was spent in visiting the Birch Cooley Day School, and then I went to Sac and Fox Agency at Toledo, Iowa, where I arrived on the 10th. The next day, Superintendent George W. Nellis and I went for a trip among the Indians on the reservation. The Sac and Fox are two tribes that united forming a confederacy before they came to Iowa.

Some years later, the Government ordered them to move to a place further west. This order was obeyed by the better and more progressive class, mostly of the Sac tribe, led by Chief Keokuk, son of the Chief for whom the city of Keokuk is named, while the remainder, mostly of the Fox tribe, refused to move and are now living on this reservation. No land was ever reserved for them, and they had none until they bought a tract of 80 acres from Colonel Philip Butler of Montour, Iowa, in 1857, paying for it out of their own money. The deed was made in favor of the "Governor of Iowa," to be held in trust for them.

To this tract, more land has been added from time to time, until there is now sufficient for their needs. While some progress had been made among the younger people in later years, the greater number of the tribe strenuously objected to any innovation that conflicted with their old traditions and manner of living. There was a fine school building with able instructors and fully equipped for instruction and care of pupils, but few could be induced to attend. Superintendent Nellis was energetic and diplomatic in dealing with the Indians, but [had been] unable to change their view of life very much. I found later, that other inspectors had made reports in harmony with the one I found it necessary to make.

On the 11th, I received an Indian Office telegram, instructing me to return to Mackinac Agency to investigate additional charges, filed against Agent Zellen after my former visit. I left Sac and Fox Agency on the 14th to comply with these instructions.

I arrived at Mackinac Agency on the 16th, and began a thorough investigation of the charges filed in the Indian Office. These consisted of three complaints: 1st, incompetence; 2nd, neglect of the sick Indians; 3rd, refusal to accept a Teacher the Indian Office had appointed to teach [in] the Indian day school at Baraga.

Concerning the first complaint, nothing was presented that in any way reflected upon the Agent's competency or integrity, and it was apparent that since my former visit he had not been neglectful about his office work. The complaint that he had neglected the sick had but little support, most of the evidence being in his favor. The charge that the Government teacher had not been received did not need any testimony to convince me of the facts after talking with Agent Zellen and Father Gerard Terhorst, the Priest in charge of the Assinines Catholic Mission at Baraga, where all the Indians are Catholics.

Agent Zellen told me that when the teacher arrived, he took her to Baraga and tried to find a place for her to board, but they found no one willing to accommodate her. He said they went a second time with the same result. Next, they went to see Father Terhorst and he told them that they would not have anyone but a Catholic sister to teach the school. The teacher then went to her home in Des Moines, Iowa. In an interview with Father Terhorst, he said the same thing to me, adding that the school had always been taught by a Catholic sister, paid by the Government up to the time the last one died, and they would have no other.

I explained [that] the Civil Service rules now made it necessary to accept [the] appointments sent by the Indian Office, but he held to his opinion. I reminded him that the building had been erected by the Government, and sat on Government owned land, and was consequently under Government control, to which he replied saying "That he had given the land and it was only the size of the building without any road to it; and, as he had all the surrounding land, it was necessary to have his consent to enter the school house." This was sufficient to cause me to tell him he need not expect the appointment of another teacher by the Indian Office, and such was the case. There was nothing in any of the charges that reflected upon Agent Zellen.

At L'Anse, across the bay from Baraga, there was a settlement of

Protestant Indians, who had a county public school with Indian directors, and was taught by Miss Cora Reynolds, of part Indian blood, who had been educated in the public schools and was a good teacher. The contrast between these two schools, so close together, told me an interesting story.

After finishing my work, the morning of January 31st, Agent Zellen invited me to go skating with him on Lake Michigan, a doubtful undertaking as I had not been on skates since leaving Albion in 1881. I accepted the invitation and after bumping the ice a few times, strode off across the ice to Baraga, six miles distant. After a short rest, we skated back to our starting place at L'Anse. I fully enjoyed the trip. A telegram received that day from the Indian Office directed me to return to Morris School when through at L'Anse. I left the same evening and arrived at the school on February 1st.

At the Morris School, I received a letter from the Indian Office containing charges made against Alfred Worsdell, Carpenter, by Edith G. P. LaDue and others. This resulted in my recommending Worsdell be dismissed and Miss LaDue suspended for six months. It came to my notice that Superintendent Johnson was not entirely blameless in the case, and it was apparent that he had been using very bad judgment in other matters.

I finished work here on the 16th, and left for Fort Berthold to investigate Agent [Thomas] Richard's action in dismissing his Clerk, which was found to have been strictly a political act. I recommended he be reinstated and appointed to a Clerkship at another Agency.

The next place visited after leaving Fort Berthold was the Indian school at Tomah, Wisconsin, where I arrived on March 1st, 1901. This school, under the management of Superintendent Linn M. Compton, was a delightful place to visit. Mr. Compton was a capable, wide-awake kind of a man, careful and thoughtful of his employees and pupils at all times, and everybody was happy and contented. The school grounds, farm, shops, employees' and pupils' quarters, in fact everything, was in the best of order. It was a pleasure to make a report on a place like this one.

My family had been at Albion since I had left them there on October 14th, as I was going to Standing Rock Agency. I wired Alice to come

up to the Tomah School, which she did with Pickering and Hallie, on March 3rd. They enjoyed being there, so I left them at Tomah on the 13th, and [I] went to look over the schools and Agencies in the northern part of the state. The places visited were: LaPoint Agency at Ashland, consisting of seven small reservations, and schools at Hayward, Lac Courte Crille, Red Cliff, Fond du Lac, Lac due Flambeau, Vermillion Lake, and Bad River. The reports on all these took considerable time, and I did not get back to Tomah until April 6th, where I finished writing reports and caught up with my correspondence.

On April 14th, I started for the Pipestone School in the southwest corner of Minnesota, leaving the family at Tomah. Just before leaving, Superintendent Compton said he had an Indian girl, named Lucy Jones, who would make a good Clerk if she only had a chance, and ended his description of her with, "and she is not foolish about the boys." A few minutes interview with her convinced me that she was all Mr. Compton had said, and I promised to see what I could do in her behalf. Her future career proved that neither of us was mistaken.

I arrived at Pipestone School on the 15th and found another school doing splendid work. The buildings were constructed of bright red quartzite, as were most of the buildings in the town of Pipestone, nearby, making them unusually attractive. There was nothing about the school to indicate other than good management, but I noticed Superintendent DeWitt S. Harris had no Clerk. His files showed he had asked the Indian Office for a Clerk and it had been refused. I had him make another request and give me a copy, which he did, resulting in a Clerkship being authorized and the Indian Office appointing Lucy Jones to the position.

She made good, and about four years later she was promoted to a Clerkship at the Chemawa School, where she finally became Chief Clerk. At Chemawa, she married Edwin A. Smith, who had been one of my pupils at Puyallup Indian School but [was] then an employee at Chemawa. Later, they both resigned and bought a fruit farm near the town of Puyallup, where they have prospered and are highly respected in the community. In addition to this, they have a community store and a public filling station. Their daughter, Dona Mae, is married and living in Washington City.

I visited the red pipestone quarry, a mile west of the school, where all the stone is obtained by Indians to make their red smoking pipes. It is said this particular stone has never been found at any other place. The quarry is on the level, open prairie and the layer of stone used in making pipes is only about six inches thick. It is very soft and easily cut into any shape with a knife, but becomes hard from exposure to the air.

I cut out a piece of the stone as large as the hand, using nothing but my pocket knife. The layer of pipestone is covered with about six feet of the hardest kind of quartzite, and this by a varying depth of earth, averaging about five feet. The Indians have procured stone here during many generations, and the area of the excavation at the time I was there did not cover more than two or three acres. Near the quarry there is a large boulder upon which has been cut the words: "The Nicollet expedition camped here in 1838." The names of members are also recorded.²

On April 25th, a telegram was received from the Indian Office, directing me to go to Leech Lake Agency to make an investigation at the Cass Lake School. I left Pipestone the next day.

I arrived at Leech Lake Agency on April 27th, and after calling on Captain Mercer, the Agent, went on north to Cass Lake School where I arrived the same evening. After writing my report on the Pipestone School, I took up the work at Cass Lake School. There had been an epidemic of measles at the school, and among the old Indians, that appeared to be at the bottom of the trouble. Many of the pupils had run away from school and told improbable stories of their treatment, and the parents refused to let them return to school. The Superintendent, E. C. Scovel, and his wife, a Teacher, were white and much in disfavor with the other employees, all of Indian blood.

After a council with the Indian parents in the town of Cass Lake on May 2nd, it seemed best for all concerned to transfer Scovel and his wife to another school. I recommended this be done. Frank J. Morgan, the Indian Industrial Teacher, took me in a buggy to the council meeting in Cass Lake, and when it was time to go back to the school, he was too drunk to hitch the team to the buggy, and I had to remain in the town all night. A telegram to the Indian Office asking

that Agent Mercer be instructed to discharge him had the desired result, as he was dismissed by wire the next day. I left Cass Lake on May 8th, en route to Morris School.

I arrived at Morris School in the evening of May 8th, this being my third visit. I found Alfred Worsdell had been discharged as recommended in my last report, and Edith LaDue, Assistant Matron, and her husband, Peter S. LaDue, Shoe and Harness Maker, had resigned. The turmoil, strife, and many changes in the corps of employees during the past year had nullified the school work to such an extent that little advancement had been made, and it appeared to me the Superintendent was largely responsible for much of the trouble.

I made this known to Commissioner Jones, and recommended official action. I left Morris School at 2:15 a.m., on the 12th, en route to the Mt. Pleasant School, Michigan, stopping at the Tomah School to get Alice and the two children, then went on to Chicago, where we arrived in the evening. The next day was spent in shopping, and on the 14th, Alice and the children returned to Albion, and I went on to the Mt. Pleasant School.

It was May 15th when I arrived at Mt. Pleasant. I soon saw that Superintendent E. C. Nardin was an officious sort of a man of small caliber. He insisted that every new dress made for the school girls must be put on the girl for whom it was made, and brought to him for inspection and approval; yet, he had failed to notice that a large new brick building being erected under his supervision was more than fifteen feet out of line with the other buildings it was to match; and that all the heating and ventilating outlets had been omitted from one of the principal rooms, and other defects, until I drew his attention to them.

This illustrates his general management. I drew the carpenter's attention to what I had noticed, and he said Nardin would accept the building when it was finished. I told him that Nardin would not have a chance to accept it, as I would see to that. My report caused Commissioner Jones to get a special construction engineer to examine the building when it was supposed to have been finished, and he required enough additional work to be done that it broke the contractor, and his bondsmen had to finish the job before it was accepted. There was

so much to do here that I did not get away until the 28th, when I went to look up some scattered Indians living in the vicinity of Sutton's Bay, on the east side of Lake Michigan.

I arrived at Sutton's Bay the evening of May 28th and stayed overnight at Traverse City. The next day, Indians at Pehabetown and vicinity were visited. They had Fee Simple titles to their land and paid taxes the same as white men. Their children were attending public schools, one of which had Indian directors. The Indians seemed reasonably prosperous and contented. At Bay Mills, the Indians were conducting a small school for their children in an old Church building, and I recommended that the Government put up a school building for them.

I went to Green Bay Agency at Keshena, Wisconsin, on June 3rd, where Agent D. H. George had charge of two reservations, the Menominee and the Stockbridge. He had everything well in hand, and a general report, only, was needed.

These Indians were all Catholics, and on June 6th I witnessed a long Corpus Christi Day parade. There was a G.A.R. Camp here composed entirely of Indians who had fought in the War of the Rebellion, and some of them drew pensions, although they were not legal citizens.

I went to the Oneida School and Reservation on June 13th, where I arrived in the evening. The Oneida Indians were the most enlightened and advanced of any I had previously seen. They had comfortable homes and well tilled farms. The majority of them were Church-going people, and those who were not, were not addicted to the use of strong drink. They were Episcopalians and had a beautiful brick Church, where I attended the services one Sunday. These Indians appreciated the value of educating their children and were liberal patrons of the non-reservation schools, such as the Carlisle School and the Chemawa School.

On the whole, these people represented a model Indian community. Joseph C. Hart was their Superintendent. He had at one time been in charge of the Puyallup School at Tacoma. On June 26th, I notified the Indian Office that I expected to leave Oneida on the 29th for Albion, to take a short vacation with my family, and that my post-office and

telegraph address from July 2nd to the 7th would be at that place. I left Oneida the same day.

When I arrived in Albion on the 30th, I found a telegram instructing me to go to Phlox, Wisconsin, where I would find full instructions about investigating what appeared to be a fraudulent deed. It was extremely hot in Albion at this time, causing Alice and the children to decide to go to Boston for a visit with her sister, Mrs. Dr. A. H. Flower. We left Albion on July 4th, going to Chicago, where we arrived in the evening. At 11:30 that night, I saw the family safely on the train for Boston, and later, I went on to Phlox, where I received the deed and instructions by mail a couple of days later.

The land was in Oklahoma and owned by an Indian named Mda-o-mock, living at Wausaukee; and the deed was in favor of B. J. Clardy, living in Oklahoma, who came to Phlox under the assumed name of E. W. Knapp, claiming to be a Government man. As Mda-a-mock lived in another town, Clardy got his father, Kha-w-sot, an ignorant old Indian man, to sign his son's name to the deed by mark, with two witnesses. It was acknowledged before A. D. Rice, who did not know the Indians well, and thought it was Mda-a-mock signing the deed. Becoming suspicious afterwards, he made inquiries and found the white man's name was B. J. Clardy, and that it was not Mda-a-mock that had signed the deed.

After getting this information, I went to Wausaukee to see Mda-a-mock, an educated Indian man about thirty-five years of age. He was surprised to learn about the deed and said he had never offered the land for sale to anyone. He said he never signed his name by mark, and I secured his well written signature for transmission to the Indian Office. The deed was canceled, but I never learned what action, if any, was taken against Clardy. As my work here was finished, I left on the 10th to attend a National Indian Teachers' Institute in Buffalo, N.Y., going [first] to Detroit, then by steamer down Lake Erie to Buffalo.

We arrived in Buffalo at 6:00 p.m., July 13th, 1901, and through the Christian Endeavor Bureau secured a room at 61 Whitney Street. This was at the time of the Buffalo Exposition and the city was full of visitors. On the 15th, I met, for the first time, Miss Estelle Reel, the

National Superintendent of Indian Schools, and her Clerk, Mrs. [Lillie B.] McCoy. I saw much of Miss Reel during the next few years.³

The Teachers' Institute adjourned on the 19th, and on the 21st, I went down to Washington City with Superintendent Thomas W. Potter of the Chemawa School, who had arrived in Buffalo two days before.

We arrived in Washington the evening of July 21st, and stopped at the National Hotel, on Pennsylvania Avenue. The next morning I went to the Indian Office and met Commissioner Jones, Josiah H. Dortch, Chief of the Educational Division, R. F. Thompson of the Land Division, William B. Shaw of the Accounts Division, and many others. In the afternoon, Commissioner Jones asked to see me after office hours as he would not be busy, to have a talk with him, which I did, and enjoyed the visit talking about official and personal matters.

He referred to some of the cases I had been instructed to investigate, that had troubled the Office for a long time, and said it seemed I had cleaned them up permanently, and asked me to tell him how it was done. This caused me to frankly tell him my method of getting at facts, which he complimented with some remarks that I had not suspected. This meeting was the beginning of a personal friendship and on subsequent visits in Washington I saw much of him.

The next day, Commissioner Jones said he was detailing Supervisors A. O. Wright and Charles H. Dickson, Special Agent Eugene McComas, and me to proceed to Sisseton Agency, South Dakota, to make payment of \$150,000 to the Indians at that Agency, indicating he would like to have it done as quickly as possible. Mr. Shaw, of the Accounts Division, gave me final instructions the next day, and on the 25th I left Washington City, en route to Sisseton Agency.

I arrived at Sisseton Agency on July 28th, and the others a couple of days later, Mr. McComas being accompanied by his wife. The payroll had been prepared and authorized, and was ready for payments to be made. We had been told by the Commissioner that at previous payments here, violation of Government rules concerning the presence of collectors had been permitted, and he wanted us to strictly enforce the regulations.

With this in view, we announced that no collectors or persons

other than Indians would be permitted within the Agency tract of about ten acres, enclosed with a wire fence, while the Agency flag was flying from 8:00 a.m., until after we had quit payments for the day. This was enforced by Indian policemen guarding the grounds. Payment of the \$150,000 was completed on August 14th, and I left for Morris School on the 15th in response to a telegram directing me to go there, dismiss Superintendent W. H. Johnson, and take charge, pending appointment of a new Superintendent.

It was noon on August 15th when I arrived and gave Superintendent Johnson notice of his removal, and began invoicing the school property, which was completed on the 24th, and I took charge. On October 1st, the newly appointed [official], John B. Brown, receipted me for the school, becoming the Superintendent.

Alice, Pickering, and Hallie arrived from Boston, August 22nd and after about a month's enjoyable visit, went on to our home in Seattle.

Having been called to the Indian Office for consultation about official matters, I left Morris School October 4th, 1901, and arrived in Washington City on the 6th, and went to the National Hotel. While here, Commissioner Jones asked me to visit Colonel Pratt and his school at Carlisle before going westward. I felt this was a compliment as he knew of our personal friendship and Carlisle was the most prominent institution connected with Indian work.

I considered it not necessary to make an official report on this school as the Indian Office was thoroughly familiar with every detail of its management and recognized Colonel Pratt as a leader in all that was best in Indian education. I simply wrote a personal note to Commissioner Jones thanking him for the opportunity to go there.

On October 12th, I went to Williamsport, Pennsylvania, as a guest of the Carlisle foot-ball team, to see a game with the Bucknell team, which Carlisle won with a score of 6 to 5. The Carlisle coach was the famous foot-ball man, [Glenn] "Pop" Warner. This was the first time in several years that Colonel Pratt had permitted the team to meet [the] Bucknell team, because of some discourtesy shown his Indians at a former game. The entertainment and enthusiasm this time was all that could be desired. I left Carlisle the evening of the 12th for Leech Lake Agency at Walker, Minnesota.

Arriving at Leech Lake on the 16th, a general inspection was made of Agent Mercer's four boarding schools, and everything was found to be in a satisfactory condition. At Walker, I bought an old-time Indian metal hatchet pipe, which I now have, but is not kept for personal use. After finishing a thirty-two page report on these schools, I left on November 7th for Fort Peck Agency at Poplar, Montana.

The trip to Fort Peck, where I arrived November 9th, was for the purpose of investigating charges of improper personal conduct on the part of Superintendent W. E. Meagley that had been filed in the Indian Office by Paul Haynes, the Industrial Teacher. I took sworn testimony from all the school and Agency employees, including Agent C. R. A. Scobey, covering thirty-four typewritten pages. This showed conclusively that Meagley was a man of unblemished character. I recommended the dismissal of Paul Haynes, which was promptly done.

Inspector James E. Jenkins of Estherville, Iowa, representing the Secretary of the Interior, joined me here, and on the 20th at 6:00 a.m., we left Fort Peck for Fort Belknap Agency at Harlem, Montana.

We arrived at Fort Belknap Agency at 1:00 p.m., on November 20th. Mr. Jenkins inspected the Agency while I was giving attention to the school, and each [of us] used in his report the information obtained by the other. On the 22nd, Inspector Jenkins went to Great Falls, en route to the Fort Shaw School in Montana. I followed the next day and joined him at the Park Hotel where we saw a fine display of paintings by [Charles M.] Russell, the cowboy artist. The next day was Sunday, and unexpected by us, Mayor [Timothy E.] Collins came to the hotel in a carriage and invited us to take a ride with him to see the Rainbow Falls in the Missouri River, the famous Clear Spring, and other places of interest. We went to Fort Shaw School the next day, November 25th.

We found the Fort Shaw School doing excellent work under the supervision of Superintendent F. C. Campbell, who had been there several years. We left Fort Shaw on the 30th, Mr. Jenkins going eastward, and I to Blackfoot Agency, Browning, Montana.

I arrived at Blackfoot Agency, December 1st, 1901. The Agency buildings were old and dilapidated. The boarding school was [housed] in a couple of these, and Agent James H. Monteath was desirous of having new school buildings erected on a site a few miles away. I reported fa-

vorably on this, and made a general report. Then [I] left on December 5th for Colville Agency, Washington.

I got to Colville Agency on December 6th, in company with Agent Albert M. Anderson, whom I had met on the train. The usual reports, only, were necessary at this Agency and I left for Tulalip Agency, Washington, going by way of my home in Seattle, where I stopped to write my reports on the Blackfeet and Colville Agencies.

I went to Tulalip Agency, located near Seattle, on the 15th. Superintendent Charles M. Buchanan was one of the ablest and most widely known men in the Indian Service and held in the highest esteem by both Indian and white people with whom he came in contact. Besides the Tulalip Indians, he had charge of those at Lummi, Swinomish, Fort Madison, and Muckleshoot.

The Tulalip School had originally been started in 1857 by Fathers [Eugene C.] Chirouse and [Paul] Durieu in an Indian lodge with eleven pupils. In the spring of 1858, they moved to Priest Point, where they taught seventeen pupils in another Indian lodge. The school remained at Priest Point for six years, during which time there was an attendance of twenty-eight pupils.

On December 2nd, 1860, Father Chirouse was appointed Teacher, by the Government, at a salary of \$800 per annum. In 1864, the school was removed from Priest Point to its present site on Tulalip Bay. From 1860 until the fall of 1878, the different teachers received a salary from the Government, which also provided food, raiment, etc., for the pupils. From then until June 30th, 1901, it was conducted as a Mission School under contract with the Government. It was now to be opened as a Government boarding school. The present site was not a satisfactory one, because of the adjoining tide lands, and a new site seemed necessary.

An excellent one was [found] at the Agency not far away. The question of a [suitable] site for the Government school to be opened was the only thing requiring notice, other than a general report concerning the Agency and the schools connected with it. I left Tulalip Agency December 24th and returned to my home in Seattle for Christmas and a few days vacation.

On January 2nd, 1902, at midnight, I left Seattle on the steamer

“Alice Gertrude” for Neah Bay Agency, Washington, one hundred forty miles distant.

I arrived at Neah Bay Agency on January 3rd. This reservation is in the extreme northwestern corner of the United States and it is said the rainfall is about the greatest of any place in the western country. Agent Samuel G. Morse had under his jurisdiction the Makah, Ozette, Quillayute, and Hoh Reservations, ranging [in size] in the order named, along the Pacific Coast from Cape Flattery to sixty miles south of the Cape. A general report, only, was necessary.

On the 6th, I left Neah Bay on the “Alice Gertrude” and stopped off at Dungeness to visit the Jamestown Day School; then continued on to Seattle where I arrived on the 8th, about sick from a cold caught at Neah Bay.

Using Seattle as my base, between January 8th to 25th, I wrote my report on Neah Bay Agency, prepared my itinerary for the next six months, replied to exceptions to my accounts, caught up with my correspondence, and inspected the Puyallup Agency and schools in charge of Superintendent Frank Terry. The latter required a general report.

On the 26th, I started to Siletz Agency, Oregon, and stopped off at Chemawa School to write my Puyallup report and consult Superintendent Potter about the Indian Teachers’ Institute to be held at Newport, Oregon, in September. On the 30th, I arrived at Toledo, the R.R. station nearest Siletz Agency, and found a telegram from the Indian Office instructing me to go to Fort Lapwai School on the Nez Perce Reservation in Idaho. This caused me to take the next train for Fort Lapwai, without going to Siletz.

Owing to a freight train wreck, I did not get to Nez Perce Agency until February 3rd, and as Agent C. T. Stranahan was absent, I went to the Fort Lapwai School where I found a deplorable state of affairs. It was in charge of Superintendent Frank D. Voorhies, a bonded officer, and the Agent had nothing to do with its management.

The Nez Perce Indians are mostly Christian people and active members of the four Presbyterian Churches on the reservation under the leadership of Miss Kate McBeth, a Missionary, who spent most of her life with them. Their conduct and personality is such that they

have the respect and confidence of the white citizens in the towns and country surrounding the Nez Perce Reservation.

On February 10th, I received a letter from the Indian Office saying that the object in sending me to the Agency was to investigate Agent Stranahan's dismissal of Robert D. Stainton, one of his Clerks, which was fully justified because of Stainton's personal delinquencies.

The Fort Lapwai School was in an uproar when I arrived, that needed immediate attention. Apparently this was caused by the actions of Superintendent Voorhies, one of the most erratic men I have ever known. The school children were frightened to the point of thinking he would do them bodily harm, which was [a view] shared by their parents, and the employees were bewildered by his actions. As my best efforts in advising Voorhies seemingly had no effect, I began taking sworn testimony from the employees on the 12th, for the purpose of reporting the conditions to the Indian Office.

The next day, Voorhies handed me his resignation, effective at the pleasure of the Indian Office, and in it he requested thirty days leave of absence. I immediately telegraphed this to Washington, recommending it be accepted, and the following day, I received a reply saying it was accepted to become effective on March 10, 1902.

While Voorhies' term would not expire until March 10, I took active charge of the school management, and let him devote his time to helping invoice the property, necessary in officially transferring it to me. During this time, Voorhies had a fight with some of the larger boys, and word reached the Indian parents that he had put poison in the bread used by the pupils and was threatening to burn the two dormitories where the children slept.

Feeling was at a high point. One evening Harry Shieldman, the trader, who understood the Nez Perce language, sent me word that he had heard a conversation in his store that caused him to believe the Indians were planning to injure Voorhies in some way that night. I told Voorhies what I had heard, and directed him to go some place where he could not be found, and to not let me, or anyone else, know where he was. He did this.

I was up most of that night looking about the school grounds, and at about one o'clock, I found two Indians going through the boys'

dormitory, looking at the sleeping children to see if they were all right. They were friendly, and after telling them I was now in charge of the school and would see that no harm was done to the children, they quietly went away satisfied, and there was no further trouble from any source.

On March 1st, I was advised the Fort Lapwai School would be placed in charge of Agent Stranahan as soon as his bond was approved, making him the responsible officer for both Agency and school. This was not completed on March 10th, when Voorhies' resignation became effective, which made it necessary for me to sign for the Government property. On March 22nd, Agent Stranahan receipted me for the property and became officially in charge of the school.

The population of the Nez Perce Reservation was about 1,600 consisting of approximately 1,200 Christian and 400 non-Christian Indians. The former raised some objection to Stranahan having charge of the education of their children, claiming that as their Agent, he had shown partiality towards the non-Christian Indians. In talking with him about the matter, he said "There was nothing in their objection and he was certain he could soon overcome that feeling on their part."

I mentioned this in my reports and said I had confidence in his statement. The Indian Office, as was customary, drew Stranahan's attention to my remarks, and asked him to make a report also. He did so, confirming what I had said, and that he was gaining the objectors' support; but, unfortunately for himself, he added, "If at any time my services are not satisfactory, I shall resign." I left Nez Perce Agency on April 5th, for Lemhi Agency, Idaho.

I was at Lemhi Agency from April 9th to 14th. The Agent was Mr. E. M. Yearian, a capable and careful executive, as was shown by the Agency and school conditions, and an excellent report could be made. From here, I went to Crow Agency in Montana.

I arrived at Crow Agency April 17th, and met Agent J. E. Edwards. After inspecting the Agency and schools, and having nothing more than a general report to make, I drove about forty miles eastward to Tongue River Agency, where I arrived on the 25th. The usual report, only, was needed. While here I bought a beautifully beaded Indian baby-basket.

In going from Crow Agency to Tongue River the road passes close by the Custer Battlefield where he and all his men were killed. It is at the north end of, and on the very top of a high ridge, over-looking the country north, east, and west. There is a large monument where Custer was killed, with a large number of headstones about it. The other headstones are scattered over a large area, some singly, but at most spots there are two stones. This was explained to me by the Custodian who said in times of great peril to soldiers, there was a tendency for personal friends to drift together for mutual protection and this accounted for the two stones at these places.

I had an interview with Curley, the Indian scout who is said to have advised Custer that there were too many Indians to give them battle, and was told that if he was afraid he could leave. This he did and was the only person that escaped with his life. The battlefield is now a National Cemetery. I returned to Crow Agency on the 27th, and on the 30th, left for Flathead Agency, Montana.

I arrived at Flathead Agency May 1st. Nothing was needed at this place, other than a general report, so I left on the 5th, going to Fort Hall Agency, Idaho.

Upon arriving at Fort Hall Agency, May 6th, a proposed new school site was examined in company with Agent [A. F.] Caldwell. We then visited the school, located in old buildings occupied by the army many years before, and not suitable for school purposes; then [we went] to the Agency headquarters at Rossfork, several miles from the school. Several other proposed school sites were examined. The site selected was [located] a mile south of the Agency. A map of the reservation was submitted with my report about the school site. A general report was also made.

While here, Agent Caldwell invited me to go fishing with him in the "Big Spring," a stream about thirty feet wide, coming out of the ground from beneath a large butte, and after flowing on the reservation a few miles, joins a river. Being on the reservation, none could fish in this stream, excepting such as were permitted by the Agent. It was full of trout, and we caught many. It was the same experience on later visits.

I left Fort Hall Agency on May 21st for Yakima Agency, Washington, going by way of Umatilla Agency, Oregon, to get mail expected there.

At this place I met Agent [Charles] Wilkins, Agent Stranahan, and Inspector Jenkins.

I arrived at Yakima Agency May 25th in company with Agent Jay Lynch from the town of Yakima. I found former Supervisor Rakestraw was here, teaching in the Agency school, the man who caused my removal at the Chemawa School, and was displaced by Commissioner Jones to give me his place as Supervisor of Indian Schools on August 14, 1900. I saw but little of him as Agent Lynch had him at work tearing down an old mill located several miles from the Agency that had been condemned. How different this was from the time at Chemawa when he was in a long tailed coat and wore a stove-pipe hat, walking about the grounds with a lordly air! and, if any employee asked about any school matter, he would tell them to come to the office for information as "he did not carry the office in his pocket."

Agent Lynch said he was troublesome at times, but he had been able to manage him so far. I thought so too, from the work he was doing on the old mill. I also found Kate Henderson here, teaching in the school, and told her about meeting her cousin, the wife of Robert Higheagle, at Standing Rock [Agency] and the talk [I had had] with her mother at Devils Lake Agency. I left Yakima Agency on June 1st for our home in Seattle, where I arrived the next day.

I made our home in Seattle my headquarters while finishing uncompleted reports, visiting Fort Madison Indian School on Bainbridge Island, and selecting a new school site at Tulalip Agency, which I had been instructed to do. In company with [Superintendent] Buchanan, a site at the Agency grounds was selected, which I surveyed and submitted a map with my report, showing [the] location of the proposed buildings, water supply, sewerage, and location of the water-power [needed] to furnish electric lights for the buildings.

On Sunday, June 8th, 1902, I was in Seattle, and Alice and I presented our letters of transfer from the Central Christian Church in Tacoma, to the First Christian Church in Seattle, becoming members on that date. We had been charter members of the Tacoma Church.

On June 6th, telegraphic instruction was received to make further investigation of Agent Stranahan's work at Nez Perce Agency, and I left for there on the 14th. When I arrived on the 15th, an interview was

had with the Agent and some of the Indians, but [it] went no further because on the 17th, Commissioner Jones sent me the following telegram, saying, "Have concluded to accept resignation Superintendent Stranahan, you may forward such papers and data as you may have. Make no mention of this."

The nearest he had come to resigning was the remark [made] in the letter, previously mentioned, saying, "If at any time my services are not satisfactory, I shall resign." Political enemies in Lewiston had brought pressure to bear in removing him, and this statement was taken as a resignation. I left on the 24th, en route to Shoshone, Wyoming, to investigate the death of two children who died at the Wind River School while E. C. Nardin was in charge before I went there.

In going to Shoshone Agency, I had to take the long stage trip of 160 miles from Rawlins again, that I had taken in May, 1900, when I went there to take charge of the Wind River School, but this time it was less comfortable, because of having to sit up on the high seat, night and day, with the driver, and the same when I came out.

I arrived at Shoshone Agency on June 29th and was assigned a room at the Wind River School, which I had left in October, 1900, to begin work as Supervisor of Indian Schools. I notified James Calhoun, father of the two boys, that I had arrived to investigate their deaths, and asked him to come to see me. He came and I took his sworn testimony, which showed he was a white man, sixty years of age, and legally married to a Shoshone Indian woman and was the father of James Calhoun, age 16, and Humphrey Calhoun, age 13 years, who had run away from the Wind River School on Saturday, April 7, 1900.

The evening on which they left had been pleasant but very cold, and at about ten o'clock a heavy snow storm had come on lasting until Tuesday, covering the ground with deep snow. The boys had been satisfied at school until their mother became sick. They wanted to go home then but Superintendent Nardin refused to let them go. The older sister was in school at the time and said the boys showed no signs of discontentment until after their brother-in-law, William C. Jackson (Teton Jackson), came to the school on April 2nd, selling furs, and she thought he had told them to run away, which they did on April 7th.

It seems the zero weather and deep snow made it impossible for them to get to their home, thirty miles away, on foot. The father blamed Nardin in not sending someone to look for them, which he could easily have done, as two school policemen were stationed at the school all the time. The father did not hear of their leaving the school until April 18th, when the policemen came to his house inquiring for them. A search was then made, and the boys' bodies were found, about three miles from home, buried under the deep snow. His testimony was a pitiful story.

After taking the testimony of school employees and school police, I went with Dr. [F. H.] Welty, Agency Physician, and Mr. [F. G.] Burnett, Agency Farmer, to the home of James Calhoun, July 7th to disinter the bodies of both the boys for examination. This was at the request of the father and Agent Nickerson. Dr. Welty carefully examined the bodies in our presence and nothing was found to indicate the boys had met with foul play on the way home. While there, the testimony of the boys' mother, two sisters, and the brother-in-law was taken. The latter was the noted train robber of a few years before, whose hiding place became known as "Jackson's Hole."⁴

Dr. Welty's and Agent Nickerson's testimony were the last taken. In my report to the Commissioner, I said there was no doubt in my mind that the boys died from exposure after running away from school, that owing to weather conditions, Superintendent Nardin was neglectful in not taking steps to search for them, and that no further evidence was obtainable. I recommended that the Agent and Mr. Calhoun be so advised.

After finishing the Calhoun case, I gave attention to Agency and school matters for the purpose of making a general report. On July 16th, I left Shoshone Agency by stage and arrived at Rawlins the next day, en route to Umatilla Agency.

When I arrived at Umatilla Agency, July 19th, I found Mr. Dortch, Chief of the Educational Division in the Indian Office, was there. He told me an increase of \$500 in my salary was to be made soon, which did occur on September 13th, my lucky day of the month, as I was born on the 13th of November and married on the 13th of October.

While here, I saw my first combined harvester at work. It was drawn

by a team of thirty-three horses, and it cut, threshed, and sacked the wheat as it passed over the field. Four men were on the machine. I had another first experience at this place. Agent [Charles] Wilkins asked me to serve as the auctioneer in selling a herd of cattle, which I did, getting \$462 for them. A general report, only, was needed here. I left for our home in Seattle, on July 25th.

When I arrived in Seattle on July 26th, [I] found my brother-in-law, Dr. Alfred H. Flower, his wife Martha, and their daughter Beatrice, from Boston had come for a visit. My requests for thirty days annual leave contained a clause that permitted me to take part of it, or all, at such places and at such times as I felt would not interfere with my work. This caused me to come to Seattle at this time.

I was at home from the evening of the 26th to the afternoon of August 17th, and [I] charged myself with sixteen days annual leave. During this time, I wrote my reports on the Shoshone Agency and school, Umatilla Agency and school, and made report to Miss Reel, covering the schools visited for the fiscal year, ending June 30, 1902.

In the afternoon of August 17th, I left Seattle to attend an Indian Teachers' Institute at Newport, Oregon. At Chemawa School, I was joined by Miss Reel, Dr. Buchanan from Tulalip Agency, and [Superintendent] Potter, from Chemawa School, all going to the Teachers' Institute, where we arrived on the 18th. After the meeting closed on August 23rd, Superintendent D. D. McArthur took our party to Siletz Agency, and on September 1st, we all went back to the Chemawa School.

On September 3rd our party visited Grand Ronde Agency returning the next day. We were driving a spirited team and on the way back, one of the horses cast off one of its shoes and we stopped at a blacksmith shop to have it replaced, which was being done [in] a careless manner. Miss Reel spoke to the blacksmith about it and he said to her, "Maybe you think you could do it better." She said, "I am sure I can," and picking up the horse's foot she drove two or three nails in the shoe, then put the foot down. The blacksmith had no more to say but finished the job as Miss Reel said it should be done.

After we were on the road again, I asked Miss Reel to tell me where she had learned about shoeing horses and she said it was on her father's

ranch in Wyoming when she was a girl. Miss Reel was a remarkable woman in many ways. After writing a report on Siletz Agency, I left on September 7th for Warm Springs Agency, Oregon.

At The Dalles, I hired a team and driver to take me to the Agency, which took from the 8th to the 12th, to make the round trip over the hottest and dustiest road I have ever traveled. One day was spent at Warm Springs Agency. I returned to Chemawa School on the 14th to write my reports on the Grand Ronde and Warm Springs Agencies, and make an inspection of the Chemawa Industrial School. On the 28th, I went to our home in Seattle.

I arrived in Seattle, September 28th, wrote a report on the Chemawa School, and on October 5th, left for Yakima Agency.

I arrived at Yakima Agency on the 6th and, finding a general report, only, was needed, left on the 11th for Flathead Agency in Montana.

Upon arriving at Flathead Agency, October 12th, I found Special Agent [Charles S.] McNichols enrolling the Indians. Again there was nothing but a general report to be made. I left on the 14th for the Fort Shaw School at Sun River, Montana.

I arrived at Fort Shaw School, October 15th. Superintendent F. C. Campbell had everything well in hand, and nothing more was needed than a general report. I left for Fort Peck Agency, Montana, on the 3rd of November, where I arrived the same day.

Fort Peck Agency required no more than a general report, and [I] left on the 9th for Blackfeet Agency, Montana, getting there in the evening.

My mission at Blackfeet Agency was to examine a suggested site for a new school plant to be erected on Cut Bank Creek and used in place of the old buildings at the Agency. A blue-print of the location was submitted with my report. A fine brick school plant was erected here later.

I left this Agency on November 12th, for Tulalip Agency, in response to a letter from the Indian Office instructing me to prepare data relating to the new school [site] I had selected there in June, 1902.

I arrived at Tulalip Agency on November 18th, after spending three days in Seattle, which was my headquarters while performing the work at Tulalip. My instructions said my experience in engineering work

had caused the Office to send me to Tulalip to lay out the grounds and make plans for the proposed new school, covering sewage disposal and water supply for domestic and other purposes. [I was further instructed to] report [on] the kind of material to be used in the buildings, stone, brick, or wood, giving my reason for any preference, and formulate plans for construction of the buildings.

Also [I was to] give [a] full description of the water supply, as to purity and quantity available, [the] size of turbine to be used in furnishing power to run the electric plant and other purposes, and any other information I deemed necessary for the information of the Office. I was advised to consult Superintendent Buchanan and advise him in submitting a formal request to the Office, asking construction of the school plant.

All this made a lot of work. I submitted blue-prints of the work done with my report. This resulted in a beautiful plant, with all modern conveniences, being built on the shore of Puget Sound in plain view of passing steamers, and under the management of Dr. Buchanan, who died several years later. It was a model for what a school should be.

On November 22nd, Alice's father and mother, with Mamie and her children, came from Puyallup Indian School to remain in Seattle. On December 12th I left Seattle for the Chemawa School.

I arrived at Chemawa School, December 13th, in response to a letter dated December 3, 1902, from Commissioner Jones, saying Superintendent Potter was neglecting to submit official reports, notwithstanding the Office had wired him on November 14th, and again on November 22nd, to do so immediately. He said the Sub-Treasury was having the same trouble with Potter.

When I arrived, he was away getting pupils for his school until the 22nd. In the meantime, I examined his office records thoroughly and found little system in his handling of the official business, especially his official reports to the Office, most of which were prepared for his signature by his Assistant Superintendent, W. P. Campbell. From the Commissioner's letter and my examination of the office records, I made written charges against Superintendent Potter and gave him a copy. These were:

Charge I

Neglect of Duty

Specification 1. Failure to report school attendance for the First Quarter, 1903.

Specification 2. Neglect and failure to make report of school attendance for October and November, 1902.

Specification 3. Neglect and failure to make reply to exceptions to accounts for Fourth Quarter, 1902.

Charge II

Insubordination

Specification 1. In not replying to Office letters of October 28th, November 15th, and 26th, relating to Quarterly school reports.

Specification 2. In not complying with instructions October 26th, November 14th, 15th, and 22nd to submit quarterly report for the First Quarter 1903, immediately.

Potter and Campbell both made sworn statements that partly explained their delinquencies, and Campbell assumed responsibility for the others. This, I think, saved Potter from being removed, but it was a close call, and in future years he exercised more care in his duties.

On December 24th, I went to Seattle to spend Christmas and take a few days vacation.

I arrived home at 9:50 [on] Christmas Eve and found the family expecting me. While in Seattle, I completed unfinished reports, made up my Quarterly Cash Account, charged myself with five days vacation, and left on January 4th at midnight on the "Alice Gertrude" for Neah Bay Agency.

I arrived January 5th, 1903, which required only a general report, and left on the 9th for Seattle, where I arrived the next day. On the 12th, in company with Alice, my wife, we started to visit the Lummi Indian Day School near the Canadian border. At Whatcom, we were joined by Mr. A. R. Campbell, city engineer, who had been one of my former employees at Seattle in 1883, who went with us to the Lummi School.

After having lunch at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Campbell in What-

com on the 14th, Alice and I went to Mt. Vernon where we had once lived for a short time, and I had served as City Councilman. On the 15th we drove to the Swinomish Day School and back to Mt. Vernon. That evening I attended [the] Knights of Pythias Lodge, of which I was a member, and a reception was given Alice by the Rathbone Sisters at the home of Mrs. [Caroline] Clausins. On the 16th, we came to Seattle. The next two days were spent in preparing an Education Bill concerning Indian youth, to be presented to the Washington State Legislature at the next session, which was introduced and became a law. On January 19th, I left for Umatilla Agency.

Upon arriving on January 21st, some bad feeling was found to exist between two of the employees, which could be covered in my general report. I left Umatilla Agency on the 25th going to Seattle in response to a telegram from Superintendent Buchanan saying R. M. Pringle, Supervisor of Construction in the Indian Office, was there and wanted to see both of us about the new buildings at Tulalip.

I arrived in Seattle, January 26th, and after a consultation with Supervisor Pringle, left for Puyallup Agency on the 29th, to inspect the school there and those in charge of the Superintendent at the Chehalis, Quinaielt, and S'kokomish Reservations, and the independent day school at Port Gamble. These were all visited between January 29th and February 17th, when I returned to Seattle.

While at Neah Bay Agency, early in January, I placed an order with one of the Indian silversmiths for a half dozen silver teaspoons. These were received in Seattle. The handles end in a bird, making them rather unique spoons. The cost was \$3.00. I left Seattle, February 18th, for Grand Ronde Agency.

I arrived on February 20th, secured data for a general report, and left on the 23rd for Siletz Agency. While these two Agencies are near together, it is necessary to travel a considerable distance to get from one to the other.

I arrived on February 26th, and left on the 28th for Colville Agency at Fort Spokane, stopping over in Seattle to write my reports on the Puyallup and Grand Ronde Reservations. I left Seattle [at] 7:00 o'clock a.m., March 4th, and at Davenport, Washington, met N. H. Martin, an attorney, M. F. Gilson, A. E. Hughes, and a Mr. Brown. These [men]

had a lot of charges to make against Agent Anderson, and I promised them a chance to substantiate their claims.

I arrived at Fort Spokane on March 10, 1903, and began investigating charges against Agent Anderson, made by Gilson, as I had been instructed to do in the Office letter, dated February 18. Gilson and his associates, Martin, Hughes, and Brown, had charged the Agent with "disbarring children from the agency school who had rights therein; permitting other children to attend who had no right to its privileges; and removing Indians from the reservation without proper cause for action."

Every opportunity was given the complainants to prove their charges, but the defense testimony completely refuted every charge. The complainants were members of a syndicate organized to secure mineral claims of the reservation in violation of law, and Agent Anderson had prevented them [from doing so]. There was nothing else in the case. Besides making report of the investigation, I made a general Agency and school report.

While at Colville Agency, I met Special Agent [Thomas] Downs representing the Indian Office, a fine looking, elderly gentleman, but [a man] entirely ignorant of the duties he had to perform. This was his first assignment. I helped him out as far as I could, by helping him in making his report to the Indian Office. He was grateful for the assistance and said it started him out right. I left Colville Agency, March 16th, going to Fort Lapwai School on the Nez Perce Reservation in Idaho.

I arrived on March 18. There was no more to do here than to make a general report. I left on the 24th for Lemhi Agency to investigate complaints [made] of improper treatment of school children by Mrs. Lizzie Moore, Cook and Laundress, that had been referred to me for attention.

When I arrived March 27th, I found the charges against Mrs. Moore had originated with John F. Mackey, Teacher; Evalyn Mackey, Matron; and Ella M. Marston, Assistant Seamstress. These three employees had left the school and were now at Uintah and Ouray Agency, Utah. The school was going on in an orderly manner. Agent Yearian insisted that Mrs. Moore was a competent and excellent employee, that she had

never had any trouble with the pupils, excepting some that had been caused by the three complainants, and [even] then she had never been cruel to anyone.

I went among the pupils and found only six that had any complaints against Mrs. Moore. I then took affidavits for the defense, which, besides Mrs. Moore's, included all the employees that had any knowledge of the case, being eleven in number. When at Uintah and Ouray Agency on April 30th, I secured affidavits from the complainants. I made my report from Jocko, Montana, on May 12th, submitting the testimony with it, and recommended the charge against Mrs. Moore be dismissed, and the three complainants be censured, and the case be closed. This was done. On April 2nd, I left Lemhi Agency for Crow Agency.

I arrived on April 5th. There was nothing to be done here, other than get necessary information to make a general report. I went to Tongue River Reservation on the 16th and returned to Crow Agency on the 18th. As we were returning from Tongue River Reservation, it was too dark to see well and the driver missed the road by a few feet, causing the carriage, horses, and both of us to fall into a deep gulch, with [its] sides too steep to permit getting the carriage and horses out until nearly morning. Neither of us was hurt much, but we became pretty stiff the next day. I left Crow Agency on the 19th, en route to Fort Shaw School at Sun River, Montana.

Upon arriving at Fort Shaw School, April 22, 1903, I found a telegram from the Office instructing me to await a letter. This letter was dated April 17th and said the Indian Agent at Uintah and Ouray Agency had made some charges against Chalfant L. Swain, a Teacher in the Uintah School, and I was to proceed there. I left Fort Shaw on the 24th.

As it was Saturday evening when passing through Salt Lake City, I stopped off to see the city. Sunday morning was spent seeing places of interest in a touring car. At two o'clock services in the Mormon Temple was attended. As I was nearing the Temple, I was approached by a gentleman who asked if I was a stranger in the city and I replied in the affirmative. He then identified himself as a merchant in the city and offered to show me about the Temple, which I accepted.

He told me about the different buildings and explained the purposes for which they were used. He said the Temple with its wonderful roof, and perfect acoustic qualities, which he demonstrated to me by dropping a pin on the floor at a long distance from me, had all been planned and constructed without the use of a nail, nor any other piece of iron, by Brigham Young, who possessed no knowledge of architecture or construction work.

He said a man inexperienced in organ building built the celebrated organ out of native material, and the organist had never received any musical instruction. I asked the name of the speaker who was to address the congregation that day, and was informed that no one would know that, not even the speaker, until it was announced from the rostrum by the Presiding Bishop after the service began. I am sure about the "pin echo," and that the speaker was called from the congregation, but I have my own opinion about some of the other information given to me that day.

I arrived at Price, Utah, the railroad station nearest my destination on the 27th, and the next morning took the stage for the Agency, one hundred miles to the northwest, where the stage arrived on the 29th.

When I arrived I went to the Ouray School where I met the Agent, Captain Mercer, who I had known when he was the Agent at Leech Lake Agency and had been here but a short time. The former Agent, H. P. Myton, on March 25th, last, had informed the Indian Office that Chalfant L. Swain and Miss Mary L. Kraft, both Teachers at Uintah School, had been guilty of introducing a gallon of whiskey on the reservation. Ex-Agent Myton had left the Agency and I was unable to get his address, making it impossible to take his deposition, and no one was found willing to give any testimony in support of the charge he had made.

For the defense I took the testimony of the two defendants, Swain and Kraft; William B. Ewing, Superintendent of the school; Mary B. Rodgers, Matron; Miss Katherine Murray and Miss Lucy N. Carter, Missionaries; and Dr. H. B. Lloyd, Agency Physician. These and every other person at the school were united in saying the two defendants were of excellent character and in no way addicted to the use of liquor. From the evidence of these persons, who I believed were of

unimpeachable character, it appeared that in December, 1902, Swain became sick with typhoid-pneumonia fever and Dr. Lloyd prescribed him whiskey to be taken in one-half ounce doses.

He had none among his medicines, which made it necessary to order some from Salt Lake City, which could not be had in less than gallon lots. As Swain did not want that much, Miss Kraft and Miss Rodgers each agreed to take a quart and keep it for use if Dr. Lloyd should need it for use at some future time. The gallon of whiskey was never received by them. It was traced from Salt Lake City to the railroad station at Price, where it was put on the stage for the Agency. That was the last known of it.

Agent Myton was addicted to more than a moderate use of intoxicants, and the general belief at the Agency was that when the gallon of whiskey arrived, he kept it for his own use. It was currently reported that [on] the day he left the Agency at the close of his term of office, he was very drunk and a man he had deeply wronged followed [him] a considerable distance, threatening to shoot him.

There was but one thing for me to do, and that was to send the testimony to the Indian Office and report [that] the charge was frivolous and not worthy of further consideration.

While here, I was told about a young Indian man who had killed one of his friends eighteen or twenty years before, and to punish himself for the act, went out on the prairie about six miles from the Agency where no one would be near, and laid down on the ground where he had lain ever since and had spoken to none of his friends nor any one else, as far as known. His relatives kept him supplied with food by carrying it out to him and placing it near by, but could never get him to speak nor to notice them.

Captain Mercer said every effort had been made to do something for him, but as far as he could learn he had not responded in any way to the efforts. The Captain took me to see the Indian. Nearing the place, we saw a piece of old canvas about six feet square, stretched from four corner sticks about three feet high, and the Indian was lying on the ground a few feet from the canvas.

At sight of us he scrambled under the little tent, where he was lying in a depression about eight inches deep, made by his body lying there

so long. He had on a few rags but most of his body was uncovered. His skin was coarse, rough, and appeared to be very thick. We tried to talk to him but he would not make any sign that he knew we were there. After spending about a half-hour, we went back to the Agency.

Captain Mercer said the man had been just as we saw him without protection from the heat in summer and cold and storms in winter, other than the little piece of canvas and the few rags we saw. It seems impossible that a man could live under these conditions so long. The facts in this case were well known to all the people in the vicinity. I left Uintah and Ouray Agency on May 4th, en route to Flathead Agency, to select a new school site.

I arrived at Flathead Agency on May 8th, where my unfinished reports were completed. The time from the 17th was spent in visiting places that might be suitable for a school site. After examining all those that seemed available, the one at Post Creek was selected. This had all the natural advantages possible to combine on the reservation: a central location as to school population, plenty of timber adjoining for fuel and fencing, an abundance of farming land favorably situated for protection from early and late frosts, good drainage, and an abundance of purest soft water for domestic and irrigation purposes that can be supplied by a gravity system, as well as good water-power that can be easily developed for electric lighting and other purposes.

This was ten miles from the St. Ignatius Mission, a large Catholic contract school, receiving support from the Government. The new Government school was never built. I submitted a blue-print showing the site selected, with my report, and made a general report on the Agency.

The home of Michael Pablo, an uneducated full-blood Indian but a good business man, was not far from this school site. He had more than two thousand head of cattle and four hundred and fifty head of buffalo. While I was in charge of the Chemawa School, a few years later, he sent me a beautiful head and neck from one of his four year old buffalo for a Christmas present. I had it mounted and still have it, an unusually fine specimen.

I left Flathead Agency May 18th, going to Yakima Agency. At North Yakima, the railroad station nearest the Agency, I found a telegram

instructing me to go to Neah Bay Agency to relieve Agent Morse, who had resigned. I went to Yakima Agency and spent a day with Supervisor [John] Charles, who was there; then [I] went on to Seattle where I arrived on the 21st.

At midnight on the 25th, I left for Neah Bay on the steamer "Rosalie," and arrived at the Agency the next day. There was no dock and the water was shallow near the shore line, making it necessary for the boat to anchor about a quarter of a mile out in the water and put the passengers ashore in Indian canoes.

Agent Morse's resignation had been accepted, effective June 1st. Invoicing the Government property was [already] finished, and I took charge of the Agency on the 1st. The day after my arrival, Captain Tosier of the revenue cutter "Grant," stationed at Neah Bay, called on me to pay his respects, and I saw much of him afterwards. On the 5th, Alice and our two children came on the boat and remained until the 8th, when they returned to Seattle.

Salmon fishing was good in the bay and, with an Indian to handle the sail boat, it was fine sport. We caught plenty of fish. These Indians were experts in building and handling boats, and it was no uncommon thing for them to go out on the Pacific Ocean in their large canoes, sometimes out of sight of land, fishing, and in past times capturing whales. I was in Seattle on July 2nd, and Alice, Pickering, and Hallie came back with me to Neah Bay again. I brought my surveying instruments with us, as I needed them in carrying out a plan to improve the Indian village that I had in mind.

The Indians were living in shacks on the beach at the edge of the tide-water, a squalid looking place. My plan was to lay out a new village site with lots, blocks, and streets, on level land just a few steps from where they were living, where each family could have their [own] piece of ground. Some of the occupied buildings could easily be moved to new locations, but others were not worth moving. The Indians could carry out the plan as they had considerable money earned in commercial fishing.

I had finished the surveying of the site, and laid out a gravity water system for them when the newly appointed Superintendent, Mr. Claude C. Covey, arrived. He said the plan was fine and promised he

would carry it to completion, and under his supervision the project went far enough along for his work to be recognized by the Indian Office and he [was] promoted to a more responsible position, elsewhere, which in many instances is detrimental to the Indians by [their] losing the guidance of such a man. It appears a better plan would be to increase his salary.

In a report to the Indian Office, dated January 22, 1903, I drew attention to a residence that had been built by the Government and which stood near the trader's store, while the Government was paying five dollars a month for the Teacher's residence. The trader claimed to have bought it from a previous trader. I looked into the matter carefully and, from the records on file in the Agency office, found it was an Agency building and [had been] used by the employees until it was turned over to the U.S. Signal Service on February 8, 1886, "to be used so long as it was not needed for agency purposes."

In 1898, the Signal Service moved to another building that had been granted under similar terms, leaving the first building vacant. The Agent [had] failed to report the matter to the Indian Office, but let the trader, who at that time was his father-in-law, move into the building. I reported my findings on June 18, and on July 15, I was directed to take possession of the building.

Mr. Covey arrived on the 15th and on the 20th, I turned the Agency over to him. Having finished the Agency accounts, I started out on the 27th with Schuyler Colfax, an Indian policeman, to visit the Quileute Day School, located about thirty miles down the Coast. We were on horseback and to take advantage of the tide, had to leave Neah Bay before it was daylight. This proved a venturesome trip, partly on a trail through the woods, but mostly on the Ocean beach covered with large boulders in many places. At one place, there was a drop of about four feet in the rocks that the horses would not cross until we dismounted and pushed them down.

The tide caught us at a projecting point about six miles from our destination and we had to stay at the home of a man named Substade. The supper was all right, but from the general conditions and an odor about the house, I was fearful the beds might not be very inviting. This, and having noticed some new-mown hay in the barn when putting

our horses away, caused me to say to our hosts, "When I was a boy on the farm, there was no place where I enjoyed sleeping so much, as in newly cut hay with its fragrant smell; and if it is all right with you, I would like to do so again tonight." The Indian policeman said he would like to do so, too. There were no objections, so we both had a good night's sleep.

The morning tide prevented [us from] passing the rocky projection, so we walked the remaining six miles to Quileute School. The Teacher, Mr. [A. W.] Smith, had enough food for my lunch and supper, but had to go to his farm where his family was living. There was a bed in the school residence and I slept in it that night. The Indian was with some of his friends.

I was awakened about five o'clock the next morning by an Indian who said breakfast was ready. He waited for me to dress, then took me to his home. The meal was plenty in quantity and very well served. I enjoyed the boiled eggs especially, because of the protecting shell.

After breakfast, our host took us back to our horses in a sail boat. As we were passing a small island, he pointed it out as a wonderful place for Sea Gull eggs, and said he had been there two days before and had found a good supply! I then knew where my eggs had come from. Shortly after this my breakfast went to "feed the fishes." The sea was somewhat rough at the time and I explained [to him] that I was not accustomed to being on the water. When we got back to Neah Bay, my shoes were completely destroyed and the legs of my trousers were in shreds.

Alice's sister, Eleanor S. Mayfield, left for her home in Seattle on July 22nd, after a two weeks visit with us at Neah Bay. On August 3rd, I left Neah Bay Agency, accompanied by Alice and the two children, for Seattle, where it was my intention to take a few days vacation [as] authorized by the Office [in a letter] under date of June 17, 1903, which also directed that I go to Boston to assist Miss Reel in conducting a National Indian Institute in that city July 8-10, and then report to Washington for consultation. It was necessary to omit going to Boston and Washington, because of my being detained at Neah Bay. On August 8th, I was advised it was the intention [of the Indian Office] to call me to Washington later.

We arrived in Seattle on August 4 where I spent much of the time working on official papers, going to Newport, Oregon, to take part in the District Teachers' Institute from August 18 to 24, and getting ready to take my family to Canon City, Colorado. In a letter dated July 21, the Indian Office advised me that much of my work for some time would be in Colorado and the states adjoining it. Horris Craig, an early day friend of mine, and his wife, a favorite cousin of my wife's, lived there, and Horris had secured a house for us.

On August 15th we had a delightful visit at our home in Seattle from Colonel Pratt, accompanied by his daughter, Miss Rachinda Pratt, Miss Alberta Dow, Dr. E. Webster Fox, and Mrs. Fox. They left the next day on a trip to Alaska.

In the evening of August 31st, Alice, the children, and I left Seattle on the night train for the Chemawa School, and returned to Portland on September 2nd, where we spent the day with Dr. James Bristow and his wife, Alice, a cousin of my wife's whom she had not seen in twenty-two years.

We left Portland on the 3rd and arrived at Pocatello, Idaho, the following day. Here it was necessary for us to part at 2:45 o'clock in the afternoon; Alice, Pickering, and Hallie going on to Canon City, and I to Lemhi Agency, where some work had been assigned me on August 18th, while in Seattle.

I arrived at Lemhi Agency on September 6th to look into a complaint made by Helen G. Stockdell, the Missionary stationed there. She was absent when I investigated the original charges against Mrs. Moore in March, and in my first interview with her, [I] formed the opinion she was a sensible, fair minded woman [who] had no further knowledge of the case than that given her by the Mackeys and Miss Marston. Believing their stories, she had written the Indian Office asking for the dismissal of Mrs. Moore. She said she had no personal feeling against Mrs. Moore but did not want to have the school girls abused.

It seemed to me the only thing necessary was to clear up her mind, and with this in view, [I] invited her to go with me to interview the school employees. We did this and talked with every employee, including two new ones, and with Dr. [Austin E.] Murphy and Su-

perintendent Yearian. All of them emphatically denied the truth of every allegation the Mackeys and Miss Marston had made against Mrs. Moore.

Mrs. Stockdell invited me back to the mission, where she gave me a letter to transmit to the Indian Office. This explained that she had been misinformed, and all I had to do was write a letter of transmittal. A little "oil on the waters" is sometimes effective. I left Lemhi Agency on the 9th, en route to Grand Junction School, Colorado.

I arrived on September 11th and the next day attended a meeting of the County Commissioners with Superintendent [Theodore G.] Lemmon, and then looked into the school affairs, which were found to be well managed. A general report, only, was necessary. I left on the 18th for Canon City to join my family.

I arrived in Canon City in the evening of September 18th, 1903. The next day, I met Horrie Craig, and his wife, Annie, and Horrie's brother, Al Craig, for the first time in twenty-two years. Other Albion folks there were John, Will, and Frank Emmerson, Guy Hardy, and Frank Hall. These were all boyhood friends and we did enjoy meeting them again.

Instructions had been received while I was at Grand Junction to go to the Haskell Indian Training School at Lawrence, Kansas, and when through at Haskell to report in Washington, D.C., for consultation. I left Canon City at 5:00 p.m., on the 20th, but did not get to Haskell until 1:00 a.m., on the 22nd, because of a delayed train.

The Haskell Training School, commonly spoken of as "Haskell Institute," was one of our largest non-reservation industrial training schools, and of the same grade as the Chemawa School. Superintendent H. B. Peairs had been with the school many years, and everything was in the best of order. Having had experience at the Chemawa School, it was easy to see the systematic handling of this school, and in making my general report of the different industrial departments and shops, it seemed like I was describing my own school.

While here I went out to Lecompton, an historical place in slavery days. My interest was because Alice's father and his brother, John Pickering, were in business there when she was a baby in arms. I found a few families still living there, but most of the buildings were unoccupied

and in a falling down condition. I saw the old "Rowena Hotel," with part of its roof gone, and [met] the daughter of a Mr. Harris who lived there when Mr. Pickering did. She gave some information about the old place.

On October 1st, I received a telegram saying: "Go to Sac and Fox, Iowa, assume charge of school and agency vice Ross Guffin, deceased. Wire answer." I left for Sac and Fox Agency on the 3rd.

Upon arriving on October 4th it was learned that Superintendent Guffin had died suddenly on September 24th and his son Horace Guffin, the Financial Clerk, was caring for things while awaiting my arrival. He had made application for the appointment of an administrator for his father's estate, which under the state law could not be done until October 24th. This was an unusual situation as there was no one to whom I could receipt for the Government property. On the 8th, I wired the Office for advice and received an immediate reply saying to proceed as thought best. We had made a list of the property, but did not indicate from whom it was being received; then went on as if everything was in regular form.

As I had not receipted for the property, the U.S. Treasury could not place any Agency money to my credit. To overcome this, I prepared certified vouchers in payment of employees' salaries, and for supplies purchased, to be paid by the Indian Office. Everything else went on as though I was regularly in charge of the Agency, until November 12th, when Superintendent W. C. Kohlenberg arrived and receipted me for the Agency property.

Preparing the official reports kept me here until the 27th, when I left for Washington, taking my official accounts, including the certified vouchers, with me, where a few notations were made on my papers, and then approved by Commissioner Jones in person. I appreciated this.

My boarding place at Sac and Fox was at the school, a short distance from the Agency office. As I was going to the office one morning, I found a dead Indian lying at the roadside, and at the office, one of the Clerks told me there was a young Indian man at the hotel who had become blind during the night. He admitted to me that he had been drinking lemon extract bought in one of the traders'

stores the preceding evening, and the Agency Physician's analysis of a partly emptied bottle [found] in the blind man's possession proved the extract had been made with wood alcohol. He said he knew the dead man's reputation for drinking, and from his examination of the body, felt quite certain he died from drinking wood alcohol.

Further investigation proved the doctor was right. The Federal law provided that traders on Indian reservations shall not keep anything that will intoxicate, making this a case for Federal Court. Indian Agents have authority to remove from the reservation any person whose conduct is detrimental to the Indians, and I decided to take this course. I had a policeman bring the trader to the office where he admitted before witnesses that he kept and sold lemon extract made from wood alcohol. He was then ordered to close his store at noon that day, and keep it closed until he moved off the reservation. A couple of days later, he began hauling his goods away.

When all was gone I wrote a full account of the case to Horace Speed, U.S. Attorney at Oklahoma City. In reply, he said I should have reported the case to him for action, but the course taken [had proved] most effective and was the best thing to do.⁵

Another incident happened here, in which some may criticize my action unfavorably, but I have never regretted it. There was a well educated Indian man living at the Agency, an ordained Baptist Minister, serving regularly two congregations of Indian and white people at country school houses off the reservation, [all the while] no Sunday religious service was being held for the school children. This caused me to inquire why this man was not invited to talk to the school children. I was told that it was because he had been intoxicated sometimes and it was thought best to not have him preach to the children at the school. It appeared that no one had seen him intoxicated for a long time, and [some] thought it was because his wife restrained him.

This interested me and I called at their home. It was a rather delicate subject, but they were frank in their conversation and I left them with a feeling from what they had said to me, coupled with the common talk, that I knew the facts; viz., [that] he had been a drinking man when young, and after his conversion the desire for liquor at times was so strong he could not resist it alone, and he therefore had his wife lock

him in a room each time he felt the appetite for liquor coming on, and keep him there as long as it continued, [and only] then let him out.

They both said this happened many times for about two years, and then became less frequent as time passed, and for the last three years it had not been necessary at any time. He said he believed he was now entirely freed from his early sinful life, but if he ever again felt any sign of weakness, he would not hesitate to tell his wife to restrain him, though he thought, with God's help, it never would be necessary.

I thought he needed help and encouragement, rather than censure, and invited him to talk to the school children the following Sunday evening, which he did, and gave us a remarkable good sermon. He continued at the school while I was there, and the new Superintendent, Mr. Kohlenberg, said he would have him to continue doing so.

On October 27, 1903, Chief Moses Keokuk died. He was 84 years of age, and a son of Old Chief Keokuk, for whom the city of Keokuk, Iowa, was named. He was a fine, stately looking man, and had the reputation of being a conscientious Christian gentleman. There was a Baptist Church at the Agency and Chief Keokuk usually conducted the services when the regular Pastor, Reverend Hurr, was absent.

He died in the night, and I called on his wife the next morning to express my sympathy, and found her quite composed. She talked in English, and said he was ready to go, and his only regret was in having to leave her alone. She said he had selected his burial place at the foot of a large tree standing near the Church. There was a large gathering of people at his funeral on October 28 [and] about half of them were white citizens from the country and local towns. The Indian Pastor, Reverend Hurr, preached the funeral sermon [first] in the native language, and then repeated it in English for the white part of the congregation. To me, it was an impressive funeral.

As Superintendent Kohlenberg had taken charge of the Agency on November 12th, I finished my final reports and left for Washington City on November 27th. I stopped off at Albion on the 29th to visit friends for a couple of days, then went on to Washington, where I arrived on December 2nd with my Sac and Fox reports.

When I went to the Indian Office, I found a letter from Alice saying

Hallie was very sick with Scarlet Fever, and Commissioner Jones said I could return to Canon City if I wished to do so. I wired Alice and received a reply saying it was not necessary.

On the 5th, Chief Clerk Dortch asked if I had ever been to Hampton Institute at Hampton, Virginia. I had not. He said it would be a nice trip, especially if made by water down the Potomac River and the Ocean to Norfolk. There were some Indian children in the school and he gave me a special traveling order to authorize payment of the traveling expenses. I did enjoy the trip. I visited Norfolk, Old Point Comfort, and other places of interest, then crossed the water on a ferry to Hampton.

I arrived at Hampton Institute on Sunday, December 6th, just as the Evening Service was beginning in the school auditorium. As I entered, an usher asked my name and escorted me to the rostrum to introduce me to General Armstrong, the school's Superintendent. The audience was composed of about 600 Negro and 150 Indian pupils. The employees present were about 125. I have seldom heard such singing.

Monday was spent in visiting the school's Departments. Kate Henderson, the Indian Teacher we had at the Puyallup School, and Robert Higheagle, Teacher at Standing Rock Agency, both of whom I have previously mentioned, were graduates from this school. I also saw Ellen Wilson, a former pupil at the Puyallup School.

Upon returning to Washington on the 8th, and finding Hallie was much better, I spent the day visiting Washington's home and grave at Mt. Vernon, Arlington Cemetery, the White House, U.S. Treasury, and the National Museum. The next day was spent in the Indian Office, and the evening with Commissioner Jones discussing various official and personal matters.

In the course of our conversation, I said I was pretty much a home man and if a vacancy should occur at the Chemawa School I might ask to be sent there. He said he would like me to remain with my present work as long as he was the Commissioner, but if [Superintendent] Potter should leave Chemawa, he would remember what I had said to him. He did remember it and I went to Chemawa.

In the evening of December 10th, I left Washington, en route to Kickapoo Agency in Kansas. I stopped off at Albion for another two days visit, then went on to my destination.

My special business at Kickapoo Agency, where I arrived on the 14th, was to investigate charges that had been made against Superintendent O. C. Edwards by Nah-Ah-Wah and other Indians. I took sworn testimony from all the interested parties, which showed the charges resulted from the complainants having been arrested by the Agency police after they had engaged in a drunken carousal. In sending my report to the Indian Office, I recommended the charges against Edwards be given no further consideration, and suggested he be complimented for the action taken. I left Kickapoo on the 18th for Canon City, to take a few days vacation with the family.

I arrived in Canon City on December 19th and found the family still in quarantine because of the Scarlet Fever. When Hallie had nearly recovered, Pickering took down with it but he was not so sick as Hallie had been. While we were alone, we had a good Christmas dinner, which was enjoyed. On January 3rd, 1904, I left Canon City, en route to Fort Lewis School, at Breen, Colorado.

I arrived on January 5. The next seven days were spent in observing the work being done and securing data for my general report. Superintendent [W. M.] Peterson appeared to be a very efficient man and had his work well in hand, and a good report could be made.

On the 13th, accompanied by Superintendent Peterson with a school team, I left Fort Lewis to examine a school site on the San Juan Navajo Reservation in the northwestern corner of New Mexico. We stopped that night at Farmington, where we were joined by Superintendent [William T.] Shelton of the reservation.

The next two days were spent in driving 35 miles down the San Juan River to the proposed school site, completing the work there, and in coming back to a village known as Fruitland, where we remained overnight. Shelton left us here, and Peterson and I got back to Fort Lewis the next day, January 16th.

As we were approaching Fruitland, Superintendent Shelton said [that] it, and the vicinity, was strictly Mormon country where no gentiles were to be found; that when strangers came to the village a

considerable number of the male population would take to the woods, fearing the strangers might be Federal officers; and further, as he had often stopped there and was well known, they would not be alarmed at us. Be that as it may, we saw no signs of alarm. As there was no hotel in the village, [Superintendent] Shelton took us to a private home where he knew the family.

After supper, our host said there was a dance that night at the community hall over the Salt Lake Commercial Company's store, and invited us to go with him and his family, which we accepted. The first part of the program in the hall was a religious service lasting about a half hour, then lunch baskets, brought by the ladies, were sold at auction and the purchaser ate the contents with the lady bringing it. This gave time for introducing the two strangers and making them feel welcome. There was a granddaughter of Brigham Young present, and Shelton saw to it that we met her. I have forgotten her name. We left the dance hall at eleven o'clock, and the dancing was to stop at twelve o'clock.

After returning to Fort Lewis School and spending one day [there], I left on the 18th for the Southern Ute School in Colorado, and stopped overnight in Durango to send a telegram and get mail.

I was at Southern Ute School at Ignacio, Colorado, on January 19th. This was a small school and there was little to report. A telegram from the Indian Office, received here, directed me to go directly to Santa Fe, New Mexico, where instructions would be received. I left Southern Ute on the 21st, and stopped overnight at Antonito, Colorado.

I arrived at the city of Santa Fe in the evening of the 22nd, and went out to the school the next morning to meet Superintendent [C. J.] Crandall and get my instructions, which concerned complaints made against Dr. [T. P.] Martin, Contract Physician at Taos Pueblo.

While at dinner on the 24th, one of the ladies came into the dining room and said there was a mirage. We rushed out and saw in the western sky the inverted image or picture of part of a city. It was quite distinct, but disappeared in a short time. I have never seen another.

I went to the Taos Pueblo on the 28th, which was under supervision of Superintendent Crandall, to comply with my instructions. The Taos Indians have a government of their own, consisting of a

Governor and a legislative body called the Council. I had the Governor call a mass meeting in the Council Hall, which was attended by himself, the Councilmen, and many other Indians. I explained that word had reached Washington that their Physician, Dr. Martin, was not giving them good care, and I was surprised to find the Indians had no complaints to make but supported him strongly. The Government Farmer and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Dwire, also testified to Dr. Martin's worthiness.

After returning to my hotel in the town of Taos that evening, Dr. S. Locke, a Dentist, handed me a statement saying Dr. Martin drank to excess and had a bad reputation. I asked him for evidence to support the charge, which he was unable to get. It was Dr. Locke who sent the original charges [against] Dr. Martin to the Indian Office. I interviewed a considerable number of citizens and all testified to Dr. Martin's ability, faithfulness to his duties, and they considered him one of their best citizens.

It was the universal belief at Taos, that the animus of the whole affair arose from a personal quarrel in which the Indians had no interest. Dr. Martin had been the only Physician in Taos for several years, until the preceding summer, when a second Physician came to town. Dr. Locke, the Dentist, interested himself unduly in behalf of the new man and said he would secure the Government work for him. In retaliation, Dr. Martin induced another Dentist to come to Taos in opposition to Dr. Locke. This was the state of affairs at the time of my visit.

In concluding my report to the Office, I said that I found none of the charges against Dr. Martin were sustained and recommended that he be exonerated and the charges receive no more consideration.

The Pueblo of Taos is a very large building of several stories, each, as you go up, being smaller than the one preceding it, leaving a wide space surrounding it. Originally, all stories, including the ground story, were entered by going up on a ladder, then down through the roof and ceiling to the floor below, on another ladder. This has since been abandoned and doors cut through the outer walls for entrance.

The building, including the wall partitions and roofs, are constructed of adobe (a kind of dried mud), and it was built so long ago, that no one knew the date. This is the only home [of] a large

number of Indians. The Indian council was held in this building, and when adjourned, I made a tour all over it with an educated young Indian guide and was surprised to find it clean and sanitary. The walls of the rooms were all whitewashed and clean.

The guide, a likable young chap, took me about the grounds where there were several small buildings, used for other purposes than dwellings. At one place, there was a space enclosed with thick brush stood on end. In this there was what appeared to be a covered cistern, in which the guide said the "Sacred Fire" was kept. When we removed the cover, a small fire was seen on the bottom of the pit which was about ten feet deep, and a ladder reaching down to it. The guide said the fire was attended by the Priests, and they had kept it burning night and day, without letting it go out, for hundreds of years.

He offered to let me go down in the pit if I wished to do so. When I accepted the offer, he went to the entrance of the enclosure and looked to see if anyone was near, and then told me to go on down. I did this and stood by the fire a moment. When at the top again, he asked me to not say anything about having seen the Sacred Fire, and I did not disappoint him.

I did not return to Santa Fe after finishing at Taos Pueblo on January 30th, but took the Denver & Rio Grande train at Servilleta, en route to Seger Colony, near Weatherford, Oklahoma, to investigate complaints of some kind, made against Superintendent John H. Seger by Little Wolf and others, of which the Office had advised me on January 2nd and 18th.

Inspector Jenkins, from the Secretary's Office, got on the train at Antonito, and, as each [of us] had been at the same places, recently, we read the carbon copies of each other's reports, and found them much alike. I spent from noon on the 31st to five o'clock on February 1st with my family in Canon City, then went on to the Seger Colony.

I arrived at Weatherford at 6:45 p.m., on February 3rd, and drove out to Seger Colony the next morning. Mr. Seger was a man of limited education, but knew the Indians' character and had their full confidence. Before the Colony was established in 1885, there was a serious disturbance on one of the reservations that required the use of troops to subdue. The Government ordered several hundred of the unruly

Indians removed to a place on the Washita River, and they refused to go there.

It seemed necessary to use the troops, when Seger appeared and said he could take them to the new place, without the help of anyone else. The authorities knew his reputation, yet doubted his ability to handle the Indians in their present mood. Finally, it was agreed to let him try, and he not only took them to the place selected, but built up a good school and benefited the Indians in many ways.

Upon arriving at Seger Colony, I learned a new railroad had recently been built across a piece of Indian land some distance from the school; the land had been sold to a town site company; and a new town, named Clinton, was on it. The town site company, represented by T. J. Nance and Attorney Blake, had tried to buy the land from the Indian owner at a nominal price, but was prevented by Superintendent Seger. Because of this, Nance and Blake prepared a set of charges against Seger's management of his Agency and secured a number of Indian signatures to it by promising them a trip to Washington City and other favors.

The testimony covered forty-six pages and Nance and Blake took part for the prosecution by cross-questioning witnesses as much as they wished to do. The whole story was told in the forty-six pages of testimony taken, making only a short report to the Indian Office necessary. In closing it, I said, "That none of the charges against the management of Superintendent Seger are sustained, and recommend that he be completely exonerated, and suggest further that he be so informed." I left Seger Colony on the 16th, going to the Red Moon School near Elk City, where I stayed until the next morning.

On February 17th, I drove to the Red Moon School. All necessary information was secured in a short time, so I drove back to Elk City, and went on to Cantonment Agency, Oklahoma, the next morning to investigate the conduct of a representative of the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D.C., while visiting the Cantonment Reservation, [as] requested by the Indian Office.

I arrived at Cantonment, February 18th. My first work here was to write a letter to the Commissioner for Little Man, an important man

among the Cheyenne Indians as the custodian of the "Sacred Arrows," the supreme emblem of authority in the tribe. He dictated a fairly long letter of historical character about the Cheyenne Indians, and I mailed it for him.

I went out for a walk near the Agency office and came across a number of Indians sitting in a circle, inside a tent. I went in the tent and no one spoke to me or moved. They all looked cheerful, but there was a dreamy look in their eyes. I spoke to one without getting a response, so I left, somewhat puzzled at my reception. Superintendent Byron White said it was a Peyote feast, and it was fortunate they had not taken offense at my going into the tent. I had known about Peyote, which is the root of a plant, and a narcotic like cocaine. This was the first time I had seen Indians using it.

With many tribes, smoking has some religious significance. The usual practice is to light one pipe only, and [for] the owner [to] take a puff from it; then pass it to the person next to him; he will take a puff and hand it to the next person; and [the pipe] continues on its journey until it is returned to the owner, who takes another puff and passes it on again. I had to take a sworn affidavit from Little Man, relating to the representative of the Smithsonian Institute, and it was important to know that his statements were true.

Two Mennonite Missionaries, living nearby, were said to know how this could be determined if anyone could. They agreed to tell me, after I promised to not let the Indians know I had spoken to them. They said I could depend upon the answer to the first question asked after a puff from the pipe had been taken, no matter how much it hurt to say it.

In taking Little Man's affidavit, I continued asking questions, but was careful to ask an important question [only] after he had his turn at the pipe, and I put a star before each one, so I could advise the examiner to ignore all questions and answers not having a star before them. I know that Little Man felt pretty uneasy about some of the testimony he had to give me.

Superintendent White's school affairs were in excellent condition, and there was little to do other than to get the Indian testimony

needed. I left Cantonment Agency on the 22nd; going to Shawnee Agency, Oklahoma, to get information concerning neglect of duty and unlawful use of funds charged against the Superintendent.

I arrived on February 24. The charges against Superintendent Frank A. Thackery were made by H. B. Cox, a former Clerk, who had been transferred to the Solicitor General's Office in Washington City. While calling at the Indian Office, he made a voluntary statement of so grave a character concerning Superintendent Thackery, that the Commissioner demanded he put the verbal charge in writing, which he reluctantly did. I was instructed on February 4th, to make a thorough examination of the charges, and at the same time, give Mr. Cox's record an equally thorough examination.

My first few days were spent in writing reports on the Seger Colony investigation and school, the Red Moon School, Cantonment Agency, and attending to unanswered letters. The Seger Colony reports, including the affidavit, covered sixty-four typewritten pages, almost breaking the record for reports. In casual conversation with the employees, I found no one inclined to support Mr. Cox's statements made in the Indian Office, in any way. In order to not let Cox feel ignored, I telegraphed the Indian Office, requesting that he supply the names of witnesses he wished to be called, and was informed by wire, that Mr. Cox had been called to the Office, and would not furnish [the] names of any witnesses.

In commenting on this, the Commissioner said, "When Mr. Cox made the statements derogatory to Superintendent Thackery in the Office, he probably thought at the time it would have no other effect than to influence official action against the Superintendent, without he himself being held responsible, if they were untrue. You will, therefore, take up the whole matter, investigate Superintendent Thackery's record and his actions, irrespective of any bias pro or con, and report in accordance with the facts. You will also give Mr. Cox's records an equally thorough examination, and report accordingly." I carried out the instructions to the best of my ability, and when in Washington later, Commissioner Jones told me the job was well done.

On February 27th, I submitted a copy of Cox's charges to Superintendent Thackery for his action, as follows:

Charge I.

Neglect of Duty

Specification 1. Your attention was called to the unsafe condition of a chimney running up through the eastern part of the Indian school building, by H. B. Cox sometime during the spring of 1903, and again in the fall of the same year, yet you failed to have it repaired, thereby causing loss of the building by fire.

Specification 2. You did not, during the period between February 22, 1902, and January 2, 1904, have a fire drill of the pupils and employees, nor make any arrangement to give directions to be followed in case of fire, nor have buckets or other vessels filled with water in convenient places for extinguishing fire as provided in the regulations, jeopardizing the lives of pupils and employees.

Charge II.

Diverting Funds to Other Purposes than Those for which Authorized.

Specification 1. The greater part of \$300.00 authorized for carpenter labor to repair the building destroyed, was utilized in the construction of other buildings, among which was an eight-room dwelling for the use of the Superintendent that had not been authorized, but was being erected from this source and from funds authorized for the erection of a four-room cottage for the agency employees.

Specification 2. From funds authorized for the purchase of stone and the employment of labor to erect *three* bridges, one bridge was built and the balance of the labor and material was used for other purposes; one of which was in building and walling a storm cave for use of the Superintendent.

You will make reply
to me in writing.
Very Respectfully,
Edwin L. Chalcraft,
Supervisor.

I then carefully examined the Agency and school records for several years back, and found nothing irregular in them until during the last months Cox was at the Agency. During this period there were many illegal entries in the records, and false statements in the retain copies of reports to the Indian Office. All the record entries were in Cox's own handwriting, and he [had] prepared the reports for signing. My examination of the office files gave me full knowledge of the situation.

The office work was divided among the Clerks and each was held responsible for that assigned him. Because Cox had previous experience at the Roseburg Agency, and had come to Shawnee from the Accounts Division in the Indian Office, he was assigned the financial and labor accounts. Reports to the Indian Office were prepared for official signature; and, having full confidence in Cox, pressure from other duties sometimes caused Thackery to sign his prepared reports without making examination of the details they covered. It was apparent to me before any testimony was taken, that Cox, and he alone, was responsible for the false accounts.

Thackery's first knowledge of his false accounts was when Charles F. Dickens had charge of the financial accounts and drew his attention to it. They notified the Indian Office on February 19th, five days before my arrival, and asked what should be done. On March 19th, the Office instructed that new requests for authorities, in harmony with the facts, should be submitted for approval.

On March 12th, I gave Thackery a four-page typewritten copy of my criticisms concerning his accounts and his reply, supported by the testimony of his three Clerks, Thomas J. Alford, Charles F. Dickens, and Edward Brady, corroborated his statements and were in harmony with my observations, making it certain that Cox alone was responsible for all the trouble. In connection with taking testimony from the three Clerks, it developed that Cox had been [a participant] in two drinking carousals on the reservation shortly before he left, in one of which an Indian was injured. All three testified to this.

In the meantime, I had been taking sworn testimony relating to the charge of neglecting duties, and all with any knowledge of the matter, sixteen in number, gave testimony concerning the different

specifications of which they had any knowledge. This showed [that] the fire that destroyed the school building started about eighty-one feet from where Cox said it started; that fire drills were regularly held under Thackery's direction; and that vessels containing water were kept filled and at handy places for use at all times. Further, that none had ever heard of Cox drawing Thackery's attention to danger from fire.

Several testified that from the stone bought, one bridge had been erected; the County Commissioners had agreed to build one of the others; [and] a small storm cave had been constructed, which did not take all of it. Their testimony showed clearly that all of them had confidence in their Superintendent's integrity and well meaning.

There had been no friction between the Superintendent and his Clerk as far as known. Cox wanted to become Superintendent of some Agency or school, and Thackery helped him to get a Civil Service examination with this in view. He passed this, and the Indian Office promised he would be given a place when there was a suitable vacancy. After waiting some time, he said he thought Thackery was not urging his case with the Office strong enough to get action, and this may have been the cause of [him] making the charges against Thackery. Nothing else was found that might have caused his action. Whatever it may have been, there was enough to make it evident that Mr. Cox knew the charges were not true when he made them, hence his reluctance to enter into the matter after covertly making the charges. Superintendent Thackery had made no effort to cover up anything that might have reflected against him, but had rendered me all the assistance possible to get to the truth.

I recommended that Mr. Thackery be completely exonerated from the charges made by Mr. Cox, and closed my report with this remark:

Without taking into consideration the evidence submitted tending to show that Mr. Cox was intoxicated in the presence of Indians on the reservation, the other testimony shows conclusively that he is an unscrupulous, treacherous man, unworthy of any position under the Government; and if he were still within the

province of the Indian Department I would not hesitate to ask [for] his immediate removal.

After making a general report on the school and Agency, I left Shawnee Agency on March 18th, en route to Kiowa Agency near Anadarko, Oklahoma.

I arrived on March 19th and met the Agent, Colonel James H. Randlett, a retired army officer, for the first time. He afterwards spent several months with us at the Chemawa School, and was much esteemed by the employees and pupils. On Sunday, the 20th, I attended the Apache Mission on the Fort Sill Military Reserve, where the Apache Indians with their noted Chief, Geronimo, were held as prisoners of war after being captured by the soldiers in the last war with them. One day, Geronimo came to the Agency to see me and we had a couple of hours conversation about Indian matters. He was a small, insignificant looking fellow, with some knowledge of the English language. The only time I saw him after this was at the St. Louis Fair, where he recognized me at first sight.

I made an examination of the records in the Agency office, inspected the Fort Sill School, in charge of J. W. Haddon; the Rainy Mountain School, and the Riverside School, all connected with the Kiowa Agency. These required only general reports, but I found some evidence that former Superintendent Campbell had on his attendance roll for the First Quarter, 1904, a considerable number of pupils that were not in school. I recommended that Mr. Campbell, who was at the Cherokee School in South Carolina, have his attention called to it and asked to explain. On April 1st, I took supper with Colonel Randlett and that evening attended a reception given for me, which, of course, made me feel quite important. I left Kiowa Agency on the 2nd, en route to Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency at Darlington, Oklahoma.

I arrived at Cheyenne Agency on April 3rd. The next day, a telegram was received saying Alice was very sick. I wired the Indian Office and started for Canon City that night, where I arrived at 1:15 a.m., on the 6th, and found she was some better. On the 7th, a letter, forwarded from Darlington, directed me to go to Fort Lapwai School in Idaho to investigate Superintendent Earl T. McArthur's deposits of Govern-

ment money in the bank at Culdesac, on the Nez Perce Reservation. I left Canon City on the 13th for Lapwai. At Pullman, Washington, I saw Ollie Knowdell and David Miller, [both] from Albion.

I arrived at Nez Perce Agency on April 16th and went to the Fort Lapwai School. My instructions, dated April 2nd, said that during a visit of Special Agent McNichols, he discovered that a new bank had been established at Culdesac, principally owned by the Chief Clerk, Mr. [John S.] Martin, and the Assistant Clerk, Mr. [Andrew J.] Montgomery, who, with a son of Mr. Martin, owned \$6,000 of the \$7,500 paid up capital stock. Further, Superintendent McArthur had deposited moneys in the Bank of Culdesac to his credit as Superintendent. The resignation of the Clerks, Martin and Montgomery, had been called for and accepted.

I was now directed to "see if Superintendent McArthur has had on deposit in that bank any moneys of any character to his credit as Superintendent since February 15. If he has had any since March 19, telegraph the Office to that effect, giving date and highest amount of such daily balance as superintendent, when Superintendent McArthur will be immediately relieved from the service, and you placed in charge of the school." I was advised to not make known the object of my visit more than was necessary.

On the 18th, I went to the Bank of Culdesac alone, and was permitted to examine McArthur's account without any objection, and found he had [made] deposits to his credit as Superintendent every day from February 15th to April 18th, the date of my examination. The amount on March 19th was \$1806.09. On the 19th, I wired the Indian Office as follows: "Average daily balance at Bank of Culdesac credit E. T. McArthur, Superintendent, from January fifteenth to March nineteenth is thirteen hundred fifty dollars, approximately; from March twentieth to April nineteenth is sixteen hundred seventy dollars, approximately; balance April eighteenth fifteen hundred nine dollars seventy-seven cents; highest balance eighteen hundred forty-five dollars twenty-six cents March twenty-fourth. Schedule daily balance since February fifteenth mailed today." The Office reply, dated the 20th said:

Suspend E. T. McArthur as Superintendent and assume charge of Fort Lapwai School and Agency immediately. Will accept his resignation if tendered, otherwise will dismiss from the Service.
Wire answer.

When I showed this reply to McArthur on the 21st, he gave me his written resignation which I wired to the Office, and [I] took charge of affairs, [this] being my third time in charge of Fort Lapwai, and the first time [I was] in charge of both Agency and school.

There was an unusual amount of unfinished official work [to be done] consisting of leasing land, determining heirs of deceased Indians, land sales, water rights, and a railroad right-of-way, which with the current work, required immediate attention. To make matters worse, there was a vacancy in one of the Clerk's positions, which was filled later by the appointment of one of my former Clerks at the Chemawa School.

The large Government farm at Spaulding, the railroad station, upon which the former Agency buildings were located, was two miles from the Fort Lapwai School. Superintendent McArthur had recommended this farm be sold. The Indian Office had approved the report, and the sale had been completed under the usual regulations with exception of delivery of the deed to the purchasers. Being tribal property, the proceeds would go to the credit of the tribe. In his recommendations, Superintendent McArthur had neglected to inform the Indian Office there were two Indian graveyards, and the Indian First Presbyterian Church with five acres of land, on the farm, that had been set aside for the Indians when the allotments were made; consequently, they were sold with the farm.

When the Indians learned of this after the sale had been made, they protested to the buyers asking [that] their property be excluded from the sale and its value be refunded to the purchasers. This was refused and as the sale had been made in good faith and was legal, there was no way to compel the purchasers to comply with the Indians' request. This unjust situation was entirely the result of Superintendent McArthur in neglecting to properly inform the Indian Office about the Church and graveyards, and it appealed to me strongly.

The Company buying the land was composed of prominent men with Ex-Senator [Henry] Heitfeld of Idaho acting as their attorney, making it rather a delicate thing to handle, and I did not think it wise to antagonize the purchasers more than was necessary. After failing to get any satisfaction from the purchasers, the Indians wrote the Indian Office about the injustice done them, which seems to have delayed issuance of the deed. The purchasers appealed to me to help them in getting it. At this time I had decided how to proceed, and [I] told them I would do what I could, and felt sure there would be nothing in the way, if they could make peace with the Indians about the Church and graveyards.

I then made a detailed report to the Indian Office concerning the sale, and made some suggestions pertaining to the case; and followed this up with a personal letter to Commissioner Jones, drawing his attention to the official suggestions, to make sure they would receive his personal consideration and cause the deed to be held up until I wrote to have it sent to me for the purchasers. Miss Alice C. Fletcher, of the Peabody Museum, [at] Harvard University, Massachusetts, had been a member of the Committee that allotted land to the Nez Perce Indians, in 1889, and was thoroughly acquainted with the conditions there. She was an intimate friend of Miss Kate McBeth, the Missionary, and at my suggestion, Miss McBeth wrote, asking her to go down to Washington to make a plea in behalf of the Indians, which she did.

This all took time, which was needed to bring the purchasers to a fair way of acting, and on May 26th, their representative came to the office and said they were ready to grant the Indians' request, and he signed the following written agreement to eliminate the Church property and two graveyards from the farm sale:

I agree to the excepting of the three tracts of land from the deed to be made for the agency tract, without remuneration, and to accept the remainder in lieu of the whole amount mentioned in the proposal for bids on the same.

This closed the contest on even better terms than the Indians had originally asked, to the satisfaction of all concerned. The next day I

transmitted the necessary papers to the Indian Office, and later had the pleasure of delivering the deed to the purchasers.

Some things give more satisfaction than others, and to me the successful termination of this land contest gratified me more than any other experience [I had] while visiting Agencies and schools, because of the friendship displayed then and since by the individual Indians, and particularly [by] the Christianized portion of the population.

The new Superintendent, F. J. Mattoon, and his family arrived on June 12th, and after invoicing the Agency and school property, he assumed charge on the 18th. My reports were more voluminous than usual and kept me at Lapwai until July 2nd when I left for San Juan Navajo Agency, New Mexico, going by way of Lewiston, Idaho; Pendleton, Oregon; Salt Lake City, Utah; Grand Junction, Telluride, Durango, and Hesperus to Fort Lewis School, where I remained two days writing unfinished reports on Lapwai Agency. On the 10th, I started to San Juan Agency and stayed overnight at Fruitland with S. G. Shoemaker.

I arrived at San Juan Navajo Agency July 11th, 1904. My business here was in response to [an] Office letter, dated July 11th to look up the question of water supply for the new school being built on the site we had selected on a previous visit; investigate a land dispute between the Field Matron, Mrs. Lucy L. Eldridge, and an Indian, named Sandoval; and to investigate the claims and determine the amount, if any, due J. J. Crittenden, a defaulting contractor in the erection of two stone buildings for the proposed new school plant.

A satisfactory supply of water had been found available and an analysis showed it was of good quality.

A compromise settlement of the land dispute between Mrs. Eldridge and Sandoval, satisfactory to both, was made.

Two buildings had been erected by D. W. Tice under a completed contract and two stone buildings were not finished by Crittenden who defaulted in a contract with him. I found \$3,622.37 in unpaid claims for labor and material [on] file in the Agent's office, which it was necessary to reduce to \$1,613.18 because many of the claims were not legitimate. Superintendent Shelton was authorized to finish the two buildings without entering into another contract. He built up a good school for the Navajo children.

I left San Juan Agency on the 15th, and returned to the Fort Lewis School, where my San Juan report was written. On the 17th I left for a few days vacation with my family at Canon City.

I got to Canon City, July 19th, and on the 21st, started with Alice and our two children to see places of interest in the vicinity. We visited the Cripple Creek mining district and then went to Colorado Springs and stayed overnight at the Alta Vista Hotel. The next day, we went to the summit of Pikes Peak on the inclined railroad, then to the Garden of the Gods, and to Glen Eyre, all being very interesting to us. We arrived home at 1:30 a.m., on the 22nd, tired and sleepy. I left Canon City on the 25th for Seger Colony Agency to investigate a shortage in Superintendent Seger's funds, of which he had informed the Indian Office, and asked that someone be sent to ascertain the amount and determine who was responsible for it.

Upon arriving at Seger Colony, July 26th and examining the Agency cash books and other records, it was soon apparent they were unreliable and it was impossible to arrive at a definite conclusion without making from the original documents a schedule of all cash receipts and disbursements [made] during the incumbency of Superintendent Seger, which was done with the assistance of Mr. H. J. Bibb, the Clerk, who succeeded O. S. Rice, the former Clerk, now at Albuquerque School in New Mexico. These schedules covered the period from December 1st, 1902, to August 22nd, 1904, when finally completed and checked for errors that might exist.

They showed conclusively that all money received from other sources than leases had been properly accounted for and that no discrepancies of any kind existed subsequent to February 20th, 1904, when Rice was transferred to the New Mexico school. The shortage was discovered by Mr. Bibb when they received a bank statement from their depository. This caused Mr. Seger to notify the Indian Office.

My investigation showed the shortage was \$1,317.97 and that it was all [in] lease money belonging to the Indians, handled entirely by Rice, who received it and kept it in a cash box in the office safe until it was sent to the depository. He had the only key there was to the cash box, and he had it in his possession all the time. He handled the lease money from the time he began work at Seger Colony on December

21, 1902, until he left on February 20, 1904. When leaving he gave the key to J. C. Fry, the Assistant Clerk, and he with Mr. Seger went to the safe, counted the lease money on hand, and made a record of it.

I have previously mentioned a conversation with Commissioner Jones when in Washington City in December, 1903, and [I] spoke about going to the Salem Indian School at Chemawa again. He remembered what I had said and on August 1st at Seger Colony, I received a telegram from the Indian Office saying:

SUPERINTENDENT POTTER SALEM RESIGNED HIS POSITION.
OFFERED YOU. DO YOU ACCEPT? WIRE WHEN INVESTIGATION
AT SEGER WILL BE COMPLETED.

I wired Alice at Canon City, and received an affirmative reply in time to wire my acceptance the next day, and [also] say I could not leave immediately because of the state of the work at Seger. On the 4th, another telegram was received, instructing me to report in Washington on official business at my earliest convenience.

I decided to go to Washington and then come back to complete the unfinished work. I left on the 5th, going by way of Memphis, Tennessee, where I stopped off for a day, and arrived in Washington City on August 8th and found Commissioner Jones absent and Assistant Commissioner A. C. Tonner in charge of the Office. After arranging the details of my going to Chemawa, and some other official business, we had a social gathering of the Chiefs of Divisions with whom my work had been connected, especially with Mr. Dortch, Chief of the Educational Division. More was said than I had expected, or felt due my efforts, as I had been favored with the full cooperation of each of them.

I left Washington on the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway at 11:00 p.m., August 10th en route to Albion, where I arrived on the 12th, and had a visit with relatives and early day friends. I left Albion on the 16th and went to the St. Louis Exposition, where other friends were met. They were Mr. and Mrs. Josephus Peasley with their daughter, Ethel; Miss Gertrude Brewer from the Chemawa School, [who was performing as a] pianist at the Government Indian Building; and Mr. Seger from

the Colony with a group of Indian boys and girls. Geronimo, whom I first saw at Fort Sill in Oklahoma, was there and recognized me at first sight.

Leaving St. Louis on the 19th, I arrived back at Seger Colony on the 21st, to complete the work begun before leaving for Washington. Mr. Bibb had some additional schedules I had directed him to make, and after checking them they were found to be complete and correct. As the case now stood, it appeared that Rice had taken the money, but I wanted him to have a chance to show he had not done so. I wired him at Albuquerque on August 26th to come to Seger Colony and assist in auditing the accounts, [informing him that] his expenses would be paid. He replied that he could not come.

I then decided to go and see him and if an interview was not satisfactory to have him arrested. In doing this it was necessary to have requisition papers [prepared and sent] from the Governor's office, which would take some time to get. I put this in the hands of Superintendent Seger to do and, while it was being accomplished, I went to Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency in Oklahoma on August 28th, to look into complaints made against Major G. W. P. Stough by Rev. D. A. Stanford, a Missionary living at Bridgeport.

The complaint made against Major Stough had come to me through the Indian Office and was of a frivolous nature relating to an Indian permitting a white man to pasture his cattle on an Indian allotment. It had previously been investigated by Inspector [James] McLaughlin from the Secretary of the Interior's office, but the complainant was not satisfied with his report. My report suggested that Major Stough have the pasturing discontinued or it might become more troublesome.

This finished all the work I had in my hands as Supervisor of Indian Schools, with exception of the Seger Colony case, to which I returned on the 31st, and left on September 2nd, to interview Rice at Albuquerque, where I arrived at midnight on the 3rd. As the next day was Sunday, I did not go out to the school, nor make my presence known. Monday morning, I visited Sheriff Hubbell and explained my mission and he said he would arrest Rice if I found it necessary. I then went out to the school to see Rice. He was reluctant to talk about the

details of the shortage in the Colony funds, and would only say there was no shortage when he left. I talked with him most of the day. By evening he had agreed to go back with me, and we both left on the train that night, September 5th.

From our conversation on the train, I became satisfied he would continue on to Seger Colony without me. As we were nearing La Junta, I told him my family was at Canon City and I had it in my mind to go on there if he had no objection. He said he had none as he was certain he could straighten out the matter and would go on alone and do it. I took his word for doing that. When I got off the train at LaJunta, I telegraphed Seger that Rice was on the train, and when it got to Weatherford, the Agency station, an Officer arrested him. I went on to Canon City, where I arrived in the evening. I was later informed that Rice could not find an error in our figures and had to admit the shortage. After many delays, Rice was tried for embezzlement and was not convicted.

I arrived in Canon City on September 6th and began packing our household goods for shipment to Chemawa. This was finished on the 10th, and the remainder of our time in Canon City was spent at the home of Horrie and Annie Craig, and enjoying the company of other friends of earlier days at our old home, Albion. We left Canon City on the 13th and stopped off at Salt Lake City on the 14th, for one day, then went on to Portland and Chemawa.

{ 8 }

Salem Indian Training School, Second Appointment

To occupy the office of superintendent of Chemawa Indian School was to hold the most prestigious position in the Indian Service on the West Coast. Chemawa, a large off-reservation boarding school, obtained a majority of its student body from Washington, Oregon, California, Idaho, Montana, and Alaska. During his second term as superintendent from 1904 to 1912, Chalcraft oversaw a significant expansion of the Chemawa campus, the construction of several new buildings, including a hospital built in 1909, and a general upgrading of the grounds with sidewalks and landscaping. Seemingly having found genuine contentment in his profession, Chalcraft took pleasure in his memoir re-creating the culture of Chemawa school life. However, as so often proved the case in the Indian Service, factionalism (both personal and political) disrupted the vestiges of harmony as Chalcraft and the commissioner of Indian affairs became embroiled in a contentious struggle that cost the superintendent not only his position at Chemawa but also his reputation in the Indian Service. His use of corporal punishment in violation of government regulations resulted in his transfer to Jones Male Academy, an all-boys Choctaw school in Oklahoma.

We arrived at Chemawa on September 17, 1904. On the way from Canon City, memories of the past kept floating through my mind, especially from the time of my reluctant transfer, or “promotion,” as Commissioner Browning called it, from the Puyallup School to Chemawa in 1894; and on down through the subsequent political

intrigue, in which Supervisor Charles D. Rakestraw played a most important part, that caused my dismissal from the Indian Service on March 28, 1895; then the long fight for vindication which ended on April 9, 1900, when I was reinstated by Commissioner Jones and assigned to duty at Shoshone Agency in Wyoming.

From then on, my retrospection became more pleasing, especially that part relating to Major Pratt's letter, and Commissioner Jones' decision without suggestion from anyone nor knowledge on my part, to remove Rakestraw as Supervisor of Indian Schools, and appoint me to succeed him, which was done on August 14, 1900. And lastly but in no way the least, memory of the Commissioner and the Chiefs of the Indian Office Departments, having had confidence and supported me in every act performed while I served as Supervisor of Indian Schools, and now, to cap it all, we were returning to Chemawa again. The memory of all this, taken in connection with the cordial welcome upon our arrival at the school, caused feelings of gratitude that cannot be fully expressed in words.

I must confess that coming back to Chemawa again as its Superintendent after all these experiences caused some feeling of exultation, which I hope may be pardonable; especially as there was a thought in my mind when we left in April, 1895, strong enough to cause me to save some unused printed tags that had been made and attached to our baggage when coming to Chemawa from the Puyallup School. These were used on our baggage coming from Canon City to Chemawa.

The Portland, Salem, and other newspapers had much to say about the matter, and all was in my favor showing familiarity with past events and that their friendship and goodwill was assured, which was very gratifying. I quote from the Salem Daily Statesman a short article which indicates the general tenor of all the others: —

E. L. Chalcraft, who was Superintendent of the Indian Training School, near Salem, in 1895, was finally reinstated in the service and assigned to the Shoshone Agency in Wyoming, where he was made Superintendent of the agency school. In the year 1895, Mr. Chalcraft was dismissed from the service while he was Superintendent of the Salem school, upon charges made by Supervisor

Rakestraw. They were trumped up charges, and the real motive was the fact that Chalcraft is a Republican, while Rakestraw is a Democrat of the most partisan stripe. Mr. Chalcraft had been in the Indian service thirteen years, having been at the Puyallup agency for a long time before his transfer to Salem. He did not want the transfer, and had only been here a short time until he was kicked out of the service by Rakestraw. It took him a long time to fight his case through the red tape of the Interior Department and secure justice. The people of Salem, who became acquainted with Mr. Chalcraft while he was here, will be pleased to learn that he has finally secured his rights, and now welcome him to Chemawa again.

Superintendent Thomas W. Potter, my successor in 1895, was a Republican who had been transferred to Chemawa, possibly to receive the same fate I had experienced.

Be that as it may, he continued in his position until he resigned and I succeeded him on October 1st, 1904. He always said he believed the energetic fight in my behalf during the remainder of the Cleveland Administration, ending in 1897, had much to do with his not being molested. Potter did much for the school and had everything in good order when I took charge again.

Here was a magnificent school-plant of about fifty-five buildings, many of them being large brick structures, all well equipped for their special purposes and, with exception of the farm and dairy buildings, were grouped on a beautiful campus of about forty acres, covered with green grass summer and winter. About the grounds were fir trees of considerable size, walnut trees and maples, and a number of ornamental trees and shrubs. All about the campus were cement walks lined on each side with rose bushes, some of the choicest varieties. This was the scene that met the eyes of passengers as they passed by on the trains, and impressed the visitor first as he entered the campus from the Chemawa depot.

Now a short sketch of the school's early history. The first suggestion of establishing the Chemawa School came from R. H. Pratt, then a Captain of the U.S. Army, who had opened the non-reservation

school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1879, the first school of the kind to be established. He recommended to Secretary of War G. W. McCrary and Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz that a similar school ought to be established in the western part of the Country, nearer the Indians, but not on an Indian reservation. Both of these men approved the suggestion, and Lieutenant M. C. Wilkinson of the U.S. Army was detailed to go to the Pacific Coast and select the place where it should be located.

He selected Forest Grove, Oregon, a college town, as the most suitable place. He started the school and was in charge of it three years. He later rose to the rank of major and it is sad to chronicle the fact that he was killed by a member of the race for which he had done so much and in whom he had so much faith. In 1889, he was ordered to quell a Chippewa Indian uprising at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, and took a squad of soldiers for that purpose. During the melee a Chippewa Indian shot him.

The following telegrams relating to the beginning of the Forest Grove School have been of interest to me, as they show the small start from which Chemawa has grown:

WASHINGTON, D.C.

NOVEMBER 11, 1879

M. C. WILKINSON,

FOREST GROVE, OREGON.

MAIL NEAREST POINT.

OFFICE GRANTS YOU \$5,000.00 FOR THE FIRST YEAR, BUT
TWENTY-FIVE CHILDREN MUST BE EDUCATED INSTEAD OF
TWELVE.

E. A. HAYT.

COMMISSIONER.

FOREST GROVE, VIA PORTLAND, OREGON

FEBRUARY 25, 1880.

SECRETARY OF INTERIOR

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SCHOOL UNDER WAY. EIGHTEEN GIRLS AND BOYS. MORE

READY TO COME. NEED BALANCE APPROPRIATION
THIS YEAR.
M. C. WILKINSON.

The school was named the "Normal and Industrial Training School." George F. Boynton was the Principal Teacher and Mrs. J. T. Huff was selected Matron. It opened on February 25, 1880, with eighteen scholars, fourteen boys and four girls, all from Puyallup Agency, near Tacoma. Their names were as follows: David Brewer, Henry Sicade, Jerry Meeker, Peter Stanup, Nugent Kautz, Augustus Kautz, Willie E. Wilton, Harry Taylor, Charles Ashue, Samuel McCaw, Julia Taylor, Katie James, Annie Porter, Emma Kalama, Peter Kalama, Edward Richard, Andrew Richard, and Samuel Ashue.

The school had only a small piece of land at Forest Grove, upon which three frame buildings had been erected, having a capacity of seventy-five pupils. The land was Block 6, Naylor's Addition to Forest Grove. Increasing attendance made it necessary to remove the school to someplace where more land could be acquired. Several places offered inducements to get the school. Salem's offer to donate 177 acres was considered the best, and was accepted.

In later years, as the school grew, other land was added to that donated, among which was eighty-five acres bought by the pupils with their own money, earned while picking hops and doing other work for neighbors of the school, during vacation time. They donated this land to the Government. The last tract added to the farm was in 1910, when I was authorized to purchase one hundred acres at a cost of \$20,048, which made the total acreage of the farm a little more than 450 acres, and one of the most desirable in Oregon.

Superintendent Wilkinson resigned on February 10, 1883, and was succeeded by Dr. H. J. Minthorn, who served until November 20, 1884, when W. V. Coffin became the Superintendent. The latter was in charge on March 17, 1885, when the school Disciplinarian, Ed McConville, and David Brewer left Forest Grove with a party of pupils to take possession of the new school site on the Southern Pacific Railroad, five miles north of Salem. They were accompanied by a freight car

carrying a supply of provisions, tools, and lumber, which was put on a spur the railroad had put in at the school site.

The party left the train here and camped that night in the timber and brush near the railroad track. The next day was spent in unloading the freight car and moving the supplies to a place near the southwest corner of the land, where they began putting up temporary shelter for the school, to be used while the contractors were erecting permanent frame school buildings. While the camp work was going on, land was cleared of brush and a garden to supply the school was grown.

When the temporary quarters were ready for occupancy, Superintendent Coffin came from Forest Grove with the employees and pupils left there, and they all lived in the temporary quarters until the new Government buildings were ready to be used. School was opened for the first time in October 1st, 1885, under supervision of John Lee, who had succeeded Superintendent Coffin whose resignation was effective the previous day.

Chemawa was essentially a vocational school, where attention was about equally divided in training both the hand and the mind, the object being to prepare the students to go forth after graduation and take their place with other citizens of our Country. Coordinating with the manual training was an academic course which carried the pupils through the eighth grade, which was later changed to the tenth grade, or two years of high school.

The boys could take up steam and electrical engineering, carpentry, painting, plumbing, blacksmith and wagon work, shoe and harness making, tailoring, baking, and printing, all in addition to the courses afforded by the farm, garden, and orchards. It was my practice to require those taking the mechanical courses to spend enough time in the agricultural departments to get some knowledge of the work; and on the other hand, the farm boys were given some instruction in carpentry, harness, and blacksmith work.

The courses for girls embraced about everything worthwhile that came under the head of "Home Economics," including canning of fruit and preparing other supplies for winter use. They enjoyed all the academic privileges of the boys.

The steam and electrical engineering department had a separate

brick building containing four boilers having a combined capacity of three hundred horse power. This department furnished the steam necessary to heat all the principal buildings, including the dwellings for employees, and the power needed for the engines and electrical generators that produced the electricity which provided light for all the buildings and grounds.

The boys interested in carpentry, painting, and plumbing, under supervision of their instructors, made repairs and did other necessary work in keeping up the condition of the buildings, which gave them useful knowledge and experience.

The blacksmith and wagon-shop took care of all school work coming under this classification and, prior to my taking charge of the school, several wagons and covered hacks had been made and sold to Indians, mostly on the Grand Ronde Reservation. After having one hack and a couple of wagons made, it did not seem to me a desirable trade to teach at the school, so the making of new vehicles was discontinued, and all the time was devoted to regular blacksmith work.

The shoe and harness shop made all necessary repairs to the pupils' shoes, and this was not a small job because there were more than five hundred growing pupils. This shop made a large quantity of new harness, each year, which was sold to the Government for distribution to Indian Agencies. This was all high-grade harness, hand made and of first quality leather.

The repairing of all boys' clothing was done in the tailor shop, and some new suits were made. The tailors also made all the uniforms used by the cadet companies. [Once] I needed a suit of clothing and decided to test the work of Chancey Bishop, one of the more advanced pupils. After buying the necessary material at the Salem Woolen Mills, I took it to the instructor in tailoring, and asked him to have the boy make the suit, which he did and it was well done. I gave the boy ten dollars for his work. After graduation, this boy became a tailor in Salem's largest clothing store where he worked many years. Each year after this, one or two of the male employees were given permission to have suits made in like manner by giving the boys ten dollars for the work, with the same results.

The average issue of flour to the bakery on Saturday of each week was about 550 pounds, to be prepared for use in the dining room, and there was frequently some other work to be done. We always bought one hundred turkeys for the pupils' Thanksgiving dinner, and again for their Christmas dinner. These were all cooked in the bakery oven.

When I had been at Chemawa in 1894–95, there was a small press that would print a piece of paper by pushing down a lever with the hand; and [it included] a box of “pied” type that had been dumped into it by two printer boys who had run away from the school. When the boys returned, their first job was to sort the type and put it back in the proper cases, at times when it did not interfere with regularly scheduled duties. This little outfit was really the beginning of the school printing plant.

Superintendent Potter had bought a good foot-power job press in 1897, and began printing a small school paper which he called the “Chemawa American.” I continued adding to the printing equipment and installed a dynamo to run the presses by electricity, making it a very good plant, so much so, that the Indian Office sent us printing to do, including some of the annual reports.

The Chemawa American, issued weekly in magazine form, seven by ten inches in size, contained from sixteen to twenty-four pages of reading matter, and four to six pages of advertising by Salem merchants. The blank paper and other consumable materials were bought with cash received from advertising and subscriptions. The first issue after my arrival was Volume VII, No. 36, dated October 7, 1904. Publication was continued regularly until we left the school in June, 1912.

A vacancy occurred in the printer's position and it was several months before a man of the kind I wanted to fill the vacancy was found. In the meantime, pupils in the printing office were detailed to take charge of the school paper, which they conducted in a very creditable manner. These boys were:

Fortunate Jayme	<i>Editor in chief</i>
Robert Cameron	<i>Assistant Editor</i>

Typos:

Webster Hudson	Charles Harris
Louie John	John McCush
Calvin Darnell	Gus Bowechop
Julian Fernandez	

Fortunate Jayme and Julian Fernandez were Filipino boys who had come to this Country from the Philippine Islands with U.S. Army officers after the Spanish War and entered the Chemawa School.

We had plenty of instruction for the boys' two bands, and piano for the girls, and were looking for a printer capable of teaching the use of stringed instruments, in addition to his printing work. We found such a man in Mr. Ruthyn Turney, then conducting a newspaper for a banker in Corvallis, Oregon. He was an unmarried man of mature age and had unusual qualifications in both printing and music and with these, a fine personality that influenced for good all who came in contact with him. Many of his pupils are filling good positions in newspaper work at this time.

Mr. Turney took charge of the printing work at the school on February 2nd, 1907, and remained until he reached the retirement age on September 30th, 1932, when he left the Indian Service and now resides near Salem. I will speak about his musical work in another paragraph.

The farm was well equipped for agricultural purposes. There was a barn for the horses, and a dairy barn with stalls for twenty-eight cows; and a silo which was filled each summer for winter use. All sorts of crops adapted to the locality were raised on the farm. There were orchards, berry patches, and fifteen acres of prune trees.

The latter produced large quantities of fruit, which were dried in the prune drier. After setting aside sufficient dried prunes for use during the following year, the remainder was sold and the proceeds deposited to the credit of the Government. The potato crop averaged from 3,000 to 3,500 bushels, and other garden products in proportional quantities;

and the dairy herd furnished plenty of milk. These could all be used in addition to the regular ration furnished schools. This permitted more healthful and satisfactory living than that at the schools having no other source for provisions than the Government ration.

The usual plan of arranging the pupils in two divisions, so that each could be in the class-rooms part of the day, one while the other was attending to their industrial duties, was in vogue at Chemawa. The time of attendance was changed at regular intervals, so that all pupils had the same amount of morning and afternoon study. Notwithstanding the hours for study were shorter than in the public schools, the grades were kept fully up to standard, and it was not uncommon for pupils leaving Chemawa to enter public schools near their homes to skip a grade. This aroused some thoughts concerning school work that are not yet clear to me.

In connection with the academic program there were two literary societies for the girls, the Nonpareil and the Estelle Reels, and the Excelsior Society for the boys. Another, the Nesika Club, a burlesque organization of thirteen boys, put on the stage quite frequently entertainments that were enjoyed very much, and brought visitors from outside the school.

There were Y.W.C.A. organizations, both in close touch with those in Salem. There were regular Sunday Services in the school auditorium attended by all the pupils for about six years, and the Catholic Priest came frequently during the week-time to give religious instruction to the Catholic children in school.

Later, in January, 1911, a new Catholic Priest said he did not want the Catholic children to attend the regular Sunday Service. I then had a list of the Catholic children made and assigned him a place to care for them, which was done in a rather haphazard way because he failed so often to come on Sunday or have someone take his place.

The Sunday Service was continued for the Protestant children. During all the years we had the volunteer service of the Protestant Ministers from Salem.

The day's regular routine always ended by all the pupils and as many of the employees as could leave their work, going to the school auditorium at the ringing of the school bell for Chapel Service. This was

conducted by the Superintendent, or in his absence by some member of the faculty.

Did we have pets? Yes, and lively ones too, bears and deer. The former, "Patsy" and "Annie," were kept in a circular bear-pit, about twelve feet across and ten feet deep, with a forked tree trunk set in the center, upon which they would climb and amuse themselves. They were of good temper and performed various antics to get such things as candy and peanuts from persons offering them.

One night after I had been at Chemawa a few months, I was awakened by a white neighbor reporting [that] our bears were at his place and the family was afraid of them. Taking an employee with me, we went to the neighbor's house where we found one of the bears on the top of the telegraphic pole. My companion had taken some sugar with him, and with this coaxed the bear down from the pole, and after giving each of them a taste of the sugar, they followed us home and went down into the pit on a ladder left there by a boy cleaning it the evening before, who forgot to take it out.

The bears were sure to get out sometime during the night preceding "April Fools' Day," and we would find them some place about the campus. On these occasions, we usually let the children play with them part of the day. I bought a young bear and put it in the pit with the other two, and it was many weeks before they became friendly with it.

The other pets were three deer, kept in a wire enclosure of about a half-acre of ground with trees, near the small girls' dormitory. These were tame and lovable creatures, and the girls enjoyed them. We raised a couple of fawns from them, and a young buck deer was added later. He was presented to the school band and shipped to Chemawa by the Commercial Club in Crescent City, California, one time when the band was making a tour down the Coast.

The school had two bands. The principal one had twenty-eight members, which was kept at that number by promotions from the second band where pupils received their first instruction in band music. The first band was popular in the Willamette Valley and received good pay for their playing, the proceeds going to the school fund and used for purchase of new instruments, music, and other school purposes.

The Portland daily papers spoke of the band at the Oregon City Chatauqua in July, 1909, as follows:

The famous Indian band is again an attraction at the Chatauqua and Superintendent Chalcraft has charge of the camp on the grounds. The band has 28 musicians, the Indians coming from Alaska, Klamath, California, Cathlamet, Spokane, Montana and Pueblo, New Mexico. They are a sturdy lot of fellows and add a picturesque touch to the park. — Oregonian.

The Chemawa Indian Band has never made good to such an extent as it has this year. They are better trained and are a fine, dignified set of young men. They have always enjoyed a well deserved popularity and while there have been personnel changes from time to time it is pleasing to note that as the old ones drop out there are others as talented to take their places. — Journal.

In my remarks about the printing office, I mentioned referring to Mr. Turney's musical work at the school. He was a man of unusual ability both as a composer of music and performer with stringed instruments, especially with violin, his favorite instrument, so much so, that his name appeared in "Who's Who," and other musical publications. Memories of "Taumerie," his imitation of the "Scottish Bag Pipes," and his two beautiful Indian Suites, each consisting of four parts, and composed while at Chemawa, are still fresh in my mind.

Mr. Turney's musical work was all voluntary, without remuneration, and done outside of regular working hours, mostly morning and evenings. He gave instruction to any child that wished him to do so, providing [that] attention was given to his instructions and the pupil showed an aptitude for music.

Miss Gertrude Brewer, a graduate of the Willamette Conservatory of Music and a competent pianist, was usually at the piano when Mr. Turney was using his violin for the entertainment of the employees and pupils. She was the Government pianist at the St. Louis Exposition during the time it was open to the public. She then returned to Chemawa and became one of the employees; and several years after

Mr. Turney came to the school, Miss Brewer became Mrs. Ruthyn Turney. It is not too much to say that their influence for good, in everything worthwhile, will always be felt by those who came in contact with them at Chemawa.

One day, Mr. Turney said he had it in his mind to give a Chamber Music Concert for the school. This was a new kind of concert to me and I had to ask him to explain what he meant. He said it was a class of music played privately before Royalty, usually in small rooms, hence the name "Chamber Music." I told him I thought there were others in the school, besides myself, that would be enlightened if he printed on the programs an explanation of what the title meant. He did this and it was very interesting.

In thinking it over I concluded it was an opportune time to test the individual personal taste of the school in music, something like the old saying of "separating the sheep from the goats." With this in mind, I had Turney print 800 tickets so I would have plenty to use, and I had him bring all of them to the office. The day before the concert, a written notice was sent to all the employees about the concert, instructing them to inform all pupils, and further, that no person, pupil or employee, would be admitted without a ticket of admission for which there was no charge and could be had only by applying at my office.

Practically all employees and pupils came for tickets. Watching the audience critically I saw that while the majority enjoyed the music, there was quite a number of both employees and pupils that gave little attention to it.

A month later, there was another Chamber Music concert with the same procedure. This time about one-third of the previous audience failed to come for tickets for admission. Those that did come were those who enjoyed the music, and it was supposed that after each concert they talked about it, because in succeeding concerts the audience gradually increased, until it included practically all employees and pupils of reasonable age.

Entertainments were given [at locations] away from the school, among them one at the Sacred Heart Academy, a Catholic school for girls, and another at the First Christian Church, both in Salem. The

latter was the evening of May 29th, 1912, and as it was the last while we were at Chemawa, I quote from the Salem Statesman's comment concerning it, as follows:

On Wednesday evening a treat in the way of a musical event was given at the First Christian Church by the Chemawa Musical Club.

The first number, a trio in C Major, by Miss Gertrude Brewer and Messrs. Turney and Larsen, was greatly enjoyed and in a measure prepared the audience for the remainder of the Club's excellent program.

The rendition on six stringed instruments of Gungi's "Sounds from Home" was beautifully expressive of that exquisite selection, and received a hearty round of applause.

"Arkansas Traveler," arranged by Prof. Turney, was also an exclusively stringed instrument number, and proved an amusing yet pleasing contrast to the preceding and following beautiful and impressive productions.

Every music lover present was captivated and charmed by the next number, Prof. Turney's four part production, "The Indian Suite." (1) The Interpretation of "Dawn" was a personification of the mystical appearance of Aurora, with the attendant gradual oncoming of light in the East, the awakening peep and twitter of birds and distant sound of lowing herds, the music increasing in volume, and changing in character to represent the roseate tints mounting skyward, then suddenly bursting into a flood of light over the mountain tops and across the plains. (2) "An Indian Dance" accurately represented the emotions, dignity and grace of an Indian ceremony. This was followed by (3) "Lamentation on the Death of a Warrior," weirdly solemn and pathetic, the inspiration for which composition was derived by Prof. Turney on hearing such an occasion when crossing the plains many years ago. (4) The climax was reached in the final number of the Suite, "The Hunt," vividly and vigorously representing the braves on the chase, leading up to the finale of successful pursuit and

victorious return. The entire number was most enthusiastically received and appreciated by the audience.

The difficult production of "Solvejgs Lied," by Grieg, deserved special mention for its excellent execution.

Most ably accompanied at the piano by Miss Gertrude Brewer, Prof. Turney rendered a violin solo, "Grand Fantasie," of his own composition, which was an excellent specimen of the Professor's musical genius, not alone for his splendid skill in the execution of difficult productions, but in his ability as a composer as well. This solo and accompaniment were received with a storm of applause, which was courteously responded to by an additional selection.

"Heart to Heart," a charming as well as unique number, was given on the strings with piano accompaniment.

The program was closed with another of Prof. Turney's compositions, a beautiful Symphonette, which proved an additional charm to the whole.

Too much praise cannot be accorded Prof. Turney for the high quality of this particular recital, as well as for the general results of his directorship of the Chemawa Musical Club. The same may be said of Miss Brewer, also associated with the Chemawa school as pianist, and whose rare attainments as an accomplished musician need no introduction to the people of Salem and vicinity.

Besides these, the personnel of the Club consists of Miss Maude Lowry, Mr. William Ready, violins; Mr. Pickering Chalcraft, viola; Mr. Charles E. Larsen, cello; Miss Fannie Adams, double bass; and Miss Emma Shepard, piano.

The Club possesses fine talent throughout as demonstrated by every member, and the splendid entertainment given by them on Wednesday evening, will be long remembered by those who heard it as one of the year's foremost musical events in Salem.

An Indian string quartet was organized by Mr. Turney and sent out to make a tour of the eastern Chatauqua Associations. This was the first

Indian organization of the kind. One of the members, Willie Ready, had grown up in the Chemawa School where his only instruction in music had been received. "The Violinist," a musicians' magazine published in Chicago, under date of May, 1917, had a photograph of Mr. Turney on the front cover and a short article about the quartet, saying:

The Indian Quartet will tour the country again this season. Each member of the quartet represents a different tribe. Fred Cardin, first violinist, comes from the Quapaw tribe in Oklahoma; Alex Melovidov, second violin, is from the Pribiloff Islands of Bering Sea, and is an Aleut; William Palin, violinist, is from the Flathead tribe of Montana; and William Ready is from the Hydah tribe of Wrangle, Alaska. They studied at the Salem Indian Training School, Chemawa, Oregon

This is the only Indian string quartet in the world and its work shows that the American Indian is as capable of high attainments in art as his paler brother. In addition to their classical numbers they make a special feature of Indian music.

The quartet was organized by Ruthyn Turney, a member of the faculty of the Chemawa school.

The World War broke up the quartet's organization. Fred Cardin went to the State University at Lincoln, Nebraska, as an instructor in music, and later to the Etude in New York City, and Willie Ready went to Chicago. Alex Melovidov at this time in 1942 has a studio in Tacoma, Washington, and is teaching music. I have no information about William Palin since the quartet disbanded.

Behind all that I have said about music at Chemawa, there was the fine personality of one quiet unassuming man possessing a willing and generous spirit, to whom credit can be given, and that was Ruthyn Turney. He was at Chemawa for a quarter century before he retired. Mrs. Turney was retired more recently.

The Indian parents frequently sent spending money to their children and they earned considerable more picking hops and doing other work for neighbors of the school during vacation time. Superinten-

dent Potter found it difficult to handle and supervise the pupils' spending the money until he finally created a "Pupils' Bank" at the school, in which money received by them from all sources was deposited to their individual credit. A set of books was kept and printed checks were used in drawing money from the bank. A Clerk was designated to handle this fund and her work was supervised by the Superintendent.

I found this an excellent plan and continued it during my time at the school. Picking hops was the source of their greatest revenue, which ranged from about \$2,700 to \$3,500 during the summer vacation. The boys with one of the male employees camped in the hop-fields; and the girls with a female employee in each party were taken to the hop-fields by team in the morning and returned in the same way every evening. Hop-tickets were given pupils for hops picked during the day, which were filed in the school office, and at the end of the season the grower came to the office and made payment in full, which was then credited to the pupils' individual accounts. Senator [Charles L.] McNary, then an attorney in Salem, lived just west of the school, and our girls picked his hops every year. The bulk of this money was kept in a Salem bank and only enough was left at the school for current use.

When we arrived at Chemawa, there was 2,000 cords of four-foot wood on the grounds that had recently been delivered under contract with Dr. Mark A. Skiff of Salem at \$4.24 a cord, which he had bought from farmers clearing land about the school at prices ranging from \$2.25 to \$3.00 a cord. Skiff and a number of other men had formed a combine, assigning to each the institutions about Salem they were to supply with fuel and each knew what the others were to bid. When the time for bidding came, each submitted a bid at the prearranged price, and all the others submitted higher bids, thus making it appear there was competition.

The proposals for bids had been calling for the whole amount from one contractor which prevented men having small amounts from bidding, making it easy for the members of the combine to control the wood market. I promised the small producers that if they would hold their wood until the next year's supply was bought, I would see that they had a chance to sell directly to the Government.

They did this, and when my first call for bids on 2,000 cords was

published, it specified that bids would be considered on quantities of 25 cords and up. The average cost of our wood that year was \$3.17 cents a cord. This broke the wood combine and made a bitter enemy of Dr. Skiff, the only one I ever had in Salem. I mention this wood matter because of another action of his, several years later.

In the spring of 1905, Commissioner Francis E. Leupp put me in charge of the work of collecting, installing, and caring for the National Indian Exhibit in the Government building at the Lewis and Clark Exposition, held in Portland from June 1st to October 15th, 1905. This was something of a job in addition to the regular school work. A large and attractive collection was secured, in which practically all Indian schools and reservations were represented. The attendants were pupils from the school, who explained the exhibits, and my wife and I were there much of the time.

Chemawa's Silver Anniversary was celebrated on February 25, 1905, and those following were always properly observed while we were at the school, the last being in 1912. The program was much the same each year. All regular school work was suspended for the day, and at a gathering in the auditorium the Superintendent made a short address and then called on various pupils and employees for impromptu remarks. During this time, school songs and "yells" were not always absent. I quote one in Chinook that rather appealed to me:

Tyee! Tyee! Tyee!

Sah-a-lie Tyee wa-wa mit-lite ko-pa pa-pa,

Skoo-kum Ya-ka haul ill-a-he;

Ne-si-ka ma-mook kum-tux Ya-ka tum-tum —

Tyee! Tyee! Tyee!

(Translation)

Chief! Chief! Chief!

God's Word is in the Book,

The Power that Wins the Land;

We study to know His will—
 Come, join our winning band.
 Chief! Chief! Chief!

The remainder of the day was given up to sports and visiting, and all had a good time, in keeping with the occasion.

Athletics held a prominent place in the school life. We had football teams, basketball teams (both boys and girls), baseball teams, and track teams. Invariably their showing made in athletic competitions was a credit to the school as well as to those taking part in the contests. The first teams in baseball and foot-ball were rated on a par with the state universities of Oregon and Washington teams, and games were won from both of them.

The greatest event in athletics was the annual relay race from Salem to Portland, a distance of 51 miles, which was run each year in May by ten boys from the school and ten young men from the athletic department of the Portland Y.M.C.A., under supervision of Mr. A. M. Grilley, their Instructor. The first race was on Saturday, May 4, 1907. The members of the Chemawa team were:

Walter Haight	Klamath	Age 18
Sam John	Digger	" 18
Peter Seymore	Colville	" 15
Michael Wilson	Nez Perce	" 20
Robert Brothers	Shoshone	" 19
Nick Mack	Klamath	" 18
Frank Dan	Muckleshoot	" 14
Peter Casey	Alaskan	" 19
Apis Goudy	Yakima	" 20
Amos Smoker	Klamath	" 15

The first two runners, Walter Haight of Chemawa and Sidney Rasmussen of the Y.M.C.A., started from the steps of the Capital Building in Salem, each with duplicates of a letter written by Governor

[George Earle] Chamberlain and addressed to Mayor [Harry] Lane at the Y.M.C.A. Building in Portland. There was a large crowd present to see the start, including Ex-Governor [William Paine] Lord, C. B. Moores, R. J. Henderson, Editor of the Daily Statesman, Director of the Salem Y.M.C.A., C. B. Forbes, and nearly all of the state officers.

When the signal was given the runners started for Chemawa, five miles distant, where the letters were passed to two other runners, and the first two stopped. This change was continued every five miles until the letter was delivered to Mayor Lane in Portland by Amos Smoker, Chemawa's tenth member of the team, 5 hours and 26 minutes after Walter Haight left Salem. Frank Newell, the final man in the Y.M.C.A. team came in 12½ minutes later. There was an immense crowd at the Y.M.C.A. Building to see the ending of the race.

The final act of this year's relay race was a banquet for the ten boys. I quote from the Chemawa American, dated May 10, 1907:

On Monday evening the sixth, we had the most enthusiastic rally ever held at Chemawa. It was attended by the entire student body and employees.

The band furnished the music. Mr. Chalcraft presented the handsome gold medals, which were donated by Mayor Lane of Portland to each member of the team, and also presented to the school a beautiful trophy — a Silver Cup — to be added to four won in previous athletic contests. Cheer after cheer rent the air as the victors stepped forth to receive their medals. A number of new school Rah! Raahs! were sprung — new school songs were sung, and all in all it was a gala meeting.

At the end of it, a bounteous banquet was given the team and about 75 of their friends. Toasts were numerous, and each member of the team gave his experience while on the run. A feature of the banquet was a 5 ft. by 2 ft. pie, a luxury the team had not indulged in while in training. This occupied a prominent place on the banquet tables, second only to the handsome silver trophy — the Cup.

During the six years these races were continued, Chemawa won four

and the Portland Y.M.C.A. won two. The last race was on May 4, 1912, when the Y.M.C.A. men won by a margin of three minutes. Each year, business firms in Salem and Portland furnished gold medals for each member of the winning team, and a silver cup for the organization it represented.

An appropriation of \$25,000 for a new brick hospital at Chemawa had been made, and it was constructed during the winter of 1907–08; and when finished the old hospital was converted into a building for the Domestic Science classes. As we were to have a new building and our school Physician had just resigned, it seemed an opportune time to test out the theory that had been in my mind since the recovery of Nancy Smith from consumption in 1888, as mentioned in my notes about the Chehalis Reservation.

Medical men at this time were beginning to recommend open-air treatment for consumptive patients, and this favored my theory. In reporting the school Physician's resignation to the Indian Office I suggested that a permanent appointment not be made for [a] time; then upon the recommendation of Dr. E. A. Pierce, a member of the Willamette Medical School faculty in Portland, Dr. Paxton, a recent graduate of the school, was appointed to serve as temporary Physician, with the understanding that he was to determine the medicines, if any, to give, and I was to control all other matters relating to the consumptive cases.¹

The next move was to have six tents made in the tailor shop and a Sibley stove made in the blacksmith shop.² The tents were set up in the orchard in two rows of three tents each, and the stove placed on the ground between the rows of tents. Fuel was supplied for the stove. Dr. Paxton and I then selected two boys for each tent, making 12 in all, in various stages of consumption, and put them in the tents.

This was in the spring of 1907. Frank Rosenberg, an 18 year old Alaskan boy, was in the worst condition, so sick that he could not be sent home and his parents had come down from Alaska to be with him. Three others were confined to their beds part of their time, and the others were able to be about and wait on the four not able to care for themselves. Nurses served food to them from the hospital.

When winter came on, we proposed taking them to the hospital but

all wanted to stay in the tents and we cared for them there all winter. Commissioner Francis E. Leupp visited us about three months after the boys had been put out in the orchard and we took him to see the camp. This was the first knowledge he had about what we were doing, and it pleased him very much. When he returned to Washington he issued a circular letter to all the Agencies and large schools, urging they take steps to treat consumptives in the same way.

As our experiment was seeming to be a successful one, I had two sites prepared back of the new hospital, one for boys and the other for girls, each graded for good drainage; water, sewer, and steam pipes for heating were laid; and each site was enclosed by a high woven-wire fence. Besides this, a request for authority to purchase lumber and other materials needed for [a] permanent structure had been sent to the Indian Office. Commissioner Leupp came again on June 19, 1908, and finding no reply to my requests, telegraphed the Office to approve all of them and authority came by wire the next day.

The school Carpenter, with the help of his apprentice boys, erected the buildings, eight for boys and eight for the girls. In each enclosure was included a recreation room and a bathroom. The buildings were 16 feet square, with polished floors 2 feet from the ground; hip-roofs with a large glass skylight on the south slope; and enclosed with walls all round to within 3 feet of the roof. Canvass that could be rolled up enclosed the space between the siding and lower edge of the roof. The buildings were heated by steam and lighted with electricity.

No pupil died that had the benefit of the temporary camp or the permanent wards. Frank Rosenberg, the worst case we had, fully recovered and a few years later was killed by an explosion at one of the schools where he was an employee.

The employees carefully watched the weight and general condition of the students and if there was any appearance of not doing well physically, the pupil was sent to the doctor and examined. This was the source of supply to replace vacancies as patients were discharged from the sanitarium. These patients took their meals in the hospital, but most of them continued their regular class-room and industrial duties.

When we left Chemawa in June, 1912, I had the school Physician

make a special examination of the pupils and there was not one pupil found that had any indication of tubercular trouble. This result can be credited to the efficiency of the school's open-air treatment.

Now comes the sad part of the story—an occurrence that happens entirely too frequently in the Indian Service, with changes in the responsible executive officers in the field and the incoming man was either inexperienced, or had an exalted opinion of his own ability and wanted to show that everything previously done was wrong. This was most frequent at the time of changes in administration, especially when there was a change of political parties.

My successor at Chemawa, H. E. Wadsworth, was a likable man personally, but he had come from one of the most backward of reservations, Shoshone, Wyoming, where he had been a Clerk in the Agent's office, and he knew nothing of Indian school life. One of his first acts was to discontinue the use of the school's open-air sanitarium and when I visited Chemawa two years later, there was no trace of it—the buildings were all gone and the ground planted in strawberries. At that time there were several children in the hospital beds with tuberculosis. This was the sad ending of one of the best pieces of work I think I ever did.

Our Disciplinarian, David Brewer, was an able man, highly esteemed by pupils and employees alike, and was connected with the school as pupil and employee until his death, January 14, 1908. His duties were something like those of a father caring for a family of about 325 boys, although Indian children are far more obedient to rules and instructions than the same number of white children.

In addition to the every-day school clothing, the boys had uniforms of blue army jersey, made in the tailor shop, usually worn on Sundays and special occasions. The boys had been organized into companies with proper officers and had received some training. About all [that was] needed was to furnish them with equipment. The Oregon Electric Railway had completed their line from Salem to a point about fifteen miles north of Chemawa and was continuing the grade towards Portland. In an interview with the contractors, they said Indian boys of proper age could be used in their work.

That evening at the Chapel Service, I explained our plans to the

student body and ended by saying, "That any boy who wanted to earn the money in this way to buy the equipment, should give his name to Mr. Brewer." The second day after this, I was informed by Mr. Brewer that he had all the volunteers needed. The contractors took the boys to work in the morning on a train and returned them in the evening. The proceeds from this permitted us to purchase from Hirsh and Sons, St. Louis, Missouri, 160 cadet rifles, 160 belts, 8 swords, and 8 saber slings, costing \$457.80. This equipped two companies that became pretty well trained in the use of arms and made quite a showing in parades at the school.

The Chemawa pupils had the reputation for many years of being loyal to their school and coming to its support when anything was needed in which they could help, as shown by this and the purchase of 85 acres of land from their own earnings and donating it to the Government, as previously mentioned. There were many other instances when there was less expense involved.

On November 13th, 1908, a party of us went to Forest Grove to spend a part of the day visiting the original site of the school. Mrs. Chalcraft, Mrs. Kate L. Brewer, Miss Bender, Mr. Bowen, Mr. Flemming, and a number of the older boys and girls were in the party.

Some people say the 13th of the month is an unlucky day, but I have never felt that way because I was born on the 13th of one month and was married on the 13th of another, and both were lucky days for me. Why should I be superstitious!

The Oregon Electric Railway was completed to Garden Home and we went over the newly laid rails in a bouncing manner. On the way, a trolley wire came down breaking a window in our car, causing excitement among the passengers. From Garden Home we traveled behind an engine that filled the train with smoke and cinders soiling some of the ladies' dresses and confirming their belief that "Friday the 13th" was, indeed, an unlucky day.

Mrs. Brewer was the only person in the party who had attended the school while there; and on the way home after a pleasant day in Forest Grove, she told us many interesting things that occurred there.

The origin of the name "Chemawa," adopted after the school was removed from Forest Grove, is somewhat uncertain. Some say that

Chemawa meant "low land" where the camas grew, from which the Indians made a kind of bread. Others say it means "Happy Home." Still others say it is from the Chinook words "Chee wa-wa," meaning "New talk." Writing at the time that the name was adopted was mostly done with pen and ink, which was sometimes not very legible, and that in correspondence with the Indian Office, the words "Chee wa-wa" appeared to be "Chemawa." From discussion of the word that I have heard, I think the latter explanation is the correct one. At any rate, it expresses one of the objects for which Indian schools were established.

In August, 1908, Mr. Joseph Peasley, a lawyer friend from Des Moines, Iowa, visited us; and again in July, 1909, bringing his wife and daughter with him. He had been my school-mate at Butler College, Indianapolis, Indiana, and later Principal of the Albion, Illinois, school, where we both saw much of him. It is perhaps needless to say that we had much to talk about.

Alice's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Richard Pickering, arrived the last week in November, 1908, from Boston where they had been visiting. After being with us a short time, they went on to Seattle. They returned to Chemawa again in the early part of March, 1911, for an indefinite stay.

On September 28, 1911, Mr. Pickering's 81st birthday was celebrated at our house, and the Chemawa American in its next issue had much to say of a pleasing nature about Mr. and Mrs. Pickering and the reception. They made many friends at the school, and there were many regrets expressed by the employees because of their leaving when they went back to Seattle in June, 1912.

Thanksgiving and Christmas were celebrated in much the same way, and I have selected these days in 1910, as fair examples of the programs.

Thanksgiving Day was observed by a gathering of the pupils and employees in the auditorium at 10 a.m., for a program consisting of music and an address by a speaker not connected with the school. The dinner came at noon with *all* pupils, usually about 600, seated at the tables to enjoy the following menu:

Roast Turkey with Dressing Giblet Gravy
Cranberry Sauce Pickled Beets
Mashed Potatoes Scalloped Onions
Cabbage Salad Mince Pie
Pumpkin Pie Cake
Prune Marmelade Apples
Coffee Bread Butter

The afternoon was usually spent in social enjoyment such as visiting and playing games.

On Christmas Day, exercises in harmony with the day were held in the auditorium at 10:30 a.m., and dinner was at noon:

Roast Oregon Turkey with Cranberry Sauce Giblet Gravy
Potato Salad Pickles
Mashed Potatoes Tomatoes a la Bryan
Cakes Mince Pie
Pumpkin Pie Prune Butter
Oranges Apples
Doughnuts Coffee

I always bought 100 turkeys for each of these occasions; and lady employees appropriately dressed as waiters always attended the tables.

Christmas afternoon was spent in matters relating to the trees that had been set up in the gymnasium. At 7:00 p.m., everybody was there and found two large trees loaded with presents. After the usual telegram from Santa Claus had been read, four cornets from back of the trees broke forth in the beautiful hymn, "Joy to the World," which was followed by "Jolly Old Saint Nick," with everybody joining in the hymn and song. The trees were unloaded, and when it was all over, everybody was ready to go to their rooms for a little rest and sleep.

On August 22, 1909, Mr. Turney with his Mandolin Club went to Seattle to fill an engagement with the Pacific Indian Institute, then being held at the Alaska-Yukon Exposition on the State University grounds. They were accompanied by Mrs. [Mary E.] Theisz and Miss Royer with a party of girls; and I followed later with a number of boys.

While there, Judge and Mrs. Thomas Burke, old personal friends of my wife and me, held a reception that was very much appreciated by all of us and which can be best described by quoting from an illustrated article in the "Week End," a magazine published in Seattle, dated August 28. I quote:

When Judge and Mrs. Thomas Burke opened their handsome home, Wednesday afternoon, from four to six, for a reception to the visiting Indians, they were actuated by a two-fold motive: To give pleasure to the Indians for whom Mrs. Burke has always felt much sympathy and interest; and to impress upon their friends the progress that had been made in the education and advancement of the aboriginal race, through the efforts of the Government and its established schools. For years Mrs. Burke has collected Indian baskets, curios and relics, going among different tribes and familiarizing herself with their customs, rites and ceremonies. This interest has resulted in her getting together one of the largest and finest collections in the country. The band composed of Indian girls and youths, played very acceptably throughout the reception. Young maids passed about the refreshment trays with all the aplomb and ease of their white sisters, and the guests partook of the sandwiches and cake and drank tea and coffee, the only noticeable feature being that they had keener appetites than that of the usual guests at afternoon teas.

Mrs. Burke received her guests in the spacious drawing room decorated with brass bowls of red and yellow dahlias, — she was attired in a Klickitat Indian costume that was becoming to her brunette beauty. It was fashioned of white buckskin trimmed with a fringe of leather and heavily beaded. A jacket made entirely of bright beads formed the waist and on her head she wore a little cap of buckskin embroidered with beads, from which her dark hair fell in two long plaits. The costume had been intended for a young belle in White Swan's tribe of the Klickitats. Mrs. [Jay] Lynch, wife of a former Indian Agent of the Yakimas, receiving with Mrs. Burke, wore a similar costume. Mrs. Ballinger, wife

of the Secretary of the Interior, and Miss Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools of the United States, were in the receiving line. The Indian band was stationed at the opposite of the drawing room. The tea table, decorated with red dahlias, was in Illahee Hall. Mrs. J. C. Haines and Miss Casey of Washington, D.C., poured tea and coffee, a large brass samovar giving a sort of barbaric splendor to the table.

After refreshments "Bright Eyes," a pretty maiden from the Puyallup Indian School, dressed in her tribal costume, sang in her clear sweet soprano, several songs,—some in her native tongue and others in perfect English. There were a few Indian guests from Tulalip, Puyallup, and Colville reservations; but they were mostly from the Chemawa Training School in Oregon.

Mrs. Burke's dusky guests were brought from the Exposition Grounds to her home in automobiles much to their delight as most of them had never had a motor ride. Besides Supt. E. L. Chalcraft of the Chemawa Indian School who had brought the Oregon guests with him, there was Dr. Charles M. Buchanan, of the Tulalip Indian School; F. F. Avery, Inspector of the Colville Reservation; and former Indian Agent Mr. Jay Lynch; and about forty invited guests at this most interesting reception which will long be remembered by those fortunate enough to be present.

I mention the following simply because there is a lesson in it, although there was no thought of it at the time. One day soon after returning from the Exposition in Seattle, the school Engineer reported the brick arch in one of the boilers was in such a condition that it was necessary to have a brick layer come from Salem to rebuild it. I explained that the engineer boys ought to be instructed in that kind of work as they might have to do it after leaving school, especially those from Alaska, and thought his boys could do the work if he advised them. He did not seem inclined to do this, so, after a couple of days waiting, I went to the engine room in working clothes and had the Engineer detail two of his boys to assist me. We tore down the arch and rebuilt it, finishing the job before suppertime. It looked well and lasted as long as they usually do. This was my first and last attempt at brickwork.

While at the Siletz Reservation a few years later, I received a letter from Joe Purnes, one of the two boys. He was then the Engineer at a California school ten miles from town. In his letter, he said that the Superintendent had bought the necessary material to construct a telephone line between the school and town, and had asked him if he could put up the line. Joe said he had never done such work, but remembered that while working on the boiler arch at Chemawa, I had said, "People of ordinary intelligence could do many things they had never done, if they only thought so, and tried." This caused him to say, "Yes," to the Superintendent's question. He did the work and said the line was working well. This little incident, the result of an accidental day's work at bricklaying, was abundant payment for the work, and illustrates the influence of words in ordinary conversation.

The first Sunday evening in October, 1909, President [William Howard] Taft's special train coming from Portland stopped at Chemawa. Anticipating this coming, electric lights had been strung about the depot and with the campus lights attached to trees, illuminating the grounds. As the train slowed down a continual roar of "Taft! Taft! Taft!" rent the air. The boys swung their caps and the girls their flags until the President bowed, then the cheering ceased and he left the car. A Salem gentleman on the train attended to the introductions, and after a few minutes conversation, the President mounted the car platform. At this time, he was given a large bouquet of Chemawa roses the ladies had prepared for Hallie to present. The President then made a short speech, and the train pulled out for Salem as the school band played "America," with the student body singing it.

With a number of others, I was called to Washington, D.C., by Commissioner Valentine to attend a Superintendents' Conference to be in session from December 6th to 10th, 1909. There was a large attendance and among those present were many whom I had met while Supervisor of Indian Schools. The Conference ended with a banquet given by the Indian Office employees. I arrived home on January 9, 1910, after stopping off at our old home in Albion for a visit with relatives and friends.

The first inspecting official to visit the school was Special Agent Dr. Charles E. McChesney, whom we had known favorably for several

years. He came the first week in March, 1910, and as we were going up the walk towards the "Cottage," our home, he suddenly stopped and said, "Hold on. I have recently received instructions from Commissioner Valentine saying that inspecting officers should not be entertained by officials in the Field Service." After my reply [conveying that I thought it would be all right], we went on and he was the guest of Alice and me at our home, and we enjoyed listening to some of his experiences with the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Pickering was the Census Enumerator in 1910, for the precinct in which Chemawa is located. His mother and I thought him rather young for the job, but Mr. R. G. Hendricks, in charge of the County Census, wanted him to do the work. It was a large precinct and took considerable time.

Chief Supervisor H. B. Peairs arrived direct from the Indian Office June 7th, 1910. His only business at the school was to deliver a verbal message from Commissioner Valentine asking that I write an official letter to him, recommending the territory from which we drew pupils be divided at the Columbia River, which Mr. Peairs explained was to give the Puyallup School a larger field from which to secure pupils. This would take from Chemawa about one-half of our pupils and ruin the school, for which I would receive the blame if I took the initiative; and the Oregon delegation in Congress would be after my "scalp." Commissioner Valentine had full legal authority to issue this order without asking me, or anyone else, if he saw fit to do so; but fearing the results, he tried to shift them onto me. In other words, he wanted me to "rake his chestnuts out of the fire."

If he had written me, his request would have become a matter of official record, and that would not do, so Supervisor Peairs was sent to deliver it verbally and get my reply. He understood the situation thoroughly after we had gone over some of our records, and agreed with me that the proposed division of territory would greatly injure the school; but if I did not write the proposed letter he feared I had a fight before me. I told him, "Fight or no fight, I would never write such a letter."

When Mr. Peairs left for Washington, I asked him to tell the Commissioner that I sent him my best regards, and to say, "That while I

could not conscientiously write the letter he requested, I would raise no objection, but would do the best I could for the school, if he saw fit to take the proposed action." As Mr. Peairs had been a personal friend for many years, I have no doubt that he delivered my message as I intended.

The question now arises as to *why* Commissioner Valentine proposed giving a portion of my pupil territory to the Puyallup School. As the years went by and the Puyallup Indians became more progressive, they established public schools on their reservation which were attended by their children. The first was the Fife Public School, established about 1903. Two of the school officers were Henry Sicade and William Wilton, but I do not recall the name of the other. These two men served as school directors while it grew from a one-room school to a large two-story building with several rooms. This and other public schools cared for practically all the children on the reservation, making the old boarding school not necessary.

All the inspecting officers up to 1905, including myself while a Supervisor, had recommended closing the boarding school. When Commissioner Leupp was at Chemawa on June 19, 1908, he told me he had taken steps to close the school, but Congressman [Francis W.] Cushman of Tacoma entered a protest, claiming the city of Tacoma needed the school as a place to show visiting tourists when they wanted to see Indians. The Commissioner finally agreed to fit up appropriate quarters for about 80 small pupils and make it attractive, which was satisfactory to the Congressman, and was doing so. The money for this was taken from funds derived from the sale of Puyallup Indian land subsequent to December 2, 1903, and the proceeds placed in the U.S. Treasury to the credit of the tribe, as mentioned in my remarks concerning the Puyallup School.

When Commissioner Valentine came into office he did not continue as his predecessor had planned, but built up a school-plant having a capacity of over 400 pupils, and appointed a full number of employees. They gathered in a few Puyallup children and all they could get from the S'kokomish, Nisqually, Squaxin, and Chehalis reservations, but these were not nearly enough to fill the school, making the overhead expenses high. At this time, and for many years previous,

the legislative limit for the expense of each pupil in school was \$167 per year. The average expense for pupils in this new school was over \$212 per year. This was permissible because the money was spent from tribal funds. This fund was now nearly exhausted, making it necessary to go to Congress to get an appropriation for support of the school, as other schools did.

In getting the Congressional appropriations it was necessary for the Indian Office to submit details of expenses for each school; and in this instance it looked like it might be difficult to explain the \$212 cost per pupil, while all the others were using only \$167 for the same work, without admitting he had built a large school where it was not needed. His only way of getting out of the dilemma was to get more pupils in some way, hence he was willing to break up the Chemawa School to get himself out of a hole if he could do it safely, and this would not be a safe thing to do without putting me in a position where he could say without contradiction that it was done at my request. The desired letter would have done this, and the failure to get it was the one, and only reason, for the attack he made on me later.

About two weeks after Supervisor Peairs had left Chemawa, Mrs. and Mrs. Cort Meyer paid us a week's visit and were entertained at our home. Mrs. Meyer before her marriage was Miss Estelle Reel, the last National Superintendent of Indian Schools and had served many years. During this time, she had become a personal friend of Alice and me and others at the school.

While Mr. and Mrs. Meyer were with us, Assistant Commissioner F. H. Abbott made his appearance on an unofficial visit, as he was taking a short vacation, and this made the occasion something like a reunion, as he and Mrs. Meyer were old-time friends.

In the last week of August, 1910, we had Hon. S. M. Brosius, Washington Representative of the Indian Rights Association with us. This organization is composed of influential men who kept in close touch with Government efforts for Indians, and gave their aid to the Indians in all cases where they appeared to need it.

When visitors were present on Sundays, we usually invited them to accompany us on the regular inspection of the pupils' quarters at 9:30 a.m., on that day. The pupils were all in their rooms, most of

which were occupied by two persons. Besides any visitors that might be present, I always invited two or three of the larger boys to go with me when inspecting the girls' dormitories; and when going to the boys' quarters it would be the same number of girls.

When in the girls' rooms, the boys were on the lookout for dust in unexpected places, such as behind pictures on the walls, and sometimes wiping the tip of open doors with their handkerchiefs in trying to find some. The girls with me in the boys' rooms were equally active. These inspections created a rivalry that was beneficial and much appreciated by Mrs. Theisz, the Head Matron, who was with us all the time we were at Chemawa.

A few days after Mr. Brosius left, Alice, Pickering, Hallie, and I took a team and drove to Silver Creek Falls, several miles east of Salem, to take a short vacation, the first I had really had in several years. We had a good tent and all necessary camp equipment to make ourselves comfortable, and had a good time. There are three falls in Silver Creek of considerable size and not far apart. One of them, a single plunge, is about 100 feet high. We took plenty of photographs, and still have those of our camp which were enlarged and framed.

On Sunday, February 26, 1911, Alice and I united with the First Christian Church in Salem by presenting our letters from the First Christian Church in Seattle. Pickering and Hallie were also received in the Salem Church at the same time.

Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt was at the school for a few minutes on Wednesday, March 29, 1911. His private car was attached to the S. P. Shasta Limited Train that made no stops between San Francisco and Portland, excepting at the larger cities, and would pass Chemawa at 12:45 p.m. When the train was entering Oregon, I telephoned Mr. McMurrey, the road's General Agent in Portland, [stating] that the Chemawa people would like to give Colonel Roosevelt a cheer or two, and asked if it would be possible to have the train slow up while passing through Chemawa. He said he would see what he could do for us.

The train was on time to the minute and the Ex-President was standing on the steps as it rolled in. When he saw the crowd he signaled the conductor to stop. His request was granted and amid music by the band, cheers, and waving of flags, he jumped to the ground and

began shaking hands with everyone he could reach. All the time he was expressing his pleasure at the greeting, and speaking encouraging words to all. As the train left, the kindly man stood on the platform and bowed and waved his hand in silent farewell.

Besides President Taft and Ex-President Roosevelt's visits while we were at Chemawa, two other Presidents had been at the school: President Hayes in 1880, and President Harrison in 1891.

When I was in Washington City, the first week in August, 1904, preparing to come to Chemawa, the Chief Clerk, Josiah H. Dortch, who had been in charge of the Educational Division of the Indian Office for many years, said to me: "You had better get rid of your assistant, W. P. Campbell, as soon as you can after getting your seat warm, or he will do you dirt. You need not make any charges against him, but just write a letter to the Office recommending he be given a promotion. It will come to my desk and I will transfer him to some place where he can do no harm."

Campbell was a competent man and from the time I arrived at Chemawa to begin work, he carried on his part with diligence, and apparently no one could have been more loyal and faithful than he was. My every suggestion met with his approval and was carried out as I intended for more than six years. During all this time, there was never a word of dispute or criticism on the part of either of us. This caused me to think that Mr. Dortch had been mistaken in the man, and I took no steps to have him relieved.

My first intimation that there was anything going wrong was early in February, 1911, seven months after Mr. Peairs' visit on June 7, 1910, with Commissioner Valentine's verbal request to write him about dividing the school's territory, which must have caused Campbell to think Valentine would be angry at my reply and there was a good chance to supplant me and get charge of the school. Information began to reach me through the employees that Campbell was making to the pupils various criticisms about my management of the school and telling them things would be changed if he were the Superintendent.

I said nothing to him about it, but became more cautious and made a note of the information as it came to me in this way. I found he had

in some way gained control of Miss Gertrude Nicholson, one of my Clerks, and Miss A. N. Ferris and Miss Daisy Gear, both classroom Teachers. Besides these there was his wife, the Principal Teacher, and Father Paul Datin, a Jesuit Priest at Brooks, a neighboring town, who had charge of the Catholic mission work at Chemawa; and the last but not the least aggressive was Dr. Mark Skiff of Salem, the man whose wood combine I had broken up shortly after coming to Chemawa. Every other employee than those mentioned and the student body were with me.

There was an upstairs room in the office building, used only by me for personal matters such as writing private correspondence, and where I kept some personal belongings. On March 17th, two days before Campbell left for Washington, I found someone had stolen the pencil draft of a personal letter I was writing to Mr. Peairs in Washington, in which I spoke of some school matters, but had not finished it. When Supervisor Holcombe came on May 5th to make an investigation, one of the first things he asked about was if I had written Peairs. When I said, "No," he said he knew that because he had seen and asked him.

No written communications relating to our school duties had ever passed between Campbell and myself, until March 19th, the day he left for Washington City. Just before going to the train he handed me two letters, both damp from having been taken from the letter-press copy book. The first was dated March 9th, in which he said "One of the girls' buildings was unsafe because of defective screens, to which he had previously drawn my attention many times, and boys had been entering the building at night." There was not a word of truth in any part of the letter.

The other letter, dated March 15th, was to inform me that Jennie O'Brien, age 11, and Rosa O'Brien, age 13, from Republic, Washington, "Had not been given the Catholic First Communion, as he had promised their father, when he was there and brought them to the school." They had been at the school about two years, and Campbell had never mentioned his promise to me nor to Mrs. Theisz, the school Matron, or to anyone else as far as could be learned.

There could be no other use of these two letters than showing the

letter-press copies to an inspecting officer as evidence against me if it became necessary. There were other preparations of like character, but this is sufficient to show what I was up against.

On March 18, 1911, Commissioner Valentine sent a telegram addressed to "William P. Campbell, Assistant Superintendent Indian School, Salem, Oregon." This was received by Campbell and shown to me on the same date. The telegram read as follows:

I SHOULD BE GLAD TO SEE YOU IN WASHINGTON AT YOUR
VERY EARLIEST CONVENIENCE. WIRE ME PERSONALLY
SEVENTEEN TWENTY-SEVEN NINETEENTH STREET,
WASHINGTON, D.C., WHEN YOU START.

This address was Valentine's private residence, and the only plausible explanation for using it was to prevent his telegram and Campbell's reply from being officially known, which would be the case if they went through the Indian Office procedure. This view of the matter was confirmed by the Chief Clerk of the Educational Department when I was in Washington City, [from] October 19 to November 2, 1912, after Valentine was out of office and Assistant Commissioner F. H. Abbott was in charge of the Indian Office.

Campbell said he did not know why he had been called to Washington, but thought it might mean a promotion for him. I told him if that should be the case, and anything came up in which he thought I could help him, to wire me and I would assist as far as possible. He left for Washington the next day, March 19th, 1911.

Campbell returned from Washington, Sunday evening April 9th. General Pratt, founder of the Carlisle Indian School where Campbell had worked for a time, wrote me June 29th that on the way home Campbell called on him in Philadelphia in company with his brother-in-law, one of the Editors of the Philadelphia Press, and showed him his summons to Washington, and said "He didn't know why he was sent for, and was yet unable to understand."

At about ten o'clock the next morning after Campbell returned to Chemawa, he came into my office and handed me a sheet of paper, written on the Indian Office stationery and not enclosed in an en-

velope. This was an official set of charges against me, dated March 31, 1911, that had been prepared by Valentine with the assistance of Campbell while he was in Washington. It was signed by Valentine and given to Campbell for delivery to me. I am quoting from the original paper, as follows:

Conditions at Salem School. March 31, 1911
Mr. E. L. Chalcraft,
Superintendent Salem Indian School,
Chemawa, Oregon.

Sir:

I find after careful examination of several sources of information:

FIRST — That immorality among the students is a matter of common knowledge at Chemawa,

SECOND — That in October last you whipped a number of girls, ranging in age from 15 to 21.

THIRD — That you also had some of these children whip each other.

FOURTH — That you have failed to observe the letter as well as the spirit of the religious regulations.

FIFTH — That you do not carry the pupils' fund on your official account.

In accordance with the Civil Service Regulations, you will be given three days in which to make your answer to these charges. Answer "yes" or "no" to each of these questions, and submit any further statements you wish.

Respectfully,
(signed)
R. G. Valentine,
Commissioner.

After reading the charges at my desk, I looked up at Campbell, and said: "Campbell, you and I have never, in all these years, had any

unfortunate words, but I want to say, to you, right now, that of all the dishonorable treacherous beings I have ever seen or heard of, you are the most contemptible and, if I have to go, I will see that you go too." He turned and walked out of the room without saying a word, and went to Salem.

Before coming to me that morning, Campbell had secretly delivered copies of the charges, all signed by Valentine, to twenty-eight of my employees to complete and mail directly to Washington, without mentioning it to anyone. These were all of the same date as my copy and differed from it only in the paragraph following the fifth, or last charge. This had been changed to read as follows:

Answer "yes" or "no" to each of these questions, or state that you have no knowledge whatever either way.

Make your answers as nearly by return mail as possible, swear to them before a notary public, and mail them to Hon. R. G. Valentine, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.

It is manifest that this instruction was unfair, because any employee who knew what had been going on was prohibited from explaining or giving any facts about any of the acts charged against me that might be in my favor. There is no doubt that the four employees, previously mentioned as being controlled by Campbell, completed and mailed their copies of the charges, and possibly one more, an Indian Assistant Clerk. None of the others did, but brought them to me.

A fight to the finish was now on, and feeling that I would need the help of some competent and safe person to consult at times, I went to Salem in the afternoon after receiving the charges from Campbell, to ask Mr. R. J. Hendricks, owner and Editor of the Salem Daily Statesman, if he would assist me in that capacity, and he said he would gladly do so. He said Campbell was in to see him just before noon and told him that he was to succeed me at Chemawa, evidently to get a notice in the next morning's paper, but it was not there. Mr. Hendricks proved to be a valuable advisor and assisted me in many other ways.

On the whole, there had always been a friendly relationship between Campbell and the other employees, even subsequent to the visit of

Mr. Peairs when he was criticizing me to the pupils. But after his return from Washington and they fully understood the situation, their attitude changed to one of silent contempt for him, and they ignored his presence as much as possible. This hurt his pride, and to defend himself, he tried to place all the blame on Valentine.

He told some that when he went to the Indian Office, he found two Senators in consultation with Valentine urging my dismissal from Chemawa, and the Commissioner had already made up his mind to do so. He said to others that he tried to say things in my favor, and the Commissioner would not let him do it, but "sealed his lips" every time. Other things of a similar nature were said, and each informant gladly gave me an affidavit of what had been said to them. These were afterwards found to be useful.

In the evening of April 10th, after receiving the charges, I telegraphed Commissioner Valentine as follows:

YOUR COMMUNICATION RECEIVED TODAY. WILL BEGIN REPLY TOMORROW. ANSWERING IN THREE DAYS NECESSITATING WIRING PREVENTS PROPER DEFENSE. REFER HOLLAND AND MCTAGGERT REPORT NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FOUR. CAN DISPROVE ALL CHARGES. IF CLEARED OF CHARGES AND MY INCUMBENCY HERE EMBARRASSES YOU, WILL ACCEPT ANOTHER PLACE IF AGREEABLE TO BOTH. WILL YOU ALLOW ME TO REPORT TO YOU FOR DEFENSE AND CONSULTATION.

On April 11th, the employees brought me a telegram to Valentine [that] they had prepared and [had been] signed by thirty-seven of them. At my request this was not sent until the 18th. It read as follows:

AS AN ACT OF JUSTICE, WE, THE UNDERSIGNED EMPLOYEES OF THE SALEM INDIAN ACHOOOL, EARNESTLY REQUEST SUPERINTENDENT CHALCRAFT BE GIVEN A PERSONAL HEARING BEFORE THE COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS TO ANSWER CHARGES.

No reply was received to either of these two communications.

My answer to the charges, consisting of six pages, was completed and mailed the evening of April 13th, the third day after receiving them. To prevent any mishap, I telegraphed the Indian Office informing them that it had been mailed. I had shown it to Mr. Hendricks, my advisor, and he said it was fine, clear cut, convincing, and should be sufficient.

Commissioner Valentine must have thought I would promptly resign when Campbell gave the charges to me, because two days after Campbell left Washington, he sent Mr. R. H. Higgins, one of his office employees, to Portland where he was to not let his presence be known, while waiting for further instructions. After being in Portland a few days, he was ordered to Seattle to await instructions. This came to me from one of my Clerks who prepared his traveling vouchers, but she did not tell me until after I had been reinstated and Mr. Higgins had gone home.

On April 28th Mr. Higgins arrived at Chemawa, and gave me the following:

*Mr. Edwin L. Chalcraft,
Superintendent Salem Indian School.*

I have received instructions from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs by telegram of April 27th, 1911, which reads in part: "Go Chemawa School, Salem, Oregon. Suspend Superintendent Chalcraft without pay from the position of Superintendent of the Salem Indian School, Chemawa, Oregon, effective April 28, 1911, pending investigation."

R. H. Higgins,
Supervisor of Indian
Schools in charge.

Mr. Higgins was courteous but rather reserved towards me at first and depended upon Mr. Campbell for information and assistance in school matters. After a couple of weeks association with the Chemawa employees he realized the situation, and began coming to me for advice

about things. It was not long before I was really acting as his assistant without pay, and Campbell was a gentleman of leisure.

Chief Supervisor E. P. Holcombe, from the Indian Office, came May 5th. The next day, he gave me a set of charges about school matters sent the Indian Office by Dr. Mark Skiff of Salem. These were easy to answer and it gave me a good chance to show his character by giving the details of my experience with his wood combine, as previously mentioned.

The next case concerned religious matters at the school. On April 19th, Father Moore, in charge of the Catholic Church in Salem, heard of what was going on at Chemawa and phoned he would like to see me. I went to Salem and while talking with him asked if he knew how Arch-Bishop [Alexander] Christie felt about me. He said he did not know but would find out, and he went to Portland the next day for that purpose. When he returned he said Father Datin had loaded the Arch-Bishop "up to the chin" against me.

All instructions to employees about school matters were in writing and carried to them by office messenger boys who brought the message back to the office after the employee had read and signed it. I took all of those relating to Catholic interests, together with Datin's letters to me and copies of my replies, and fastened them together in chronological order. I showed these to Father Moore and he advised me to show them to Arch-Bishop Christie, as he felt sure they would convince him that I had done rightly. Mr. Turney took the paper to Portland for me and after the Arch-Bishop had read them, he asked Mr. Turney to "Convey his respects to Mr. Chalcraft and say that he would send for Father Datin tomorrow to explain his reports to him."

Datin was sent to California shortly after this, and reports reached us through Catholic sources that he was otherwise punished for making false reports. Arch-Bishop Christie came to Chemawa later and was very friendly to all of us. This was all explained to Mr. Holcombe but he went to Portland and checked it up.

Supervisor Holcombe spent the remainder of his time at Chemawa in taking testimony relating to the original charges given me to answer on April 10th, investigating my official records, and special matters that

came up. Among the latter were the statements Campbell made about Commissioner Valentine after returning from Washington. I had given Holcombe the affidavits concerning it, previously taken from employees, and a few days later he told me Campbell was in another room "Sweating over the reply he was trying to make." Supervisors Peairs and O. H. Lipps, both friendly to me, came on May 19th and remained a couple of days. Holcombe's final report on the whole affair was dated May 26 and as he left for Washington on June 5th, he probably carried it with him.

When I was in Washington City, October 19 to November 2, 1912, Supervisor Holcombe asked if I had ever seen his report, and upon receiving a negative reply, he said I should see it. He had a Clerk bring the report and all papers relating to it, and I was given a desk and told to go through it, and tell him if I found anything to criticize. I found nothing that I thought was not fair, and told him so.

No official action was taken on Holcombe's report until September 7, 1911, three months after it reached the Indian Office, when I received the following telegram from Samuel Adams, Acting Secretary of the Interior, the department that has supervision of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. I quote:

WASHINGTON, D.C. SEPT. 7, 1911

EDWIN L. CHALCRAFT,

CARE OF INDIAN SCHOOL, SALEM, OREGON

YOU ARE HEREBY REINSTATED AS SUPERINTENDENT OF THE
SALEM INDIAN SCHOOL AND WILL ASSUME CHARGE AS SOON
AS YOU RECEIPT TO SUPERVISOR HIGGINS THUS RELIEVING
HIM.

SAMUEL ADAMS, ACTING SECRETARY.

On August 22nd, W. P. Campbell and his wife were offered transfers to the Quillaute Day School on the Washington Coast, the former as Teacher at \$720 a year; and the latter as Assistant Teacher at \$600 a year, just one-half their Chemawa salaries, and they both resigned. Mr. Higgins wired their resignations to Washington on August 30, and the next day received the following reply:

WASHINGTON D.C., AUGUST 31, 1911

HIGGINS, INDIAN ACHOOL,
SALEM, OREGON

RESIGNATIONS OF W. P. CAMPBELL AND NELLIE J. CAMPBELL
HAVE BEEN ACCEPTED EFFECTIVE TODAY. THEY SHOULD TAKE
UP QUARTERS ELSEWHERE AT ONCE, BUT YOU MAY PERMIT
THEIR PRESENCE ON THE GROUNDS SOLELY FOR THE
PURPOSE OF REMOVING THEIR EFFECTS. SEE THAT THEY
DO THIS AS PROMPTLY AS CONSISTENT WITH PROPER
KINDNESS.

VALENTINE, COMMISSIONER.

Miss Gertrude Nicholson, the Clerk, was transferred to some place in Oklahoma; and Miss Ferris and Miss Gear did not return from their vacations in the east.

I receipted Supervisor Higgins for the school on September 9th and was in charge again thinking my troubles were about over, but it was not so, because on September 23rd Valentine notified me that he was transferring me to Jones Male Academy, a Choctaw school near Hartshorne, Oklahoma. On September 30th I wired him as follows:

YOUR LETTER TWENTY-THIRD. I DO NOT UNDERSTAND CAUSE FOR TRANSFER. IF BASED UPON PAPERS ON FILE, THEY CONTAIN SOMETHING NOT MADE KNOWN TO ME AND NOT FULLY EXPLAINED AND UNDERSTOOD. IF MONEY MATTERS I CAN SHOW THERE IS NO CAUSE FOR CENSURE AND I FOLLOWED ONLY COURSE OPEN TO ME OR ANYONE ELSE IN THE SAME SITUATION. I THINK HIGGINS UNDERSTANDS THIS. I BELIEVE NOT ALL THE FACTS ARE BEFORE YOU AND I SHOULD HAVE THE PRIVILEGE OF GOING OVER THE EVIDENCE BEFORE MAKING DECISION CONCERNING TRANSFER. MY RECORD AS SUPERINTENDENT AND AS SUPERVISOR SHOWS THAT I HAVE NOT BEEN CREDULOUS OR WEAK. I KNOW I AM RIGHT AND HAVE FAITH IN CONVINCING YOU IF ALLOWED TO GO OVER THE MATTER WITH YOU. THIS IS THE REASON I HAVE URGED BEING CALLED TO WASHINGTON FOR CONSULTATION.

The next day, I sent a personal telegram to his home address, No. 1727–19th Street, Northwest, Washington, D.C., in case the other did not reach his desk in the Indian Office promptly. In this I said:

WILL YOU GRANT ME PERSONAL INTERVIEW BEFORE
REQUIRING ANSWER CONCERNING TRANSFER? IT SEEMS DUE
ME AND I THINK YOU WILL NOT REGRET THE FAVOR AND WILL
RECOGNIZE JUSTICE IN THE REQUEST AFTER HEARING ME. IT
WILL CREATE A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING AND YOU WILL FIND
ME REASONABLE AND APPRECIATIVE.

On October 2nd, he wired that my transfer was mandatory, and said “If I took the transfer now offered, he hoped to see me rise in the service again.” On October 4th, I accepted the transfer in the following telegram:

SALEM, OREGON OCTOBER 4, 1911
COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

YOUR TELEGRAM SECOND, I ACCEPT TRANSFER TO JONES MALE
ACADEMY, OKLAHOMA. I HAVE ALWAYS BEEN LOYAL TO YOU
AND BEEN FAITHFUL TO MY GOVERNMENT TRUST. I CANNOT
HELP FEELING MY TRANSFER IS UNWARRANTED, BUT IN MY
NEW FIELD I SHALL DISCHARGE MY DUTIES TO THE BEST
OF MY ABILITY, AS IN THE PAST.

It had always been the custom to pay the salaries of officials for the period they were suspended, providing they were cleared of the charges against them, which in my case had been done by reinstatement on September 7, 1911. On September 19, I submitted to the Indian Office my claim for this salary amounting to \$736.88, which was rejected because the order suspending me contained the words, “without pay during suspension.” This brought on quite a spirited correspondence with Commissioner Valentine in which I used some rather strong expressions, stronger than I am accustomed to doing.

On December 27th, he wrote me a mollifying letter in which he

said the Indian Office would raise no further objection to my salary, and closed his letter with: "I appreciate the fact that you do not agree with me. It is one of those administrative dilemmas on the horns of which two men may often honestly find themselves."

By this time, previous appropriations from which the salary could be paid had elapsed, and it was necessary to submit my claim to Congress, which was done with Valentine's favorable endorsement; and a special appropriation was made to pay me the \$736.88.

After my reinstatement and transfer to Jones Male Academy had been accepted, things moved along at Chemawa about as usual and there were no sore spots left at the school.

On November 5, 1911, Supervisor Holcombe telephoned from Portland inviting me to meet him and Special Agent McConihe at the Marion Hotel in Salem at five o'clock that evening and take dinner with them. They were on their way to San Francisco, and had stopped between trains for dinner. We had a very pleasant evening.

General Pratt with his daughter, Mrs. Guy L. Stevick, came to Chemawa on February 13, 1912, and spent a couple of days. At the beginning of the contest he had proposed taking the matter up with President Taft. He said they had been personal friends for many years, and he knew the President would listen to what he had to say, whether or not he could do anything. I objected to this, on the ground that I preferred to fight the case on its merits, and if necessary, go to the President later. Since my arbitrary transfer, I felt like giving Valentine a taste of his own medicine, and when General Pratt left Chemawa, it was understood that he could go to the President whenever it was convenient for him to do so.

Ex-Agent Edwin Eells, under whom we began work in the Indian Service, with Mrs. Eells, came on February 27, 1912, and when he learned about General Pratt's contemplated action, he was delighted with it. Alice and I both prized their loyal friendship of so many years.

The last Commencement Exercises at Chemawa, while we were there, began on Sunday, June 16, 1912, with a Baccalaureate Sermon by Rev. Dr. McGaw of Portland. On Tuesday, many visitors came to the school and remained with us the entire day. At 9:30 a.m., departments of the school were opened for inspection of the visitors.

Under the guidance of students the visitors were taken in parties to inspect the various departments. This proved interesting to all and many remained for a social gathering of pupils and employees that evening in the gymnasium.

Wednesday, at 2:30 p.m., Graduating Exercises were held in the auditorium where there was a program, and I had the pleasure of delivering the diplomas to thirteen graduates. Besides the graduates on the rostrum, there was Reverend Dr. McGaw; Father Pryor of Mt. Angel; Mr. Bartram, Principal Teacher; and H. E. Wadsworth, who had arrived on the 11th to succeed me.

On Friday evening, the 21st, there was a reception at our home. I quote from the Chemawa American dated June 28, 1912:

One of the pleasant affairs of commencement was the reception on Friday night at which Mr. and Mrs. Chalcraft entertained, at the Cottage in compliment to the employees of the school.

The rooms made a lovely setting of the affair in harmonious grouping of American Beauty roses. In the dining room the color scheme was green and white. During the evening Mr. Larsen rendered several cornet solos, accompanied by Miss Gertrude Brewer.

Mrs. Chalcraft with Mrs. [Myrtle H.] Cooper and Mrs. [Georgina] Woods, assisted by Grace Perkins and Marina Shai-shnikoff, served light refreshments.

Nearly every employee of the school was present and all voted the reception the most delightful in every way.

Mr. Harry E. Wadsworth signed the necessary receipts and took charge of the school on June 22, 1912, and on the same date I performed my last duty in connection with the school, that of issuing a final letter to our co-laborers at Chemawa:

*Chemawa, Oregon June 22, 1912
To All Employees, Salem Indian School
Chemawa, Oregon.*

This is to inform you that Mr. H. E. Wadsworth, late of the Shoshone School, Wyoming, assumes charge of the Salem School today, relieving me as Superintendent.

In making this announcement I wish to express my appreciation of the loyal support of my associates during the seven and three-fourths years we have worked together at Chemawa. It has been hard work, covering at times long hours of time each day, and I have the fullest assurance in saying that I believe none have any regrets for all they have done towards the upbuilding of Chemawa and the education of the young people who have been entrusted to our care.

The advance has been uniform until the unfortunate circumstances of a year ago occurred, over which none of us now at the school had any control, and I feel sure you will all unite with Mr. Wadsworth, as you have done with me, in filling the school with good students, and pushing onward to a still higher plane.

Thanking you all sincerely and wishing each of you the greatest prosperity and happiness wherever your lot may be cast, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,
Edwin L. Chalcraft.

To complete the Chemawa record, I would like to add the following, which was the final official action in the difficulty with Commissioner Valentine, and took place after we left Chemawa on July 17th, 1912, and [had] gone to Jones Male Academy in Oklahoma. General Pratt returned to the east in May, and on June 7th, he wrote me that he had been to see President Taft, and told him in general terms about Valentine's actions and left with him a written statement, dated June 7th, covering the case.

The President transmitted this statement through the Secretary of the Interior's Office to Valentine for a reply. On the 25th, Valentine's reply came back to the President through the Secretary's Office, and a copy of it was given to General Pratt. On August 27, 1912, General Pratt replied to Valentine's report.

I have copies of all these communications, but quote only Pratt's reply to the last, as it covers about [that] said in the others. It reads as follows:

#5602 Winchester Ave.

Ventnor, N. J.

August 27th, 1912.

The President,

White House,

Washington, D.C.

My dear Sir:—

I duly received the copies of Commissioner Valentine's "memorandum" and letter from Asst. Secretary Interior Samuel Adams forwarded by your Secretary Mr. Hilles with the advice that they were "self-explanatory" as answer to my letter to you of June 3, in re. Edwin L. Chalcraft.

This "memorandum" confesses just what I desired to bring to your attention by my first letter. I therefore beg your further consideration.

If Commissioner Valentine had sent the complaints coming to him against Chalcraft to Chalcraft for answer before proceeding against him as was Chalcraft's due and as you did my letter to you to Valentine, there would have been no further action against Chalcraft and the sequel proves this, in the punishment of those alleging against him and in the release of Chalcraft from suspension and his reinstatement by Valentine after Valentine's alleged "thorough and impartial investigation."

Commissioner Valentine's "memorandum" plainly betrays that Valentine was in secret correspondence with Campbell, who was Chalcraft's Assistant, and that jointly with him he was plotting Chalcraft's downfall; that Valentine, ignoring Chalcraft's right and control, wired Campbell direct to come to him in Washington there to intrigue further against Chalcraft, his telegram covering Campbell's travel, etc., at Government

cost; that Valentine encouraged and paid Campbell for this cooperation by the trip and prepaid him for further help to oust Chalcraft by promising Campbell Chalcraft's place for I stated the fact of this promise in my letter and Valentine's "memorandum" is silent thereon. This admitted course of action proves that Valentine practiced subordination on Campbell. It shows further that Valentine reached an executive conclusion to remove Chalcraft before Chalcraft was informed there were allegations against him, and before Valentine had put these allegations to Valentine's own test.

Valentine's personal letters (official letters should have gone through Chalcraft) direct to the other employees of Chemawa under Chalcraft cooked by himself and Campbell and sent by Campbell to be covertly delivered by him direct to said employees shows further subordination of these employees by Valentine and Campbell and exposes the lack of fair judicial administrative quality and purpose in Valentine. This quality is further confessed by Valentine by his infliction of arbitrary punishment on Chalcraft in suspending him and stopping his pay on this suborned, unsworn and unknown to Chalcraft testimony, before Chalcraft's guilt or innocence is tested by Valentine's own trial methods.

Valentine's "memorandum" parades to the President the contents of Valentine's seeking evidence letters to Chalcraft and Chalcraft's employees alleging the offenses of Chalcraft. This is a disingenuous effort to deceive the President, for it intends the President shall understand that these were Valentine's reasons for his official actions, whereas Valentine had sent an amenable Bureau Official to investigate and indicate judgment and on this official's findings Valentine had released Chalcraft from his suspension and restored him to his superintendency after five months of the Valentine created turmoil at Chemawa, which release and reinstatement buried the allegations.

Another result of this investigation established by the "memorandum" is that when Valentine got Chalcraft's answer to his letter, Valentine was compelled to investigate and punish

Campbell and the other of Valentine's suborned witnesses.

The "memorandum" says "three days" were given Chalcraft "to answer these charges" upon which Valentine had already and without trial executively sentenced Chalcraft to removal and given Campbell promise of Chalcraft's place. This peremptory mandate shows animus and undo haste unfitting Valentine as a judge. Full time to answer is the imperative right of every accused. The demand that "Yes" or "No" should be the direct answer to each question adds to the evidence of a lack of judicial quality in Valentine.

Valentine's "memorandum" alleges "thorough and impartial investigation." I submit that "thorough and impartial investigation" is not at all assured when the investigator is the instrument of a chief, animated by the qualities Valentine betrays in this case and sent by such chief from his office influences to make the investigation, because that course is in no sense the protection of a "jury of his peers" to whose verdict every American is entitled before his guaranteed rights are taken from him.

That Valentine is injudicial and hasty is further proved by the apparent fact that when Campbell alleged against Chalcraft, he did not call for the Bureau records of Chalcraft and Campbell, [both] of long service, and fortify himself by this knowledge before credulously taking Campbell into his confidence and giving Campbell the promise to elevate him and down Chalcraft solely on Campbell's secret, unsworn and unsupported testimony.

The "memorandum" says "The investigation further showed that operating against Mr. Chalcraft and to an extent producing some of the results mentioned above, there was active disloyalty if not conspiracy on the part of his immediate subordinates to whom he apparently looked and properly looked for support." The ludicrous quality of this information from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the President is supreme, for the Commissioner himself clearly shows that he, the Commissioner, became the master instigator and director of and

adopted the very system for inspiring conspiracy and disloyalty among Chalcraft's "immediate subordinates" coaxing it with the smile and nod of his supreme authority and paying for it with the Government office favors at his disposal. Valentine therefore punished Chalcraft for the crop of conspiracy and disloyalty Valentine himself planted and cultivated at Chemawa.

The "memorandum" confesses the punishment by demoting of an admitted worthy public servant by his removal to a remote school which must be at his own cost and for the alleged reason that Chalcraft might "demonstrate" his administrative ability and again rise in the service. This is ridiculous subterfuge. If the head of the Indian Bureau is not able to know the administrative quality of Edwin L. Chalcraft after the record established by his twenty-eight years of worthy service in responsible positions in many parts of its thankless and always oppressed field service, then the head of the Indian Bureau himself is plainly incompetent to form a judgment on ability.

Nowhere does it appear that Valentine as supreme head and guide attempted to exercise the plain and lofty duties of his office to stand by his immediate and responsible subordinate and warn, advise, strengthen and build at Chemawa.

I respectfully submit that the righteousness and need of my appeal to you in this case stands fully proven by Valentine's own "memorandum."

For ready reference copies of my former letter and the replies thereto and herewith.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) R. H. Pratt
Brig. Gen. U.S.A.

This letter to the President finished the job and the arch-conspirator received his reward when Valentine resigned on September 10, 1912, a month and a half after I took charge of Jones Male Academy, and fourteen days after President Taft received General Pratt's last letter, dated August 27, 1912.

The press dispatches the next day said Valentine resigned because he was “out of harmony with the administration and intended to join the ‘Bull Moose’ party.” General Pratt wrote me that the President *called* for his resignation and I have no doubt he knew definitely what he was writing me.

The only time I ever met Valentine again after this was at Mohonk Lodge, N.Y., the evening of October 23, 1912, where Major Scott of Crow Agency and I had gone from Washington with Acting Commissioner F. H. Abbott and his wife to attend an Indian Service Conference. Major Scott and I were sitting in the lobby talking, when Valentine arrived and several persons arose to greet him. When they left him, I went up and said, “I am glad to see you here, Mr. Valentine.” He looked at me in a puzzled way that caused me to say, “Chalcraft.” He dropped my hand and made off in a hurry, a much embarrassed individual. When I returned to my seat, Scott said, “You surely got his goat, this time.”

Chief Clerk J. H. Dortch commented on the matter in this way: “While Chalcraft is a mild sort of a man, in no way aggressive and would not harm any one, he is surely h——ll in a defense. I know, because I was here when he had that scrap with Rakestraw.” Dortch intended this as a compliment and I accepted it as such. The fact is, that without the active support of the many loyal friends, in and out of the Indian Service, we could not have won in the contest.

All the difficulty with Valentine resulted from my refusal to comply with his verbal request brought me by Supervisor Peairs on June 7, 1910, and that only, as previously explained. I did not let this appear in my defense for two reasons. First: Mr. Peairs was friendly to me, and I felt, if it were used, Valentine would probably make trouble for him. Second: The facts behind the request would be good grounds for going after Valentine, if everything else failed. My advisor, Mr. Hendricks, supported this view of the case.

Besides Mr. Hendricks, the only persons having any knowledge of our plan were Judge Burke in Seattle; Ex-Agent Eells in Tacoma; and General Pratt, living in the east. With their co-operation the plan was kept under cover, and nothing was brought up during the investigation that reflected on Valentine’s actions in this respect.

Now a few words about personal friends and others, who made success possible. When I received the charges on April 10, 1911, my brother-in-law, William S. Mayfield, and his wife were living in Washington, D.C. I kept them informed by telegrams and letters, almost daily, of what was going on at Chemawa. They interested Senator Wesley L. Jones and Congressman W. E. Humphrey of Washington in my behalf. There were others but these two men were especially active.

Congressman W. E. Hawley of Salem, Oregon, whom we personally knew, took a hand in the matter. These men urged that I be called to Washington, D.C., for consultation as I had requested previous to the arrival of Supervisor Holcombe to investigate me, which failed to have any effect. After Holcombe went to Washington City with his report dated May 26, 1911, they were constantly on the job trying to get a verdict on the report but were not successful until September 7, 1911, when Acting Secretary of the Interior Samuel Adams reinstated me unconditionally.

Other personal friends of long standing, voluntarily taking a part with the political men, were:

Dr. Merrill T. Gates, Chairman of the Board of Indian Commissioners, an official committee, independent of the Indian Office.

Hon. S. M. Brosius, Washington Representative of the Indian Rights Association.

Rev. Thomas C. Moffett, D.D., Superintendent of Presbyterian Indian Missions, New York City.

Mr. R. H. Thompson of Seattle, a personal friend of Hon. Walter L. Fisher, Secretary of the Interior.

The citizens of Salem were extremely loyal and many letters were written to Washington in our behalf by the business and professional men. As far as known, one man, Dr. Mark Skiff, was my only opponent.

The newspapers were full of criticisms in the news items and editorially, especially the Salem Daily Statesman; Salem Capital Journal; Portland Oregonian; and the Portland Evening Telegram. In closing

these remarks, I quote from the Salem Daily Statesman of August 10, 1911:

At a special meeting of the Salem Board of Trade and the Business Men's League last evening, the following resolution endorsing Superintendent Chalcraft of the Chemawa Indian training school and protesting against his removal, was unanimously adopted. The resolution will be forwarded to Hon. Walter L. Fisher, Secretary of the Interior.

The resolution reads: "We, a representative body of business men of the city of Salem, Oregon, respectfully petition that inasmuch as Superintendent E. L. Chalcraft has our unqualified endorsement as an honorable and efficient head of the Salem Indian school; and that during his incumbency, than ever before, moral conditions have been good and the enrollment the largest in the history of the school, we feel justified in urging you to retain him as the head of the institution, which is in conformity with the unanimous sentiment of the citizens of this city.

"We take this step advisedly, being fully versed in conditions at the school and informed relative to the charges recently filed against Superintendent Chalcraft, which charges are wholly without foundation in fact. In our opinion it would be a travesty upon justice to remove a man of Mr. Chalcraft's long service, standing and reputation upon charges which were proved to be lacking in fact; therefore we are moved to submit for your favorable consideration the above petition."

What I have said about these men and the people of Salem is in no way with a spirit of egotism, but to record their faithful adherence to the principle of right doing and my gratitude to them. Many, including Eells, Pratt, Burke, Gates, and Mayfield, have gone from us but their memory is cherished. (1942). Mr. Hendricks, my loyal advisor, is still living in Salem and I had a delightful visit with him last year.

The next day after Superintendent Wadsworth had taken charge at Chemawa on June 22nd, 1912, I began preparing my final accounts with the Indian Office which were finished and mailed on July 2nd.

We had rented a house in Salem, where the family was to remain until I found how things were in Oklahoma. We were settled in Salem by the 11th, and on the 15th I started for Jones Male Academy, going by way of Seattle. On the 17th, I went on towards my destination where I arrived on July 22.

{ 9 }

Jones Male Academy

The position of superintendent of Jones Male Academy, a school located about eighty miles southeast of Oklahoma City and four miles northeast of the town of Hartshorne, was not one sought by Chalcraft but one accepted under duress in order for him to remain in the Indian Service. He arrived in mid-July 1912, in the midst of a sweltering summer, and remained until April 1914, a total of twenty-one months. While in Oklahoma, Chalcraft learned of a movement underfoot to have him named again as supervisor of Indian schools, but that opportunity fell through. In early 1914, Chalcraft met with newly appointed Indian commissioner Cato Sells, making it known that he wanted out of Oklahoma at the earliest moment. Sells responded in April, offering him a position as superintendent of Siletz Indian Agency in western Oregon, which Chalcraft accepted.

I arrived at Jones Male Academy on July 22nd, 1912, and on the 23rd, took charge of the school, relieving Superintendent W. F. Aven who was leaving to take charge of a girls' school. The school plant consisted of a large brick building that housed one hundred pupils and all the employees, and there was an engine room and three smaller buildings. It was one of eight schools, four for the boys and four for the girls, established and maintained by the Indians themselves, under law enacted by the Five Civilized Tribes' legislature.¹

Shortly before my appointment, the Tribal Government had been discontinued and their affairs put in the hands of the Federal Gov-

ernment, with them retaining only the office of Governor, which was filled by an Indian who acted in an advisory capacity. The Indians had selected all the preceding Superintendents and I was the first appointed by the Indian Office. The pupils were all of the Choctaw tribe and a fine lot of civilized young men, sons of the second and third generations of parents living when the first Missionaries went among them many years before. Their parents were mostly farmers and businessmen in Hartshorne, McAlister, and other towns in the vicinity.

It was vacation time when I arrived and the only employees at the school were Fred Cleckler, Clerk, and Fred F. Reed, the Cook. The heat, ranging from around 100 degrees day and night, was almost unbearable and we three slept out under the trees until school opened again on September 9th, with one hundred pupils and all employees in attendance. There were several applicants that had to await vacancies before they could enter the school. This was one place where it was never necessary to go out and solicit pupils.

The school post office was "Dwight," and the mail was handled in a room adjoining the school office. Samuel L. Morley, a former Superintendent, but at this time a banker in Hartshorne, was the postmaster. Because of this, I was sworn in on September 5th to be Mr. Morley's deputy. The post office was somewhat a nuisance, but the revenue about paid my board and satisfied me for the extra work.

The next day after school opened we received word that Valentine was "out," and Assistant Commissioner Abbott was in charge of the Indian Office. Not very long after this, Mr. Abbott called me to Washington for consultation when I could conveniently leave the school. I left the school on October 16th, and after spending a day in Memphis, Tennessee, arrived in Washington the evening of Saturday the 19th, and stopped at the National Hotel, where many Indian Service people go, and I found there Major Scott from Colville Agency, Supervisor O. H. Lipps, Inspector Norris, and Hon. S. M. Brosius of the Indian Rights Association, all of whom I had previously known.

On Sunday, I attended the Christian Church at Ninth and D. Streets and heard a good sermon by Rev. Dr. Miller. Monday morning, I went up to the Indian Office to pay my respects to Commissioner Abbott

and other officials that I knew. While there, Mr. Abbott said he and his wife were going to the Indian Conference at Mohonk Lake, N.Y., and invited Major Scott and me to go with them, which we accepted.

Albert M. Smiley, owner of Mohonk Lodge which could accommodate about six hundred guests, was a wealthy New York City gentleman much interested in Indians and for several years invited people, in and out of the Indian Service, to be his personal guests for a week to discuss Indian matters. This was usually late in October when most of his summer guests had returned to their homes. It was a delightful place, and there were no expenses after getting there to attend a Conference.

Our party left Washington City for Lake Mohonk at 12:30 a.m., Tuesday morning, October 22nd. I stopped off in New York City part of the day, and rejoined the others at Lake Mohonk that evening. When the carriages arrived from the R. R. Station next day, there was Valentine, and when he came into the hotel lobby the "comedy act," previously mentioned, was enacted. I left Lake Mohonk Friday morning, the 25th, and went to New York City where I stayed overnight at the Grand Union Hotel, 42nd Street and 5th Avenue, then went on to Philadelphia where I was the guest of General and Mrs. Pratt.

We all attended a Republican rally that night in Union Hall, and Sunday morning the Bethany Church and Sunday School, where I was introduced to Mr. John Wanamaker, a personal friend of the Pratts. In the evening, I went on to Washington, after thoroughly enjoying every incident of the trip.

Monday was spent in the Indian Office, and in the evening [I] had dinner at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Higgins. At the breakfast table next morning, I was told that Commissioner Abbott intended appointing me Supervisor of Indian Schools again. I knew nothing about it and said so.

On October 29th, Mr. Abbott presented my name to the Secretary of the Interior's Office for approval. Secretary Walter L. Fisher was absent, and the following day we had an interview with Assistant Secretary Samuel Adams and he said "It was not an opportune time to approve the appointment but would do so later." He assured me that I would not have to remain long in Oklahoma. There the matter rested.

At dinner that day, October 30th, Mr. Holcombe asked if I had seen his report and receiving a negative reply, he said I should see it. When we got back to the Office he had a Clerk bring his report and all the papers connected with the investigation and the afternoon was spent in reading the documents and making notes covering things that had not come to my notice. These were favorable to me and probably were given to him by Mr. Higgins, and Holcombe clearly recommended my reinstatement.

On the 31st I went up to Philadelphia on the 1:55 p.m. train to see General Pratt, and returned to Washington at 11:30 p.m. The time not taken up with official duties was spent in visiting places of interest in the city.

At 11:10 p.m., on November 2nd I left for Oklahoma over the Chesapeake and Ohio R.R., and stopped off at Albion, Illinois, where I arrived at 3:00 a.m., on the 4th, to visit relatives and friends. I left Albion on the 7th and arrived at Jones Male Academy on the 8th.

The school Clerk resigned before I left for Washington and I had offered the position to Charles Larsen, one of my former Indian employees whom I had favorably known for many years. He came on November 13.

We had an efficient and agreeable force of employees and the regular school work went on satisfactorily. At Christmas time, there was a week's vacation and all the children went to their homes. After vacation, school went on as it had before during the remainder of the school year. Commencement Exercises began on June 1st, 1913, with a Baccalaureate Sermon by Rev. H. R. Schermerhorn, and closed with a Graduating Program on the 4th. There were six graduates, all Choctaw boys. They were Vari Monroe Thornton, Claude Clayton Savage, Alfred Daniel Wilkins, John Norman Wyers, Aaron Willis Hancock, and George Washington Reed.

The children all went home the next day for the summer vacation, as did most of the employees.

The two most objectionable things experienced in Oklahoma were the terrific summer heat and the alkali in all the water used for domestic purposes. It was so strong that almost all the people who could afford it bought drinking water at the drug stores that was shipped

from the mountains in Arkansas in five-gallon carboys, costing \$1.25 each. I bought all I used.

The only pure water in that part of the state was a small spring, located a few miles from the school, in an almost inaccessible place known as "Belle Starr's Cave," named after a noted woman leader of a band of bandits that made it their hiding place in earlier days. In company with three of the employees, Charles Larsen, Mr. Perry, and Mr. Pippin, I visited this place on June 22nd, 1913, and found it to be as represented.

Having finished my quarterly reports and mailed them to the Indian Office, I left on July 3rd for Salem to visit Alice and the children, and arrived there on the 7th. It was decided that we should move to Seattle, and our household goods were shipped on the 25th. Alice, Pickering, Hallie, and I left Salem on the 28th and arrived in Seattle that night. We moved into our own house, 923 East Cherry Street, on August 11th where Alice was near her parents.

On August 14th, I left for Jones Male Academy, but owing to delayed trains interfering with schedules, did not get to the Academy until the 19th, but in time to open the school after the summer vacation.

Gabe E. Parker, a Choctaw Indian and Superintendent of one of the local academies, had recently been appointed Register of the U. S. Treasury and on September 14th, the day before he and his wife left for Washington City, we had a little gathering in their honor.

The summer heat had been pretty hard on Charles Larsen, who had never been out of Oregon and Washington until he came to Oklahoma, and when Dr. Charles M. Buchanan at Tulalip Agency offered him a position as Band-Master and Disciplinarian at an advanced salary, he was ready to accept it. He said he would stay if I said so, but I knew it was best for him to go and told him to take it. He left on October 23, 1913.

Christmas differed from the last in having twenty-three pupils remain at the school and we had a Christmas Tree for them. School began again on December 31st with a full house and some that had to wait for vacancies.

Cato Sells, the new Democratic Commissioner of Indian Affairs, came to Muskogee to attend a Conference with the local Probate

Judges about the status of deceased Indians' land and to determine a uniform method or procedure in determining heirs. I went to Muskogee on January 2nd, 1914, and was with him until the 6th, much of the time in company with Superintendent Dan H. Kelsey, and the Commissioner being new in the Indian Service, [we] discussed Indian matters freely. I told him the summer heat in Oklahoma was using me up and I would like to get back to the Pacific Coast again. He made no promises other than to say he would bear it in mind, and he did remember it.

While in Seattle on my vacation trip, it was arranged that Alice should leave the children with her parents in Seattle and make a long visit with me during the coming winter when the weather would be comfortable. On February 17th, 1914, a telegram from her said she was leaving at 10:00 p.m. that night. On the 21st, I went to McAlister, then north on the MK&TRR to Crowder where I got on the south bound train to meet her. We remained at the Busby Hotel in McAlister until the next morning, then we continued on to Hartshorne on the local electric line, taking a team to the Academy.

Miss Julia Barry, the school Clerk, resigned and Alice took her place on March 7th and filled that position temporarily. On April 7th, a telegram from Alice's sister, Mamie Phillips, said her mother was very sick, and two days later another came from our son, Pickering, telling of her condition. Alice left for Seattle on the 12th, and I went on the train to McAlister with her.

I was in a rather despondent mood at this time, but this disappeared four days later, when the following telegram was received:

WASHINGTON, D.C., APRIL 15, 1914

CHALCRAFT, SUPERINTENDENT,

HARTSHORNE, OKLAHOMA

WILL YOU ACCEPT SUPERINTENDENCY SILETZ, FIFTEEN-FIFTY

BOND FORTY-FIVE THOUSAND.

CATO SELLS, COMMISSIONER.

My official appointment, dated April 30 came later, and the final instructions were dated May 7. Mr. H. P. Warren, my successor, arrived

in due time and we finished invoicing the property and making official reports on the 13th. It was agreed that he was to wire the Indian Office on the 16th, that he took charge of the school on that date. This gave me two extra days for traveling time, as I wanted to go to Albion before going west.

I left Jones Male Academy on June 14th and arrived at Albion on the 15th. After two days there, I left for Seattle on the 17th. When I got to Seattle on the 21st, I found Alice's sister, Martha P. Flower, and her daughter, Beatrice, from Boston, with her. On the 25th, I went on to Siletz Agency, where I arrived the next day.

{ 10 }

Siletz Indian Agency

The position at Siletz differed from others Chalcraft held in the Indian Service. Although nominally he was the official in charge of schools, his role encompassed other duties as well. Most importantly, Chalcraft assumed responsibility for regulating the liquor traffic on the reservations under his jurisdiction and for processing Indian allotment claims. Those duties reflected the changing role of Indian agent from a broker of assimilation to a protector of Indian rights and legal advisor. Chalcraft remained at Siletz for over eleven years, until he reached the mandatory retirement age of seventy in November 1925, at which time he left the Indian Service and returned to his home in Seattle, ending a career of thirty-seven years.

I arrived at Siletz Agency, eight miles north of Toledo, Oregon, on Friday, June 26, 1914, leaving the family in Seattle until I reported the conditions found at Siletz, and took charge of the Agency on July 1st. A sad accident happened that morning. Charlie Klamath, a very old Indian man coming to see me, was thrown from his horse a short distance from the Agency and injured so badly that he died in my office a half-hour later.

Prior to my going to Siletz, Grand Ronde Agency north of Siletz had been abolished and its affairs added to those of Siletz Agency. A couple of years later, the Indian Agency at Roseburg was discontinued and the unfinished work turned over to Siletz. The jurisdiction of this Agency included all the non-reservation Indians living on allotments

scattered over the public domain between the Cascade Mountains and the Pacific Ocean, from the Columbia River on the north to the California line on the south, making the Siletz jurisdiction inclusive of all the Indians in Western Oregon, which covered about one-half of the state.¹

In approaching Siletz Agency from Toledo, it had the appearance of being quite a village. The Agency buildings, two general stores, Methodist and Catholic Church buildings, and private dwellings, occupied by white and Indian families, were on level ground at the foot of a hill; and on top of the hill were the old boarding school buildings, then vacant, and the Superintendent's residence, facing the west overlooking the other buildings and a fine fertile valley of cleared land.

The Siletz River flowing from the east passed the Agency about forty rods on the south, encircled the valley, a distance of about four miles, and came back to a point north of the Superintendent's residence, near enough to permit a person to throw a stone into it from the house yard; then it turned directly north and flowed into the Pacific Ocean about twelve miles north of the Agency. The Siletz River had the reputation of being one of the best trout streams in the state. The Agency was seven miles from the Ocean with the warm Japan Current flowing down the Oregon Coast, making the climatic condition, both winter and summer, the best in which we had ever lived.

When [I was] with Commissioner Cato Sells at Muskogee, Oklahoma, January 2nd to 6th as previously mentioned, we had a pretty thorough discussion of Indian matters in the field, especially in relation to intoxicating liquors. He was new in the Indian Service then and appeared to be seeking information and I frankly answered his questions as far as I knew, and made some suggestions that seemed pertinent at the time, which he seemed to appreciate.

Superintendent Knott C. Egbert was a well educated man of pleasing personality, and deficient only in executive ability making him unable to meet emergencies in an efficient manner and be respected by the Indians. He did not fully understand their character and they took advantage of him. While he was remaining at the Agency to finish

his official reports this was made clear to me and it was at this point I decided the course I would pursue in bringing the unruly individuals to their senses. Mr. Egbert left on July 24 to become Agency Clerk at Tekoa, Washington.

The office-room was separated into parts by a desk reaching almost across the room. The outer part next to the entrance door was for persons having business to transact, and the inner part was occupied by the Superintendent, the Clerk, and any policeman that might be present. The office files were kept in this part of the office, and when an Indian came in about any business, I went to the desk and asked him in a pleasant way what I could do for him, and if he was civil about it the business was transacted and he went away satisfied.

On the third day, an Indian came in and with a lordly air stated what he wanted, and when I asked him a question he said, "You are paid to know that." I did not reply, but turned to Coquelle Thompson, a policeman, and said, "Put him out of the office." Thompson did this and, after the Indian had gone a few rods, I told Thompson to bring him back. When they came to the desk, I left my seat and went to the desk again saying in a pleasant tone, "Is there something I can do for you?" He acted the gentleman this time and went away with the information he wanted.²

This scene was repeated a number of times during the next few weeks, and occasionally an Indian had to be put out two or three times before he was in a mind to be civil. This course of action prevented any disputes and they realized I would treat them respectfully and demand the same of them. After a couple of months of this training, I never had an insolent nor unkind word from an Indian during the more than nine years we were with them, although severe measures had to be used sometimes in breaking up the liquor traffic.

The Clerk's position was vacant until July 17th, 1914, when I employed Charles W. Holderman of Salem to take the place. He was a young man and made a good Clerk.

Alice, Pickering, and Hallie came from Seattle on July 27th and we began housekeeping in a comfortable two-story house on the hill, where we lived all the time we were at Siletz.

Mr. Matthew K. Sniffen, Secretary of the Indian Rights Association in New York, came for a social visit on August 25th. He had been in Alaska all summer and had many interesting Alaskan pictures, including one of the sun taken at midnight.

That part of the Agency tract lying at the foot of the hill, and the Agency farm, had been surveyed and platted into lots and blocks by Ernest P. Rands, U.S. Surveyor, previous to my going to Siletz; and the lots were advertised for sale at public auction on November 27, 1914. Judge McPhaul and Mr. Fisher from the U.S. Land Office arrived on the 26th to conduct the sale, which began the next morning and was finished on December 1st at very good prices. This is the present Siletz Townsite.

I had an heirship hearing scheduled to be held on December 18th at Grand Ronde to determine the heirs of Alexander Day, a deceased Indian. Alice and Hallie went with me to Salem and Chemawa, and I went on to Grand Ronde. It took two days to complete the case, which was conducted under the State Law of Oregon. This was my first experience in serving as Probate Judge but [I] finished it without difficulty, and sent the papers to the Indian Office for approval, which closed the case. I had many Probate Cases to handle after this, and although in no sense was I a lawyer, I never had a decision rejected by the Indian Office.

On Christmas Eve we had a Christmas Tree in the Methodist Church attended by Indians and white people. There was a program and then unloading the tree began.

There was a serious fire at 2:00 a.m., the morning of December 26th, when Hall Brothers store and contents were destroyed. Walter and Warren Hall, twin brothers, had been in business at Siletz many years and had moved their merchandise into a large two-story building that had been completed a few days before the fire. It was a total loss to them.

Federal liquor laws applied only to illegal acts committed on Government land and [on] land allotted to Indians for which the allottee held a Trust Patent from the Government which could be exchanged for a Fee Simple Patent when the allottee could show he was capable of properly handling his own property. After the Fee Simple Patent was

issued the land was subject to the State Laws, and the Government had no further control over it. The right of the Indian Service to enforce the provisions of congressional legislation made the situation a difficult one in controlling liquor on Indian reservations.

A considerable number of Indians at Siletz had received Fee Simple Patents to their land, and some land belonging to the heirs of deceased Indians had been sold to white settlers. The Indians were well aware of the situation and took advantage of it. When they found the Indian police after them, they would quickly escape to some piece of Fee Simple land, if possible, and laugh at the police. One favorite place was a piece of land belonging to the Catholic Church, just across the street from the Agency office, where they remained until there was a chance to escape and hide away.

I had made up my mind what to do, if permitted to have my way, and to prevent being caught unawares, I went to Portland on July 12th to consult the U.S. Attorney. I explained to him the whole liquor situation at Siletz, and said I was aware that the law made it necessary to bring all cases of introducing intoxicating liquor on the reservation to him to prosecute, and if there were any cases of this kind I would have sufficient evidence, properly prepared, to prosecute successfully; but in all other cases that came under Departmental Regulations, only, such as drinking and possession of liquor, [these] could be handled successfully with our Police Court on the reservation. I told him that in doing this, it might be necessary to stretch my authority sometimes, by going on a piece of deeded land to capture an Indian, and would like to know how he felt about that. He said he would stay with me, and he did when a Newport lawyer named Ben Jones made a complaint about it.

I took the matter up with George McClusky, the Prosecuting Attorney for Lincoln County, and he said he would support the action I proposed to take; but the County Sheriff was all the other way. That was of little consequence, because he could do nothing without the consent of McClusky, so I was ready for business.

In the meantime, the police had been getting information about Indians having liquor and by the end of July we had eight prisoners to take before the Agency Police Court where all were convicted and

sentenced to ten days in jail at hard labor. They were put to work with pick and shovel grading a road-way, in charge of a policeman, and kept at work until the sentence was completed. This treatment of prisoners was kept up until it was seen that it was having a good effect.

I had kept away from the prisoners and would have no conversation with them, but now it seemed advisable to change my attitude. After this I went to those prisoners who showed the right spirit, after they had worked three or four days. I told them I felt sorry about their getting into trouble, and if they would promise to not drink any more liquor, I would remit the remainder of their sentences. Upon receiving the promise, I told each of them that if he did break the promise, he would be brought back to jail to serve out the remainder of his sentence and I would add ten days more to serve, because of telling me a lie. I have no record or remembrance of any one of these having to be returned to jail.

This policy was carried out all the time we were at Siletz. While it was an experiment at the time, it has since seemed in my mind to contain a lesson that might be profitably considered under many other conditions in life.

With reference to my promising the U.S. Attorney to prepare evidence for use in the introduction of liquor cases when I was in Portland early in July, I would add that it was done in a way [that was to] give him a clear understanding of the case and relieve him of much detail work. I took sworn testimony in duplicate from all my witnesses giving in detail, even to the smallest item, and sent a copy of each to the U.S. Attorney. He used these before the Grand Jury to get an indictment, then with the U.S. Marshall to make arrests, and finally as a memorandum in examining witnesses at the trial. In all we had four cases of this kind and convicted the defendants in every case. Three of the criminal acts were committed prior to the state going dry on January 1, 1916, and the other one later.

Near the close of our first year at Siletz, it seemed that a reasonable degree of success had been attained and I could then reply to a request from General Pratt, made just before I left Jones Male Academy; and I wrote him as follows:

Siletz, Oregon, June 16, 1915.

Brig. Gen R. H. Pratt

The Ontario Apartments,

Washington, D.C.

My Dear General Pratt:

In your last letter, written about the time I left Oklahoma you asked me to write you of the conditions at Siletz when I became fully informed. Sufficient time has now elapsed for me to state with a reasonable degree of certainty the conditions at the beginning and the changes that have taken place. It has been a busy year, and rather strenuous at times but enjoyable because of there being something worth while to do.

The reputation of the Siletz reservation as a hot-bed for whiskey with its attendant evils, including murder, arson and other crimes of which Robert DePoe wrote you, has not been exaggerated in the least. It was known to me before leaving Chemawa and I believe is well known to the Office. I found Robert's statements true about the opposition to my coming, but the reasons he assigned were not quite in accordance with the facts. It was *not* because of anything connected with *Chemawa* nor the pupils there, but wholly from the knowledge of my attitude on the liquor question, well known to the Siletz Indians and those furnishing them liquor, and the probability of my interfering with their freedom in securing it.

The population of this reservation is made up of remnants of several tribes brought from different parts of Western and Southern Oregon. Their tribal jealousies are kept under cover pretty much when the Indian is in his normal condition, but breaks loose when he is under the influence of liquor, then a Siletz Indian will shoot his best friend. It appears that in an early day there was very little liquor drank, either because of the Indians being under control or that it was hard to get, and during this period much land was cleared, fenced, orchards planted and the people were generally prosperous. Of late years there has been a general backward movement due

more to liquor than anything else. Nearly all the Indians on the Grand Ronde reservation have disposed of their property and are physically weak from debauchery, but most of the Siletz Indians still have all or a part of their original allotments and are physically in much better condition than the Grand Ronde Indians, although they have been gradually getting poorer through drink. The percentage of paupers at Grand Ronde is excessive, while at Siletz it is more reasonable.

While en route to Siletz last summer I called on the U.S. Attorney in Portland, who told me of the large number of cases from the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations at each term of court and advised me that he would appreciate my handling everything possible, which was in harmony with my views and has been done. In the U.S. Marshall's office they told me that these two reservations had made them a great deal of work. When I arrived at Siletz the traders and other citizens related numerous tales of battles between drunken Indians and the dangers they and their families had experienced at times because of it. I had seen something of such things before, but not like the occurrences here during my first few months which we are all thankful are not likely to occur again.

From the Commissioner's letter of May 7, 1914, I knew he would welcome the breaking up of the liquor traffic here, and I knew Mr. Merritt was sound on the subject. This knowledge with the information I had received in the U.S. Attorney's and U.S. Marshall's offices in Portland caused me to take a rather advanced position with respect to the use of liquor on the reservation by white people as well as Indians, until about October to make an impression that was noticeable and by the end of November drinking was reduced to the minimum. It broke out again during the last two or three days in December because the saloons in two of the nearest towns were closing out their liquors preparatory to quitting business on January first when the towns went dry. The last and only time since the first of January that an Indian or white man on the reservation has had any liquor whatever as far as we have been able to

learn was on February third when two Indians brought some liquor from Falls City, Oregon. Both of these men are under indictment and I have no doubt will plead guilty when their cases come up for trial at the next term of court. Besides these I have had but one case in the Federal court since coming to Siletz and in that case the defendant pleaded guilty. We have been so clean of liquor since January first that I now feel that the liquor question may be practically forgotten as far as the Siletz and Grand Ronde Indians are concerned, especially as the State goes dry the first of January, 1916.

It does not seem necessary to enter into the details of the fight in cleaning up the bootleggers and liquor men but I shall take pleasure in telling it to you when you come to Oregon again, which we hope and expect will be this summer because we have some pretty good trout fishing here that we would like you to try.

Robert DePoe has been doing very well in his work and been on the right side of questions that have arisen during the past year. His wife is rather an able, well educated Indian woman, fully the equal of her husband. As is common with people of this class, they require careful handling to get the best that is in them.

Mrs. Chalcraft and the children are quite well and we will all be together at Siletz during the summer and we shall be delighted to have you and Mrs. Pratt make us a good long visit. We are only seven miles distant from the ocean and have all of the benefits of cool weather and fresh salt air. It is only sixteen miles to Newport, where many people go for the summer and from Siletz it is common practice to go down by auto of a morning and return in the evening.

With very best
wishes, I remain,
Very sincerely
your friend,
Edwin L. Chalcraft,
Superintendent.

General Pratt wrote me that when he received the letter he thought the Commissioner of Indian Affairs ought to see it as coming through him, and had it sent to the Indian Office. This was made known to me when he enclosed the following Indian Office reply in a letter to me:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Office of Indian Affairs

Washington July 17, 1915

Gen. R. H. Pratt

The Ontario,

Washington, D.C.

My dear General Pratt:

I have your letter of June 26 including one from Superintendent Chalcraft, of the Siletz Agency, wherein he sets forth the results of his efforts and campaign to suppress the traffic in intoxicants among the Indians under his jurisdiction.

Marked improvements have taken place in this respect among these Indians and the Office is gratified both at the aggressiveness and success of Mr. Chalcraft. This information has come to us from other sources, so that the Office knows what Chalcraft says is true.

The letter of Mr. Chalcraft to you is returned, and the Office thanks you for submitting it for our information.

Very truly yours,
E. B. Merritt, Assistant
Commissioner.

This thoughtful and kindly act of General Pratt was but one of many such that had been done in my behalf, and for others whom I had known, during the years of our friendship. Too few of us are like him in this respect.

On January 17, 1915, Alice went to Fort Lapwai in Idaho to take two boys and two girls to the tuberculosis sanitarium there for treatment. On the way home, she went to Seattle to spend a day or two with our

son, and then to Portland, where Hallie met her and visited friends. They arrived home February 6th.

Charles Holderman, the Clerk, and Miss Hope Brassfield were married on February 12, 1915. Mr. Holderman resigned on November 15th, and they went to San Francisco to live. Our daughter, Hallie, was appointed to the Clerk's position, and she served in that capacity until we left Siletz and came to Seattle to live.³

I had recently been asked by the Indian Office to investigate charges filed against Dr. Andrew Kershaw, Ex-Agent at Grand Ronde Reservation, by a man named Joe Brown. Dr. Kershaw had been a personal friend for many years and I did not care to carry out the instruction, so I explained the situation to the Indian Office and Special Agent Col. L. A. Dorrington was detailed to make the investigation.

All the Grand Ronde records were in my office at Siletz. This caused the Colonel to come direct to Siletz where he arrived with his wife on February 14th, 1915. He asked me to help him and I did so. We worked on the records in my office and taking testimony from witnesses at Grand Ronde until March 1st. There was no foundation to the charges and Dr. Kershaw was cleared of them.

Between April 7th and 14th I made annuity payments to all of the Indians on the Grand Ronde Reservation. This was from their funds on deposit in the U.S. Treasury.

Many day schools on reservations had small gardens where vegetables were raised for instructional purposes. The pupils did the work under supervision of the school teacher. We had the same at Siletz. It occurred to me that it would be better to have these gardens at the pupils' homes where the parents would likely become interested. With this in mind, I had the Teacher at the Upper Farm School establish a garden at each home from which his pupils came, and make regular visits to the home for inspection and giving necessary instruction. The change proved beneficial and I made a report to the Indian Office that was received favorably, and a few weeks later, an official Circular Letter was issued from the Indian Office recommending this be done at all day schools.

We had a visit from Mr. and Mrs. Jessie E. Flanders who were with us from May 17th to 20th. I first met Mr. Flanders at Standing Rock

Agency in October, 1900, when he was a Clerk in the Agent's office. He was now doing special work for the Indian Office.

Rev. W. T. Pearce, Pastor of the Methodist Church at Siletz, died suddenly at Drain, Oregon, while attending a Church Conference. He was to be buried at Salem on Sunday, May 30th. At the close of Sunday School a memorial service was held in honor of his memory.

The arrival of Judge Stewart H. Elliott, an Heirship Examiner for the Indian Service on June 1st, 1915, was a welcome incident to me, as it would relieve me of that work. He did this work at several Agencies, spending the necessary time at each to clean up all cases to date. We saw much of him afterward.

We had a visit from Senator [Harry] Lane of Oregon on August 8th. He was accompanied by his wife and a little daughter and they spent the day with us. Alice and Hallie entertained the wife and daughter while the Senator and I visited places of interest to him. His father had much to do with the Siletz Reservation in the early days, and the son was familiar with the early history of the place, making the visit especially interesting to him, and he had many questions to ask. They left late in the evening.

The first Indian fair ever held at Siletz was on August 24-25-26, 1915, on the hill overlooking Siletz Valley. A few of us had been talking about having a fair for some time and one evening two of the local merchants, Walter Hall and Carl Davis, were with me and we decided to make an attempt to put our thoughts into action. We proposed to have an *all* Indian fair, both in exhibits and management, if possible, and that it should be [run] on the most progressive lines without games of chance of any kind on the grounds.

We selected fifteen representative Indians to meet with us for the purpose of explaining our plans to them and taking further action if it seemed advisable. It was the intention to have all offices filled by Indians, but at this meeting they insisted Walter Hall be made President, and he was elected to that position. Thomas Jackson was elected Vice-President, and Wolverton Orton, Secretary-Treasurer. Jacky Johnson, Joseph Dick, Alex Catfish, William Metcalf, Scott Lane, and Spencer Scott were elected to serve with three other officers as an Executive

Board to have general control of the fair. The Superintendent reserved the authority to make final decisions in all questions that might come up where it seemed advisable for him to do so. This was the general “set-up” and it worked fine.

The Premium Lists were printed at the Chemawa Indian School and donated to the fair by Ruthyn Turney. These contained the daily program for entertaining visitors and the list of prizes to be awarded in the twelve classes of exhibits. These were: Class I, Live Stock Exhibit; II, Farm Products Exhibit; III, Garden Products and Fruits; IV, Poultry; V, Needle Work; VI, Cooking; VII, Photography and Painting; VIII, Indian Baskets; IX, Indian Bead Work; X, Indian Implements; XI, School Exhibits; and XII, Miscellaneous.

In addition to the above, there were two special prizes, provided by the Superintendent through the kindness of personal friends, to be awarded for the best and most extensive Individual Exhibit of Agricultural Pursuits:

FIRST — A John Deere sulky breaking plow. Value \$40.

SECOND — A two-horse cultivator. Value \$30.

A number of concessions, such as setting up a “merry-go-round,” lunch stands, etc., had been sold and were in operation when the fair opened on August 24th, but there was nothing that could be considered a game of chance.

Now the financial side of the venture, which had been carefully considered at the beginning. We did not have a cent of money to start with, but thought we could make the fair pay the expenses. To encourage a good attendance, we made a low price for admission to the grounds, fifteen cents for Indians and twenty-five cents for white people; and Indian children under fourteen years of age were to be admitted free. To supplement the revenue from attendance, a musical entertainment was to be had in the afternoon with a twenty-five cent admission; and in the evening at eight o'clock, a play adapted from Longfellow's “Hiawatha,” with an all-Indian cast of players, was to take place, with an admission fee of fifteen cents for Indians and thirty-five

cents for white people. These entertainments were a popular feature of the fair and many white visitors remained for the performance.

The first expenditure in connection with the fair was in buying material for the Hiawatha play, and not having any funds, we had an "ice cream social" to secure money for that purpose. At the close of the fair, the premiums and all other expenses were paid in full, and there was a surplus of \$298.25 left, which was deposited in the Lincoln County Bank to the credit of the Siletz Indian Fair Association, for use in holding the next fair.

The local papers, the Lincoln County Leader and the Yaquina Bay News, the Salem Daily Statesman and the Portland Oregonian, all gave favorable attention to the fair, and as their accounts were much the same, I quote from one only. The Oregonian, dated August 29, 1915, said:

The Siletz Indian Fair was unique because it combined the barbaric implements and manufactured articles of an uncivilized age with present productions of educated people, from which all trace of the uncivilized Indian has been erased. This represents a period of less than a century, and the Indians are justly proud of their advancement.

The Indians managed everything themselves. Walter Hall, of Siletz, president of the fair, was the only white man on the committee. Thomas Jackson, was vice president; and Wolverton Orton, secretary and treasurer. Edwin L. Chalcraft, superintendent of the reservation, though not a committeeman, was an enthusiastic spectator and backed the Indians in every ruling which they made.

In the opening exercises of the fair, John Adams, an Indian preacher, led a prayer in Chinook jargon, there being twenty-eight different tribes and eight distinct languages. Mr. Hall gave the address of welcome. Chief John Williams delivered an eloquent oration in a manner that brought applause; Dr. Leo J. Frachtenberg, ethnologist of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., represented that institution; Col. E. Hofer, of Salem, spoke for the white people; Mr. Chalcraft represented

the U.S. Indian Service; and Ruthyn Turney spoke of the work at Chemawa Indian School.

In the exhibits there was a woodpecker headdress, which would have bought a wife in the olden times, made of ten woodpeckers' bills and topknots, such as only a chief or medicine man might be privileged to wear. Beads which the Hudson Bay Company had used in trading with the Indians, baskets of bark, willow, maiden-hair ferns, etc., woven into beautiful designs, beaded moccasins, a smoke jacket made of grass, ferns and rushes and models of Indian canoes.

The Indian dresses made of bullrushes and beaded ornaments were especially fine. Minnie Lane exhibited her grandmother's dress. Mrs. John Adams displayed white woolen baby hose. Mrs. Alex Catfish superintended the needlework. Mrs. Spencer Scott had fine spreads. Mrs. Hoxie Simmons had bead work. There was furniture made by the boys at the Government school and drawings and water color paintings by pupils of Mrs. A. G. Eldridge's school.

The agricultural exhibit was well supplied with products from garden and farm and displayed artistically.

The play "Hiawatha" was staged by Robert DePoe, a fullblood Indian, and his wife, teachers at the Upper Farm School at Siletz. The music was Indian but the words were in English that the play might be understood not only by the whites, but by the various Indians themselves.

On October 8 I made [an] official report of the fair to the Indian Office, to which we received a personal reply from Commissioner Sells, congratulating all of us for having a successful fair.

We had a Christmas Tree in the Methodist Church, the evening of December 24th, and on the 29th, I started to Morton, Washington, to hold an heirship hearing in connection with a will made by an Indian woman, Susan Sampson. I found a small group of Indians living at "Nesika," near Morton. While there, I saw an Indian woman making a medium size basket of an unusual pattern and complimented her on the skillful work she was doing. I had no thought of buying it, or

seeing it again, but a few weeks later it came to Siletz with a letter from her saying it was a present to my wife. Alice always prized the basket because of the kindly act.

A feeling of sadness came to the employees and Indian alike, when Dr. M. F. Clausius, the Agency Physician, died on February 23rd, 1916. He had been there a long time and was highly respected.

Supervisor Goodall came on March 9th and after inspecting the two day schools, left for Chemawa on the 17th.

Our son who was then living in Seattle came to Siletz on March 16th to the delight of his mother, father, and sister.

On March 27th I went to Grand Ronde to make an annuity payment of \$33.16 to each Indian belonging to that reservation. Hallie went with me to assist in the payment, which was finished on April 1st. My office building at Grand Ronde was on historical ground, the site of early Indian wars; and where General Phil Sheridan gained his first experience after graduating from West Point in 1854, and came West in the Third and Fifth Infantry. He served here until 1861, when the outbreak of the Civil War recalled him and his company. A blockhouse had been built by the settlers for their protection previous to his arrival, which on June 9, 1911, was removed to the City Park in Dayton, Yamhill County, Oregon, where it still remains.

General Pratt, one of our most loyal and highly esteemed friends, came to Siletz on August 14, 1916, to visit us and at the same time try his hand at trout fishing in the Siletz River. It gave Alice and me much pleasure to entertain him during the two weeks he was with us. He was an enthusiastic fisherman and had fished for trout in important waters, not only in the United States and Canada, but also in other countries, and he said the Siletz River compared favorably with the best in which he had fished. I selected a competent young Indian man, Tom Hollis, to be his guide and helper.

They decided to begin fishing in the river bend surrounding the Siletz Valley, a distance of about four miles. Tom put a canoe in the river a few rods south of our house and they used it in going from one place to another, all the way down stream, until they landed at the place close to the north of our house. At night Tom had the canoe carried across the narrow strip of land to the starting place, ready for

the next day's fishing. This was repeated almost daily, and there was plenty of trout on the table during those two weeks.

General Pratt, Alice, Hallie, and I spent Saturday, August 26th, on the beach at Newport, Oregon, a place noted for Rock Oysters and Water Agates. The Rock Oysters were found imbedded in the rocks, a soft kind of sandstone, from which they could not escape. They were in holes near the surface of the rock with a small opening for the entrance of sea water containing their nourishment. As the oysters grew in size, they appeared to enlarge the holes. They were delicious and a favorite article of food at the Newport hotels.

In procuring the oysters, it was necessary to use a pick or some other heavy tool to break the rocks. As the years went by, they became scarcer, and when I was there the last time, they could be procured only by waiting for the rocky formation to be uncovered by the lowest tides. This may seem an improbable story to some, not familiar with the facts, but nevertheless, it is true. The Water Agates get their name from the fact that water was found inside some of them. Various deposits were found inside others, and when cut and polished these showed distinctly.

The local jeweler had a large assortment of these prepared for sale. The day after returning from Newport, General Pratt handed me one of them with the remark, "I know of no one more entitled to wear this than you are, and I want you to wear it." This was one of the agates mounted as a scarf pin, containing the picture of an Indian's head wearing a headdress, and I still have it. Alice had one containing water and Hallie now has that.

The second Siletz Fair was held August 23-24-25, 1916. It was somewhat more extensive and the attendance greater than the first fair. The Lincoln County Sentinel of August 29 spoke of it as follows:

Friday was the last day of the Indian Fair. The Indian band formed in front of Hall Brothers' store and marched to the Agency ground, followed by the Indian dancers in native costume. Here Charlie Williams made an impromptu speech welcoming Gen. R. H. Pratt, who holds a high position in the Indian service. Williams said the Indian Fair was to show what the In-

dian is doing in agriculture; that the paint and feathers and war dances was to show the white man what their aboriginal forefathers were, before the white man's civilization came. Williams is a natural orator. Gen. Pratt responded with a neat five minutes talk and thanked the Indians for the cordial welcome. At 11 o'clock, Gen. Pratt was introduced by agent Chalcraft to a crowded house on the grounds. Excellent music was rendered previous to the speech. The General's speech, which lasted three quarters of an hour, commanded the deep attention of all present, and many were sorry when he ceased speaking. He said the Indian problem was one of education, and the adaptation to the white man's standards of life, socially and economically. He said the ethnologists of the country would keep the Indian in his aboriginal state, but the Indian service had altogether another mission, that of educating him, and making him mentally and otherwise able to compete with his white brother in all the departments of life, and to that end a practical method was best. The ethnologist dealt with the sentimental side of life. The Indian service with the practical, which made the Indian independent and able to take care of himself. General Pratt praised the work of the local agent, Mr. Chalcraft, whom he had known many years. He had visited many Indian farms, some of which he found in good condition, but he would have to award the best tilled and cleanest farm on the Siletz to a Polander. It is impossible to give even a faint draught of Gen. Pratt's address, but the apt attention paid to his words by the Indians showed that he had deeply interested them. He said the only difference between the Indian and the white man was color. The Indian was naturally as smart and capable as the white man, once education developed his talents. He illustrated this by a duet that had been just played on the piano by an Indian and a white lady.

These fairs were continued until a time came when the County Fair at Toledo was reorganized. After that, Indian exhibits were made there. Hon. S. M. Brosius, Washington Representative of the Indian Rights

Association, came on September 6th, 1916, for a three days' visit. He was a most interesting man.

We had two day schools on the Siletz Reservation, the Upper Farm School with an enrollment of less than twenty pupils and located about a half-mile from a good public school. The Siletz Day School was at the Agency where there was one of the most modern public schools in Lincoln County. The Indian pupils at Grand Ronde Reservation and those belonging to the Fourth Section Allottees, scattered over western Oregon, were in public schools.

I could see no good reason for continuing the schools at Siletz. After interviewing the school directors interested and finding they had no serious objection to the plan, I put the matter up to the Indian Office and in due time received authority to close the day schools and supervise transfer of the pupils to the public schools, which proved to be a satisfactory action.

I suppose an Indian name had been given me at many places, but it was at Siletz that I became fully aware of the fact. A number of Indians were talking in their native language in my office one day, and I noticed they used the word "Ca-nux-ie" frequently, and when some of them said it they looked towards me. This aroused my curiosity and I asked Alex Catfish what the word meant. He said that was my Indian name at Siletz, and upon inquiring, he said it meant "He who moves fast." That was all right with me.

I was more fortunate than a trader on one of the New York reservations that General Pratt told me about. This man had for a long time been trying to get the Indians to adopt him as a member of the tribe. They finally agreed to do this, and General Pratt was present at the adoption ceremony, which was held one evening. He said the ceremony was elaborate and carried on in a solemn and dignified manner until the trader's new Indian name was announced. This caused some amusement among the spectators and the General asked an Indian sitting beside him what was the cause of it. He was told the new name in English meant "Rail Fence," and was given him because in his dealings with them, he was crooked like a rail fence. Who would not look upon this as a good specimen of Indian humor?

There was no further trouble from intoxicants after the state went dry on January 1st, 1916, until in 1921, when illicit stills became numerous in Lincoln County and the products began to be secretly sold on the reservation. We found some of the Indians were trying to make whiskey with home-made stills, but they were not very successful. The police caught two of these at work in the woods near the Agency, and locked them up in the Agency jail. They were sentenced to a term in jail at hard labor by the Police Court and this had a wholesome influence on the business.

Public sentiment against the Lincoln County Sheriff, because of his connection with the liquor interests, had been increasing; and at the election in November, 1922, a "bone dry" sheriff was elected by a large majority. He was a Democratic candidate in a strongly Republican county. Practically all the Indians voted for the successful candidate. I would note here, that the individual Indians who use intoxicants to excess would usually vote against the liquor interests.

This came to my notice first at the Chehalis Reservation when the Indians cast their first vote on November 6, 1888, after receiving the right of franchise; and I have seen it repeated several times at other places, and talked with the Indians about it. The only explanation I can offer is, that the Indian after acquiring the drinking habit, realizes it is an injury to him, and his people, and for this reason votes for men opposed to liquor.

All the Indians belonging to Siletz Agency jurisdiction had the right of franchise and voted at all elections. Many on both reservations, and some of the Fourth Section Allottees, had received Fee Simple Patents to their allotments and paid taxes on the land and their personal property, the same as white citizens, and it seemed to me they should receive the same benefits as whites did under the state laws. Indigent Fourth Section Allottees were being cared for by the counties in which they lived, and we had some supplies for issue to indigent Indians on the two reservations, but it was a limited supply.

I had interviews with the County Commissioners of Lincoln, Yamhill, and Polk counties, in which Siletz and Grand Ronde Reservations are located, and succeeded in getting their consent to care for the Indian paupers in their respective counties; also, to give pensions

to needy Indian widows, the same as white widows, for which there was a state law. The information was given to the Indian Office, and authority to complete the plan was granted. The arrangement was successfully in force when we left Siletz Agency.

Our son, Pickering, was working in Seattle when the First World War came on and I went to Seattle on June 3rd, 1917, to talk war matters over with him. He enlisted as a private in the U.S. Army Medical Corps at Seattle June 30th, and was sent to Fort Lawton for intensive training. The course was completed on August 31st and he was assigned to the new base hospital at Camp Lewis, near Tacoma, where he remained working in one of the laboratories.

While here, May 8th, 1918, he was promoted to the rank of corporal. On July 3rd he was sent from Camp Lewis to Hoboken, New Jersey, thence overseas in a convoy that landed them in Liverpool, England, on July 26th, after thirteen days at sea. On the 28th, they went to Southampton by train and two days later crossed the English Channel to Cherbourg, France. Subsequently, Pickering was assigned to Mobile Hospital No. 5, and he served with his unit at the front throughout the Meuse Argonne offensive.

After the armistice, Pickering was stationed with the British at Base Hospital No. 4, near Rouen, France, for a time, and from there he visited many historic places. He left for home at Brest, France, on the steamship *Agamemnon*, March 30, 1919, and landed at Boston on April 7th, where a short stay was made at Camp Devens, then the trip continued to Camp Lewis where he arrived on April 20th and he was honorably discharged.

During the World War there was that constant anxiety and fear disturbing the mind and keeping us in a state of uneasiness, common to other parents under like circumstances, that cannot be fully realized by those not having had the experience.

An especially important event occurred in our family on September 21st, 1921, in the marriage of our son, Edwin Pickering Chalcraft and Miss Alma Cornelia Ross, daughter of Rev. Walter Ross, Pastor of the Methodist Church at Siletz. The bride's father performed the ceremony. They went to Seattle to live, where the husband was engaged in newspaper work on the *Seattle Daily Star*.

We decided to take a vacation in the autumn of 1924 and made a trip to our old home at Albion, which we left in 1881 when we came to Seattle. We had been there several times during the intervening years, but as I would reach the retiring age the next year when it was necessary for me to leave the Indian Service, this was thought to be a good time to go.

Alice, Hallie, and I left Siletz September 3rd. We went by way of Seattle and arrived at Albion on September 9th, at 1:30 a.m. My sister, Rosa, met us at the train. The Sixtieth Annual County Fair began a four-day session that day. Soon after breakfast, I went to the entrance of the fair grounds, a short distance from my sister's house, and was surprised at finding Morris Colyer in the ticket office selling tickets, as he was doing before we left Albion, forty-three years before. Practically everybody in the county made a practice of attending the fair, and Alice and I had an opportunity to meet all who were then living, that we had known in our younger days, and this was gratifying to both of us.

On Sunday the 14th we attended services at the Christian Church in Albion, where Alice and I became members in 1877, under the preaching of her cousin, Rev. Flower, and it aroused many pleasant memories of those early days. One of my cousins, Mrs. Isaline Biggers, had invited my mother, my sister Rosa, Alice, Hallie, and me to take dinner with her that day and when we arrived at her house we found a number of our old friends had also been invited. Among them was Mr. Lavinus Harris, a Teacher and Superintendent of County Schools when Alice and I went to school. He gave me my first certificate to teach school, dated September 10, 1875, in which he added the words: "He will do to tie to." I reminded him of this and he said he had so far found no reason to regret it. This brought on some repartee among the guests.

There was a birthday dinner for mother on September 27th with a few invited friends. This was her eighty-ninth birthday. She had full use of her mental faculties and was quite active, but rather thin, weighing not quite one hundred pounds. She frequently accompanied us on foot when making calls about town.

The only colored man in Albion was Sam Payne who had shaved me in my youthful days. He was a good citizen, an active member of the Methodist Church, and well respected. I went into his shop for a shave

and he did not recognize me until I mentioned my name. He refused to take pay for shaving me, saying "he was only glad to have the chance to [do] it again after so many years and did not want any money for doing it." He shaved me three or four times with the same result.

A couple of days before leaving Albion, we were all sitting on the front porch at Mrs. Tribe's home, when Sam Payne passed by the house and I went to the sidewalk to talk with him. To the surprise of Hallie, her mother followed me and brought her along to greet him, a colored man.

We were taken to visit the neighboring towns of Grayville, Fairfield, and Mt. Carmel and various familiar parts of Edwards County. In all, we had a most delightful visit and felt reluctant to leave when we did, but wanted to spend a couple of days in Canon City on the way home. We left Albion the evening of September 27th, and after spending a day and night in Denver, arrived in Canon City on the 30th, where we were entertained by Horrie and Annie Craig, the latter one of Alice's cousins. We met all the former Albion people then living in the town, and had a ride over the city's famous "Sky Line Drive." We left Canon City October 2nd and arrived at Siletz on the 5th. [I] found [that] my Clerk, Charles Larsen, had handled the Agency affairs skillfully during my absence.

The Agency work had been moving along for two or three years in a way that required little supervision other than office work relating to thirty-seven allotments, all or part of which were still held in trust by the original allottees; distribution of moneys held in Government depositories, in trust for the Indians; determining the heirs to trust land; and looking after two sections of timber land held in common for the tribe. All the Indians had the right of franchise and voted with their white neighbors; their children were in public schools; the indigent people were being cared for by the counties; and cordial relations had been established between the Indians and their white neighbors.

All this made it seem to me the time had about come when Siletz Agency could be abolished and the little unfinished work put in charge of the Salem Indian School at Chemawa, by adding a competent Clerk to the Superintendent's office force to do the work. I discussed the future of the Agency with the last three inspecting officers, one of them

from the Secretary of the Interior's office, and they all agreed that it was advisable to abolish the Agency. The last of these was Supervisor [W. W.] Coon and he recommended Siletz Agency be abolished upon my retirement from the service. On April 17th, 1925, I received a letter from the Indian Office, asking my views on the subject; and May 25th, I made the following reply:

*The Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D.C.*

My dear Mr. Commissioner:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated April 17th, last, containing the information that Supervisor Coon has recommended the Siletz jurisdiction be placed under jurisdiction of the superintendent of the Salem School, Chemawa, Oregon.

I met Supervisor Coon at Chemawa some time ago, and while discussing eligibility of the Indian children at this agency to attend the Salem School I informed him that under the instructions contained in Office circular letter dated July 29th, 1919, there were very few children, probably not more than fifteen or twenty, at Siletz Agency that could be enrolled in any Government School. This led to a discussion of some of the future work at Siletz and the proper jurisdiction to handle the unfinished work in case the agency was abolished, which we agreed could be handled from the Salem school more easily than any other place. I am pleased that the Supervisor has taken the matter up with you as I intended to draw your attention to it before the end of the present fiscal year, prior to which time I expected to have a statement prepared showing the work to be done, and it has taken considerable time to collect the data that seemed necessary, which has prevented an earlier reply to your letter.

Not long after I took charge of this agency and had become familiar with the conditions I was convinced that the time had arrived to begin preparing competent Indians, who had re-

ceived patents in fee, to assume their own responsibility as fully as possible and realize that they were citizens in fact, as well as in name, and must look to the State laws for protection and relief in the same manner as their white neighbors. This policy has been followed consistently in conjunction with a policy of educating and impressing upon the officials of the three counties in which the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations are located, that the citizen Indians were entitled to the same consideration and privileges as their white neighbors. The officials of these three counties Lincoln, Polk and Yamhill have accepted the situation and been providing for the care of insane Indians, incorrigible boys and girls, furnishing support from the County pauper fund for indigent citizen Indians, and paying widows pensions under the State law. One Indian widow at this time is receiving \$40.00 a month from the county and others lesser amounts. All citizen Indian children in normal health on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations, are received in the public schools, plenty of which are available on the reservations. The Fourth Section allottees [are] recognized as citizens, and, with possibly few exceptions, are given the full benefit and privileges granted under the State laws.

All the Adult Indians under this jurisdiction have exercised the right of franchise for many years, and in Oregon the women vote, too. All dress as white people do and follow the same pursuits as their white neighbors. Many of the original allottees have received patent in fee to their own allotment and all inherited lands. These two classes have no further interest in Government supervision other than to receive their shares in the proceeds to be derived from four sections of tribal timber land when it is sold.

Total 1,132 Indians

ALLOTMENTS

Total number of allotments, including Homesteads: 1,111

Total number of allottees living and retaining all or part of their original allotments in trust, including homesteads: 37

Table 1. The approximate census at the close of the present fiscal year will be:

	RESERVATION ADULTS		MINORS		TOTAL	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Siletz	125	117	98	96	223	213
Grande Ronde	86	72	92	81	178	153
Fourth Section						
Allottees	146 ^A	133	46	40	192	173
Totals	357	322	236	217	593	539
Total					1,132 Indians	

^A I changed this figure from 147 to 146.

Total acreage of land held in trust by original allottees, including homesteads Acres: 3,498.63

Total number of allotments, part or all of which are held in trust for heirs or deceased allottees, including homesteads: 205

Total acreage of land held in trust for heirs Acres: 20,104.85

Total number of allotments and homesteads to which patent in fee has been issued, including 101 canceled allotments: 614

Total number of allotments sold under Supervision: 255

Total number of minors of all ages: 453

Total number of minors of all ages that may be classed as wards of the Government under the instructions contained in Office Circular dated July 29, 1919: 19

OTHER TRACTS HELD IN TRUST

Acres in Tribal Timber Reserve at Siletz: 2,517.26

Acres in Agency Tract at Siletz: 28.50

Acres in Mill Site at Siletz: 4.03

Acres in Poser Reserve at Siletz: 9.50

Lots No. 1 and 2, Block 7, Siletz Townsite, Unsold: 2

Cemetery Tract at Siletz (acres): 9.25

Acres in Upper Farm School Site: 2

Acres in Agency Tract at Grand Ronde: .50

Acres in Mill Site Reserve at Grand Ronde: 60.00

The above schedules have been prepared from the records of this office, and I believe they are substantially correct, although the records relating to the Fourth Section allottees were not complete when transferred to Siletz, making it necessary to give approximate figures from the data relating to them. A fair estimate of the future work to be done, as far as it relates to trust land, may be made from an examination of these schedules.

There are a number of Indians under this jurisdiction, who, by reason of age, education, mental, and physical condition, are competent to receive patent in fee to all trust property in which they have an interest, but heretofore have declined to make application for fee patents, principally because they do not want their property on the tax rolls. Some of these have been granted patents in fee to a portion of their own, or inherited allotments. It seems proper that they should be required to assume their responsibilities in this respect, as far as may be consistent with fairness to them, which I am mentioning at this time for consideration in connection with this report.

At the present time, we have \$42,729.02, Individual Indian Money in bonded depositories, viz.

\$28,375.76 Individual Indian accounts; a considerable portion of which could be disbursed under instruction contained in Circular No. 1549, dated June 20, 1919, but is being held in the depository with the consent of the Indians.

\$14,348.38 Special Deposits

\$4.88 Interest on Individual Indian Money & Special Deposits.

\$42,729.02

There are approximately a dozen indigent wards of the Government at Siletz reservation to whom small issues of provisions are made as occasion requires, about five at Grand Ronde, and none among the Fourth Section allottees. A contract physician has been employed at Siletz whose services may be dispensed with if provision is made for the few cases of serious illness that may occur from time to time.

There are no Government schools under this jurisdiction and practically no necessity for supervising the education of the Indian children, because good public schools are available for all including High schools at Siletz and Grand Ronde, and the school officials recognize their responsibility for the Indian children's education.

Two large buildings, formerly used for boarding school purposes are on the agency tract at Siletz. One of these is vacant and the other contains the office, dispensary, clerk's quarters and guest rooms. There are separate dwellings for the superintendent and the physician, a commissary, a one-room school house, barn, and three smaller buildings. On the two-acre day school site, ten miles from the agency headquarters at Siletz, there are four buildings; school house, teachers' residence, barn, and woodshed. A three-room office is the only building at Grand Ronde. All of the buildings are old, with exception of the Siletz day school plant, which was erected about fourteen years ago.

It appears to me that the work at this jurisdiction has reached the point where it can be consolidated with another without detriment to the welfare of the Indians. If this action is taken and the work assigned to the superintendent of the Salem school as intimated in your communication, the greater part of the expense in maintaining the Siletz agency would be eliminated. As the school duties in an institution like Chemawa requires practically all the time and attention of the superintendent, he should have a competent clerk familiar with matters to handle the field work under the superintendent's direction. This employee should for a time at least have his headquarters at Siletz to complete the readjustment of questions that usually arise in connection with important changes in agency administration. I do not consider it necessary to have any other employee, either at Grand Ronde or at Siletz.

If you should decide to abolish the Siletz superintendency at the time indicated in your letter, the two clerks should be

continued to that time for the purpose of enabling me to close up all of the unfinished work preparatory to transfer.

Very respectfully,
(Signed)

EDWIN L. CHALCRAFT
Superintendent.
ELC/APC. (rm)

Nothing more was heard from the Indian Office relative to abolishing the Agency until October 22, 1925, when the Office notified me that "authority was granted to place the Siletz jurisdiction under the supervision of the Superintendent of the Salem School effective when he receipts for the property, etc., which he has been instructed to do on November 13, 1925, your retirement from the Service to become effective November 12." I was instructed to abolish all Agency employee positions, excepting that of my Clerk, Charles Larsen, whom I had recommended be kept at Siletz for a few months, to assist the Indians in the change of authority, and then go to Salem School to handle the unfinished work. This was all carried out.

Superintendent Harwood Hall of the Salem School came on November 12th to take over the unfinished work, and on the 13th, he receipted me for the property. He was accompanied by Mrs. Hall, and as this was my seventieth birthday, and observed by a birthday dinner, they remained until evening, then returned to Chemawa, leaving Charlie Larsen in charge of affairs at Siletz.

The Salem Daily Statesman, dated November 5, 1925, referred to the closing of Siletz Agency, as follows:

The Siletz confederated Indian agency, confederated with the Grand Ronde agency and including all the scattered tribes in western Oregon, will cease to exist November 13.

And thus will end an activity that was a most important one in the early days of Oregon's history, and up to the past 15 to 20 years.

Edwin L. Chalcraft has been Indian agent at Siletz for several years. He entered the Indian service 41 years ago. He went into it at Chehalis, promising to stay there a year. He remained there over a dozen years, and he has held many important posts in that service, including the superintendency of the Salem Indian school at Chemawa.

Some time ago, upon the approach of the time when Mr. Chalcraft should enter upon the retired list, he was asked to report upon the possibility of discontinuing the agency at Siletz, at the time of his going on the retired list. He made his report, without recommendation. But the discontinuance was ordered to take place November 13.

Some details of the work that will hang over will be transferred to the supervision of Harwood Hall, superintendent of the Salem Indian school, and Charles E. Larsen, clerk, will remain for a time at Siletz to carry on in the transfer.

Nearly everything that has needed attention had already been done under the superintendency of Mr. Chalcraft.

Mr. Chalcraft was in Salem yesterday. He will be in this section for some time, but will no doubt spend a good deal of time in Seattle, where his son, E. P. Chalcraft, is in newspaper work, and where Mr. Chalcraft owns a home.

It took us about two weeks to make our final official reports to the Indian Office, and after these were in the mail, we leisurely packed our belongings and shipped them to Seattle, where Alice, Hallie, and I went in our auto in time to be there before Christmas, which was spent with Pickering and his family. We then went to our home at 923 East Cherry Street to live as private citizens.⁴

{ 11 }

At Home in Seattle

Chalcraft's concluding chapter chronicles him and his wife in retirement. Returning to Seattle, Edwin and Alice settled into a comfortable routine centered around their home, children, and grandchildren. In the mid-1930s, they became interested in genealogy and began tracing their family histories. Sadly, Alice contracted stomach cancer and passed away on November 22, 1938, before completion of the project. Approximately two years later, Edwin Chalcraft began writing this memoir, which took him about a year and a half to finish and was accomplished only eleven months before his death. Although he had maintained generally good health throughout his life, he suffered a fatal heart attack on September 11, 1943, and was laid to rest next to his wife in the Lake View Cemetery in Seattle.

On our trip from Siletz Reservation to Seattle, we traveled in a rather leisurely manner, stopping overnight at the Chemawa School and again in Portland, to visit friends. Christmas week was spent with Pickering's family in Seattle, then we went to our home. The house had been rented for so many years there was much to do in putting it and the grounds in good condition. When this was done, I did some surveying in the city with instruments I had kept since leaving that work in 1883; but my principal industrial work was in caring for the lawn and garden.

Our home is only a few blocks from the First Christian Church, which we attended. We were both members of the Pioneer Association

of the State of Washington, which met each year in its own building in Seattle; and Alice and Hallie belonged to the Seattle Chapter of The Daughters of the Pioneers of Washington, 1870. Both were active in W.C.T.U. work, also. While most of our lives had been spent elsewhere in the Indian Service, we were constantly in touch with our Seattle friends, and this with our relatives in the city made the return to Seattle a real homecoming.

We were both from large families living in, or near, Albion. Alice had four sisters; two of them, Eleanor, wife of William S. Mayfield; and Mary (Mamie), wife of Henry J. Phillips, with their seven children, lived in Seattle. A cousin, Mrs. Eliza McCredy, with her three children, lived here also; and two cousins, Ernest and Roy Pickering, with their families were at Issaquah. I had one relative, a cousin, Nellie Henderson Meyer, wife of Dr. Meyer, at Richmond Beach. These were our only relatives in Western Washington.

As both of our children were born in Seattle and had little knowledge of relatives living in the east, other than that learned from occasional visits, we decided to make a list of them for our children's information and began doing so. My dear companion passed away before this was completed, leaving me to finish the list, which was done; but I went further than was originally intended by either of us, in compiling genealogical data of our four parents back to their English ancestors.

This data contained the names of both parents, including the wife's maiden name, dates of birth, marriage, death, and a brief statement concerning each family in the line of descent down to Alice and me; children and grandchildren with dates of their birth, marriage and death, were listed with their parents, making a complete genealogical record of our four parents and consequently of ourselves. This was followed by data relating to our own family.

As this record had taken so much time and research, in which much valuable assistance had been received from my sister, Mrs. Rosa C. Gooch, at Albion, it seemed worthy of preserving. Mimeograph copies were made and appropriately bound for our two children, Alice's four sisters, and my sister and two brothers' families.

After these had been delivered, the Edwards County Historical So-

ciety at Albion requested a copy, which was sent them. Later, the State Library at Springfield asked for a copy, and this was followed by a request from the Congressional Library in Washington, D.C. These were furnished and the letters of acknowledgment from the librarians contained expressions that were wholly unexpected and pleasing. This confirmed the opinion that it was not unwise to preserve the data. Subsequently, requests were received from the Minnesota Historical Society, New England Historic Genealogical Society, and the American Antiquarian Society. These could not be furnished because the supply of copies was exhausted. In all, nineteen copies of the data were made, one of which was preserved for myself.

The years between 1883 and 1925 had been full of activity and were sometimes strenuous, but we were contented and happy through it all. Alice taught in the classrooms for a few years, but after our children came while we were at the Puyallup Reservation, they received most of her attention; yet her interest in our work continued. In my absence on official business, she was frequently left in charge of Agency and school management, which she always executed with tact and ability. In difficult situations, her counsel and advice were invaluable; and to her a full share of credit can be given for any success that may have come to us in relation to our work with the Indians.

In retiring from the work at Siletz, it was with a mixed feeling of regret in leaving the Indian Service and pleasurable anticipation of a quiet home-life free from exacting responsibility. But the latter did not sever all our connection with the younger men and women who began their preparation for a more civilized life in the Government schools. Many of these from various sections of the Country have since called at our home in Seattle and we have appreciated their remembrance.

A number, after leaving the Government schools, continued their education in our higher schools of learning; and others, several of whom are living in Seattle, are following useful pursuits in our civil life and sending their children to the public schools, scarcely recognized by their associates as Indians, demonstrating fully the statement General Pratt made in a speech at Siletz Reservation on August 25, 1916, after spending more than thirty years in educating young Indians, who said, "The Indian problem is one of education, and the adaptation to the

white man's standard of life, socially and economically, making him, mentally and otherwise, able to compete with his white brother in all the departments of life. The only difference between the Indian and the white man is color. The Indian is naturally as smart and capable as the white man, once education developed his talents." These statements are in harmony with our experience, and I believe of all who have made a careful study of the subject.

Altogether our life in Seattle was uneventful with nothing to disturb our peace and happiness, until our dear wife and mother became seriously ill and had to be taken to a hospital on October 4th, 1937, and was unable to return home until October 31st. She never fully recovered from this sickness but was able to be at home until October 1st, 1938, when it became necessary to take her to the Maynard Hospital for a major operation, which was performed by Dr. R. D. Forbes, one of the city's most skillful surgeons, assisted by Dr. E. M. Carney, and the hospital physician, Dr. Fairburn. When the operation was over, Dr. Forbes told Pickering and me that they had done everything possible but she could not recover and would live but a short time.

This was the most severe and heart-rending shock that ever [happened] to me in my lifetime. She never knew what the doctor told us but did realize her serious condition. Though very weak physically, her mental faculties were not impaired and she took keen interest in conversation with her visitors, read the mail from friends and the morning paper, even after becoming so weak someone had to hold them for her.

Among other things, she insisted on voting at the November 8th election, which was done by using an absentee ballot. These things and her thoughtful attitude towards those attending her astonished the physician and nurses and caused them to be outspoken in praise of her courage and self-possession when she knew her life was at stake. This was her natural self as exhibited throughout previous years, together with a high Christian character, giving her support. She said she wanted to live but if it was not to be she was ready to go.

One day when I came to her bedside, Alice reminded me that it had been a family custom for the grandmother to give a gold ring to each granddaughter when they were about twelve years of age, and

she had never given one to her granddaughter, Alice. She had me take her some stones we had at home, from which she selected one and had me take it to a jeweler to be set in a gold ring for Pickering and Alma's daughter. She was so pleased with this that she selected two other stones to be made into rings, one for Alma and the other for our own daughter, Alice. To complete the list, she then had signet rings purchased for each of Pickering's two sons, Walter and Richard.

After all the rings had been prepared for delivery, she said, "These are my Christmas presents. I may not be here and, if I am not, I want you to present them as from me at that time," and suggested some things I should say in doing so. Then after closing her eyes in rest for a few moments, she looked up and said, "Our daughter, Hallie, is to have my watch and diamond ring; and Pickering is to have that heavy gold ring made from Grandfather Pickering's watch case." Then with a faint smile she said, "And I want you to have my wedding ring." The dear, loving companion of a lifetime, then completely exhausted, apparently went to sleep.

About seven o'clock the evening of November 21st, my dear wife, too weak to speak, moved her hand towards me with a faint smile, as I sat at her bedside. I took it and her feeble fingers pressed mine. I returned the pressure and spoke to her but she could respond only by a faint smile. Shortly she apparently went to sleep, which continued until she passed away at 4:45 a.m., on November 22, 1938. Those present at the time, besides myself, were: Pickering; Dr. Finley Ramsey, her physician; Dr. Fairburn, hospital physician; and two nurses. Hallie and Alma were there until midnight, when Pickering took them home and returned to his mother's bedside.

The funeral was on November 25th and she was laid away near her father and mother in Lake View Cemetery, adjoining Volunteer Park, in Seattle, to await the coming of those she loved. Her Pastor, Dr. E. C. Nance, officiated, and the pallbearers were all from the First Christian Church.

Hallie and I have since continued living in our home, made lonely by the absence and cheerful companionship of our loved one. Hallie, the dear girl, has cared for the household duties as her mother had taught her to do, and giving full attention to my personal welfare.

Most of our personal association is with her brother's family and a few particular friends.

For several years, our children and others had been urging that something about our Indian Service experience be put in writing. I had many official reports and papers relating to Indian matters, and personal diaries kept by Alice and me during the years, containing notes of things that had been entered at the time they occurred. In re-reading these diaries many dormant memories of the past have been revived making it seem almost like experiencing life's journey again with her at my side. This feeling, and being in possession of reliable data, caused me to comply with the requests, which has been done in common-place narrative form without thought of literary merit.

The task was completed November 12, 1942, the day before my eighty-seventh birthday.

Editor's Postscript

There is an overused but nonetheless appropriate axiom that says the more things change the more they remain the same. As a commentary on the history of Indian-white relations in the United States, it is apropos. As we enter this twenty-first century, the Office of Indian Affairs personnel of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries remain as controversial and contentious as ever. In the collective American psyche, the predominantly negative perception of federal policies and programs geared toward reforming Indian people not only persists but has intensified. The academic community has been particularly aggressive in its attack, rejecting the rationale of “good intentions–bad results” so often used to explain and justify the actions of men such as Edwin Chalcraft.

Yet there is value in an objective examination of these pioneer “social workers” who devoted their lives to the physical if not the cultural preservation of American Indian people. To make an accurate assessment of the OIA and its employees, we need to know more about the context of the times in which they labored and how their attitudes and behaviors reflected their age and the world they knew. We need to know the impact their decisions and actions made on Indian affairs and to understand how their own unique background and beliefs, abilities and deficiencies helped and hindered them in performing their duties and achieving their goals. We hope there are many more histories like Chalcraft’s waiting to be uncovered that will enrich our understanding of the infinitely complicated relationships

that existed, and still exist, between nations, peoples, and cultures. If *Assimilation's Agent* is even a small contribution toward those goals, perhaps Chalcraft's career did not end in 1925 when he reached the retirement age of seventy on the Siletz reservation in Oregon. His diary may have been only a beginning—of a future that he could scarcely have imagined.

Appendix

Appointments Held by Edwin Chalcraft in the U.S. Indian Service

Superintendent, Chehalis Indian Reservation	October 1, 1883–June 30, 1889
Superintendent, Puyallup Indian School	July 1, 1889–October 31, 1894
Superintendent, Chemawa Indian School	November 14, 1894–April 1, 1895
Superintendent, Wind River Indian School	May 18, 1900–October 2, 1900
Supervisor of Indian Schools	October 17, 1900–September 30, 1904
Superintendent, Chemawa Indian School	October 1, 1904–June 22, 1912
Superintendent, Jones Male Academy	July 23, 1912–May 16, 1914
Superintendent, Siletz Indian Agency	July 1, 1914–November 13, 1925

**Commissioners of Indian Affairs Holding
Office during Edwin Chalcraft's Career in
the U.S. Indian Service**

Hiram Price	1881–84
John D. C. Atkins	1885–87
John H. Oberly	1887–89
Thomas J. Morgan	1889–93
Daniel M. Browning	1893–97
William A. Jones	1897–1905
Francis E. Leupp	1905–9
Robert G. Valentine	1909–13
Cato Sells	1913–21
Charles H. Burke	1921–29

Notes

Editor's Introduction

1. Personal correspondence, Alice Martin to Cary Collins, March 15, 1999. Chalcraft entitled his typescript memoir "Memory's Storehouse," which is included in the Chalcraft-Pickering Family Papers, cage 560, box 1, Washington State University Libraries, Pullman, and has been edited by Cary C. Collins as "Between Savagery and Civilization: The Memoir of Edwin L. Chalcraft, U.S. Indian Agent" (Ph.D. diss., Washington State University, 2001). Some material presented in this introduction appeared in Cary C. Collins, "Through the Lens of Assimilation: Edwin L. Chalcraft and Chemawa Indian School," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 98 (Winter 1997–98): 390–425.
2. The literature on OIA personnel is rich. A sampling includes George P. Castile, "Edwin Eells, U.S. Indian Agent, 1871–1895," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 72 (April 1981): 61–68; Adelaide Elm and Heather S. Hatch, comps., "'Ready to Serve': Elsie Prugh Herndon among the Pima and Papago, a Photo Essay," *Journal of Arizona History* 30 (Summer 1989): 193–208; Laura Graves, *Thomas Varker Keam, Indian Trader* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998); Robert A. Trennert, "John H. Stout and the Grant Peace Policy among the Pimas," *Arizona and the West* 28 (Spring 1986): 45–68; Laura Woodworth-Ney, "The Diaries of a Day-School Teacher: Daily Realities on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, 1932–1942," *South Dakota History* 24 (Fall/Winter 1994): 194–211.

3. Personal correspondence, Alice Martin to Cary Collins, March 15, 1999.
4. Chalcraft, "Memory's Storehouse," 15.
5. Carter Jones Meyer, "Edgar Hewett, Tsianina Redfeather, and Early-Twentieth-Century Indian Reform," *New Mexico Historical Review* 75 (April 2000): 202. The images Indian agents conjured in the psyche of the American public is discussed in Henry E. Fritz, *The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860–1890* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), 24–55; Langdon Sully, "The Indian Agent: A Study in Corruption and Avarice," *American West* 10 (March 1973): 4–9; Robert D. Cunningham Jr., "Rings in Arizona: A Look at Frontier Conspiracies," *Journal of the West* 25 (October 1986): 14–20; John Dibbern, "The Reputations of Indian Agents: A Reappraisal of John P. Clum and Joseph C. Tiffany," *Journal of the Southwest* 39 (Summer 1997): 201–38.
6. Quoted in William E. Unrau, "The Civilian as Indian Agent: Villain or Victim?" *Western Historical Quarterly* 3 (October 1972): 408–9.
7. Indian participation is documented in Wilbert H. Ahern, "An Experiment Aborted: Returned Indian Students in the Indian School Service, 1881–1908," *Ethnohistory* 44 (Spring 1997): 263–304.
8. Esther Burnett Horne and Sally McBeth, *Essie's Story: The Life and Legacy of a Shoshone Teacher* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), xx–xxi.
9. Albert H. Kneale, *Indian Agent* (Caldwell ID: Caxton Printers, 1950); W. F. M. Army, *Indian Agent in New Mexico: The Journal of Special Agent W. F. M. Army, 1870*, ed. Lawrence R. Murphy (Santa Fe: Stagecoach Press, 1967).
10. T. W. Davenport, "Recollections of an Indian Agent," *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 8 (March 1907): 1–41, (June 1907): 95–128, (September 1907): 231–64, (December 1907): 353–74.
11. Thomas C. Battey, *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker among the Indians* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1875), 4–5.
12. James McLaughlin, *My Friend the Indian* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1926), vii–viii.
13. On the rise of modern America, see John A. Garraty, *The New Commonwealth, 1877–1890* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968); Pe-

- ter Dobkin Hall, *The Organization of American Culture, 1700–1900: Private Institutions, Elites, and the Origins of American Nationality* (New York: New York University Press, 1982); Samuel P. Hays, *The Response to Industrialism, 1885–1914* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957, 1995); Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877–1919* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987); Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).
14. Lewis Meriam et al., *The Problem of Indian Administration* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1928).
 15. Robert Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indians from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978); Christine Bolt, *American Indian Policy and American Reform: Case Studies of the Campaign to Assimilate the American Indians* (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1987); Janet McDonnell, *The Dispossession of the American Indians, 1887–1934* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).
 16. Data was taken from the Web site maintained by the Bureau of Indian Affairs at <http://www.doi.gov/bureau-indian-affairs.html>. On the rationale for strong discipline in boarding schools, see Scott Riney, *The Rapid City Indian School, 1898–1933* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999).
 17. Eva Marie Garroutte, *Real Indians: Identity and the Survival of Native America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).
 18. For background on Lewis H. Morgan, consult Fred Eggan, *The American Indian: Perspectives for the Study of Social Change* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Richard B. Woodbury and Nathalie F. S. Woodbury, “The Rise and Fall of the Bureau of American Ethnology,” *Journal of the Southwest* 41 (Autumn 1999): 283–96; David Oberweiser, “The Indian Education of Lewis H. Morgan,” *Indian Historian* 12 (Winter 1979): 23–28; Adam Kuper, “The Development of Lewis Henry Morgan’s Evolutionism,” *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 21 (January 1985): 3–22.
 19. Robert E. Bieder, “The Representations of Indian Bodies in Nineteenth-Century American Anthropology,” *American Indian Quarterly* 20 (Spring 1996): 167.

20. James T. Carroll, *Seeds of Faith: Catholic Indian Boarding Schools* (New York: Garland, 2000); Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865–1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976).
21. On identity, see Alexandra Harmon, *Indians in the Making: Ethnic Relations and Indian Identities around Puget Sound* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Sally J. McBeth, *Ethnic Identity and the Boarding School Experience of West-Central Oklahoma American Indians* (Washington DC: University Press of America, 1983); Frederick E. Hoxie, “Exploring a Cultural Borderland: Native American Journeys of Discovery in the Early Twentieth Century,” *Journal of American History* 79 (December 1992): 969–95; David Rich Lewis, “Still Native: The Significance of Native Americans in the History of the Twentieth-Century American West,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 24 (May 1993): 203–27; Ken Coates, “Being Aboriginal: The Cultural Politics of Identity, Membership, and Belonging among First Nations in Canada,” *Canadian Issues* 21 (1999): 23–41; Garroutte, *Real Indians*.
22. Among the best studies of the assimilation period are Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984) and Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*, 2 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).
23. An excellent history of the Grant Peace Policy is Robert H. Keller, *American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy, 1869–1882* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983). Also consult Norman J. Bender, *New Hope for the Indians: The Grant Peace Policy and the Navajos in the 1870s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989); Henry E. Stamm IV, “The Peace Policy at Wind River: The James Irwin Years, 1871–1877,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 41 (Autumn 1991): 56–69.
24. Pratt’s views on Indian education and the founding of Carlisle Indian School are found in Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867–1904*, ed. Robert M. Utley (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964, 1987). On

- the founding of Chemawa Indian School, see Cary C. Collins, "The Broken Crucible of Assimilation: Forest Grove Indian School and the Origins of Off-Reservation Boarding School Education in the West," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 101 (Winter 2000): 466–507. The characteristics of total institutions are discussed in Erving Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* (New York: Doubleday, 1961, 1990). Essential scholarship on Indian education includes Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900–1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Michael C. Coleman, *American Indian Children at School, 1850–1930* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993); K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1994); Devon A. Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851–1909* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).
25. Donald L. Parman, *Indians and the American West in the Twentieth Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Vine Deloria Jr., ed., *American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985); Peter Iverson, *We Are Still Here: American Indians in the Twentieth Century* (Wheeling: Harlan Davidson, 1998); Kenneth R. Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920–1934* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977); Thomas A. Britten, "Hoover and the Indians: The Case for Continuity in Federal Indian Policy, 1900–1933," *Historian* 61 (Spring 1999): 518–38; and Daniele Fiorentino, "Acculturation/Assimilation: American Indian Policy in the Progressive Years" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1999) discuss the characteristics of assimilationist policy in the early twentieth century.
 26. Arrell Morgan Gibson, "The Centennial Legacy of the General Allotment Act," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 65 (Fall 1987): 248. Background on the Dawes Act is found in D. S. Otis, *The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands*, ed. Francis Paul Prucha (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973); Leonard A. Carlson, *Indians, Bureaucrats, and Land: The Dawes Act and the Decline of Indian Farming* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981); Wilcomb Washburn,

- The Assault on Indian Tribalism: The General Allotment Act of 1887* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1975); William T. Hagan, *American Indians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961, 1979, 1993), 133–68. Case studies documenting application of the Dawes Act at specific locations include Tracy Neal Leavelle, “‘We Will Make It Our Own Place’: Agriculture and Adaptation at the Grand Ronde Reservation, 1856–1887,” *American Indian Quarterly* 22 (Fall 1998): 433–56, and Orlan J. Svingen, “Reservation Self-Sufficiency: Stock Raising vs. Farming on the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation, 1900–1914,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 31 (Winter 1981): 14–23.
27. Edwin L. Chalcraft, “Preparing the Indian Boy and Girl for a Vigorous Struggle with the Local Conditions under Which Their People Live in the Northwest” (paper prepared for the Boston Institute, 1903), Alice Martin Collection.
 28. Edwin L. Chalcraft, “The Importance of Specializing the Course of Study to Meet the Needs of Local Conditions” (paper read at the Indian Teachers’ Institute at the Seattle Exposition, August 24, 1909), Alice Martin Collection.
 29. Frederick E. Hoxie, “Searching for Structure: Reconstructing Crow Family Life during the Reservation Era,” *American Indian Quarterly* 15 (Summer 1991): 287. See also Todd Benson, “The Consequences of Reservation Life: Native Californians on the Round Valley Reservation, 1871–1884,” *Pacific Historical Review* 60 (May 1991): 221–44; William T. Hagan, “Indian Policy after the Civil War: The Reservation Experience,” in Indiana Historical Society, *Lectures, 1970–1971* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1971): 20–36.
 30. Paul Stuart, *The Indian Office: Growth and Development of an American Institution, 1865–1900* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979).
 31. *Portland Morning Oregonian*, January 13, 1886; Brad Asher, *Beyond the Reservation: Indians, Settlers, and the Law in Washington Territory, 1853–1889* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 4. Perspectives on the philosophy of the reservation are found in

- Henry F. Dobyns, "Therapeutic Experience of Responsible Democracy," in Stuart Levine and Nancy O. Lurie, eds., *The American Indian Today* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968), 268–91; George P. Castile, "Federal Indian Policy and the Sustained Enclave: An Anthropological Perspective," *Human Organization* 33 (Fall 1974): 219–28; Joseph G. Jorgensen, *The Sun Dance Religion: Power for the Powerless* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 89–173, and Jorgensen, "Indians and the Metropolis," in *The American Indian in Urban Society*, ed. Jack O. Waddell and O. Michael Watson (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971), 67–113. See also Tim Giago, "Tim Giago (Oglala Lakota) Explains the Significance of the Reservation, 1984," in *Major Problems in American Indian History*, ed. Albert L. Hurtado and Peter Iverson (Lexington MA: D. C. Heath, 1994), 536–37.
32. Women filled various roles on reservations. Early on, agents' wives typically served in the capacity of teacher. For example, see Susan Peterson, "'Holy Women' and Housekeepers: Women Teachers on South Dakota Reservations, 1885–1910," *South Dakota History* 13 (Fall 1983): 245–60, and Elaine Goodale Eastman, *Sister to the Sioux: The Memoirs of Elaine Goodale Eastman, 1885–91*, ed. Kay Graber (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978). In subsequent years duties changed and women began working as field matrons. See Lisa E. Emmerich, "'Civilization' and Transculturation: The Field Matron Program and Cross-cultural Contact," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 15 (1991): 33–47, and Emmerich, "Marguerite LaFlesche Diddock: Office of Indian Affairs Field Matron," *Great Plains Quarterly* 13 (Summer 1993): 162–71. Early in the twentieth century, the position of field matron evolved to field nurse. See Robert A. Trennert, "Superwomen in Indian Country: USIS Field Nurses in Arizona and New Mexico, 1928–1940," *Journal of Arizona History* 41 (Spring 2000): 31–56. On the obstacles that confronted women in the field, consult Mary Bloodgood, ed., "Diary of Mary Bonner Lightfoot, Great Nemaha Agency, 1869," *Nebraska History* 72 (Spring 1991): 21–32.
33. The challenges confronting Indian officials facing the realities of reservation life for the first time is chronicled in Robert E. Ram-

- sey, “‘My God, Eddie, What Will We Do?’ The Ramsey Family’s Experiences on the Pima Indian Reservation, 1926–1964,” *Journal of Arizona History* 42 (Spring 2001): 23–38.
34. Alice Chalcraft, 1883 diary, Alice Martin Collection.
 35. I. Eells to P. Chalcraft, January 29, 1953, Alice Martin Collection.
 36. “Deposition of Witnesses before George W. Traver, Notary Public. In Reference to Charges Edwin Eells, Agent, Puyallup Indian Reservation, Washington Territory. Commencing May 31, 1888,” Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma, Wickersham Scrapbook, James Wickersham Collection.
 37. Edwin L. Chalcraft, “Programmes, Rules, Attendance, &c., 1883–1889,” Alice Martin Collection.
 38. Edwin L. Chalcraft, “The American Indian” (paper delivered before the First Christian Church in Seattle, April 19, 1942), Alice Martin Collection.
 39. For a history of the Chehalis Indian Reservation during the assimilation period, see Cary C. Collins, “Red Chehalis in a White Northwest: The Americanization of the Chehalis Indians, Prehistory to 1924” (M.A. thesis, Central Washington University, 1992).
 40. On the Indian Shaker Church, consult H. G. Barnett, *Indian Shakers: A Messianic Cult of the Pacific Northwest* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1957, 1972); Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, *John Slocum and the Indian Shaker Church* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996); George P. Castile, “The ‘Half-Catholic’ Movement: Edwin and Myron Eells and the Rise of the Indian Shaker Religion,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 73 (October 1982): 165–74; Thomas Buckley, “The Shaker Church and the Indian Way in Native Northwestern California,” *American Indian Quarterly* 21 (Winter 1997): 1–14.
 41. Two recent studies on the role of language in Indian acculturation include Ruth Spack, “English, Pedagogy, and Ideology: A Case Study of the Hampton Institute, 1878–1900,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 24 (2000): 1–24; and Amy Goodburn, “Literary Practices at the Genoa Industrial Indian School,” *Great Plains Quarterly* 19 (Winter 1999): 35–52.
 42. See Robert A. Trennert, “Corporal Punishment and the Politics of

- Indian Reform,” *History of Education Quarterly* 29 (Winter 1989): 595–617.
43. “Memory’s Storehouse,” 57–59.
 44. *Tacoma Weekly News*, July 25, 1890.
 45. See *History of the Puyallup Tribe of Indians* (Tacoma WA: Puyallup Indian Tribe, n.d.); Marian W. Smith, *The Puyallup-Nisqually* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940); Elizabeth Shackelford, “The History of the Puyallup Indian Reservation” (M.A. thesis, University of Puget Sound, 1918).
 46. Henry Sicade, “Hard Lessons in America: Henry Sicade’s History of Puyallup Indian School, 1860 to 1920,” ed. Cary C. Collins, *Columbia* 14 (Winter 2000–2001): 6–11.
 47. Scant published material exists on Chemawa. Among the few studies available are SuAnn M. Reddick, “The Evolution of Chemawa Indian School: From Red River to Salem, 1825–1885,” *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 101 (Winter 2000): 444–65; and Collins, “The Broken Crucible of Assimilation.” Also see Patrick Michael McKeehan, “The History of Chemawa Indian School” (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1981); Burton C. Lemmon, “The Historical Development of the Chemawa Indian School” (M.A. thesis, Oregon State College, 1941); James Alan Smith, “To Assimilate the Children: The Boarding School at Chemawa, Oregon, 1880–1930” (M.A. thesis, Central Washington University, 1993); and Sonciray Bonnell, “Chemawa Indian Boarding School: The First One Hundred Years, 1880–1980” (M.A. thesis, Dartmouth College, 1997).
 48. “Memory’s Storehouse,” 110–11.
 49. SuAnn M. Reddick, Chemawa Indian School Collection, McMinnville OR.
 50. “Memory’s Storehouse,” 119–20, 113.
 51. C. D. Rakestraw to H. Smith, March 13, 1895, 253.1900, Edwin L. Chalcraft personnel file, National Archives, National Personnel Records Center, St. Louis.
 52. Chalcraft had immediately contested his removal from the Indian Service, writing to an influential friend: “I want to make a fight to be retained in the classified service. Can you assist me? I am in a position to explain any charges that may have been brought

- against me. None are known. My record is clean, and I do not want to leave the service under any cloud.” See Chalcraft to Thomas Burke, March 29, 1895, box 3, folder 3, Thomas Burke Collection, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle; and “Memory’s Storehouse,” 122–24.
53. “Memory’s Storehouse,” 131–33.
 54. *Ibid.*, 134, 135.
 55. Chalcraft to W. W. Brown, October 24, 1904, microfilm roll 3, Edwin L. Chalcraft Papers, National Archives [NA], Pacific-Alaska Region, Seattle; and “Memory’s Storehouse,” 177.
 56. “Memory’s Storehouse,” 193.
 57. T. W. Potter to C. M. Buchanan, August 4, 1904, Letters Received from the Chemawa Indian School, 1902–1909, box 1, folder 1904, Tulalip Indian Agency, Record Group [RG] 75, NA, Pacific-Alaska Region.
 58. Potter to Buchanan, August 9, 1904, *ibid.*
 59. “Memory’s Storehouse,” 196.
 60. *Chemawa American*, October 25, 1916, 3.
 61. “Memory’s Storehouse,” 197.
 62. David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), provides a rich discussion of Indian education in the assimilationist era.
 63. “Memory’s Storehouse,” 200, 203.
 64. *Ibid.*, 200.
 65. *Ibid.*, 203.
 66. *Ibid.*, 215; and *Chemawa American*, February 1915, 36–37.
 67. “Memory’s Storehouse,” 223.
 68. *Ibid.*, 204.
 69. *Chemawa American*, March 10, 1911, 4.
 70. “Memory’s Storehouse,” 211.
 71. *Ibid.*, 209.
 72. Chemawa Indian School: Individual Student Case Files, 1894–1957 [Chemawa case files], box 24, folder 3053 (December 2, 1912) and folder 3056 (February 15, 1914), RG 75, NA, Pacific-Alaska Region.
 73. *Ibid.*, folder 2443 (April 5, 1907).

74. Superintendent's Annual Narrative and Statistical Reports from Field Jurisdictions of the Office of Indian Affairs, 1907–1938, 1922 Annual Report, roll 122, M1011, RG 75, NA.
75. Chemawa case files, folder 3114 (July 1, 1909).
76. *Ibid.*, folder 3057 (December 8, 1908).
77. *Ibid.*, folder 3051 (November 26, 1911) and folder 3054 (November 20, 1909).
78. Indian Commissioner Leupp's adoption of open-air treatment for tuberculosis patients is chronicled in Robert A. Trennert, "The Federal Government and Indian Health in the Southwest: Tuberculosis and the Phoenix East Farm Sanatorium, 1909–1955," *Pacific Historical Review* 65 (February 1996): 61–84.
79. Chalcraft to E. P. Holcombe, May 7, 12, 1911, roll 4, Chalcraft Papers.
80. R. G. Valentine to Chalcraft, March 31, 1911; R. H. Higgins to Chalcraft, April 28, 1911, *ibid.*; and "Memory's Storehouse," 228.
81. Chalcraft to E. Reel, November 1, 1906, roll 3, Chalcraft Papers. Chalcraft may have been correct about widespread promiscuity in federal Indian schools. For example, in 1900 a U.S. Indian inspector characterized the girls' dormitory on the Fort Lemhi reservation in Idaho as "an open house of prostitution." He reported that every young woman in the school had been "debauched," with some female students sustaining permanent physical injuries. The inspector assessed the "moral depravity resulting from such unbridled intercourse" as "beyond comprehension." See W. J. McConnell to Secretary of the Interior, July 1900, Reports of Inspection of the Field Jurisdictions of the Office of Indian Affairs, 1873–1900, roll 24, M1071, RG 48, NA.
82. Chalcraft to Valentine, April 12, 1911, roll 4, Chalcraft Papers.
83. Chalcraft to Holcombe, May 7, 1911, *ibid.*
84. "Memory's Storehouse," 222, 220.
85. *Ibid.*, 220–21.
86. *Ibid.*, 222.
87. *Ibid.*, 232.
88. Valentine to Chalcraft, September 23, 1911, roll 4, Chalcraft Papers.
89. W. L. Fisher to Chalcraft, October 13, 1911, *ibid.*
90. Chalcraft recounted his reaction to living and working in Okla-

homa in “Memory’s Storehouse,” 241–46; his experiences at the Siletz agency also were described in “Memory’s Storehouse,” 247–71.

91. Meriam, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 32. The Meriam Report was financed by John D. Rockefeller Jr. and carried out by the Institute for Governmental Research, an independent organization that eventually became the political division of the Brookings Institution. For background on the Meriam Report, particularly its financing, see Donald T. Critchlow, “Lewis Meriam, Expertise, and Indian Reform,” *Historian* 43 (May 1981): 325–44. According to historian John R. Wunder, “The Meriam Report documented a national scandal. The forced acculturation of Indians as a government policy had failed. To be Indian meant that one was poor, ignorant, and sick — not a “civilized” citizen of the United States. Reservations and their deplorable conditions were simply a product of government policies and government neglect. Blame could clearly be assessed.” See John R. Wunder, “*Retained by the People*”: *A History of American Indians and the Bill of Rights* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 57.
92. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians*; for a different perspective see Elmer R. Rusco, *A Fateful Time: The Background and Legislative History of the Indian Reorganization Act* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2000).
93. “Memory’s Storehouse,” 15.
94. Examples of Indian people who were able to thrive under federal assimilation policies include Ben Smith, *Two Paths: Emmett Oliver’s Revolution in Indian Education* (Seattle: Salish Press, 1995); Horne and McBeth, *Essie’s Story*; Cary C. Collins, “A Future with a Past: Hazel Pete, Cultural Identity, and the Federal Indian Education System,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 92 (Winter 2000/2001): 15–28, and Henry C. Sicade, “In a Foreign Yet Familiar Land: Notes on the Life and Memories of Puyallup Tribal Leader Henry Sicade, 1866–1938,” ed. Cary C. Collins, *Columbia*, forthcoming.

Foreword

1. Emmerson House is currently the home of the Edwards County

Historical Society. The building was an early residence in Albion and the birthplace of former Illinois governor Louis L. Emmerson (1929–33).

2. What was known as the “English Settlement” came to be the town of Albion. The first emigrants to settle in Edwards County arrived from Surrey, England, in 1818. Led by Morris Birkbeck and George Flower and made up mostly of farmers and laborers seeking to escape from the political and economic conditions of England, the party hoped in Illinois to establish a utopian community free from religious and political oppression. Birkbeck founded the settlement of Wanborough, and Flower founded the settlement of Albion. After Birkbeck drowned attempting to cross the Wabash River in 1825, Wanborough slowly declined in importance, and Albion became the seat of Edwards County. On the early history of Albion, consult Charles E. Boewe, *Prairie Albion: An English Settlement in Pioneer Illinois* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1962, rpt., 1999); Keith L. Miller, “Planning, Proper Hygiene, and a Doctor: The Good Health of the English Settlement,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 71 (February 1978): 22–29; Mary Ann Salter, “George Flower Comes to the Illinois Country: A New Look at Motivation,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 69 (August 1976): 213–23; Thomas J. Wood, “‘Blood in the Moon’: The War for the Seat of Edwards County, 1821–1824,” *Illinois Historical Journal* 85 (1992): 142–60.

1. Journey to the West

1. Samuel P. Flower owned a trading post in Bickleton, and Charles E. Flower owned a drug store. They had moved from Illinois to Washington Territory about a year and a half before the Chalcrafts traveled to the West Coast.
2. Railroad maps indicate that the Chalcrafts followed a route on the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe Railroad that took them from St. Louis, Missouri, to La Junta, Colorado, and from there to Raton Pass on the Colorado and New Mexico border, then to Lamy, New Mexico, and finally to Deming, New Mexico. At Deming they transferred to the Southern Pacific Railroad and continued to Yuma and

San Francisco. Tourist sleepers included only a slate and a pad; mattresses, if desired, had to be purchased separately.

3. By traveling in cars attached to freight trains, passengers received cheaper fares.
4. A “hot box” was an overheated axle bearing on a railroad car.
5. Born in Yorkshire, England, William Pickering Sr. (1798–1873) migrated to Illinois in 1821. He served as a Republican member of the Illinois state legislature from 1842 to 1852. In 1860, he was named as delegate to the Republican National Convention, and in 1862 President Abraham Lincoln appointed him as the fifth governor of Washington Territory. He held the office for one term. For a good overview of Pickering’s life, see *Seattle Times*, February 6, 1966.
6. On the history of Issaquah, see Issaquah Historical Society, *Images of America: Issaquah, Washington* (Charleston sc: Arcadia, 2002); Bessie Wilson Craine, *Squak Valley (Issaquah)* (Issaquah: Issaquah Historical Society, 1963, rpt., 1976); Edwards R. Fish, *The Past at Present in Issaquah, Washington* (Seattle: Shore Book Store, 1972).
7. The life of Thomas Burke is chronicled in Charles Tallmadge Conover, *Thomas Burke, 1849–1925* (Seattle: n.p., 1926); Robert C. Nesbit, “*He Built Seattle*”: *A Biography of Judge Thomas Burke* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1961); Bruce Mitchell, “Judge Burke’s Wenatchee, 1888–93,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 56 (July 1965): 97–105.
8. Seattle was not selected for the western terminus, but was one of many cities competing to be so named.

2. Chehalis Indian Reservation

1. Puyallup Indian Agency jurisdiction encompassed the Puyallup, Nisqually, Chehalis, Squaxin, and Skokomish reservations.
2. Each change of Indian agent required an invoicing of government property as a guard against theft.
3. The Grant Peace Policy, dated by historians from 1869 to 1882, had been all but abandoned on Chalcraft’s entry into the Indian Service.
4. Myron Eells spent thirty-three years — from 1874 to 1907 — as a

- Congregational missionary on the Skokomish reservation. Background on Myron and his brother, Edwin Eells, is available in Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, *Myron Eells and the Puget Sound Indians* (Seattle: Superior, 1976); George Pierre Castile, ed., *The Indians of Puget Sound: The Notebooks of Myron Eells* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985).
5. See Clifford M. Drury, "The Spokane Indian Mission at Tshimakain, 1838–1848," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 67 (January 1976): 1–9.
 6. The Chehalis reservation consolidated the nontreaty tribes of southwestern Washington who declined to sign a treaty with Washington territorial governor Isaac I. Stevens at the Chehalis River Treaty Council in February 1855. See Kent D. Richards, *Isaac I. Stevens: Young Man in a Hurry* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1979, 1993).
 7. The segmenting of the day into two parts—known as the "half and half"—was prevalent in the Indian Service throughout the assimilation period.
 8. For background on the development of Indian police and reservation courts, consult William T. Hagan, *Indian Police and Judges: Experiments in Acculturation and Control* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966) and Mark R. Ellis, "Reservation *Akicitas*: The Pine Ridge Indian Police, 1879–1885," *South Dakota History* 29 (Fall 1999): 185–210.
 9. On the Indian Shaker Church, see Castile, "The 'Half-Catholic' Movement," and Paul Lehnhoff, "Indian Shaker Religion," *American Indian Quarterly* 6 (Fall/Winter 1982): 283–90.
 10. On the life of James Wickersham (1857–1939), see Evangeline Atwood, *Frontier Politics: Alaska's James Wickersham* (Portland: Binford and Mort, 1979).
 11. An academic history of Snoqualmie Falls has not been written; extensive documentation of the land issue discussed by Chalcraft can be found in the Alice Martin Collection.
 12. For a case study documenting the challenges faced by Indian Service doctors, see Charles R. King, "Indian Service Physician on the Northern Plains: Dr. James L. Neave at Fort Berthold, Dakota

- Territory, 1878–1885,” *North Dakota History* 58 (Fall 1991): 20–34.
13. Chalcraft’s response to receiving the Wak-shk disks seems to indicate that he placed intrinsic value on Native cultural artifacts as long as they did not directly interfere in the assimilation process. His memoir offers many examples of him being given, trading for, and buying Native material manufactures; in fact, he filled his home with them.

3. Puyallup Agency and School

1. The best treatment of the Puyallup tribal lands issue is George P. Castile, “Peter Stanup: The Puyallup’s Lost Leader” (paper read at the American Society for Ethnohistory, Berkeley, 1987). For Puyallup tribal history, consult *History of the Puyallup Tribe of Indians*; Smith, *The Puyallup-Nisqually*; and Shackleford, “The History of the Puyallup Indian Reservation.”
2. Background on the Medicine Creek Treaty (10 Stat. 1132) and the Yakama Indian War is found in Kent D. Richards, “Historical Antecedents to the Boldt Decision,” *Western Legal History* 4 (1991): 69–84; Clifford Trafzer, ed., *Indians, Superintendents, and Councils: Northwestern Indian Policy, 1850–1855* (Landover MD: University Press of America, 1986). Following negotiation of the Medicine Creek Treaty of 1854, Executive Orders executed in 1857 and 1873 redefined Puyallup land holdings. As accurately explained by Chalcraft, the Executive Order of 1857 readjusted the Puyallup Indian reservation to contain 18,062 acres, an amount agreed to in a council held with the Puyallup tribe in August 1856. The Executive Order of 1873 both clarified and extended the boundaries of the Puyallup reservation, providing the tribe free access to Commencement Bay by adding to their holdings a mile of water frontage north of the Puyallup River.
3. Peter Stanup and Jerry Meeker were among the first eighteen students to leave Puyallup agency in December 1879 to start Forest Grove Indian School, now Chemawa Indian School in Salem, Oregon.
4. A complete reference guide to print coverage of the Puyallup land issue is Brian Kamens and Georgia Conway, comps., “Bibliogra-

- phy of the Puyallup Tribe of Indians: Articles on the Puyallup Indians from the *Tacoma Daily Ledger* (1883–1887), the *Tacoma News Tribune* (1938–1941), and Other Sources,” 1998, unpublished manuscript, Tacoma Public Library, Tacoma, Washington.
5. See *Letter of the Secretary of the Interior to the President, with Report of the Puyallup Indian Commission, and Accompanying Papers* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892).
 6. See Paul Stuart, “Administrative Reform in Indian Affairs,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 16 (April 1985): 133–46, for background on the organizational structure of the OIA and its hiring practices.
 7. Frances Sparhawk was a short story writer and novelist from Maine who supported education as a means of Indian assimilation.
 8. Chalcraft’s perception of the gravity of this issue is not correct. Frank C. Ross was president of the Tacoma and Lake City Railroad and Navigation Company, which operated a railroad line from Tacoma to American Lake, a distance of twelve miles. Ross and his partners sold that enterprise to the Union Pacific Railroad, but in late 1892 Ross, with Peter Stanup and a coalition of other Puyallup Indian land owners, began grading for a railroad line between Tacoma and Seattle, with three miles of track running through the Puyallup Indian reservation and with Puyallup tribal members employed in the construction. After Eells and Chalcraft responded by calling in federal troops from Fort Vancouver to block construction, the episode—known as the Indian War at Browns Point—reached a climax. Indians, wielding picks and shovels, drove the troopers from the reservation, but with the soldiers threatening to return the next day and fire on the party if it was still there. Meanwhile, Ross secured a federal injunction forbidding the United States from invading the Puyallup Indian Nation, and the next morning Captain Carpenter was arrested in his tent after refusing to honor the injunction by withdrawing his troops. The case was first heard in a Seattle court, which ruled in favor of Ross, and Ross also won in U.S. Superior Court, but he lost on an appeal of the federal government to the Circuit Court in San Francisco, which lifted the injunction.
 9. Robert H. Milroy served as a major general in the Union army

during the Civil War. Later he was appointed superintendent of Indian affairs for Washington Territory, and he served as Indian agent on the Puyallup and Yakama reservations.

10. At the urging of the tribe in 1872, a survey of the Puyallup reservation was made and plots of land assigned to individual tribal members. In March 1886, patent deeds were issued to those tribal members occupying and cultivating their allotments. Almost immediately, citizens began seeking removal of restrictions on allotted reservation lands, and an act passed by Congress on August 19, 1890, authorized the sale of reservation tracts. The Puyallup Allotment Act of March 3, 1893 (27 Stat. 633), empowered the president of the United States to appoint a commission of three persons to select and appraise such portions of the allotted lands not required for homes of the Indian allottees. The act also provided that if the secretary of the interior approved the selections and the appraisal, the lands selected could be sold for the benefit of the allottees, after due notice, at public auction, and at no less than the appraised value. On November 6, 1893, the secretary of the interior instructed the commissioners, in accordance with the terms of the act, as to the appraisal of the lands, and to ascertain who were allottees, the heirs of allottees, and the heads of families under the laws of the state of Washington. The statute mandated that land not sold should remain in Indian hands and not be sold for a period of ten years, at which time the unsold parcels could be purchased directly from the Indians. A subsequent act, dated April 28, 1904 (33 Stat. 565), removed all prior restrictions, and the Puyallups alienated in fee-simple all but 22 acres of their reservation, in effect transferring virtually all of their 18,062 acres to private ownership.

4. Salem Indian Training School

1. Samuel Walker was the son of Elkanah and Mary Richardson Walker, missionaries with Cushing Eells at the Tsimikain mission station near the Spokane Indian reservation in Washington. The Walkers relocated to Forest Grove, Oregon, in 1847 following the Whitman Massacre.

6. Shoshone Indian Agency, Wyoming

1. Thoroughbrace stages employed a unique suspension system in which the body of the coach rested on two long leather straps rather than steel springs, allowing for a more comfortable ride.
2. A good recent history of the Eastern Shoshones and the Wind River Reservation is Henry E. Stamm IV, *People of the Wind River: The Eastern Shoshones, 1825–1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999).
3. Most historians reject this version of Sacajawea's identity. The dominant view places her death in 1812.
4. For more on Chief Washakie, see Raymond Grace Hebard, *Washakie: Chief of the Shoshones* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1930, 1996).

7. Supervisor of Indian Schools

1. Day schools served the primary grades. Students attended during daytime hours and lived at home. Boarding schools were of two types: reservation and off-reservation. Students enrolling in these lived at school. Churches operated mission schools (also known as "contract" or "bonded" schools) that followed the procedures and policies of the federal government from which they were financed.
2. Joseph N. Nicollet, a scientist, geographer, and mathematician, led three expeditions through the Upper Mississippi Basin in the late 1830s.
3. Estelle Reel Meyer (1862–1959) served as director of Indian education for the Office of Indian Affairs from 1898 to 1910. Upon retiring, she married Cort Meyer, a rancher from Toppenish, Washington, whom she had met at Fort Simcoe on the Yakama reservation.
4. William C. "Teton" Jackson was a notorious cattle and horse rustler in the Jackson Hole area. In the mid-1880s, Jackson added to his reputation when he and a fellow inmate became the only prisoners ever to escape from the Idaho Prison in Boise by tunneling their way out.
5. Chalcraft most clearly used poor administrative judgment in this case. The ingestion of wood alcohol had resulted in death, and yet

Chalcraft's only punishment of the seller was to have him removed from the reservation.

8. Salem Indian Training School, Second Appointment

1. On the issue of sickness, disease, and mortality in Indian schools and on reservations, see Jean A. Keller, *Empty Beds: Indian Student Health at Sherman Institute, 1902–1922* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2002); Clifford E. Trafzer, *Death Stalks the Yakama: Epidemiological Transitions and Mortality on the Yakama Indian Reservation, 1888–1964* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1997); Robert A. Trennert, *White Man's Medicine: Government Doctors and the Navajo, 1863–1955* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998); Trennert, "The Federal Government and Indian Health in the Southwest."
2. Sibley stoves were invented in the late 1850s by General Henry Hopkins Sibley and popularized during the Civil War. Small and conical in shape, they were ideally suited for use with large tents because of a pipe that carried smoke from the stove to an exit hole carved in the canvas of the roof of the tent. Chalcraft apparently chose the Sibley design in order to control the smoke arising between each of the two rows of tents.

9. Jones Male Academy

1. On the history of Jones Male Academy, see J. N. Kagey, "Jones Academy," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 4 (December 1926): 338–39.

10. Siletz Indian Agency

1. Comprehensive histories of either the Siletz Indian tribe or the Siletz Indian reservation have not been published. The following sources address various aspects of Siletz history: Nathan Douthit, *Uncertain Encounters: Indians and Whites at Peace and War in Southern Oregon, 1820s–1860s* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2002); E. A. Schwartz, *The Rogue River Indian War and Its Aftermath, 1850–1980* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997); Beverly Helen Ward, *Early Days on the Siletz* (Cottage Grove OR: B. H. Ward, 1987); M. Susan Van Laere, "The Grizzly Bear and

- the Deer: The History of Federal Indian Policy and Its Impact on the Coast Reservation Tribes of Oregon, 1856–1877” (M.A. thesis, Oregon State University, 2000); William Eugene Kent, “The Siletz Indian Reservation, 1855–1900” (M.S. thesis, Portland State University, 1973); Jane Marie Harger, “The History of the Siletz Reservation, 1856–1877” (M.A. thesis, University of Oregon, 1972).
2. On the life of Coquelle Thompson, see Lionel Youst, *Coquelle Thompson, Athabaskan Witness: A Cultural Biography* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002).
 3. Chalcraft was allowed to employ three clerks at Siletz; his daughter filled one of those positions.
 4. Chalcraft wrote to his mother that on the date of his retirement it had been forty-one years, one month, and twelve days since he entered the Indian Service on the Chehalis reservation: Chalcraft to Lucy Chalcraft, September 27, 1925, Alice Martin Collection.

Bibliography

Archival Materials

- Burke, Thomas. Collection. Manuscripts and Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle.
- Chalcraft, Edwin L., and William Pickering. Papers. Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections, cage 560, box 1, Washington State University Libraries, Pullman.
- Martin, Alice. Private collection. East Wenatchee WA.
- Reddick, SuAnn M. Private collection. McMinnville OR.
- U.S. Department of Interior. Edwin L. Chalcraft personnel file. National Archives, National Personnel Records Center, St. Louis.
- U.S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs. Edwin L. Chalcraft Papers. National Archives, Seattle.
- . Chemawa Indian School, Individual Student Case Files, 1894–1957. Record Group 75. National Archives, Seattle.
- . Reports of Inspection of the Field Jurisdictions of the Office of Indian Affairs, 1873–1900. M1070, Record Group 48. National Archives, Washington DC.
- . Superintendent's Annual Narrative and Statistical Reports from Field Jurisdictions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1907–38. M1011, Record Group 75. National Archives, Washington DC.
- . Tulalip Indian Agency. Record Group 75. National Archives, Seattle.

Wickersham, James. Collection. Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma.

**Books, Articles, Theses, Manuscripts, and
Published Government Documents**

An Act Confirming the Removal of Restrictions upon Alienation by the Puyallup Indians of the State of Washington of Their Allotted Lands. 33 Stat. 565. April 28, 1904.

An Act to Allot Lands on the Puyallup Indian Reservation. 27 Stat. 633. March 3, 1893.

Adams, David Wallace. *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995.

Ahern, Wilbert H. "An Experiment Aborted: Returned Indian Students in the Indian School Service, 1881–1908." *Ethnohistory* 44 (Spring 1997): 263–304.

Army, W. F. M. *Indian Agent in New Mexico: The Journal of Special Agent W. F. M. Army, 1870.* Edited by Lawrence R. Murphy. Santa Fe: Stagecoach Press, 1967.

Asher, Brad. *Beyond the Reservation: Indians, Settlers, and the Law in Washington Territory, 1853–1889.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.

Atwood, Evangeline. *Frontier Politics: Alaska's James Wickersham.* Portland: Binford and Mort, 1979.

Barnett, H. G. *Indian Shakers: A Messianic Cult of the Pacific Northwest.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1957, 1972.

Battey, Thomas C. *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker among the Indians.* Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1875.

Bender, Norman J. *New Hope for the Indians: The Grant Peace Policy and the Navajos in the 1870s.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989.

Benson, Todd. "The Consequences of Reservation Life: Native Californians on the Round Valley Reservation, 1871–1884." *Pacific Historical Review* 60 (May 1991): 221–44.

Berkhofer, Robert. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the Ameri-*

- can Indians from Columbus to the Present*. New York: Vintage Books, 1978.
- Bieder, Robert E. "The Representations of Indian Bodies in Nineteenth-Century American Anthropology." *American Indian Quarterly* 20 (Spring 1996): 165–79.
- Bloodgood, Mary, ed. "Diary of Mary Bonner Lightfoot, Great Nemaha Agency, 1869." *Nebraska History* 72 (Spring 1991): 21–32.
- Boewe, Charles E. *Prairie Albion: An English Settlement in Pioneer Illinois*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999.
- Bolt, Christine. *American Indian Policy and American Reform: Case Studies of the Campaign to Assimilate the American Indians*. Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1987.
- Bonnell, Sonciray. "Chemawa Indian Boarding School: The First One Hundred Years, 1880–1980." Master's thesis, Dartmouth College, 1997.
- Britten, Thomas A. "Hoover and the Indians: The Case for Continuity in Federal Indian Policy, 1900–1933." *Historian* 61 (Spring 1999): 518–38.
- Buckley, Thomas. "The Shaker Church and the Indian Way in Native Northwestern California." *American Indian Quarterly* 21 (Winter 1997): 1–14.
- Carlson, Leonard A. *Indians, Bureaucrats, and Land: The Dawes Act and the Decline of Indian Farming*. Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1981.
- Carroll, James T. *Seeds of Faith: Catholic Indian Boarding Schools*. New York: Garland, 2000.
- Castile, George P. "Indians and the Metropolis." In *The American Indian in Urban Society*, ed. Jack O. Waddell and O. Michael Watson. Boston: Little, Brown, 1971.
- . "Federal Indian Policy and the Sustained Enclave: An Anthropological Perspective." *Human Organization* 33 (Fall 1974): 219–28.
- . "Edwin Eells, U.S. Indian Agent, 1871–1895." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 72 (April 1981): 61–68.
- . "The 'Half-Catholic' Movement: Edwin and Myron Eells

- and the Rise of the Indian Shaker Church.” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 73 (October 1982): 165–74.
- , ed. *The Indians of Puget Sound: The Notebooks of Myron Eells*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985.
- . “Peter Stanup: The Puyallup’s Lost Leader.” Paper read at the American Society for Ethnohistory, Berkeley, California, 1987.
- Child, Brenda J. *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900–1940*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.
- Coates, Ken. “Being Aboriginal: The Cultural Politics of Identity, Membership, and Belonging among First Nations in Canada.” *Canadian Issues* 21 (1999): 23–41.
- Coleman, Michael C. *American Indian Children at School, 1850–1930*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993.
- Collins, Cary C. “Red Chehalis in a White Northwest: The Americanization of the Chehalis Indians, Prehistory to 1924.” Master’s thesis, Central Washington University, 1992.
- . “Through the Lens of Assimilation: Edwin L. Chalcraft and Chemawa Indian School.” *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 98 (Winter 1997–98): 390–425.
- . “The Broken Crucible of Assimilation: Forest Grove Indian School and the Origins of Off-Reservation Boarding School Education in the West.” *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 101 (Winter 2000): 466–507.
- . “A Future with a Past: Hazel Pete, Cultural Identity, and the Federal Indian Education System.” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 92 (Winter 2000/2001): 15–28.
- . “Between Savagery and Civilization: The Memoir of Edwin L. Chalcraft, U.S. Indian Agent.” Ph.D. diss., Washington State University, 2001.
- Conover, Charles Tallmadge. *Thomas Burke, 1849–1925*. Seattle: n.p., 1926.
- Craine, Bessie Wilson. *Squak Valley (Issaquah)*. Issaquah WA: Issaquah Historical Society, 1976.
- Critchlow, Donald T. “Lewis Meriam, Expertise, and Indian Reform.” *Historian* 43 (May 1981): 325–44.

- Cunningham, Robert D., Jr. "Rings in Arizona: A Look at Frontier Conspiracies." *Journal of the West* 25 (October 1986): 14–20.
- Davenport, T. W. "Recollections of an Indian Agent." *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 8 (March 1907): 1–41, (June 1907): 95–128, (September 1907): 231–64, (December 1907): 353–74.
- Deloria, Vine, Jr., ed. *American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985.
- Dibbern, John. "The Reputations of Indian Agents: A Reappraisal of John P. Clum and Joseph C. Tiffany." *Journal of the Southwest* 39 (Summer 1997): 201–38.
- Dobyns, Henry F. "Therapeutic Experience of Responsible Democracy." In *The American Indian Today*, ed. Stuart Levine and Nancy O. Lurie. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968.
- Douthit, Nathan. *Uncertain Encounters: Indians and Whites at Peace and War in Southern Oregon, 1820s–1860s*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2002.
- Drury, Clifford M. "The Spokane Indian Mission at Tshimakain, 1838–1848." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 67 (January 1976): 1–9.
- Eastman, Elaine Goodale. *Sister for the Sioux: The Memoirs of Elaine Goodale Eastman, 1885–91*. Edited by Kay Graber. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978.
- Eggan, Fred. *The American Indian: Perspectives for the Study of Social Change*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Ellis, Mark R. "Reservation *Akicita*: The Pine Ridge Indian Police, 1879–1885." *South Dakota History* 29 (Fall 1999): 185–210.
- Elm, Adelaide, and Heather S. Hatch, comps. "'Ready to Serve': Elsie Prugh Herndon among the Pima and Papago, a Photo Essay." *Journal of Arizona History* 30 (Summer 1989): 193–208.
- Emmerich, Lisa E. "'Civilization' and Transculturation: The Field Matron Program and Crosscultural Contact." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 15 (1991): 33–47.
- . "Marguerite LaFlesche Diddock: Office of Indian Affairs

- Field Matron." *Great Plains Quarterly* 13 (Summer 1993): 162–71.
- Fiorentino, Daniele. "Acculturation/Assimilation: American Indian Policy in the Progressive Years." Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1999.
- Fish, Edwards R. *The Past at Present in Issaquah, Washington*. Seattle: Shorey Book Store, 1972.
- Fritz, Henry E. *The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860–1890*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963.
- Garraty, John A. *The New Commonwealth, 1877–1890*. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.
- Garrouette, Eva Marie. *Real Indians: Identity and the Survival of Native America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Giago, Tim. "Tim Giago (Oglala Lakota) Explains the Significance of the Reservation, 1984." In *Major Problems in American Indian History*, ed. Albert L. Hurtado and Peter Iverson. Lexington MA: D. C. Heath, 1994.
- Gibson, Arrell Morgan. "The Centennial Legacy of the General Allotment Act." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 65 (Fall 1987): 228–51.
- Goffman, Erving. *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*. New York: Doubleday, 1961, 1990.
- Goodburn, Amy. "Literary Practices at the Genoa Industrial Indian School." *Great Plains Quarterly* 19 (Winter 1999): 35–52.
- Graves, Laura. *Thomas Varker Keam, Indian Trader*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998.
- Hagan, William T. *American Indians*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961, 1979, 1993.
- . *Indian Police and Judges: Experiments in Acculturation and Control*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.
- . "Indian Policy after the Civil War: The Reservation Experience." In *Lectures, 1970–1971*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1971.
- Hall, Peter Dobkin. *The Organization of American Culture, 1700–*

- 1900: *Private Institutions, Elites, and the Origins of American Nationality*. New York: New York University Press, 1982.
- Harger, Jane Marie. "The History of the Siletz Reservation, 1856–1877." Master's thesis, University of Oregon, 1972.
- Harmon, Alexandra. *Indians in the Making: Ethnic Relations and Indian Identities around Puget Sound*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- Hays, Samuel P. *The Response to Industrialism, 1885–1914*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Hebard, Raymond Grace. *Washakie: Chief of the Shoshones*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1930, 1996.
- History of the Puyallup Tribe of Indians*. Tacoma WA: Puyallup Indian Tribe, n.d.
- Horne, Esther Burnett, and Sally McBeth. *Essie's Story: The Life and Legacy of a Shoshone Teacher*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.
- Hoxie, Frederick E. *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.
- . "Searching for Structure: Reconstructing Crow Family Life during the Reservation Era." *American Indian Quarterly* 15 (Summer 1991): 287–309.
- . "Exploring a Cultural Borderland: Native American Journeys of Discovery in the Early Twentieth Century." *Journal of American History* 79 (December 1992): 969–95.
- Issaquah Historical Society. *Images of America: Issaquah, Washington*. Charleston sc: Arcadia, 2002.
- Iverson, Peter. *We Are Still Here: American Indians in the Twentieth Century*. Wheeling: Harlan Davidson, 1998.
- Jorgensen, Joseph G. "Indians and the Metropolis." In *The American Indian in Urban Society*, ed. Jack O. Waddell and O. Michael Watson. Boston: Little, Brown, 1971.
- . *The Sun Dance Religion: Power for the Powerless*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972.
- Kagey, J. N. "Jones Academy." *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 4 (December 1926): 338–39.

- Keller, Jean A. *Empty Beds: Indian Student Health at Sherman Institute, 1902–1922*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2002.
- Keller, Robert H. *American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy, 1869–1882*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.
- Kent, William Eugene. “The Siletz Indian Reservation, 1855–1900.” Master’s thesis, Portland State University, 1973.
- King, Charles R. “Indian Service Physician on the Northern Plains: Dr. James L. Neave at Fort Berthold, Dakota Territory, 1878–1885.” *North Dakota History* 58 (Fall 1991): 20–34.
- Kneale, Albert H. *Indian Agent*. Caldwell ID: Caxton Printers, 1950.
- Kuper, Adam. “The Development of Lewis Henry Morgan’s Evolutionism.” *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 21 (January 1985): 3–22.
- Leavelle, Tracy Neal. “‘We Will Make It Our Own Place’: Agriculture and Adaptation at the Grand Ronde Reservation, 1856–1887.” *American Indian Quarterly* 22 (Fall 1998): 433–56.
- Lehnhoff, Paul. “Indian Shaker Religion.” *American Indian Quarterly* 6 (Fall-/Winter 1982): 283–90.
- Lemmon, Burton C. “The Historical Development of the Chemawa Indian School.” Master’s thesis, Oregon State College, 1941.
- Letter of the Secretary of the Interior to the President, with Report of the Puyallup Indian Commission, and Accompanying Papers*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892.
- Lewis, David Rich. “Still Native: The Significance of Native Americans in the History of the Twentieth-Century American West.” *Western Historical Quarterly* 24 (May 1993): 203–27.
- Lomawaima, K. Tsianina. *They Call It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994.
- McBeth, Sally J. *Ethnic Identity and the Boarding School Experience of West-Central Oklahoma American Indians*. Washington DC: University Press of America, 1983.
- McDonnell, Janet. *The Dispossession of the American Indians, 1887–1934*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991.

- McKeehan, Michael Patrick. "The History of Chemawa Indian School." Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1981.
- McLaughlin, James. *My Friend the Indian*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1926.
- Meriam, Lewis, et al. *The Problem of Indian Administration*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1928.
- Meyer, Carter Jones. "Edgar Hewett, Tsianina Redfeather, and Early-Twentieth-Century Indian Reform." *New Mexico Historical Review* 75 (April 2000): 195–220.
- Mihesuah, Devon A. *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851–1909*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.
- Miller, Keith L. "Planning, Proper Hygiene, and a Doctor: The Good Health of the English Settlement." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 71 (February 1978): 22–29.
- Mitchell, Bruce. "Judge Burke's Wenatchee, 1888–93." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 56 (July 1965): 97–105.
- Nesbit, Robert C. *"He Built Seattle": A Biography of Judge Thomas Burke*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1961.
- Oberweiser, David. "The Indian Education of Lewis H. Morgan." *Indian Historian* 12 (Winter 1979): 23–28.
- Otis, D. S. *The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands*. Edited by Francis Paul Prucha. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973.
- Painter, Nell Irvin. *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877–1919*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1987.
- Parman, Donald L. *Indians and the American West in the Twentieth Century*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- Peterson, Susan. "'Holy Women' and Housekeepers: Women Teachers on South Dakota Reservations, 1885–1910." *South Dakota History* 13 (Fall 1983): 245–60.
- Philp, Kenneth R. *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920–1934*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977.
- Pratt, Richard Henry. *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867–1904*. Edited by Robert M. Utley. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987.

- Prucha, Francis Paul. *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865–1900*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976.
- . *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*. 2 vols. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.
- Ramsey, Robert E. “‘My God, Eddie, What Will We Do?’ The Ramsey Family’s Experiences on the Pima Indian Reservation, 1926–1964.” *Journal of Arizona History* 42 (Spring 2001): 23–38.
- Reddick, SuAnn M. “The Evolution of Chemawa Indian School: From Red River to Salem, 1825–1885.” *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 101 (Winter 2000): 444–65.
- Richards, Kent D. *Isaac I. Stevens: Young Man in a Hurry*. Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1979, 1993.
- . “Historical Antecedents to the Boldt Decision.” *Western Legal History* 4 (1991): 69–84.
- Riney, Scott. *The Rapid City Indian School, 1898–1933*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.
- Ruby, Robert H., and John A. Brown. *Myron Eells and the Puget Sound Indians*. Seattle: Superior, 1976.
- . *John Slocum and the Indian Shaker Church*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996.
- Rusco, Elmer R. *A Fateful Time: The Background and Legislative History of the Indian Reorganization Act*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2000.
- Salter, Mary Ann. “George Flower Comes to the Illinois Country: A New Look at Motivation.” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 69, no. 3 (August 1976): 213–23.
- Schwartz, E. A. *The Rogue River Indian War and Its Aftermath, 1850–1980*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997.
- Shackleford, Elizabeth. “The History of the Puyallup Indian Reservation.” Master’s thesis, University of Puget Sound, 1918.
- Sicade, Henry. “Hard Lessons in America: Henry Sicade’s History of Puyallup Indian School, 1860 to 1920.” Edited by Cary C. Collins. *Columbia* 14 (Winter 2000–2001): 6–11.

- . “In a Foreign Yet Familiar Land: Notes on the Life and Memories of Puyallup Tribal Leader Henry Sicate, 1866–1938.” Edited by Cary C. Collins. *Columbia*, forthcoming.
- Smith, Ben. *Two Paths: Emmett Oliver’s Revolution in Indian Education*. Seattle: Salish Press, 1995.
- Smith, James Alan. “To Assimilate the Children: The Boarding School at Chemawa, Oregon, 1880–1930.” Master’s thesis, Central Washington University, 1993.
- Smith, Marian W. *The Puyallup-Nisqually*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940.
- Spack, Ruth. “English, Pedagogy, and Ideology: A Case Study of the Hampton Institute, 1878–1900.” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 24 (2000): 1–24.
- Stamm, Henry E., IV. “The Peace Policy at Wind River: The James Irwin Years, 1871–1877.” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 41 (Autumn 1991): 56–69.
- . *People of the Wind River: The Eastern Shoshones, 1825–1900*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.
- Stuart, Paul. *The Indian Office: Growth and Development of an American Institution, 1865–1900*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979.
- . “Administrative Reform in Indian Affairs.” *Western Historical Quarterly* 16 (April 1985): 133–46.
- Sully, Langdon. “The Indian Agent: A Study in Corruption and Avarice.” *American West* 10 (March 1973): 4–9.
- Svingen, Orlan J. “Reservation Self-Sufficiency: Stock Raising vs. Farming on the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation, 1900–1914.” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 31 (Winter 1981): 14–23.
- Trafzer, Clifford, ed. *Indians, Superintendents, and Councils: Northwestern Indian Policy, 1850–1855*. Landover MD: University Press of America, 1986.
- . *Death Stalks the Yakama: Epidemiological Transitions and Mortality on the Yakama Indian Reservation, 1888–1964*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1997.
- Trennert, Robert A. “John H. Stout and the Grant Peace Policy

- among the Pimas." *Arizona and the West* 28 (Spring 1986): 45–68.
- . "Corporal Punishment and the Politics of Indian Reform." *History of Education Quarterly* 29 (Winter 1989): 595–617.
- . "The Federal Government and Indian Health in the Southwest: Tuberculosis and the Phoenix East Farm Sanatorium, 1909–1955." *Pacific Historical Review* 65 (February 1996): 61–84.
- . *White Man's Medicine: Government Doctors and the Navajo, 1863–1955*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998.
- . "Superwomen in Indian Country: U.S.I.S. Field Nurses in Arizona and New Mexico, 1928–1940." *Journal of Arizona History* 41 (Spring 2000): 31–56.
- Unrau, William E. "The Civilian as Indian Agent: Villain or Victim?" *Western Historical Quarterly* 3 (October 1972): 405–27.
- Van Laere, M. Susan. "The Grizzly Bear and the Deer: The History of Federal Indian Policy and Its Impact on the Coast Reservation Tribes of Oregon, 1856–1877." Master's thesis, Oregon State University, 2000.
- Ward, Beverly Helen. *Early Days on the Siletz*. Cottage Grove OR: B. H. Ward, 1987.
- Washburn, Wilcomb. *The Assault on Indian Tribalism: The General Allotment Act of 1877*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1975.
- Wiebe, Robert. *The Search for Order: 1877–1920*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1967.
- Wood, Thomas J. "'Blood in the Moon': The War for the Seat of Edwards County, 1821–1824." *Illinois Historical Journal* 85 (1992): 142–60.
- Woodbury, Richard B., and Nathalie F. S. Woodbury. "The Rise and Fall of the Bureau of American Ethnology." *Journal of the Southwest* 41 (Autumn 1999): 283–96.
- Woodworth-Ney, Laura. "The Diaries of a Day-School Teacher: Daily Realities on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, 1932–1942." *South Dakota History* 24 (Fall/Winter 1994): 194–211.

Wunder, John R. *“Retained by the People”: A History of American Indians and the Bill of Rights*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Youst, Lionel. *Coquelle Thompson, Athabaskan Witness: A Cultural Biography*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002.

Index

- Abbott, F. H., 234, 254, 259–60
- Adams, Fannie, 217
- Adams, Rev. John, 278
- Adams, Samuel, lvi, 244, 255, 260
- Afraid of Soldiers (policeman), 142
- Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition (1909), 228–30
- Albion IL, x, 5–6, 10–11, 13–14, 50, 67, 94, 105, 145, 179, 195, 202, 227, 296–97; Chalcraft's childhood home, 3–4; fairs at, 107, 286; history of, 317n2; visits to, 106–7, 138, 151–53, 182, 184, 200, 231, 261, 264, 286–87
- Albuquerque Indian School (NM), 199, 201
- alcohol, consumed by Indians: at Puyallup Agency, 105; at Sac and Fox Agency, 181; at Siletz Agency, lviii, 265, 266, 268–70, 271–73, 274, 284. *See also* R. H. Milroy Lodge of Good Templars No. 83; Sons of Temperance Lodge
- Alexander, Ross G., 108
- Alford, Thomas J., 192
- allotment. *See* Chehalis Agency and Reservation, allotment and; General Allotment Act; Puyallup Agency and Reservation, land controversy at; Siletz Agency and Reservation, allotments on
- Alton IL, 11
- American Sentinel* (Albion IL), 4
- Anadarko OK, 194
- Anderson, Albert M., 157, 170
- Anderson, Charles M., 13, 126
- Anderson, James J., 108
- Antonito CO, 185, 187
- Apache Indians, 194
- Apache Mission (OK), 194
- Arapaho Indian Tribe, 130, 133, 135, 137
- Armstrong, F. W., 76
- Armstrong, Gen. Frank C., 109, 110–11
- Armstrong, Gen. Samuel Chapman, 99, 183
- Arquette, James, 104
- Arquette, John, 104
- Arquette, Lilly, 97–98
- Arquette, Willie, 104
- Ashue, Charles, 207
- Ashue, Samuel, 207
- Assinines Catholic Mission (MI), 147
- Astoria OR, 6, 50, 83, 86
- Aven, W. F., 258
- Avery, F. F., 230

- Babcock, Julia A., 93
 Bad River Indian School (WI), 149
 Bailey, S. S., 9
 Bakeless, O. H., 120
 Baker, H. F., 69
 Balentine, Edward, 144–45
 Bannister, E. D., 76
 Baraga MI, 147, 148
 Barry, Julia, 263
 Bates, Rev. Henry L., 63
 Battle, Judge Alfred, 129
 Bay Mills MI, 152
 Bazil, 133
 Bell, G. W., 61, 108
 Bell, Georgina, 60
 Belt, R. V. (asst. Indian commissioner),
 86
 Ben, Bruce, 32–34
 Ben, Dave, 26
 Ben, Jake, 27
 Ben, Pike, 33, 39–42, 46–47, 75
 Bena Boarding School (MN), 144
 Benson, Lyman, 115
 Berry, William A., 89–90
 Bibb, H. J., 199, 201
 Bickleton WA, 5, 94, 317n1
 Biddle, H. H., 116
 Big Ben (Chehalis), 46
 Biggers, Isaline (cousin), 286
 Big Head (Arapaho), 133
 Bill, Mosale, 50, 62
 Bingenheimer, George H., 139, 143
 Birch Cooley Day School (MN), 146
 Bishop, Chancey, 209
 Black Diamond WA, 14
 Blackfoot Agency (MT), 156–57, 166
 Black River, 51
 Blake (attorney), 188
 Blumauer, Joseph, 17, 62
 Board of Indian Commissioners, 86,
 106
 Boas, Franz, 86
 Bobb, Allan W., 90–92
 Bobb, Harry, 104
 Bone Gap IL, 4
 Boston MA, 67, 86, 94, 153, 155, 165, 177,
 227, 264
 Bowe chop, Gus, 211
 Bowers, Ben, 69
 Boynton, George F., 207
 Bozarth, Scott, 124
 Bradford, Ontario, 97
 Brady, Edward, 192
 Brandon, Henry, 14
 Brandon, John, 14
 Brassfield, Hope, 275
 Breckenridge MN, 145
 Breen CO, 184
 Brewer, David, 119–20, 207, 225, 226
 Brewer, Gertrude, 200, 214–15, 216–17
 Brewer, Kate L., 226
 Brewster, Susie T., 61
 Bridgeport OK, 201
 Bristow, Alice (wife's cousin), 178
 Bristow, Hattie E., 118
 Bristow, James, 178
 Brosius, S. M., 234–35, 255, 259, 282–83
 Brothers, Robert, 221
 Brown, Joel, 4
 Brown, John B., 155
 Browning, Daniel M. (Indian commis-
 sioner), 108, 111–13, 203
 Browning MT, 156–57
 Buchanan, Charles M., xliii–xliv, 157,
 162, 165, 167, 169, 230, 262
 Bucknell University: football team, 155
 Buffalo Exposition, 153
 Buffalo NY, 153–54
 Bull Head (policeman), 142
 Bull Head Day School (SD), 100, 143
 Bunting, Quaint, 4
 burial customs: on Chehalis Reserva-
 tion, 73–74

- Burke, Judge Thomas: advises Chalcraft, 112; assists in Snoqualmie Falls land sale, 63; as Chalcraft's confidant, 254; Chalcraft seeks assistance of, 313n52; declines executorship, 56–57; informed of William Pickering's condition, 14; lobbies for Chalcraft's reinstatement, xli, 256; offers assistance, 127; pledges support for Pickering children, 57; proposes building railroad, 64
- Burnett, F. G., 164
- Bush, James, 13
- Butler, Col. Philip, 146
- Butler College (IN), x, 227
- Cabell, Lieut. Henry C., 90
- Caldwell, A. F., 161
- Calhoun, Humphrey, 163–64
- Calhoun, James, 163–64
- Cameron, Robert, 210
- Campbell, A. R., 52, 59–60, 168–69
- Campbell, F. C., 156, 166
- Campbell, Nellie J., 244–45
- Campbell, W. P., 167–68, 236–43, 244–45, 250–52
- Canadian Pacific Railroad, 106
- Canfield, W. J., 143
- Canon City co, xlv, 178–79, 182, 184, 187, 194–95, 199, 200, 202–4, 287
- Cantacuzene, Prince, 106
- Cantonment Agency (OK), 188–90
- Cantwell, Frank P. "Jumbo," 109
- Capital Journal* (Salem OR), 255
- Cardin, Fred, 218
- Carlisle Indian School (PA), xxii, xxxix, 62, 97, 106, 118, 120–21, 133, 137–38, 152, 155, 206, 238
- Carpenter, Captain G. A., 102
- Carson, Cap, 31, 38, 43–44
- Carson City NV, 118
- Carter, Lucy N., 172
- Case, Dick, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 42
- Case, Lydia D., 56
- Case, Pe-ell, 50
- Casey, Peter, 221
- Cass Lake Boarding School (MN), 144–45, 150
- Cass Lake MN, 150–51
- Casto claim, 13
- Catfish, Alex, 276, 283
- Catholic missions: Apache, 194; Assinines, 147. *See also* St. Elizabeth Mission School; St. Ignatius Mission
- Central Christian Church (Tacoma), 101, 162
- Centralia WA, 50, 67, 69
- Chalcraft, Alice (granddaughter), 299
- Chalcraft, Alice Pickering "Hallie" (daughter): in Albion, 151, 153, 286–87; birth of, 108–9; contracts Scarlet Fever, 183–84; entertains Sen. Lane, 276; as father's caregiver, 299; at Grand Ronde Reservation, 280; greets Pres. Taft, 231; at Neah Bay, 175, 177; piano purchased for, 110; received into First Christian Church (Salem), 235; receives agate pin, 281; in Salem, 268; in Seattle, 155, 262, 263, 294, 295; sightseeing by, 199; at Siletz Agency, 267, 275; at Tomah Indian School, 148–49, 151; travels to Chemawa Indian School, 117, 178; urges father to write memoir, 300
- Chalcraft, Edwin Pickering (son): in Albion, 151, 153; birth of, 93–94; as census enumerator, 232; at Chicago Exposition, 106; contracts Scarlet Fever, 184; entertains parents at Christmas, 294; marriage of, 285; member of musical club, 217; military service of, 285; at mother's bedside, 299; at Neah Bay, 175, 177;

- Chalcraft, Edwin Pickering (*cont.*)
owns dog, 51; received into First Christian Church (Salem), 235; at Siletz Agency, 267; in Seattle, 108–9, 155, 262, 263; sightseeing by, 199; told of mother's condition, 298; at Tomah Indian School, 148–49, 151; travels to Chemawa Indian School, 117, 178; urges father to write memoir, 300; visited by mother, 274–75; visits Chehalis Reservation, 72; visits parents, 280
- Chalcraft, Fred (no relation), 97
- Chalcraft, Lucy (mother), 3, 94, 108, 286, 325n4
- Chalcraft, Richard (father), 3, 94, 108
- Chalcraft, Richard (grandson), 299
- Chalcraft, Rosa (sister). *See* Gooch, Rosa C.
- Chalcraft, Walter (grandson), 299
- Chamberlain, Gov. George Earle, 221–23
- Charbonneau, Jean Baptiste, 134
- Charles, John, 175
- Chehalis Agency and Reservation (wa), x, 5, 15, 145, 169, 233, 284, 294; allotment and, 18–19, 65–66; burial customs on, 73–74; church services on, 17, 68, 75; described, 17, 19; employees' duties, xxvi, xxvii–xxx; fishing on, 24–26, 50–51; government policies about, 19–20; hunting on, 51; and Indian Shaker Church, activities of, xxxvi, 27–49; and Indian voting, 52; inspections of, 75–77; medical services on, 71–72; pets on, 70–71; teachers' institute on, 59–61; tuberculosis at, 72–73
- Chehalis Indian Boarding School (wa): mentioned, 79, 80, 87, 110; corporal punishment at, xxx–xxxii; and language suppression, xxxvi–xxxvii, 21–22, 25–26; malnutrition in, xxxii–xxxiv; pupils' store, 62; regimentation of, xxxv; schedule in, 23
- Chehalis Indian Police Court, 26–27, 30, 39–43, 44–45
- Chehalis Indian Police Department, 26
- Chehalis Presbyterian Mission Church, 30, 45
- Chehalis River, 17, 24–25, 50–51
- Chemawa American* (Chemawa or), xlix, 210–11, 222, 227, 248
- Chemawa Indian School (or): mentioned, xxii, 22, 51, 67, 73, 77, 79, 101, 108–9, 111–13, 126, 137, 139–40, 149, 152, 154, 158, 162, 165–68, 174, 178–79, 183, 194, 196, 200, 202, 230, 268, 277, 279–80, 287–88, 292–95; anniversary celebration, 220–21; athletic programs, xlix, 221–23; Chalcraft's dismissals from, xl–xli, liii–lvii, 122–25, 232–34, 236–47, 248–57; changes in management, 116–17; commencement at, 247–48; construction of, xlv–xlvi, 207–8; corporal punishment at, xxxix–xl, liv–lv, 239; curriculum of, xlvii–xlviii, 208–9; described, xxxix, xlv, 114, 205; history of, xlv, 205–7; holidays celebrated at, 227–28; hop picking at, xlix–l, 219; military dress in, xlviii, 225–26; music program of, 211, 213–18, 228–30; and origin of name, 226–27; patronage in, xxxix, 115–16, 121–22, 123–24; presidential visits to, 231, 235–36; student reaction to, l–li; tuberculosis, treatment of, lii, 223–25
- Cherington, Rev. F. B., 97
- Cherokee Indian School (sc), 194
- Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, 200, 261
- Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency (ok), 194, 201

- Cheyenne Indians, 189
- Chicago Exposition, 51, 100, 106–7
- Chicago IL, 92, 98, 106–7, 151, 153, 218
- Chief Joseph (Nez Perce), 83
- Chief Keokuk (Sac and Fox), 146, 182
- Chief “Old” Keokuk (Sac and Fox), 146, 182
- Chief Sharp Nose (Arapaho), 133
- Chief Washakie (Shoshone), 130, 134–35
- Chinook jargon, 22–23, 48, 72, 75, 220, 278
- Chippewa Indians, 206
- Chirouse, Father Eugene C., 157
- Choake, “Old,” xxx–xxxii
- Choke, Joseph, 21
- Christian Endeavor Bureau, 153
- Cincinnati OH, 12
- Cisney, James H., 83–84
- civil service laws, 94–95, 107, 115–16, 124, 127, 147
- Clanahan, John, 95
- Clardy, B. J., 153
- Clark, Helen, 144
- Clark, John P., 115, 117
- Clark, Mary C., 118
- Clausins, Caroline, 169
- Clausius, Dr. M. F., 280
- Cleckler, Fred, 259
- Cleveland, Pres. Grover, xli, 52, 68, 107, 116, 205
- Clinton OK, 188
- Coates (Presbyterian minister), 44
- Cochrane, W. W., 133
- Coffin, W. V., 207–8
- Colfax, Schuyler, 176–77
- Collins, Timothy E., 156
- Colorado Springs CO, 199
- Colville Agency and Reservation (WA), 119, 157, 169, 170, 230, 259
- commencement exercises: at Chemawa Indian School, 247–48; at Jones Male Academy, 261; at Puyallup Indian School, 90–93, 97–98, 110
- Compton, Linn M., 148, 149
- Conhepe, Charlie, 62
- consumption. *See* tuberculosis
- Coolidge, Charles A., 135
- Coolidge, Rev. Sherman, 135
- Coon, W. W., 288
- Cornelius, Cora, 145
- corporal punishment: at Chehalis Indian School, xxx–xxxii; at Chemawa Indian School, xxxix–xl, liv–lv, 239; at Puyallup Indian School, xxxviii
- Corvallis OR, 211
- Covey, Claude C., 175–76
- Cox, H. B., 190–94
- Coxey’s Army, 109
- Craig, Annie (wife’s cousin), 178, 179, 202, 287
- Craig, Horrie, 178, 179, 202, 287
- Craig, Joseph, 104
- Crandall, C. J., 185
- Crescent City CA, 213
- Crittenden, J. J., 198
- Crome, Edward, 14
- Crow Agency (MT), 160–61, 171, 254
- Crowder OK, 263
- Culdesac ID, 195
- Curley (scout), 161
- Cushman, Rep. Francis W., 128, 233
- Custer Battlefield, 98, 161
- Daily Ledger* (Tacoma WA), 81–83, 91–93, 104, 113
- Daily Star* (Seattle WA), 285
- Daily Statesman* (Salem OR), xl, 123–24, 204–5, 216, 222, 240, 255–56, 278, 293
- Daily Telegram* (Portland OR), 116, 255
- Dan, Charles, 104
- Dan, Frank, 221
- Dan, Joseph, 104

- Darlington OK, 194
 Darnell, Calvin, 211
 Dartmouth College (NH), 98
 Davenport WA, 169
 Davidson, Col. Harlan Page, 106
 Davis, Boston, 84, 103–4
 Davis, Carl, 276
 Davis, Marion, 22, 31, 34, 35, 52
 Dawes Act. *See* General Allotment Act
 Dawes, Sen. Henry L., xxii, xxv, 18, 83
 Day, Alexander, 268
 Denny, Arthur A., 13, 63
 Denver & Rio Grande Railroad, 187
 DePoe, Robert, 271, 273, 279
 Devils Lake Agency and Reservation
 (ND), 100–101, 143–44, 162
 Dick, Johnnie, 50
 Dick, Joseph, 276
 Dick, Lydia, 53–54
 Dickens, Charles F., 192
 Dickson, Charles H., xxxi, 76, 116, 145,
 154
 Dierning, Jacob, 14–15, 63
 District Indian Teachers' Institutes: at
 Chemawa OR, 109; at Newport OR,
 158, 165, 178; at Tacoma WA, 127
 Doctor Jim (Shaker), 38
 Dodd, S. W., 6, 8
 Dorchester, Daniel, 83, 86, 106
 Dorrington, Col. L. A., 275
 Dortch, Josiah H., 154, 164, 183, 200,
 236, 254
 Dow, Alberta, 178
 Downs, Thomas, 170
 Drain OR, 276
 Drake, Judge Charles D., 88–89
 Drake Land Commission (1891), 88–89,
 108
 Drury, Charles, 105
 Duclos, A. F., 138
 Durango CO, 98, 185, 198
 Durieu, Father Paul, 157
 Dwight OK, 259
 Dwire, Mr. and Mrs., 186
 Eagle Gorge WA, 86
 Eagle Head (Arapaho), 133
 Eastern Shoshone Tribe, 130, 133, 137
 Edwards, J. E., 160
 Edwards, O. C., 184
 Eells, Abigail, 52, 63, 78, 83, 84
 Eells, Edna, 84–85
 Eells, Edwin, 28, 39, 49; and abolish-
 ment of agency, 110–12; advisor to
 Chalcraft, 23–24, 37, 87; and allot-
 ment, 18–19, 65–66; attends church
 services, xxix, 17; birth of son, 106;
 birthday celebrated, 93; and Chi-
 nook jargon, 22; coins term “Shak-
 ers,” xxxvi, 31; daughter's death, 84–
 85; entertains Chalcrafts, 78; family
 history of, 19; father's death, 102;
 founds teachers' institute, 59–61; as
 Grant Peace Policy appointee, 18;
 as Indian agent, 16, 83, 97; lobbies
 for Chalcraft's reinstatement, xli,
 127–28, 254, 256; as member of land
 committee, 89; moves to Tacoma,
 94; offers promotion, 52, 77; praised
 by Chalcraft, 113; praises Chal-
 craft, xxxvii, 43; protects Puyallup
 lands, xxxviii, 79, 80, 89–90, 103,
 108; reappointment of, 67–68; re-
 calls Chehalis inspection, xxx–xxxii;
 receives student letter, 53–54; and
 visits to Chehalis Reservation, 35,
 43, 52, 63, 67, 76–77; and visit to
 Chemawa Indian School, 247
 Eells, Edwin, Jr., 106
 Eells, Ida M., xxx–xxxii, xxxviii
 Eells, Rev. Cushing, 19, 68, 91, 98, 102,
 322n1
 Eells, Rev. Myron, 19, 28, 318n4

Egbert, Knott C., 266–67
 Eldridge, Lucy L., 198
 Elk City OK, 188
 Elliott, Judge Stewart H., 276
 Ellis, Lillian E., 115
 Elm, Electra, 145
 Elma WA, 34, 69
 Emmerson, Frank, 179
 Emmerson, John, 179
 Emmerson, Gov. Louis Lincoln “Will,”
 107, 179, 317n1
 Emmerson House, 3, 316n1
 “English Settlement” of Illinois, 4,
 317n2
 Erwin, James, 133
 Estherville IA, 156
 Eu-cha-tan, Perry, 36
 Ewing, William B., 172

 fairs: at Siletz, 276–79, 281–82
 Fall City WA, 58
 Falls City OR, 273
 Faribault MN, 135
 Farmington NM, 184
 Fernandez, Julian, 211
 First Christian Church (Salem), 215, 235
 First Christian Church (Seattle), 162,
 235, 295, 299
 Fisher, Walter L. (interior secretary),
 lvii, 255, 256, 260
 Fisher (land office), 268
 Five Civilized Tribes, 258
 Flanders, Jessie E., 275–76
 Flathead Agency (MT), 18, 161, 166, 174
 Flathead Indians, 74
 flattening heads, 74
 Fletcher, Alice C., 197
 Flower, Beatrice (wife’s niece), 165, 264
 Flower, Benjamin O., 4
 Flower, Charles E. (wife’s cousin), 5, 94,
 317n1
 Flower, Dr. Alfred. H., 86, 153, 165, 286
 Flower, Eliza (wife’s cousin), 5, 8
 Flower, Martha P. (wife’s sister), 86,
 165, 264
 Flower, Rev. George E., 3
 Flower, Samuel P. (wife’s cousin), 5, 94,
 317n1
 Fond du Lac Indian School (WI), 149
 football, 155
 Forbes, C. B., 222
 Forest Grove Indian School (OR), 56,
 206–7, 207–8. *See also* Chemawa
 Indian School
 Forest Grove OR, 119, 124, 206, 207–8,
 226, 322n1
 Fort Belknap Reservation (MT), 99, 156
 Fort Berthold Agency (ND), 143, 148
 Fort Bridger Indian Treaty (1868), 130
 Fort Hall Agency (ID), 161
 Fort Hall ID, 101
 Fort Lapwai ID, 158–60, 274
 Fort Lapwai Indian School (ID), xliii,
 158–60, 170, 194–96
 Fort Lewis Boarding School (CO), 184,
 185, 198, 199
 Fort Madison Indian School (WA), 157,
 162
 Fort Nisqually WA, 57
 Fort Peck Agency and Reservation
 (MT), 98, 156, 166
 Fort Shaw Indian School (MT), 156,
 166, 171
 Fort Sill Indian School (OK), 194
 Fort Sill Military Reservation (OK), 194
 Fort Sill OK, 201
 Fort Snelling MN, 206
 Fort Spokane WA, 169–70
 Fort Totten Bonded School (ND), 143
 Fort Washakie WY, 131, 132, 133, 134
 Fort Yates ND, 142
 Foster, Sen. A. G., 128
 Fourth Section Allottees, 283, 289–90

- Fox, Dr. E. Webster, 178
 Frachtenberg, Leo J., 278
 Frank C. Ross land company, 83–84,
 88, 102–3, 110–11, 321n8
 French, P., 95
 Fruitland NM, 184, 198
 Fry, J. C., 200
 Fuller, Melville W. (Supreme Court
 justice), 93, 106
- Gard, Laura T., 90–92
 Gardner, Col. R. A., 76–77, 87
 Garst, C. E., 85
 Garst, Dr. Julius E., 85
 Garst, Laura DeLany, 85–86
 Gates, Dr. Merrill T., 255, 256
 General Allotment Act, xxii–xxiii, xxiv–
 xxvi, lx, 18–19, 52, 88–89
 General Land Office (Washington DC),
 65
 George, D. H., 152
 George, Paschal, l, li
 Geronimo, 194, 201
 Getchell, F. O., 101, 143
 Gilchrist, Rev. R. A., 4
 Gilman, Daniel H., 64
 Gilson, M. F., 169–70
 Gooch, Rosa C. (sister), 94, 286, 296
 Goodall (inspector), 280
 Goodwin, Lieut. W. P., 102
 Goudy, Apis, 221
 Grand Junction co, 98, 198
 Grand Junction Indian School (co),
 179
 Grand Ronde Agency and Reservation
 (OR), 165, 169, 209, 265, 268, 272–73,
 275, 280, 283, 284, 289–92, 293
 Grant, Pres. Ulysses S., 17, 134–35
 Grant Peace Policy: xxi, 17–18, 318n3
 Great Falls MT, 156
 Green Bay Agency (w1), 152
- Grilley, A. M., 221
 Guffin, Horace, 180
 Guffin, Ross, 180
 Gun (Arapaho), 133
 Gustavenson, Capt., 63
- Haddon, J. W., 194
 Haight, Walter, 221
 Hailey's Ranch WY, 138
 Hailman, Bessie, 120–21
 Hailman, W. N., 109, 120–22, 127
 Hall, Frank, 179
 Hall, Harwood, 293–94
 Hall, Walter, 268, 276, 278
 Hall, Warren, 268
 Hall, Willis R., 77, 79
 Hampton Institute (VA), 99, 100, 183
 Hampton Roads VA, 99, 183
 Hancock, Aaron Willis, 261
 Hanson, Carl, 83
 Hanson, Mary, 50, 83
 Hardy, Guy, 179
 Harlem MT, 156
 Harmon, Clara M., 82, 93
 Harness, B. F., 88
 Harrington, Rev. W. S., 9
 Harris, Charles, 211
 Harris, DeWitt S., 149
 Harris, Walter, 104
 Harrison, Pres. Benjamin, 83, 236
 Harrison Institute. *See* Chemawa In-
 dian School
 Hart, Joseph C., 152
 Hartshorne OK, lvi, 245, 259, 263
 Hartsook, Mark E., 71
 Hartwell, Rev. Minot S., 84
 Harvard University, 197
 Haskell Indian School (KS), 179
 Hawk, John, 110
 Hawk Man (policeman), 142
 Hawley, Rep. W. E., 255

- Hayes, Pres. Rutherford B., 236
 Haynes, Paul, 156
 Hayt, E. A. (Indian commissioner), 206
 Hayward Indian School (w1), 149
 Heck, George, 32, 39
 Heck, "Old Man," 33, 36–37, 38
 Heck, Peter, 35–36, 38, 40
 Heck, Thomas, 24, 45
 Heilbron, G. H., 86
 Heitfeld, Sen. Henry, 197
 Henderson, H. E., xxix, 17
 Henderson, J. L., xxix, 17
 Henderson, Kate, 98–101, 143, 144, 162, 183
 Henderson, R. J., 222
 Henderson, Thomas, 98–101
 Hendren, J. W., 121
 Hendricks, R. J., 240, 242, 254, 256
Herald (Omaha NE), xii
 Herriott, George, 89–90
 Hesperus CO, 198
 Higgins, R. H., 242, 244–45, 260, 261
 Higheagle, Robert, 100–101, 143, 162, 183
 Highland Park IL, 98, 106
 Hines, Emily, 110
 Hobart College (NY), 135
 Hofer, Col. E., 278
 Hoh Reservation (WA), 158
 Holcombe, E. P., 243–44, 247, 255, 261
 Holderman, Charles W., 267, 275
 hot springs: on Wind River Reservation, 130, 132–33
 Ho-wa-nut, Harry, 44
 Hoxie, Frederick, xxvi, lx
 Hubbard, Frank L., 93
 Hubbell, Sheriff, 201
 Hudson, Webster, 211
 Hudson's Bay Company, 22, 279
 Huff, J. T., 207
 Hughes, A. E., 169–70
 Humphrey, Rep. W. E., 255
 Humphry, Florence, 17, 24, 25
 Hurr, Rev., 182
 Hutchins, Rev. Benjamin, 3
 identity: Indian and white perceptions of, xviii–xxi
 Ignacio CO, 185
 Illinois Central Railroad, 106
 Independence WA, 54
 Indian agents, reputation of, xi–xiii
 Indian Choke, 24, 31, 32–34
 Indian Citizenship Act (1924), 52
Indians at Work (magazine), 20
 Indian Shaker Church: Chalcraft's policies toward, xxxvi; at Chehalis, 27–49
 Indian Teachers' Institute: in Seattle, xxiv–xxv
 Irwin, G. M., 116
 Isaacs, Archie, 97–98, 106
 Issaquah WA, 4, 9–10, 57–58, 296
 Itwis, John, 90–92
 Jack, Bruce, 50
 Jack, Charlie, 54
 Jackson, George, 95
 Jackson, Sheldon, 106
 Jackson, Thomas, 276, 278
 Jackson, William C. "Teton," 163–64, 323n4
 James, Darwin R., 106
 James, George P., 98
 James, Katie, 207
 Jamestown Day School (WA), 158
 Jayme, Fortunato, 210–11
 Jenkins, James E., 156, 162, 187
 Jocko MT, 171
 John, Alice, 97–98
 John, Johnnie, 50
 John, Louie, 211
 John, Sam, 221

- John B. Finch Lodge of Good Templars, 105
- Johnson, Jacky, 276
- Johnson, W. H., 145, 148, 155
- Johnson and Clanahan, 69
- Jones, Franklin K., 64
- Jones, Lucy, 149
- Jones, Sen. James K., 83
- Jones, Sen. Wesley L., 255
- Jones, Susan, 83
- Jones, William A. (Indian commissioner), 151, 163, 180, 188, 197; appoints Chalcraft to Shoshone Indian School, 128, 204; appoints Chalcraft to Chemawa Indian School, 200; appoints Chalcraft as supervisor of Indian schools, xlii, 130, 137–38, 162; authorizes visit to Carlisle Indian School, 155; compliments Chalcraft, 154; hears request to transfer, xliii, 183; requests investigation of Supt. Potter, 167; requests investigation of Shawnee Agency, 190
- Jones Male Academy (OK), lvi–lvii, lviii, 203, 245–47, 249, 253, 257–58, 270; climate at, 259, 261; commencement at, 261
- Joseph, Chief, 83
- Kager, 34
- Kager, Mrs., 70
- Kalama, Emma, 207
- Kalama, Peter, 207
- Kamp, Miss, 121
- Kansas City MO, 5–6, 8
- Kansas State University, 98
- Kautz, Augustus, 87, 207
- Kautz, Nugent, 87, 95, 207
- Keady, Samuel, 60
- Kelley, Lieut. J. W., 18
- Kelsey, Dan H., 263
- Keokuk, Chief, 146, 182
- Keokuk, Chief “Old,” 146, 182
- Keokuk IA, 146, 182
- Kershaw, Dr. Andrew, 275
- Keshena WI, 152
- Kha-w-sot, 153
- Kickapoo Agency (KS), 184
- Kinlead, Judge George B., 88
- Kiowa Agency (OK), 194
- Klamath, Charlie, 265
- Kli-lak (Chehalis), 72
- Knapp, E. W., 153
- Knowdell, Ollie, 195
- Kohlenberg, W. C., 180, 182
- Kraft, Mary L., 172–73
- Kross, Henry, 110
- Lac Courte Crille (WI), 149
- Lac due Flambeau Indian School (WI), 149
- LaDue, Edith G. P., 148, 151
- LaDue, Peter S., 151
- La Junta CO, 202
- Lake View Cemetery (Seattle), 14, 67, 295, 299
- land commissions. *See* Drake Land Commission; Puyallup Land Commission
- Lane, Alice, 97–98
- Lane, Minnie, 279
- Lane, Scott, 276
- Lane, Sen. Harry, 222, 276
- language, acquisition by Indian students: xxxvi–xxxvii, 25–26, 80
- L’Anse MI, 145, 147–48
- LaPoint Agency (WI), 149
- Lapwai ID, 195
- Larsen, Charles E., 216–17, 261, 262, 287, 293–94
- Lee, John, 116, 208

- Leech Lake Agency (MN), 144, 150, 155–56, 172
- Leeke, W. T., 106
- Lemhi Agency and Reservation (ID), 160, 170–71, 178–79, 315n81
- Lemmon, Theodore G., 179
- Leonard, F. A., 106
- Leslie, Johnnie, 62–63, 97–98
- Leupp, Francis E. (Indian commissioner), 220, 224, 233
- Lewis and Clark Expedition, xiv, 133–34
- Lewis and Clark Exposition (Portland OR), 220
- Lewiston ID, 198
- Lincoln County Leader* (Toledo OR), 278
- Lincoln County Sentinel* (OR), 281–82
- Lipps, Oscar H., 244, 259
- Little Cole (Arapaho), 133
- Little Eagle (policeman), 142
- Little Man (Cheyenne), 188–89
- Little Wolf (Cheyenne), 187
- Livesley, Alfred: charged Chalcraft with abuse, xxxii–xxxiv
- Lloyd, Dr. H. B., 172–73
- Locke, Dr. S., 186
- London, England, 92
- Lone Bear (Arapaho), 133
- Lord, Gov. William Paine Lord, 222
- Los Angeles, 5, 7
- Lost Soldier wy, 138
- Louie, Cecelia, 66–67, 75
- Lowry, Maude, 217
- Lummi Day School (WA), 168
- Lummi Reservation (WA), 157
- Lynch, Jay, 162, 230
- Mack, Nick, 221
- Mackey, Evelyn, 170–71, 178–79
- Mackey, John F., 170–71, 178–79
- Mackinac Agency (MI), 145–47
- Makah Agency and Reservation (WA), 158, 168–69, 175–77
- Malone, John E., 106
- Manderson, Sen. Charles F., 83
- Mann, Rev. M. G.: advises Chalcraft, 32; attends police court, 39–42; attends wedding, 63; baptizes Indians, 74–75; bars Indians from speaking, 33–34, 35; chastises Shakers, 38; conducts church service, 31; expresses disappointment in Indians, 34; Indian opinions of, 36; performs marriage ceremony, 66; presides over funeral, 84; schedule of, 17; solicits assistance of Puyallup ministers, 44; views held by, 45
- Marcum, Thomas D., 76
- Marston, Ella M., 170–71, 178–79
- Martin, John S., 195
- Martin, N. H., 169–70
- Martin, T. P., 185–86
- Mattoon, F. J., 198
- Maurer, Emma, 65
- Mayfield, Eleanor “Nellie.” *See* Pickering, Eleanor “Nellie”
- Mayfield, William S. (brother-in-law), 26, 63, 107, 255, 256, 296
- McAlister OR, 259, 263
- McArthur, D. D., 165
- McArthur, Earl T., 194–96
- McArthur, Tommy, 87
- McBeady, John, 94
- McBeth, Kate, 158, 197
- McBeth, Sally, xiii
- McBride, Sen. George W., 128
- McCaw, Samuel, 98, 100, 207
- McChesney, Dr. Charles E., 231–32
- McClusky, George, 269
- McComas, Eugene, 154
- McConihe (special agent), 247
- McConville, Edward, 207
- McCormick, Province, 109

- McCoy, Dr. Z. N., 73
 McCoy, Lillie B., 154
 McCrary, G. W., 206
 McCush, John, 211
 McIntyre, William, 89–90
 McKinley, Pres. William, xli, 128
 McLaughlin, Col. James, xv, 18, 142, 201
 McNary, Sen. Charles L., 219
 McNichols, Charles S., 166, 195
 McPhaul (judge), 268
 Mda-o-mock, 153
 Meagley, W. E., 156
 Medicine Creek Indian Treaty (1854),
 1854, 80, 320n2
 Meeker, Jerry, 84, 87, 207, 320n3
 Melbourne, Australia, 12
 Melovidov, Alex, 218
 Menominee Reservation (WI), 152
 Mercer, Capt. W. A., 144, 150–51, 156,
 172–74
 Meriam Report, lx, xvii, 316n91
 Merritt, E. B. (asst. Indian commis-
 sioner), 272, 274
 Metcalf, William, 276
 Meyer, Estelle Reel. *See* Reel, Estelle
 Meyer, Nellie Henderson (cousin), 296
 Meyers, G. W., 138
 Miles, Gen. Nelson, xxvii
 Miller, B. F., 106
 Miller, David, 195
 Mills, George W., xxix, 17, 21, 24, 26, 31,
 37–40, 58–59
 Mills, Isabella, 17, 21, 26, 30–31, 43, 60,
 66
 Mills, Jessie, 25, 50
 Milroy, Gen. Robert H., 105, 321n9
 Minthorn, H. J., 207
 MK&TRR (railroad), 263
 Moffett, Rev. Thomas C., 255
 Mohonk Lake NY, 254, 260
 Monteath, James H., 156
 Montesano WA, 68
 Montgomery, Andrew J., 195
 Montgomery, Anna, 93
 Montour IA, 146
 Moore, J. K., 134
 Moore, Lizzie, 170–71, 178–79
 Moores, C. B., 222
 Morgan, Frank J., 150–51
 Morgan, Lewis H., xix–xx
 Morley, Samuel L., 259
 Mormon, Joe, 36
 Morris Indian School (MN), 145, 148,
 151, 155
 Morrison, James, 89–90
 Morse, Samuel G., 158, 175
 Morton WA, 279
 Mount Carmel IL, 11
 Mt. Pleasant Indian School (MI), 151–52
 Mt. Vernon WA, xli, 126, 169, 183
 Muckleshoot Reservation (WA), 157
 Mud Bay Louie. *See* Yow-a-luch, Louis
 Mud Bay WA, 27–32, 36–37, 41, 44–47
 Murphy, Dr. Austin E., 178–79
 Murray, Katherine, 172
 Myton, H. P., 172–73
 Nah-Ah-Wah, 184
 Nance, Rev. E. C., 299
 Nance, T. J., 188
 Nardin, Eugene C., 117, 151, 163–64
 National Hotel (Washington DC), 154,
 155, 259
 National Indian Teachers' Institutes: at
 Buffalo NY, 153–54; at Boston, xxiii–
 xxiv, 177
 National Museum, 183
 Nebraska, University of, 218
 Nellis, George W., 146
 Newberne, Robert E. Lee, 113
 Newberry, F. D., 78
 Newcastle Coal Mine, 9, 57
 Newcastle WA, 14

- New Deal, 20
 Newell, William A., 76
 Newport OR, 158, 165, 178
 Newton Center MA, 96
 New York City, 57, 65, 92, 135, 144, 218, 255, 260, 268
 Nez Perce Agency and Reservation (ID), xliii, 158–60, 162–63, 170, 195–98
 Nez Perce Indians, 83, 158–60
 Nickerson, Captain H. G., 131, 138, 164
 Nicollet Expedition, 150, 323n2
 Nisqually and S’Kokomish Teachers’ Institute, xxxvii, 59–61, 86, 98, 110
 Nisqually Reservation (WA), 17, 21, 43, 233
 Nolan, W. J., 118–21
 Norfolk VA, 183
 North Brookfield MA, 85
 North Cove WA, 68–69
 Northern Pacific Railroad, 15, 16–17, 64, 86
 Northrop, George, 104
 Northwestern Military Academy (IL), 98, 106
 North Yakima WA, 174
 Norton MN, 146
- Oakville WA, 34, 35, 37, 52, 55, 61
 Oklahoma City OK, 181
 Old Bishop (Arapaho), 138
 Olympia WA, xxix, 13, 17, 22, 27–28, 56–57, 63, 65, 72
 Oneida Indian School (WI), 152–53
 Oneida Reservation (WI), 152–53
 open air treatment for consumptives.
See tuberculosis
 Oregon City OR, 214
 Oregon Electric Railway, 225, 226
Oregonian (Portland OR), 255, 278
 Orton, Wolverton, 276, 278
- Ouray Indian School (UT), 172
 Ozette Reservation (WA), 158
- Pablo, Michael, 174
 Pacific Indian Institute, 228–30
 Paddock, Bishop John Adams, 61–62
 Painter, C. C., 83
 Palin, William, 218
 Parker, Gabe E., 262
 Parker, O. H., 114, 116, 124
 Parsons, Nancy, 54–55
 patronage, xxxix–xli, xlii, 107–8, 109, 140
 Paxton, Dr., 223
 Peabody Museum, 197
 Peace Policy of Pres. U. S. Grant. *See* Grant Peace Policy
 Peairs, H. B., 179, 232–34, 236–37, 241, 254
 Pearce, Rev. W. T., 276
 Peasley, Ethel, 200
 Pendleton OR, 198
 Pete, Sam, 66–67, 75
 Peterfield, England, 94
 Peterson, Andrew P., 53–54
 Peterson, J. Shelton, 54–55
 Peterson, W. M., 184
 Peterson’s Point WA, 69
 peyote, 189
 Phillips, Henry J., 82, 88, 92–93, 103–5, 296
 Phillips, Mamie. *See* Pickering, Mary “Mamie”
 Phlox WI, 153
 Pickering, Cora (wife’s sister), 21, 67, 78, 94
 Pickering, Delia A., 65
 Pickering, Edward (wife’s uncle), 10
 Pickering, Eleanor “Nellie” (wife’s sister), xxxiii, 14–15, 25, 57, 63, 67, 107, 177, 254, 296

- Pickering, Emily Elizabeth (wife's mother), 3, 14, 67, 93–94, 104–5, 167, 227, 263
- Pickering, Ernest E. (wife's cousin), 10, 296
- Pickering, John (wife's uncle), 10, 179
- Pickering, Mary “Mamie” (wife's sister), 21, 67, 101, 104–5, 167, 263, 296
- Pickering, Richard (wife's father), 3, 10, 14, 64–65, 67, 93, 104–5, 167, 179–80, 227
- Pickering, Roy R. (wife's cousin), 10, 296
- Pickering, Savilla (wife's aunt), 10
- Pickering, Thomas (wife's uncle), 10
- Pickering, William, Jr. (wife's uncle), 4, 5, 9, 14, 56–57, 63–64; life described, 10–13
- Pickering, William, Sr. (wife's grandfather, governor of Washington Territory), xxviii, 10–13, 63, 299, 318n5
- Pickering, William W. “Willie” (wife's cousin), 10, 21, 57–58
- Pierce, Dr. E. A., 223
- Pierce, Pres. Franklin, 80
- Pine Point Boarding School (MN), 144
- Pipestone Indian School (MN), 149–50
- Pocatello ID, 178
- Poplar MT, 98, 156
- Port Angeles WA, 126
- Porter, Annie, 207
- Port Gamble Reservation (WA), 169
- Portland OR, 5, 8, 119, 178, 202, 204, 221, 222–23, 235, 242, 243, 247, 270, 272, 275, 295
- Potter, Thomas W., 154, 183, 210; Chalcrafft's opinion of, 205; creates pupils' bank, 218–19; endorses Chalcrafft, xliii–xliv; neglects duties, 167–68; prepares for teachers' institute, 158, 165; resigns position, 200
- Powell, Henry, 6, 50, 86
- Powelson, Rev. A., 84, 91
- Pratt, Rachinda, 178
- Pratt, Richard Henry, 118, 120, 130, 204, 254, 256; beliefs of, xxi–xxii, 297–98; describes reservations, xxviii; describes Indian naming, 283; establishes Chemawa, 205–6; letter to Pres. Taft, 249–53; lobbies for Chalcrafft, xli, xlii, 126–28, 137, 274; meets Chalcrafft, 106; receives Chalcrafft letter, 270–73; visits Chalcrafft, 110, 178, 247, 280–82; visited by Chalcrafft, 155, 260, 261
- Presbyterian Board of Missions, 17
- Price UT, 172–73
- Priest Point WA, 157
- Pringle, R. M., 169
- Pullman WA, 195
- Purnes, Joe, 231
- Puyallup Agency and Reservation (WA): alcohol consumption on, xxxviii, 105; civil service policies at, 107–9; inspections of, xxxviii; land controversy at, xxxviii, 88–90, 102–3, 108, 110–11, 321n8, 322n10; land values on, 80; smugglers on, 95–96; teachers' institute at, 86; treaty that created, 80; visitors to, 83–84, 86, 87, 93, 94, 106
- Puyallup Bill (Puyallup), 44–45
- Puyallup Indian School (WA), lv–lvi, 21, 52, 60, 62, 77, 79, 86, 112, 113, 143, 149, 152, 167, 183, 203, 204, 232–34; commencement ceremonies at, 90–93, 97–98, 110; corporal punishment in, xxxviii; described, 80, 81–83; library supervision in, 96–97; military dress in, 96; music program at, 103–4
- Puyallup Indian Tribe, 89, 108
- Puyallup Land Commission (1893), 108, 322n10

- Puyallup wa, 149
- Quileute Day School (wa), 176–77, 244
- Quileute Reservation (wa), 158
- Quinalt Reservation (wa), 36, 61, 98, 169
- Quinotle, George, 32, 36, 38
- Qunod, Mr., 106
- Rainy Mountain Indian School (ok), 194
- Rakestraw, Charles D., xl–xli, xlii, 114, 115, 139, 140, 204–5, 254; assists with teachers' institute, 127; assumes charge of Chemawa, 122; considered as Shoshone superintendent, 137; defends charges by Chalcraft, 124–25; described by Chalcraft, 117–18; objects to Chalcraft's management, 121; relations with Chemawa employees, 119; relieved as superintendent of Indian schools, 138; requests political favors, 115; as superintendent of Chemawa, 116–17; as teacher at Yakima Indian School, 162; welcomes Chalcraft, 114
- Randlett, Col. James H., 194
- Rands, Ernest P., 268
- Ranson, Jennie, 82, 93
- Rasin, U. M., 56
- Rawlins wy, 130–31, 133, 138, 164
- Ready, William, 217, 218
- Red Cliff Indian School (w1), 149
- Red Moon Indian School (ok), 188, 190
- Reed, Fred F., 259
- Reed, George Washington, 261
- Reel, Estelle, xxiii, 153–54, 165–66, 177, 230, 234, 323n3
- Rees, Rev. W. D., 143
- Renfro, Col. John W., 108
- Reno, Dr. Henry C., 86
- Republican State Convention, 86–87
- Reynolds, Cora, 148
- Rice, A. D., 153
- Rice, O. S., 199–200, 201–2
- Richard, Andrew, 207
- Richard, Edward, 207
- Richards, Thomas, 148
- Riggs Missionary School (ne), 99
- Riverside Indian School (ok), 194
- R. H. Milroy Lodge of Good Templars No. 83, 105
- Roberts, Mrs., 118
- Roberts, Rev. John, 133, 135
- Roberts, Thomas J., 119, 121–22
- Rock Springs wy, 87
- Rodgers, Mary B., 172–73
- Roediger, Richard, 89–90
- Ronan, Peter, 18
- Rongis wy, 138
- Roosevelt, Pres. Theodore, 235–36
- Rosenberg, Frank, 223–24
- Ross, Alma Cornelia (daughter-in-law), 285, 299
- Ross, Dan, 104
- Ross, James, 104
- Ross, Rev. Walter, 285
- Ross-Naubert Land Company. *See* Frank C. Ross land company
- “Rules Governing the Courts of Indian Offences,” 32, 39, 42
- Runs Across the River (Arapaho), 133
- Russell, Charles M., 156
- Sacajawea, 133–34, 323n3
- Sac and Fox Agency (1a), 146, 180–82
- Sacred Heart Academy (Salem or), 215
- Sahn, Jennie, 90–92
- Salem Indian School. *See* Chemawa Indian School
- Salem or, 207, 215, 225
- Salem-to-Portland relay race, 221–23

- Salt Lake City UT, 171–73, 198, 202
- Salt Lake Commercial Company, 185
- Sampson, Susan, 279
- Sandoval, 198
- San Francisco CA, 5–6, 8, 12, 14, 63, 101, 247, 275
- San Juan Navajo Agency and Reservation (NM), 184, 198–99
- Santa Fe Indian School (NM), 185
- Santa Fe NM, 185, 187
- Santee NE, 99
- Savage, Claude Clayton, 261
- Schermerhorn, Rev. H. R., 261
- Schmidt, Charles, 95–96
- Schurz, Carl (interior secretary), 206
- Scobey, C. R. A., 156
- Scott, Spencer, 276
- Scovel, E. C., 150
- Scurry, J. G., 64
- Seabury Divinity School (MN), 135
- Seattle, Matthew, 90–92, 98, 104
- Seattle WA: described, 9; surveyed by Chalcraft, 5, 13, 14, 126
- Secena, Athen, 32, 72
- Secena, Dan, 32, 72
- Secena, Hannah, 75
- Se-ce-na, Old, 72, 75
- Seger, John H., 187–88, 199–202
- Seger Colony Agency (OK), xliii, xlv, 187–88, 190, 199–200, 201–2
- Sells, Cato (Indian commissioner): mentioned, 272; appoints Chalcraft to Siletz Agency, lvii, 258, 263; congratulates Chalcraft, 279; meets with Chalcraft, 262–63, 266; questions assimilation policies, lx; stance against Indian drinking, lviii
- Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, 18, 49, 68, 83
- Servilleta NM, 7, 187
- Seymore, Peter, 221
- Shakers. *See* Indian Shaker Church
- Sharp Nose, Chief, 133
- Shattuck Military School (MN), 135
- Shave Head (policeman), 142
- Shaw, William B., 154
- Shawnee Agency (OK), 190–94
- Shelton, William T., 184–85, 198
- Shepard, Emma, 217
- Sheridan, Gen. Philip H., 280
- Shieldman, Harry, 159
- Shipman, Leo, xxxii
- Shoemaker, S. G., 198
- Shoshone Agency and Reservation (WY), 77, 129, 163–64, 165, 204, 225; Chalcraft's appointment to, xlii, 126–30; described, 131; hot springs at, 132; church services at, 133, 135; Sun Dance at, 136
- Shoshone Indian School (WY), 131, 136, 249
- Sicade, Henry, xxxviii, 207, 233
- Sickman, Jimmie, 55–56
- Sickman, Laura, 55
- Sickman, Sally, 53
- Sieven, Prince, 106
- sign language, 137
- Siletz Agency and Reservation (OR), 158, 165–66, 169, 231, 258, 263–64; abolishment of, 287–94; alcohol consumption at, lviii, 266, 268–74, 284; allotments on, 268, 287, 289–91; described, 266; fairs at, 276–79, 281–82; fishing on, 280–81; and inheritance claims, 276, 287; and Indian attitudes described, 267; jurisdiction of, 265–66; schools at, 283, 292; and Sioux Indian Tribe, 99
- Sisseton Agency (SD), 154–55
- Sitting Bull, 142–43

- Skiff, Dr. Mark A., 219–20, 237, 243, 255
- S’Kokomish Indian School (WA), 25
- S’Kokomish Lodge of Good Templars
No. 10, 105
- S’Kokomish Reservation (WA), 18, 27–
28, 30, 43, 47–48, 53, 60–61, 105, 110,
169, 233
- Slocum, John, 27, 28–29, 34, 40–41, 44,
45–46, 47
- Smiley, Albert M.
- Smith, A. W., 177
- Smith, Dona Mae, 149
- Smith, Edwin A., 149
- Smith, Hoke, xli
- Smith, Jake, 95
- Smith, Jim, 56
- Smith, John, 30, 31, 32–34, 35, 37, 38,
39–40, 42, 43, 45
- Smith, Louise, 145
- Smith, Maggie J., 55–56
- Smith, Nancy, 31, 62, 72–73, 223
- Smith, Sammy, 22, 45–46, 51, 71
- Smith, Thomas P. (acting Indian com-
missioner), xl, 110–11, 122–23
- Smithsonian Institution, 86, 188
- Smoker, Amos, 221–22
- Sniffen, Matthew K., 268
- Snoqualmie Falls (WA), 57–58, 63–65,
319n11
- Snoqualmie Pass, 13
- Sons of Temperance Lodge, 105
- Southern Cross Railroad, 11–12
- Southern Pacific Railroad, 114, 207
- Southern Ute Indian School (CO), 185
- Sparhawk, Frances C., 96
- Spaulding, Bishop John F., 135
- Spaulding ID, 196
- Speed, Horace, 181
- Spokane WA, 19, 86
- Spott, Eddie, 90–92
- Spott, Gen. Peter, 98
- S. P. Shasta Limited Train, 235
- Squak Valley WA. *See* Issaquah WA
- Squat-ta, Shot-ta (Chehalis), 70
- Squaxon Reservation (WA), 21, 63, 233
- Squ-sacht-un. *See* Slocum, John
- Stainton, Robert D., 159
- Standard* (Olympia WA), xi–xii
- Standing Rock Agency and Reservation
(ND), 18, 100–101, 138, 139–40, 142–
43, 148, 162, 183, 275–76
- Stanford, Rev. D. A., 201
- Stanup, Rev. Peter C., 44, 68, 84, 87,
103, 104, 207, 320n3
- Steilacoom WA, 36–37
- St. Elizabeth Mission School (SD), 142
- Stevenson, Vice Pres. Adlai E., 107
- St. Ignatius Mission (MT), 174
- St. Louis Exposition, 194, 200, 214
- St. Louis MO, 5, 11, 201, 226
- Stockbridge, Sen. Francis B., 83
- Stockbridge Reservation (WI), 152
- Stockdell, Helen G., 178–79
- Stough, Major G. W. P., 201
- Strait of Juan de Fuca, 9
- Stranahan, C. T., 158–60, 162, 163
- Strange, Rev. F. G., 14, 16
- Strong Arm (policeman), 142
- Stuart, James, xlv–xlvi
- Substade, 176
- Sun Dance, 136
- Sunny Robe (Arapaho), 133
- Sun River MT, 166, 171
- Sutton’s Bay MI, 152
- Swa-iel, Joe (Puyallup), 44, 68, 103
- Swain, Chalfant L., 171–73
- Swinomish Day School (WA), 169
- Swinomish Reservation (WA), 157

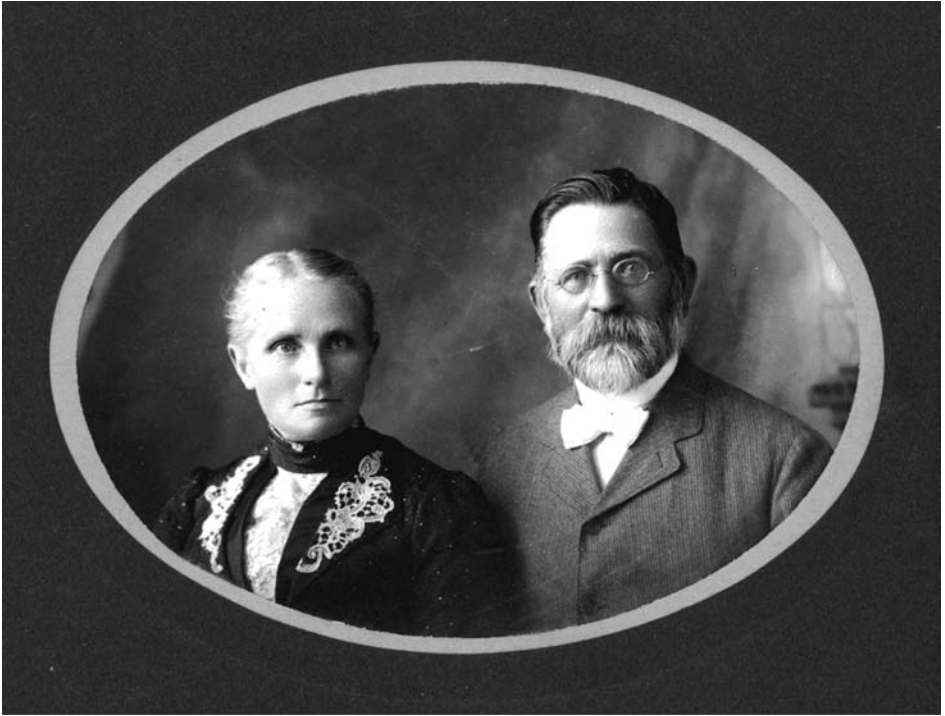
- Tacoma WA: described, xxxvii; status as railroad town, 15, 83
- Taft, Pres. William Howard, 231, 247, 249–53, 254
- Taos Indians, 185–87
- Taos NM, 7, 186
- Taos Pueblo (NM), 185–87
- Taylor, Harry, 207
- Taylor, Julie, 207
- teachers' institutes. *See* District Indian Teachers' Institutes; Indian Teachers' Institute; National Indian Teachers' Institutes; Nisqually and S'Kokomish Teachers' Institute
- Teachout, Gerty, 82, 93, 98, 99
- Telluride CO, 198
- temperance lodges. *See* R. H. Milroy Lodge of Good Templars No. 83; Sons of Temperance Lodge
- Tenino WA, xxix, 16–17, 62, 71, 72
- Terhorst, Father Gerard, 147
- Terry, Frank, 158
- Thackery, Frank A., 190–94
- The Dalles OR, 166
- Theisz, Mary E., 228–30, 235
- Thomas, M. A., 76
- Thompson, Coquelle, 267
- Thompson, Dr. Frank, 11
- Thompson, Dr. Samuel, 11
- Thompson, Rev. J. R., 17
- Thompson, R. F., 154
- Thornton, Vari Monroe, 261
- Tibbetts, George, 64
- Tibbles, Thomas H., xii
- Tice, D. W., 198
- Titus, Charles B., 88
- Toledo IA, 146
- Toledo OR, 158, 265, 266
- Tomah Indian School (WI), 148, 149, 151
- Tongue River Agency and Reservation (MT), 160–61, 171
- Tonner, A. C. (asst. Indian commissioner), 200
- Tosier, Capt., 175
- Traverse City MI, 152
- treaties. *See* Fort Bridger Indian Treaty; Medicine Creek Indian Treaty
- Trottershow, Delilah, 145
- Trottershow, Peter, 145
- Tshi-ma-kin (mission station), 19, 322n1
- tuberculosis: on Chehalis Reservation, 72–73; at Chemawa Indian School, lii, 223–25; at Siletz Agency, 274
- Tulalip Agency and Reservation (WA), 157, 162, 165, 166–67, 230, 262
- Tulalip Indian Boarding School (WA), 157
- Turney, Ruthyn, 211, 214–18, 228, 243, 277–79
- Uintah and Ouray Agency (UT), 170–174
- Uintah Indian School (UT), 171–72
- Umatilla Agency (OR), 161, 164–65, 169
- Ute (Arapaho), 133
- Valentine, R. G. (Indian commissioner): mentioned, 244; appropriates funds for Puyallup Indian School, 108; Chalcraft confronts, 254, 260; hosts superintendents' conference, 231; leaves office, 254, 259; proposes realigning school boundaries, 232–34; reassigns Chalcraft, 245–47; Supt. Pratt criticizes, 249–53; suspends Chalcraft, liv–lvii, 236–42
- Vancouver, British Columbia, 83
- Vancouver Barracks WA, 49, 80, 90, 102
- Vancouver WA, 83
- Varner, Dan, 95, 97–98

Vermillion Lake Indian School (w1),
 149
 Victoria, British Columbia, 9
 Voorhies, Frank D., 158–60
 Voting: by Indians, at Chehalis, 52; at
 Siletz, 284, 287

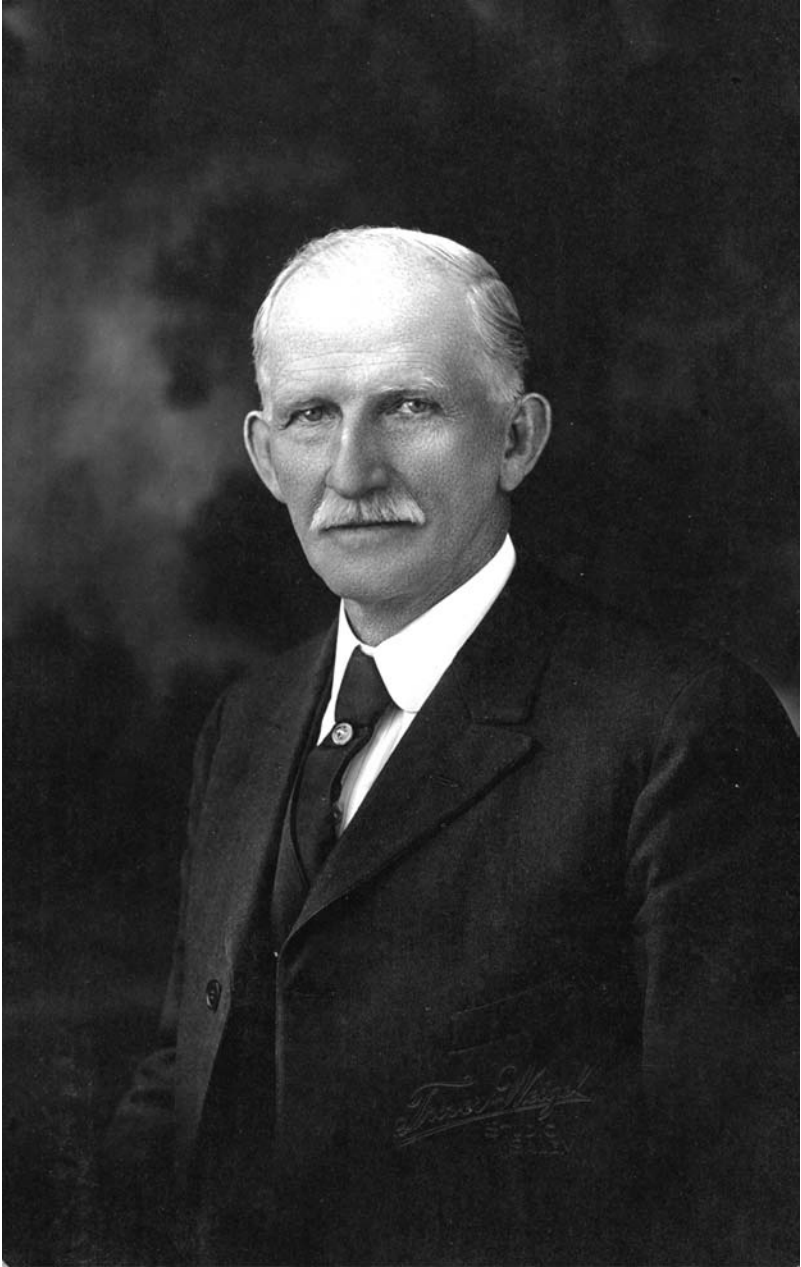
 Wadsworth, H. E., 225, 248–49, 256
 Wak-shk (gambling game), 72, 320n13
 Wa-li-lat-pu (mission station), 19
 Walker, Charlie, 35, 37–38, 39–42, 43
 Walker, George, 44, 45
 Walker, Jim, 34, 37–38, 39–43, 51, 75
 Walker, Joe, 50
 Walker, Samuel A., 119–22, 124, 322n1
 Walker, Susie, 43
 Walker MN, 155–56
 Walla Walla WA, 19, 87
 Wanamaker, John, 260
 Wanborough IL, 3, 10
 Ward, Henry, 35, 76
 Warm Springs Agency (OR), 166
 Warner, Glenn “Pop,” 155
 Warren, H. P., 263–64
 Washakie, Chief, 130, 134–35
 Washington, University of, x, 13
 Washington DC, 19, 86, 95, 113, 114, 120,
 149, 177, 184; Campbell travels to,
 237–38; Chalcraft and Jones meet in,
 xlili, 183; Chalcraft and Dortch meet
 in, 236; Chalcraft travels to, 154, 155,
 179–80, 182, 200–201, 231, 259–61;
 Coxey’s Army travels to, 109; Eells
 travels to, 68; Pratt and Jones meet
 in, xlii, 137
 Wasson, C. W., 116–17
 Waterman, Billy, 54
 Watts, Ella, 118–19
 Wausaukee WI, 153
 Weatherford OK, xlili, 187, 202
 Welch, Patsy, 10

 Welty, Dr. F. H., 131–32, 164
 Westley, George, 95
 Wetherbee, Grace C., 135
 Whatcom WA, 168–69
 Wheelock, Cornelius H., 145
 Wheelock, Mary J., 145
 Whipple, Bishop Henry B., 135
 White, Byron, 189–90
 White Earth Agency (MN), 144
 White House, 183
 Whitman, Marcus, 19
 Whitman College, 19
 Whittlesey, Gen. E., 86
 Wickersham, James, xxxii–xxxiv, 47, 49,
 67–68, 80, 88–90, 102–3
 Wilkins, Alfred Daniel, 261
 Wilkins, Charles, 162, 165
 Wilkinson, Capt. Melville C., xxii, 124,
 206–7
 Willard, Dr. Rufus, 14
 Williams, John, 278
 Williamsport PA, 155
 Wills, George, 115
 Wilson, Ellen, 183
 Wilson, Michael, 221
 Wilson, Sen. John L., 128
 Wilson, Thomas B., 108, 109
 Wilton, William E., 207, 233
 Wind River Indian School (WY), 126,
 128–29, 163–64
 Wisconsin Central Railroad, 107
 Wiswell, F. C., 144
 Wolf, Garfy, 133
 “The Woman with the Pretty Hand,”
 100–101, 144, 162
 Woodham, Compton, 50
 Woodham, William, 50
 Woods, Lee, 106
 Worsdell, Alfred, 145, 148, 151
 Wright, A. O., 154
 Wyers, John Norman, 261

Yakima Agency and Reservation (WA),
100–101, 138, 161–62, 166, 174–75
Yakima Indian Boarding School (WA),
162
Yakama Indian War of 1855, 80, 320n2
Yakima WA, 98, 100, 162
Yaquina Bay News (OR), 278
Yearian, E. M., 160, 170–71, 178–79
Yo-kum, Peter, 45
Young, Brigham, 172, 185
Yow-a-luch, Louis, 29, 45–46, 47, 48,
49
Yuma, Arizona, 7
Zaenker, G. W., 115, 119, 122
Zellen, John O., 145–48



Edwin and Abigail Eells. The son of a prominent Pacific Northwest missionary, Eells hired Chalcraft to his first position in the Indian Service.
(photo courtesy of Alice C. Martin)





(left) Edwin L. Chalcraft, ca. 1915. Chalcraft spent most of his adult life as an employee of the Office of Indian Affairs, now known as the Bureau of Indian Affairs. *(photo courtesy of Alice C. Martin)*

(top) Edwin L. Chalcraft, Alice Fawcett Pickering Chalcraft, Edwin Pickering Chalcraft, and Alice "Hallie" Pickering Chalcraft, ca. 1907. *(photo courtesy of Alice C. Martin)*

(bottom) Ruthyn Turney, music and journalism teacher, Chemawa Indian School. *(photo courtesy of Alice C. Martin)*





(top) George W. Mills, resident farmer, Chehalis Indian Reservation. *(photo courtesy of Alice C. Martin)*

(right) Edwin L. Chalcraft, superintendent, Chehalis Indian Reservation. This snapshot was taken in 1884, seven months after Chalcraft entered the Indian Service. *(photo courtesy of Alice C. Martin)*





Teachers' Institute, Chehalis Indian Reservation, September 1886. This group photograph of Puyallup Agency employees was taken in front of Chalcraft's home. Edwin Eells and his wife are seated, front center. *(photo courtesy of Alice C. Martin)*



Chehalis Indians fishing on the Chehalis River, ca. 1900. Chalcraft explained in his memoir that elaborate platforms were built across the Chehalis River and wooden spears (in plentiful runs even pitchforks) were used for killing and securing the fish.
(photo courtesy of Hazel Pete Family)



Chehalis Indians farming on the Chehalis Indian Reservation, ca. 1900. Their formal attire suggests that these may be boys from the Indian school located on the reservation.
(photo courtesy of Hazel Pete Family)