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OLD FORT COLVILLE

[Continued from Volume XVI., Page 48.]

The extent of the Company's land claim at Colville, Anderson asserted, would, if reduced to a regular square, be from five to six miles square. The value of the arable lands in 1846 he put at "about \$25 an acre." About the fort he considered there were 1,500 acres answering to this description, and in the vicinity of White Mud, "at least 3,000 acres." The remainder of the land he valued at not more than \$1.25 an acre.⁶²

With respect to the cost of erecting a mill such as the Company owned, between 1848 and 1851, Anderson made an estimate of \$20,000. ⁶³ "The cost to the Company was very large, partly from the difficulty of getting proper mechanics, and again from the heavy cost of transport of the necessary material by boat from Fort Vancouver. The new mill was commenced either in the winter of 1845 or the spring of 1846 by my predecessor, Chief Factor Lewis. ⁶⁴ On my arrival there in the autumn of 1848, I found the work still incomplete, and it was only by great exertion that I succeeded in completing it about 18 months afterwards; for besides the original impediment to which I have already alluded, the excitement caused by the discovery of the mines in California had arisen, and its effects extended to the very gates of Colville. Meanwhile the old mill which had been built many years previously was kept as far as possible in repair, in order to carry on the necessary grinding."⁶⁵

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 35 *et seq.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 42. Anderson stated, on cross examination, that during his residence at Colville the annual production of wheat was about 1,500 bushels. Asked whether he received wheat from other sources to be ground at the Company mill, he replied: "Yes, from the settlers and squatters in the vicinity, and likewise from some of the Indians whom we had encouraged to raise wheat to aid the sustenance of themselves and families. The amount I could not state with any degree of correctness, possibly 1,000 bushels; received none from any other post of the Company. The toll rate, I believe, was one-eighth. This was during my residence there from 1848 to 1851."

⁶⁴ John Lee Lewis (or Lewes) succeeded Archibald McDonald at Colville in 1844. See footnote by W. S. Lewis, *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, 189. Lewis was still at Colville in 1848 when the American missionaries, Eells and Walker, with their families, abandoned the station at Tshimakain and sought refuge at Colville. Lewis was probably succeeded by A. C. Anderson. See *supra*, footnote 63. Also see Myron Eells, *Life of Father Eells*, etc., and *Letters and Diaries of Rev. Elkanah Walker and Mary R. Walker*, 1838-52, pp. 94 *et seq.*

Bancroft, *Hist. of Ore.*, I, 38, says of Lewis (or Lewes): "The top of the Columbia district was John Lee Lewes, an old Northwest, who after having been many years at the several northern posts was placed in charge of the district of McKenzie River, and afterward at Fort Colville. He was a man of fine personal appearance, and possessed many good qualities. He had the misfortune to lose his right hand by the accidental discharge of a gun." Father De Smet also spells this name "Lewes." "The kindness of the Honorable Mr. Lewes and family I shall never forget," wrote De Smet from St. Paul's Station, near Colville, May 29, 1846.—Chittenden and Richardson, *Father De Smet's Life and Travels Among the North American Indians*, II, 552. (This paragraph was erroneously given with note 52 of the first installment of this article in the January issue.)

⁶⁵ *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], pp. 42-43.

Anderson admitted that since 1847 the "Company's posts on the upper Columbia, in New Caledonia, and Thompson's River [had] been supplied chiefly from Fort Langley on Fraser's River, in British Columbia." However, he would not admit that the importance of Colville for securing the surrounding trade had in any way decreased.⁶⁶

During the year 1848, when the Cayuse war was waged as a result of the Whitman massacre of the preceding November, the American mission station at Tshimakain, founded by Cushing Eells and Elkanah Walker in 1838, was abandoned, and for several weeks protection was afforded to the families of these missionaries by the Hudson's Bay Company's employes at Colville.⁶⁷ Some five years later, when Governor Stevens and his party came through Eastern Washington, the hospitality of this post was generously extended to them.⁶⁸ Stevens speaks highly of the entertainment he received, and, judging from an account given by Angus McDonald, who was then in charge of Fort Colville, Stevens and McClellan, who met Stevens at this place, enjoyed themselves to the uttermost.⁶⁹

In a letter to Mr. Marcy, Secretary of State, dated June 21, 1854, Governor Stevens gives a description of the establishment at Colville as it appeared in 1853. He says:

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁶⁷ Testimony of Thomas Lowe, August 5, 1865; *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], p. 15. Also consult Eells, *Life of Father Eells*, and *Walker Diaries*, *passim*.

⁶⁸ Of the McDonald hospitality Stevens writes: "Mr. [Angus] McDonald, the trader in charge, gave me a most hospitable reception, and addressed a note to McClellan [later General George B. McClellan], who had just gone to his camp nearby, informing him of my arrival. McClellan came up immediately, and though I was fairly worn out with the severeness of the ride, we sat up till one o'clock. At 11 we sat down to a nice supper prepared by Mrs. McDonald, and regaled ourselves with steaks cooked in buffalo fat, giving them the flavor of buffalo meat. I retired exhausted with the fatigues of the day."—*Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad From the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, . . . in 1853-55, XII, 137.

Others have spoken in glowing terms of the hospitality extended to them at Colville. In October, 1859, P. M. Engel, topographical engineer with the Mullan Military Road Expedition, visited Colville. Writing to Lieut. John Mullan, under date of March 8, 1860, he said: "At Colville I was hospitably received by Mr. McDonald, the gentleman in charge."—John Mullan, *Report on the Construction of A Military Road From Fort Walla Walla to Fort Benton*, p. 108. Father De Smet, some years earlier, had commented on the hospitality of the H. B. Co trader in charge of Fort Colville. See footnote 52, *supra*.

⁶⁹ Of this affair Angus McDonald writes: "I was in charge here in 1853 when Governor Stevens met here. I had full instructions as to the hospitality and the discretion of it entirely trusted to myself. The Governor had ample credentials from the east crossing the Rocky Mountains by the Hell Gate defile. McClellan met him here with an escorting party from Puget Sound. I had fifty imperial gallons of extra rations to entertain the gentleman. McClellan drank but little. The Governor was rather fond of it and laid back about ten on the first night to sleep the darkness out. His last words that night were 'Mac this is powerful wine.' All hands had been steeped during the day and found the grass and their blankets the best way they could. As all the party had disappeared McClellan began to sip the juice of the vine more freely and we sat on the old sofa together, as closely as space allowed. Having to undergo the hospitalities of the day to all hands, I felt my grog inviting me to go to my blankets. But I was well trained to that splendid brandy and in prime of life too, and hard to make me give in at it. Suddenly the General put his arm around my neck and whispered in my ear 'Mc, my proud father too was at Culloden,' and he quietly slipped down off the sofa to the floor. I soon made the sofa an easy place for him and he and the Governor snored the night till daylight."—"Angus McDonald: A Few Items of the West," in *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, 196-197.

"Fort Colville, upon the Columbia, above Kettle Falls, is next in importance to Fort Vancouver, though far inferior to it in extent. It is situated on the second terrace, at some distance back from the river, the lower terrace being in part flooded during the freshets. The buildings consist of a dwelling house, three or four store-houses, and some smaller buildings, used as blacksmith shops, etc., all of one story and constructed of squared logs. The whole was once surrounded by a stockade, forming a square of about 70 yards on each side. This has been removed, except on the north side, where it encloses a narrow yard containing offices. One bastion remains. About 30 yards in the rear of this square are the cattle yards, hay sheds, etc., enclosing a space of 40 by 60 yards, roughly fenced in, and the sheds covered with bark. On the left of the front are seven huts, occupied by the lower employes of the company. They are of rude construction, and much decayed. On the right of the square, in the rear, at a distance of a few hundred yards, are three more buildings, used for storing produce. At this post the barges used by the company for the navigation of the Columbia River are built.⁷⁰

"Besides the principal establishment, there is a cattle post, about nine miles distant, on the stream laid down as the Slaun-te-us, and a grist mill of one pair of stones, three miles off on the same stream. The latter is in good order.⁷¹ Here formerly the flour for the northern posts was ground from wheat raised on the Company's farms. The mill is still used by the farmers of the Colville valley, and by the Spokane Indians, who bring here their wheat from a distance of 70 miles. The farm at this point was once pretty extensive, but only a small portion is cultivated at present.

"Fort Colville was once the post of a chief factor, the highest officer in charge of a station, and here the annual accounts of the whole country were consolidated previous to transmission across

⁷⁰ "The H. B. Company made all the Columbian boats here of the native Yellow Pine."—"Angus McDonald: A Few Items of the West," in *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, 198. Consult footnote 40, *supra*.

⁷¹ "In 1848 there had been a large new mill built there, 2½ stories high, and one run of stones, 30 x 40 or 50 feet."—Angus McDonald, *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], p. 156. He expressed the opinion that, "for our purposes, twelve to fifteen hundred dollars would put it in good repair." This was in 1865.—*Id.*, p. 165. Compare Stevens' statement, as well as that of Angus McDonald herein quoted, with the descriptions of this mill given throughout this article, especially footnote 65, *supra*, and William S. Lewis's statement in footnote 40, *supra*. Mr. Meyers declares that the dimensions of the stones given above should be 35 x 50 feet.

the mountains.⁷² The present force consists only of a chief clerk, a trader, and about 20 Canadians and Iroquois Indians.

"I estimate the value of Fort Colville and the mill, with the improvements, at \$25,000."⁷³

On December 2, 1852, the Hudson's Bay Company valued Fort Colville, "including the farms, mill and fort," at 10,000 pounds.

Just before the outbreak of the Civil War occurred what is known in history as the San Juan Affair, a disturbance over the international boundary line in the Pacific Northwest which nearly brought on an armed clash between forces of Great Britain and the United States. This controversy arose over the meaning of a statement in the Treaty of 1846, which provided that the boundary line between British and American possessions in the Pacific Northwest should be run through the middle of the channel which separates the mainland from Vancouver Island. Inasmuch as there are two channels, Canal de Haro and Rosario Strait, the San Juan Islands became the subject of a dispute. Years afterwards, however, like all others which had arisen between Great Britain and the United States over the Oregon Country, was settled peacefully.⁷⁴

Meantime, however, the encroachments of American settlers upon the lands claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company were causing losses to these companies and producing much bad feeling between the British and the Americans.⁷⁵ In his first message to the Territorial Legis-

72 "Several trips were made, during the season of open water, annually on the Columbia, from Fort Vancouver to Fort Colville and back, as business required; and between Fort Vancouver and Hudson's Bay there was one voyage every year, leaving Vancouver in the spring, with documents and books, and also taking out all the servants whose contracts had expired, and who wished to return to Europe and Canada, as the case might be, returning in the autumn from York Factory with the young recruits necessary to replace the hands who left, or were leaving the service. From all this it is clear that the Columbia River formed a very important link in the chain of communication, not only between these posts of the Company on the west side of the mountains, but also between these posts and Hudson's Bay."—Deposition of Dugald Mactavish, in *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], p. 211.

73 *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], pp. 221-222. This letter has been taken from the report of George Gibbs to Captain George B. McClellan, dated at Olympia, March 4, 1854. In the Gibbs report, however, occurs this paragraph which does not appear in Stevens's letter to Marcy: "In former years goods were sent through this post [Colville] to those north of the line, but this route is now abandoned. The amount of furs collected here is not large, and comes chiefly from the upper Columbia. They are principally bear, beaver, muskrat, marten, and fox skins. The beaver is not considered to be worth in London more than its cost when laid down here."—*Reports on Explorations and Surveys . . . Made Under the Direction of the Secretary of War, in 1853-54: Ex. Doc. 78, 2d Sess., 33d Cong., I, 420.*

74 Art. XXXIV of the Treaty of Washington, concluded May 8, 1871, provided that the dispute over the possession of the San Juan Islands "should be submitted to the arbitration and award" of the Emperor of Germany, his award to be final. On October 21, 1872, Emperor William I decided in favor of the United States.—*Public Treaties of the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875), pp. 355 *et seq.*

75 Consult the deposition of Dugald Mactavish, April 10, 1865, in the *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], pp. 198 *et seq.*; also read the deposition of Dr. William Fraser Tolmie, September 25, 1865, in the *Puget Sound Agricultural Co. vs. the United States. Evidence on the Part of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. Claimants*, pp. 105 *et seq.*

lature of Washington, on February 28, 1854, Governor Stevens called attention to the "foreign corporation situated in our midst," an organization "usurping a large proportion of the trade, and annually carrying off great amounts of specie from the country." He further stated that the "vague and uncertain nature" of the limits of the possessions claimed by the Puget Sound Agricultural Company "must necessarily give rise to many disputes between the Company and the settlers, and tend to retard the settlement of many portions of the Territory."⁷⁶ This question was not settled until 1869.

The treaties negotiated by Governor Stevens with the Indians of Washington Territory, in 1854 and 1855, did not remove from the minds of the savages the fear that the white men would swarm into the northwest and dispossess the Indians of their lands. Suspicions of this sort developed into almost certainty in the minds of the Indians, when, in the summer of 1855, miners began to pass through Eastern Washington on their way to the Colville country. The murder of some of these miners in the Yakima valley, together with the murder of Indian Agent A. J. Bolon, was the signal for the outbreak of the Indian war in the autumn of 1855. Of the rush to the Colville mines during the summer of 1855, Acting Governor C. H. Mason, addressing the Territorial Legislature of Washington on December 7, 1855, stated:

"During the past summer, rumors of discoveries of gold fields near Fort Colville induced many enterprising and energetic citizens of the Territory to visit that region. Many have returned on account of the war, and the impossibility of obtaining provisions there during the winter. Although the extent of the gold bearing district is not known, yet the fact is certain, that those who worked the bars and prospected the country near Fort Colville found gold in sufficient quantities to pay well for working. Wherever the more experienced miners dug, either upon the bars or upon the hillsides, gold was found, and even with the rude

⁷⁶ *Journal of the Council of the Territory of Washington, 1854* (Olympia: George B. Goudy, Public Printer, 1855), pp. 10 *et seq.* Stevens's prediction that there would be trouble between the American settlers and the "foreign corporation" was borne out by later events. The question of the power of the government of Washington Territory to tax the lands of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company was finally settled by the Territorial supreme Court, in December, 1861, in the case of the *Puget Sound Agricultural Company vs. Pierce County* (1 Wash. Ter. Rep. 159). The court in this case held that the lands of the Company were liable for taxes, and that the failure of the assessor to assess other lands in Pierce County would not exempt this company from paying taxes on any of its lands which were liable to taxation. With reference to the power to tax the court held: "That the taxing power is one of the largest of Government and of vital importance to its existence, and that it is not to be assumed that the treaty (Treaty of June 15, 1846), while recognizing the right of the Company to their lands, and pledging the Government to confirm the same, intended to deprive this Territory of the power to tax said lands."

mode of working with pans, an average of \$10 per day has been made, and those who are still at the mines report profitable employment. I have no doubt that with improved machines and better preparations for working to advantage these gold mines will prove amply remunerative to many citizens who may go there, whenever the state of the country will permit communication between the Columbia River and Puget Sound settlements and the gold bearing region."⁷⁷

The Indian wars of 1855-56, which extended generally throughout Oregon and Washington Territories, had an unfortunate influence on the fur trade. The Cayuse war in 1848 had, according to the testimony of Dugald Mactavish on April 10, 1866, seriously affected the business of the Hudson's Bay Company at the Walla Walla, or Nez Perces, post.⁷⁸ From that time up to the final abandonment of this post, at the order of Indian Agent Nathan Olney, in 1855, Mactavish declared that the "Indians were never the same people to deal with that they had been, and the trade was never so profitable as formerly." In 1855 and 1856 the posts at Fort Boise and Fort Hall were abandoned by the Hudson's Bay Company, and in 1860 Fort Vancouver was abandoned. These steps, according to Mactavish, were taken with a very heavy loss to the Company.⁷⁹

As a result of the Indian disturbances, the Columbia River ceased to be so important to the trading operations of the Hudson's Bay Company, as a way had been found to bring supplies overland from Victoria to the interior posts. Okanogan ceased to be a factor in the distribution of supplies for the interior, but it was stated by Alexander C. Anderson, on August 9, 1865, that the importance of Colville for securing the surrounding trade in furs had not been materially decreased, "and it has much increased in a general commercial sense since that period."⁸⁰

On March 8, 1867, Dugald Mactavish, a chief factor for the Hudson's Bay Company, declared that he had "sent two boatloads of goods up to Fort Colville in the summer of 1856, from Vancouver. But the bulk of the supplies for that year, as also for the following ones of 1857 and 1858, were sent into Fort Colville from

⁷⁷ *Journal of the Council*, 1855 (Olympia: Public Printer, 1856), p. 19. For some mention of the discovery of gold at Colville consult "Angus McDonald: A Few Items of the West," in *Wash. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, 201.

⁷⁸ Deposition of Dugald Mactavish, April 10, 1866: *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], pp. 198 *et seq.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

⁸⁰ *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], p. 44.

Victoria, Vancouver Island, by the way of Fort Hope, on Frazer's River, and from Colville were distributed to the other posts."⁸¹

The coming of the American settlers, the Indian wars consequent upon this influx, the placing of the Indians upon reservations by the Americans—these were important factors in bringing to a close the fur-trading epoch in the present state of Washington. The Treaty of 1846 had conferred upon the United States government the right to extinguish by purchase the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget Sound Agricultural Company to their lands south of the 49th parallel; but, notwithstanding this provision in the treaty, no definite step was taken by the American government to remove "the foreign corporation" until nearly ten years after Governor Stevens had delivered his first message to the first Territorial Legislature of Washington.

According to the terms of a treaty concluded between the United States and Great Britain on July 1, 1863, it was agreed that commissioners should be appointed by the United States and Great Britain to determine the sum of money which the United States should pay for the "possessory rights" of these companies. In the voluminous testimony which was submitted by each side in the cases of the *Hudson's Bay Company vs. the United States* and the *Puget Sound Agricultural Company vs. the United States* is contained much valuable information respecting the activities of those companies in the present state of Washington. Only with the testimony regarding Colville are we at this time primarily interested.

In the memorial of the Hudson's Bay Company, dated April 8, 1865, the sum of 785,350 pounds, or \$3,822,036.67 is asked in settlement of the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company to the property south of the forty-ninth parallel. Under one heading of the memorial appears this statement:

"The post at Colville, consisting of dwelling houses, servants' houses, shops, stores, outbuildings, stables, barns, yards, stockades and bastions, flouring mills and appurtenances, all erected by the Company, and of the cost and value of ten thousand pounds sterling, (10,000); three hundred and fifty acres of land occupied and used and cultivated as farm land, and about five miles square of land occupied and used for pasturage of their cattle and horses, of the value of five thousand pounds sterling, (5,000); the White Mud farm, (appurtenant to this post) with a house, barn and

⁸¹ *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iii], p. 167.

stable, store and outbuildings, erected upon it by the Company, of the cost and value of one thousand pounds sterling, (1,000); the land used and occupied as a farm, 30 acres of extent, and of the value of five hundred pounds sterling, (500); making together the entire sum of sixteen thousand five hundred pounds sterling, (16,500); equal to eighty thousand three hundred dollars (\$80,300)."⁸²

On June 10, 1868, a motion was made to amend this memorial, wherein was asked a total addition of 94,500 pounds, or \$459,900. Of this sum it was asked respecting the establishment of Colville "that an addition of 9,500 pounds sterling, equal to \$46,233.34, be made to their claim for the land at Colville and White Mud farm."⁸³

With the great mass of testimony brought forward in this case we are unable within the limits of this article to deal adequately. Attention is therefore directed specifically to the report of a commission of experts designated on July 17, 1866, by W. C. Johnson, attorney and agent for the United States, to examine and appraise the property owned by the Hudson's Bay Company at Colville. These men, Jesse Applegate, Jacob L. Rinearson and John C. Carson, were specifically instructed to examine the buildings and the improvements at Colville, White Mud farm, "some 12 miles from Fort Colville," and the grist mill and the water power used by the Company. The report of this commission was dated at Portland, Ore., August 8, 1866.⁸⁴

In making the survey of Colville, this report states, it was found necessary, in order to include all of the lands that had been in cultivation, to divide the lands into two sections. Section No. 1 of the survey included the fort buildings and about 75 acres of land, and Section No. 2 included fields amounting to about 150 acres. On Section No. 1 were found three enclosures: "one of about four acres between the fort and the river, another of about 11 acres below the fort, and another of about 60 acres above the fort." The first tract was used as a kitchen garden, but only about one-half had been planted, and the crops on it were reported to look poor; the second tract had a "fair grain crop upon it," and the third tract had upon the low ground "an excellent crop of wheat, oats and potatoes." This last named tract was at that time, by permission of the Hudson's Bay Company, occupied by

⁸² *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.: Arguments in Behalf of the U. S. . . . O. Cushing, Counsel* (Washington, 1868), p. 10.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁸⁴ *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [1], pp. 271-280.

an American citizen who paid no rent. On Section No. 2 were found three small improvements valued by the assessor of Stevens county at "\$25, \$100, and \$200, respectively," and about 150 acres enclosed. Part of this was cultivated by Indians, a part by the Hudson's Bay Company, and a part lay idle. On these two sections were found rail fences, "generally out of repair," which were valued by the commissioners at \$2,000. The land that had been enclosed was considered "injured rather than benefited by cultivation."⁸⁵

Detailed descriptions of the buildings found at Colville, both inside and outside the fort, are given in this report, but are too long for reproduction here. Values placed by the American commissioners on these buildings and other improvements on the two sections heretofore mentioned follow:

Aggregate value of building on Section No. 1, at Fort Colville	\$6,800
Value of fencing, including the tenement of O'Sullivan	700
Value of fencing on Section No. 2, exclusive of the tenements	1,300
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Amount taxable	\$6,800
Value of the same as given in to the assessor by Chief Trader McDonald ⁸⁶	\$6,200

Following an elaborate description of the Fort Plain, the commissioners declared that they considered "for agricultural purposes the fee simple title to the whole Fort Plain not to exceed \$2,500, beyond or exclusive of the improvements."⁸⁷

With respect to the mill of the Company, the commissioners reported:

"About four miles south of the fort, and upon the stream called Mill Creek, is the Hudson's Bay Company mill. It has once been a strong building, about 30 by 40 feet [35 x 50] and 20 feet high; it has been strongly framed, and the walls made of squared timber, grooved into posts in the usual manner. The machinery was driven by a breast wheel sixteen [seventeen] feet in diameter with 30-inch [40-inch] buckets, and consisted of one pair of stones, three feet [forty inches] in diameter, cut out of the granite common to the vicinity, a bolting apparatus, but no smut

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*
⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 276.
⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

mill. The whole structure seems to be entirely rotten, and has not been used for some years, nor can it be until entirely rebuilt [was run until September, 1872]. We value the mill at \$500, it has been assessed at \$1500."⁸⁸

White Mud farm was said to be located about 13 miles south-east of the old fort, and to consist of about 30 acres enclosed and a few buildings of no great value. The Company ceased to cultivate it in 1860. "There is now but the ruins of one of the houses built by the Company, and no vestige of their enclosures." In fact, the commissioners saw "nothing of value remaining at the White Mud farm which had been made by the Company." As for the public lands in the Colville Valley, the commissioners were "of opinion that . . . [they] will command no more than the minimum price, exclusive of the improvements made upon them, say \$1.25 per acre."⁸⁹

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 278. J. A. Meyers has given to me the following as the correct dimensions of this mill: 35 x 50 feet, with an outside water wheel, 17 feet by 40 inches. The stones were 40 inches instead of three feet in diameter. These stones, according to Mr. Meyers, were cut from the granite common to the Kettle Falls vicinity. Mr. Meyers's father, Louther W. Meyers, was at Colville as early as 1862, and since 1869 J. A. Meyers has resided at Meyers Falls. Moreover, Mr. Meyers has spent several years in the study of the early history of the Colville region, and his opinions thereon are entitled to weighty consideration. The brackets above enclose corrections by Mr. Meyers.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 279. Continuing, the commissioners said: "In regard to the fee simple title to lands in the vicinity of old Fort Colville, we herewith submit an extract from the assessor's books of Stevens county, which shows the value of improvements according to the judgment of that officer, who resides in the country and knows the value put upon property by its owners, as well as himself; . . . and we are told by other intelligent men that improvements could be purchased in almost any part of Mill Creek Valley for less than they could be made."—*Id.*, p. 278. In this same volume, pp. 280-281, is printed the extract alluded to above. It follows:

Extracts from the Rolls of the Assessor of Stevens County, Washington Territory, for the year 1866, Hudson's Bay Company represented by Angus McDonald:

Lands cultivated (rents on same).....	\$ 100
Buildings and rails.....	6,100
One mill (out of repair).....	1,500
Henry Lafleur (Joins the White Mud farm, Isaacs' place is included)	1,000
George B. Warnicut's (7 miles from Old Colville).....	1,000
T. J. Demers (on the White Mud farm).....	1,600
Francois Marzou, 12 miles from old Fort.....	500
Alexander Marzou, 13 miles from old Fort.....	400
Antoine Charette, 14 miles from old Fort.....	600
Jo. Martin, 7 miles from old Fort.....	300
S. Mershon, 6 miles from old Fort.....	100
Gaspard, 8 miles from old Fort.....	80
John Probelle, 1 mile from old Fort.....	100
James Lee, 1½ miles above old Fort.....	25
Peter Grover, 2 miles from old Fort on Fort Plain.....	200
Alexander Jandron, 5 miles from old Fort.....	600
George Finis, 6 miles from old Fort.....	600
L. Peon, 9 miles from old Fort.....	350
John Huston (on Mud Farm).....	250

"I certify the above as correctly extracted from the assessment rolls made by me for the county and the year above written.

"Lyman C. Richardson

"Assessor, Stevens County, W. T."

Mr. Meyers has called attention to several errors in this extract. The name George B. Warnicut, he declares, should be changed to George B. Wonnacott. This man was Mr. Meyers' uncle. He further says that for the name of Gaspard there should be substituted Joseph Dissotell de Gaspor. The place occupied by this man in 1866 was bought by Mr. Meyers's mother about the year 1873. Other names, Mr. Meyers contends, should be altered as follows: For Peter Grover, Peter Guah; for S. Mershon, J. Merchant.

Mr. Meyers further states that the report made by Jesse Applegate was unfair in many respects, particularly with respect to the dimensions of the buildings. Mr. Meyers says that he himself has measured all of these buildings.

Quite different from the values put upon the Colville establishment by the American commissioners were those assigned by Angus McDonald,⁹⁰ at that time in charge of Fort Colville, in his deposition of September 25, 1865.⁹¹ It is probable that McDonald greatly exaggerated the value of his company's holdings, but his associations with this establishment covering a long period of years give weight to his testimony and make it desirable to examine with considerable care the larger part of it. He declared:

"The present condition of the fort is much better than it was in 1848 or in 1852, when I took charge of it, except the mill, which is older than it was in 1848, and requires some repairs, but is in running order. It needs new cogs for some of its wheels, and new foundation logs for its frame. In the main I have nearly rebuilt all the buildings inside the square of the fort since 1852; but there was a row of engaged servants' houses outside of the fort, which was not kept in repair, but allowed to disappear save two old servants' houses which still remain. There is now a large dwelling house, 50 by 23 feet, one story and a half high with two floors; a frame house, clap-boarded and shingled, hard finished with plaster inside, with two large quartz rock chimnies. There is a back family house, of square timber, boarded roof, one story high, and two floors, lined with cotton drill inside, about 22 x 15, and a kitchen of the same size, shingle roof, and a large chimney of quartz rock. There is a large store, 60 x 20 feet, more or less, shingle roof, two floors, one story and a half high, built of squared timber in the Canadian fashion; another store about 40 x 18 feet, built in the same style as the first and on the other side there is a

⁹⁰ Angus McDonald, a nephew of Archibald McDonald, was born in Scotland on October 15, 1816. He received a good education, and in 1838, at the age of twenty-one, entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. "In 1842 he was promoted to clerk and engaged for three years, from June 1, 1842, at 75 pounds per annum." Being given charge of Colville in 1852, he was in that year "promoted to the position of chief trader and made a shareholder in the Company. Angus McDonald remained in charge of Fort Colville from 1852 to 1872 [1871] and was one of the last chief traders of the Hudson's Bay Company to conduct a post within the territorial limits of the United States. In 1871 he sold out his interest to the Company and removed to Montana in 1872-73, where he engaged in stock-raising until his death on February 1, 1889."—Introduction by W. S. Lewis to "Angus McDonald: A Few Items of the West," in *Wash.-Hist. Quart.*, VIII, 188 *et seq.* This document was edited by F. W. Howay, William S. Lewis and Jacob A. Meyers.

In his deposition of September 25, 1865, *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], pp. 150 *et seq.*, Angus McDonald declared that he was then 49 years old, a citizen of Great Britain, a chief trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, and that he had been in the employ of this company since 1838. He further declared: "I have some acquaintance with the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Fort Colville. I first saw it in the winter of 1839, wintered there, and proceeded in the spring to Fort Hall in the Snake Country—took charge of Colville in 1852, and remained there until 1857, and again assumed charge of it in 1859, whereof I have had charge ever since." In view of this testimony, I am inclined to believe that Mr. Lewis is in error in stating that McDonald was in charge of Colville from 1852 to 1872, for, continuing, McDonald declared: "I was there occasionally in 1857 and 1858, although not in charge." McDonald, moreover, gives a hint as to who was in charge during those two years. "The buildings at white Mud farm have nearly all disappeared, except one built in 1858, by Mr. Blenkinsop, then in charge of the fort."—*Id.*, p. 157. See also Bancroft, *Hist. N. W. Coast*, II, 711.

⁹¹ *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], pp. 150 *et seq.*

file of officers' houses, 60 x 18 feet, shingled, three chimnies and two floors, one story and a half high, partly ceiled inside with tongue and grooved boards and partly mudded and whitewashed; also a bake house 15 x 15 feet, a poultry house, 10 x 12 feet, and a pigeon house. Outside is a heavy square timber bastion, two stories high, boarded roof with port holes, a blasksmith's shop, about 16 x 12 feet, carpenter's shop, about 30 x 30 feet, a barn about 60 x 30 feet, framed, boarded, and roof covered with double cedar bark, and a cedar rail horse park, about 150 x 150 feet, and the two old houses mentioned above, 20 x 20 feet, of square timber, thatched with poles and clay. The half of the stockades still remain. There was also a root house which I have omitted to mention.

"In 1848, at White Mud, there was a small dwelling house, a barn, stable, a store and about 30 to 40 acres of enclosed land. The buildings at White Mud farm have nearly all disappeared, except one built in 1858, by Mr. Blenkinsop, then in charge of the fort, about 40 x 30 feet. The buildings were pulled down and destroyed by the settlers on the farm. I found the servant of the man who settled there engaged in pulling down one of the buildings, and told him to desist, which he refused. I then complained to Major Lugenbeel,⁹² the commander of the United States forces in garrison near there, who said to me: 'Never mind, McDonald, take no notice of it; it will not invalidate your claim to the place.'⁹³

McDonald then gave a lengthy description of the lands at Colville claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company, with which we can not now concern ourselves. In answer to a question he stated that when he took charge of Colville there were from 100 to 150 head of cattle there, and that generally from two to three hundred

⁹² "Four companies of the Ninth Infantry, under command of Major [Pinkney] Lougenbeel, arrived at the flat near Mill Creek, about three miles from the Colville River, on June 21, 1859, and the erection of log barracks for a four company post was at once commenced. This was completed late in the fall, and the American Boundary Commission under Captain Parke wintered there. The post was occupied until the troops were withdrawn in 1881; it was definitely abandoned in 1882. The old buildings were removed by settlers and are now scattered up and down the Colville Valley for twenty-five miles."—Footnote by W. S. Lewis, in *Wash. Hist Quart.*, VIII, 194. An American town which subsequently grew up in this community was at first called "Pinkneyville," and somewhat later "Pinkney City," in honor of Major Lougenbeel. This town became the county seat of Stevens County when that county was organized on January 20, 1863. Five years later an act of the Territorial Legislature, approved January 14, 1868, changed the name of Pinkney City to Fort Colville.—*Stat. of the Ter. of Wash.*, 1867-68, p. 148. In 1871 the people of Stevens County, hearing that the American troops at Colville were about to be withdrawn, petitioned the Congress, through the Territorial Legislature, to leave at Fort Colville the garrison which in that year consisted of one company of infantry. They claimed the presence of these troops was required to protect the settlers from Indian attacks.—*Wash. Ter. Laws.*, 1871, pp. 209-210. See also Edmnod S. Meany, *Origin of Washington Geographic Names*, p. 54.

⁹³ *H. B. Co. vs. the U. S.*, [iv], pp. 156-157.

head of horses were kept there; but he added that at this time (1865) there were few cattle there.

The chief grains raised at Colville, according to McDonald's testimony, were "wheat and oats, and some barley and peas, with a little Indian corn; but wheat was the staple grain. Hay was made of the natural grasses growing on marshy lands that were overflowed on the White Mud plains." With respect to prices at Colville, McDonald continued: "The average value of good wheat heretofore has been \$2.50 per bushel at Colville, and the present price \$3 per bushel. Hay in the cock, about \$9 per ton, and sold at Fort Colville at \$25 per ton."

The mines which could be supplied from Colville, McDonald declared, were those on the Columbia, from Priests Rapids up to the head of the river; those on the Pend Oreille and Salmon Fork; the Kootenais; those of Rock Creek and American Creek; those of Similkameen and of Northern Idaho; and those of Thompson's River and Cariboo.⁹⁴

Upon the arable lands at Colville and at White Mud McDonald placed a high value, the price being \$40 an acre. Pasture land, save where hay was cut, he valued at \$2 an acre, and the hay land at \$5 an acre. The mill, together with its site, being the "best in the whole country," he valued at \$20,000, and, as for the buildings at Colville and at White Mud, he expressed the opinion that, at the high prices then obtaining, it would cost from \$70,000 to \$120,000 to build them.⁹⁵

On cross examination, McDonald stated: that the number of men kept at Colville varied from 10 to 30, "including about 20 Indians"; that the fur trade at Colville had about doubled since he took charge; that the trade which the post had with the miners was not the principal activity of the establishment. As for the grist mill, he declared that from twelve to fifteen hundred dollars would put it in good repair. Furthermore, he asserted that from 15 to 30 cattle were always kept at Colville, and that during the summer and working seasons from 150 to 250 horses were kept there; that the amount of land enclosed included two tracts, one of about 160 acres and one of about 5 or 6 acres, both cultivated.⁹⁶

Direct examination being resumed, McDonald testified that there were at Colville from 1200 to 1600 acres of land worth \$40 an acre, and at White Mud farm from 4,000 to 8,000 acres of

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

equal value, with perhaps 1400 acres, more or less, worth \$5 an acre. He declined to estimate the number of acres of pasture land.⁹⁷

Further information regarding prices at Colville in 1865 is available in the testimony of Thomas Flett,⁹⁸ a farmer living at that time in the Colville valley. At Victoria, on September 26, 1865, in answer to questions, he gave the following statements:

"I am acquainted with the prices paid [for labor]. Carpenters \$10 a day; farm hands \$60 to \$70 a month; hewers and choppers \$5 to \$6 a day, and sometimes they could not be had at these prices."

"The price of wheat, when I left there, was \$3 per bushel, hay in the stack generally \$10 per ton, and at Colville, Columbia River, from \$20 to \$35 per ton, and lumber on Colville Flat \$50 per M."⁹⁹

Flett further declared that the land at Colville yielded, on an average, 15 bushels of wheat to the acre, and that the cost of raising this wheat and transporting it to market was about \$15 an acre.¹⁰⁰

On September 10, 1869, in the city of Washington, the commissioners appointed under the Treaty of 1863, John Rose for Great Britain and Alexander S. Johnson for the United States, made their award. In full settlement of its "possessory rights" mentioned in the treaties of 1846 and 1863 the sum of \$450,000 was awarded to the Hudson's Bay Company, and to the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, in full settlement of its rights, was awarded the sum of \$200,000. At the time of the first payment on these claims each of the aforementioned companies was to deed to the United States all of these properties. What sum was considered a fair price for the holdings at Colville is not set forth in the award.¹⁰¹

Fort Colville was vacated by the Hudson's Bay Company on June 8, 1871, when Angus McDonald moved all of the goods and property to Kamloops, B. C. Angus McDonald claimed the old

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁹⁸ Thomas Flett, at that time a farmer living in the Colville Valley, declared that he was a citizen of the United States, that he was born in Scotland, that he had spent eighteen years in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, and that he had left the Company in 1851. Concerning his experiences at Colville, he said: "Was at Colville from 1840 to 1851, then went to the Willamette Valley, where I remained until 1856; in that year returned to Colville, took a claim 25 miles south of the fort, where I have since resided."—*Id.*, pp. 169-170.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 170. For additional estimates of the value of the holdings of the Hudson's Bay Company at the several interior trading posts, as well as for some account of the abandonment of these posts, see Bancroft, *Hist. N. W. Coast*, II, 710-711.

¹⁰¹ *H. B. Co. vs. the U.S.: Opinions and Award of the Commissioners. . . Pronounced September 10, 1869* (Montreal, 1869), p. 30.

trading post site as his home until 1873-74, and occasionally in later years returned to visit this spot. The spot on which the old fort was located is a part of what is now known as Donald Townsite. This consists of about twenty acres of the Northwest Quarter of Section 12, Township 36, Range 37. It is at the present time the property of Mrs. Harriett Munro of Kettle Falls.¹⁰²

Today, nearly one hundred years after its founding, there is little to mark the site of this famous establishment. On the hill above, the old mission house has fallen in ruins; in the beautiful little "nick" below one unfamiliar with the region will look about him and wonder where the exact location of the fort may have been. The buildings in which many a traveler shared the hospitality of the McDonalds¹⁰³ and others in charge of Fort Colville; in which Governor Stevens and McClellan forgot their weariness in "powerful wine"; in which the families of Cushing Eells and Elkanah Walker, the American missionaries who had labored for nearly ten years at Tshimakain, were sheltered from Indian attacks—these have yielded to the ravages of time. Yet from the hill above one may gaze into this beautiful little valley and wonder not that Walker in 1838, and Sir George Simpson in 1841, were delighted with what opened up before their eyes. For the site of old Fort Colville, notwithstanding the encroachments of civilization, has retained much of its pristine beauty.

The Present Town of Colville

Although my article on "Old Fort Colville" was not intended to take into account the present town of Colville, Washington, the persistence of the name Colville makes it appear fitting that some mention should be made of the founding of the present county seat of Stevens county. Moreover, the discovery in recent weeks of the publishers' file of *The North-West Tribune*, one of the early newspapers of the Spokane country, has brought to my attention some matters relative to the founding of Colville that I have never elsewhere encountered.

I have already briefly related the story of the establishment

¹⁰² For the information contained in this paragraph I am indebted to W. S. Lewis, J. A. Meyers and Chester R. Wiley, assessor of Stevens County. In the issue of the *Spokane Times* for October 30, 1880, under "News From Colville," I have discovered the following sentence: "Agnes [Angus] McDonald, an old pioneer and former Hudson Bay trader here, returned to his old stamping ground from Montana, and still thinks 'there is no place like home'."

¹⁰³ For an interesting description of life at Fort Colville in the summer of 1866, written by a woman, see Leighton, *Life at Puget Sound*. . . . (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1884), pp. 71 *et seq.*

of Pinkney City, a trading post adjoining the American army post in the Colville country. In 1868 the Legislative Assembly of Washington changed the name of this town to Fort Colville to avoid confusion arising from the fact that the post office in the Colville valley was called Fort Colville, whereas the name of the county seat was Pinkney City.¹⁰⁴ It has been stated by some writers that the present town of Coville grew up on the site of Pinkney City or Fort Colville. This is a mistake. The present town of Colville is located three miles distant from the site of Pinkney City.¹⁰⁵

Colville was laid out and promoted by a group of men of whom W. F. Hooker and J. W. Still, real estate dealers of Cheney, appeared to be the leaders. The name first given to the site was Belmont, in honor of August Belmont. This name appeared on the first map of the townsite, although Colville was substituted therefor before the plat was filed for record by J. W. Still on May 20, 1883. The streets and alleys had been dedicated to public use by Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Hooker on February 28, 1883. The land for the townsite was taken from farms owned by John U. Hofstetter and John Wynne.¹⁰⁶

The following communication, to which was signed the name "Observer," appeared in *The North-West Tribune* of August 1, 1884:

"In noting the improvements of Washington Territory Colville, the county seat of Stevens county, deserves notice. It was laid out in January, 1883, by J. W. Still, while the snow was yet a foot deep on the ground, and the same energy and vigor displayed then seems to have characterized its growth and progress ever since. Considering the age of the town, and the fact that it is far away from the railroad, I have seen nothing equal it. Ho [f] stetter's store and hall, a large and elegantly furnished building, has been built at a cost of \$6,000, as also Montgomery's store (two story) costing \$3,500.¹⁰⁷ Within this short time 13 business houses have been put up on a paying basis and everybody appears busy and happy Lots are constantly increasing in value in town."

104 N. W. Durham, *Spokane and the Inland Empire*, 1, 273.

105 *Ibid.*, p. 267.

106 *An Illustrated History of Stevens, Ferry, Okanogan and Chelan Counties* (Western Historical Publishing Company, 1904), 89, 127, 129; *The North-West Tribune*, February 2, 1883; letter of Dorothy Dexter, auditor of Stevens county, to the writer, February 26, 1925.

107 C. H. Montgomery was the first man to move his goods from Pinkney City to Colville. This was in 1882.—*An Illustrated History of Stevens, Ferry, Okanogan and Chelan Counties*, p. 129. Apparently he moved his goods before the townsite of Colville was surveyed.

In *The North-West Tribune* of February 2, 1883, appeared a communication signed by "Traveler." From this the following paragraphs have been copied:

"Belmont, the future county seat of Stevens county, is located upon a beautiful incline, the view from which is grand. From springs elevated more than 60 feet flows down through the town sufficient water to run extensive machinery. At the southern line of the townsite is already a well constructed lime kiln with an inexhaustible supply of lime stone. Five miles distant from town is a vast ledge of marble.

"This town was named in honor of August Belmont; building commenced, lumber being hauled on the ground before the survey was completed. The famous Hofstetter brewery is located here."¹⁰⁸

On March 16, 1883, there appeared in *The North-West Tribune*, over the name of W. F. Hooker, secretary of the Colville townsite company, the following statement:

"The map of Colville, which was published as Belmont, is now on exhibition at the real estate office of J. W. Still,¹⁰⁹ where all persons who desire to purchase choice lots are cordially invited to call and make selections and prices.

"As old Fort Colville¹¹⁰ has been abandoned, it was deemed expedient to retain the old familiar name, and carry with it the good will and prestige of the county seat of Stevens county. In doing so we are in perfect accord with the citizens of that section and officers of the county, and will together bend our energies to settle up and beautify that already lovely vale, where thousands can find fertile and pleasant homes.

"We are prepared to introduce and locate settlers on fine lands. Four townships are already surveyed and contract let for the survey of thirty more this season, which will not conflict with the rights of settlers.

"Our town site company consists of James Monaghan, J. C. Davenport, John Hofstetter, John W. Still and W. F. Hooker. Maps and deeds are all on record in Stevens county."

The Legislative Assembly of Washington, in an act approved on November 28, 1883, declared that the county seat of Stevens county, "now located at Colville, shall be temporarily located at the new town of Colville in said county, until the next general

¹⁰⁸ This brewery, according to the history cited above, was built in the year 1874 by John U. Hofstetter. It was the first building erected on the site of the present town of Colville.

¹⁰⁹ That is, in the town of Cheney.

¹¹⁰ Reference is here made to the American Fort Colville which was abandoned in 1882.

election, when the qualified electors of the said county of Stevens shall vote, under the regulations of the election law, for the election of county officers [and] for a permanent location of the county seat of said county. The place having a majority of all the legal votes cast shall be declared to be the permanent county seat of said county of Stevens."¹¹¹

This act also required the county commissioners to remove all of the county records to the new town of Colville on or before the first Monday in January, 1884, and to provide in this town by lease suitable buildings for county purposes.¹¹²

I have made no effort to gather information relative to the election in Stevens county in 1884, but from the following article it appears that the fight for the permanent location of the county seat in that county caused a commotion somewhat like that which characterized similar elections in nearly all of the counties of Eastern Washington during the eighties:

"Colville won the county seat of Stevens county at the late election by eight votes. There is talk of a contest."¹¹³

Mining activities gave to the new town of Colville a remarkable impetus, so that as early as the autumn of 1885 we find it in the midst of a "boom." This is indicated by the following letters written to the editor of *The North-West Tribune* by George Nichols Watson "after a pleasant sojourn of six months in the noted Colville valley:"

"As a matter of course, good prospects in the mines give a great impetus to the growth of Colville and the day is not far distant when that hitherto quiet hamlet will be teeming with a busy, restless population, attracted not only by the mines, but by the good quality of the soil, by the almost exhaustless timber, by the mild climate, the great bunch grass ranges. . . . Twenty-nine miles from Colville is the 'Little Dalles' which has been the shipping point for all freight destined for the Canadian Pacific. More than a thousand tons of wheat have been forwarded this season."¹¹⁴

Three weeks later Mr. Watson wrote the following description of Colville:

"There are at the present time eleven buildings in course of erection in the town of Colville.

"The streets are thronged with newcomers.

¹¹¹ *Session Laws of 1883*, p. 411.

¹¹² For an account of the removal of the records see the history cited above in Note 106.

¹¹³ *The North-West Tribune*, December 5, 1884.

¹¹⁴ Issue of October 8, 1885.

“Two saw mills are running in sight of town, and many cannot build for want of lumber.

“There are three stores, three saloons, two blacksmith shops, one gunsmith shop, one brewery, three feed stables, two butcher shops, two restaurants, a barber shop, printing office, at the present time, and more branches of business will be represented as soon as parties can build.

“The ore in the Old Dominion proves richer as they go down.”¹¹⁵

J. ORIN OLIPHANT.

¹¹⁵ *The North-West Tribune*, October 29, 1885.