

Lieut. Carr and pack train did not arrive today. Heard today of the guard being inattentive last night. Arranged to have guard duty gone more formally, than heretofore, and to bring the delinquents to punishment. The adjt. & officer of the day attended at guard mount. Went round with the officer of the day to see the position of sentinels, etc.

Finished the translation of the Father's letter this morning and brought up this diary.

Saturday, August 9th, '56. Michelle did not come back for flour, and has therefore gone. Lieut Carr, 9th Infy. and five men of I Co. 9th with a small pack train arrived here to-day. I received a letter from Mrs. Haller quite a number of orders and letters from district hd-qrs. The orders directed the establishing of winter qrs. for 4 camps each, at the Walla Walla, or its tributary by Col. Steptoe, and in the Simcoe by Maj. Garnett. Designated Capt. Russell's company for Walla Walla, also Dr. Randolph.

Another order directs about pack animals, etc. for Lt. Carr and when they shall return, etc.

Another ^{grants} ~~wants~~ 7 days leave to Capt. Patterson.

Letters acknowledge the receipt of my report, the recovery of the Howitzer, etc.

Lt. Carr brings a rumor that Capt. Patterson & Archer's companies will be wintered at the Simcoe, and that Capt. Dent will go to the Cascades, Maj. Luginbeel be quartered at the Dalles, and no post has been designated for me, as yet.

Received by pack train the keg of whiskey which on examination proved to have been opened. Found the keg only contained about 2 gallons. Also received the bag of clothing and Lt. Dearing's things in good order. My box of oysters did not come.

Lieut. Carr brought ~~needed~~ many papers but we received no news in them of great importance.

Sunday Augt. 10th '56 Rose early to give my tent to Father Pandosy (sic) for early Mass, when he came and went to Capt. Russell's place and took

an early nap until breakfast.

Lt. Dearing sent off today an express to the Simcoe (sic) by an Indian. I wrote to Lt. Douglas to ask about the whiskey and oysters. He will bring an answer on the 12th, Tuesday.

Wrote a letter today for Mrs. Haller in answer to hers, to have it ready for an express.

Spent the day quietly, and it seemed more like a Sunday to me than any previous one, out in the field.

Monday

~~Sunday~~, August 11th 1856. Had the police under my immediate direction and ordered them to complete the removal of brush around the camp, where the avenue was intended. The work was well attended to.

Amused myself a little with the composition of a letter on the present war in opposition to Gen. Wool's representations.

Read

~~Received~~ a letter in Washington's writings.

Tuesday, August 12, 1856. The police attended to the camp and carried off the accumulations of dirt.

This evening the Indians returned from the Simcoe and brought an answer to my letter. Found Capt. Fletcher had disturbed my whiskey, and Lts. Wickliff & Turner the oysters, the rest of the oysters were there at the fort yet, but no opportunity offered now to send them.

Wednesday August 13th Wrote a letter to day; one letter to Lt. Douglass about my oysters and commenced one to Geo. Gibbs.

Leshi came up while writing and I asked him if he knew Mr. Gibbs and he said he did. I told him I was writing to him and would mention him. He then told me that there was a Frenchman's daughter in his lodge, ~~and that~~ and that his name was LeTool (LeTours) and the girl's name (Agnes), and I should tell Mr. Gibbs about it. He proposed to carry over a paper to tell all about it if I wished, or rather if I wrote to that effect he would send the girl and paper over to the sound.

Read a little in Washington's writings and wrote a little to my public letter.

Thursday, August 14th, 1856. An Indian who was going to the Sim-coe with his family called today to get my letter to Lt. Douglass which I finished and dated today. It was a jocoise reply to his and asking him to get the money for the whiskey and oysters, and remit to me.

Wrote out a fresh letter to Mr. Gibbs later today, giving a few ideas in relation to our position, and stating it was General ~~xx~~ Wool's orders to do, and not Col. Wright's wishes that we had no fighting. Told about the Father (Pandoza (sic) being here, and about Leschi and the girl.

This evening the Father called to know what it was that the Indians talked about. He was told that a letter from Puget Sound had just come with all the Indians names in it, and that I had called a council of officers to know if I should answer the letter, etc. That I wanted the girl to be brought in, etc. They feared that matters were not yet adjusted, and that they might have yet to answer for some offences. These fears arose by my showing Capt. Archer the letter from Gibbs, and immediately after called the officers together to take a toddy, and then we chatted together, after which I wrote to Gibbs and while writing Leschi, who was present, was asked about the name of the girl again and who had refused to come to camp.

Borrowed from Lt. Carr the Memoirs of S.S. Prentiss to read. Read a couple of chapters. Sat at the fire this evening, until late.

^{fri}Tuesday, August 15th, 1856 . This is a fete day with the Catholics and the Father had services this morning in camp.

Two American horses were brought in today by Why-nah-shet, a good Indian who found them at the Nachess Pass. They seemed to be Volunteers horses. Both had shoes on.

Sent for Father Pandosy (sic) to talk with Leschi, and, when he came, opened a talk. Explained to Leschi the letter business, told him that if mattered ~~did~~ not what might happen, as long as he was with the soldiers, the words of Col. Wright was good, his word was like the sun, it kept in its place, all the time and he would know where to find it if it ever changed out of place.

again, if an officer wanted a thing to be done, it was sufficient for him to tell the chief, and it should be done. I had asked to have that girl brought to camp and she had not come yet. I did not ask if she wanted to come, but said I wanted to see her and I expected to see her today as early as possible too. As Lt. Carr interpreted the French for me and was going out riding until 12 o'clock we fixed upon noon as the hour for the girl to be in camp, in order to obtain her history.

In the evening received a note from Father Pandosy saying the girl was sewing socks for the packers, and he was suffering from a sun stroke, so could not come down.

Concluded to retire early, having given up all hopes of the mail and Capt. Russell, when lot, the mail alone came in.

Friday Aug. 15th. Received by express a letter from Mrs. H. and one from Ellen, a newspaper from Uncle Welsh. An order to discharge Mr. Carter, a letter from Ordn. Dept. about my returns for 1st ~~quadr~~ qr being ~~xxx~~ rec. etc. an order from Col. Wright about K Co. 4th Infy. leaving a00 in time to be at the Topinish on the 20th an account of Lamb^s. ~~Ex~~ Giddings showing that Dr. Simons was improperly dismissed, and the opinions of distinguished lawyers on the case, also several newspapers.

Ahead until a late hour and then went to sleep.

Saturday Augt 16th '56. Finished my letters one for Geo. Gibbs which with the letters to Mrs. Haller that I completed also Ellen's letter and a letter for Mrs. Gee to have the postage paid 39 ~~cedd~~ cts. which he turned over to me. I enclosed in an envelope to Mrs. Haller.

Wrote to Maj. Alvord, pay mr. to send a duplicate of my check to Messrs. Gales and Seaton and enclosed him the letter.

Received by this express, saying my letter came but not the enclosure. Wrote to these editors saying I sent through the major a duplicate of the first draft.

Sent these to Qr Mr 's office to be mailed. Wrote at night to Col. Wright giving him an idea of our position here. That today I discovered

Louis Fooshe had attempted yesterday to do violence to Leshi's wife, and I had confined him to examine further tomorrow. That these chiefs had ~~chiefs~~ had reported some Indians recently from the Wenashaha River, as, in their opinion, Oarbe (Saturday Aug. 16th continued) ing hostile and were overheard making their plans to beg powder from me. The chiefs wanted me to seize them, but I told them we had shown our friendship by our acts now then acts ought to prove them to us. If these were bad Indians about they ought to seize and whip them and if necessary ~~then~~ then turn them over to me to be imprisoned. I wished the Indians to be compromised and while we checked this conduct of our enemies, Kamiaken and others could not say it was the troops abusing ~~them~~.x their friends on pretence of their being enemies but have evidence of its being Indian work.

I stated too that I could not get over my suspicions that Michelle was only a spy for our enemies. That he had first come in with a story of 5 lodges having left Owhi and that Owhi, Teias, Kamiaken, Skluhm, and Show-away had gone to Colville, but he did not know if the party of 5 lodges who had encamped at his place at the Priest 's Rapids were our friends or not, nor what it was that induced these chiefs to go up to Colville. In fact I think he would gladly put us off our guard telling us these chiefs are far away when in fact they are near us and may perhaps visit later some mischief. I also wrote about Laloure's daughter, Agnes, who is here, unknowantx to her father, a Frenchman, who is a citizen, living near Steillacoom,

Sunday, August 17th Mr. Haynes called early (6 o'clock) for my letter to the colonel and left for the Dalles.

It being Friday Father Pandosy (sic) used my tent for service and visited me at an earlier hour than usual.

Arranged and wrote out the order for the movement, tomorrow, of K Co . 4th Infy. the doctor, the Qr. Mr. Stores, the useless packers etc.

Had interviews with Indians, one of whom came last night from the Wenatsha One was Michelle who asked for flour and bacon, but then wanted

sugar and soap.

Had the officers together and imbibed in a drink. This had been the case daily since my whiskey arrived.

Wrote up my journal, which the mail matter(4) one word) had a letter.

I forgot to mention that Lt. Dearing yesterday and I settled our accounts as follows. He has paid for my Compy bills for June 25.55 for July 5.51 Total \$31.06 He owed me on Dr. Randolph's account \$12.50 and I paid him cash 3.50 and an order on Mrs. Haller at the Dalles \$15.00
\$18.50
 \$31.00

I owe Capt. Russell yet for my mess bill while staying at his mess which I have asked to be sent to Mrs. Haller when it is ascertained, and she will pay it.

Ordered Louis Forsh a packer, to Fort Simcoe, in charge of K Co. as a prisoner charged with positive violation of standing orders of camp.

Sunday August 17th contined Wrote a letter to Major Garnett of 9th Infy enclosing the muster and pay roll of Forshi, giving an account of his offence and asking him to be sent to Dalles for dismissal if he deemed it inefficient to punish him otherwise, and called attention to the fact of the witness being Indians. I also expressed my want of confidence in the honesty of Michelle, of Priest's Rapids, in his professions of friendship.

The officers all came to my tent this evening and we took a parting drink with Dr. Randolph, but Lt. Dearing ~~was~~ did not drink, he having signed a pledge for three months.

The ~~doctor~~ doctor turned over to me three papers of medicine to be used in case of simple illness, thus making me the doctor for the time we remain here. Lt. Allen called and received a blue moss pill, he being my first patient.

Being Sunday I did not, beyond what is required, do much - looked over newspapers a little at leisure moments.

Monday August 18th '56 Lt. Dearing and Dr. Randolph came early and bid me good bye. Com'y. K 4th Infy and the parties designated left today. Had the police immediately clean up the camp where they had lived.

Having gotten out my things for messing and employed Codahy as my cook I resumed my mess and breakfasted for the first (Monday continued) time in my own bower. Father Pandosy continues with me as a messmate .

Had an unusual quantity of time consumed today in listening to and talking with Indians, Chesusken, Catholot & Leshi it seems yesterday tied up an Indian who had been talking impudently and who was suspected to be an enemy. But he convinced them of his sincerity etc. and came to assure me too. The Priest's Rapids old chief, Mes-sow-wee by name--it means a root--also came and speaks unfavorably of Michelle, who had spoken against him, Father Pandosy and the Indian who showed us the Howitzer.

One Indian has two very pretty horses. The bay horse was the fleetist but I took a fancy to the cream colored horse and offered \$75 for it. He wanted \$100.

Lt. Carr, 9th Infy. kindly brought over some newspapers for me to read and after the Father who staid to a very late hour, Capt. Archer and all had gone off, I returned to bed and took up Senator H~~OO~~ Hunter 's speech in reply to the Mass. Resolution in regard to the Summer Assault and in defence of his Native State, Virginia. His eloquence is facinating but his arguments ar so clear that I deem it adviseable to take notes to meet in the future the dogmas of the abolitionists etc. I was so much interested that I read it through although it was very late and resolved in the morning to collate the main facts.

Notes of Senator Hunter's (Virginia) speech.

History proves that slavery was fastened on Virginia ~~ggainst~~ her remonstrance by the British Govt. History ~~shows that~~ and Sumner confesses the complicity of his state, that the slaves were sold to Virg. in great part by old and New England. Surely the buyer could not be more responsible than the seller. Slavery is of long standing and the Virginians are no

responsible for it than their accusers.

He argues very truly, if the negro were turned loose tomorrow then there would be a struggle for subsistence and either the Black man would perish from want, because the stronger white man would monopolise or at least acquire sufficient for their increasing wants, or else leave the country in the hands of the blacks and then fall back to their original barbarism. We know this from the experience which has been tried in England, in the West India Islands.

On the other hand, the Slavery of the South presents 3,000,000 Africans, who exhibit a greater degree of progress and improvement, of happiness and virtue than the same number who can be found under any other govt. Now, if this relation inures to the benefit of the white and black races, and to destroy it would effect a conc (?) injury to each, it follows that the institution is justified, and it is the duty of the South to keep it as it is.

Slavery is in the very least possible (sic) position and all human affairs are imperfect, even in the great scheme of creation, the work of the Almighty, evil exists--all we can do the best under the circumstances.

There are as many outside of the Slave States desiring profits and existence from the process of (Senator Hunter's speech) slave labor as are to be found in them. Nearly or quite 3,000,000 of British subjects depend on slave grown cotton for their subsistence--the recent declaration of the Manchester peace society. Now ^{add} ~~add~~ the number who depend on the other slave grown staples, not only in England but in Europe~~x~~ and in the Free ~~States~~ States. It is reasonable then to believe that more depend for their existence on the institution of slavery and its profits outside than in the Slave States. That Massachusetts is more interested in the profits of Slave Labor and subsists as many or a larger number than either Maryland or Missouri.

Not only this but those who make slavery profitable by creating a demand for its products are as much responsible for slavery as the

masters of them. The deadliest blow that could be dealt to slavery would be to refuse the products. Old England and New England can check it with this negative pecuniary expense, but it would cost the South not merely money but their social and political happiness.

Sumner 's philissoic against Virgn. and N.Carol. had not the poor (?) of originality, he had borrowed it of Maccauly, yet this Scotchman was using it at a time he urged with success, the repudiation of the discriminating duty on slave grown sugar thus that subjects were to be profited by their labor of slaves.

(Extract of Hunter's speech continued)

"He holds the commission of Virginia but he does not represent that early Virg. so dear to our hearts, which gave us the pen of Jefferson by which the equality of men and declared and the sword of Washington by which Independence was secured, but he represents that other

Virg. from which Washington and Jefferson now avert(?) their faces, where human beings are bred as cattle for the shambles, and where a ~~Virginian~~ dungeon rewards the pious matron who teaches little children to believe their bondage in reading the Book of Life. It is proper that such a Senator (Mr. Mason) representing such a state, should rail against free Kansas.

Old and new England should not reproach the South for slavery, as they are just as responsible. In the first instance they sold ~~to~~ the slaves and the South bought him. Now the South sell his products and they buy. The complicity is the same, the process is reversed. He commends the judgment of him.

"Who sent the thief that stole the gold away. Who punished him who put it in his way? If there is guilty in this relation of master and slave, they are equally responsible, and the reproach and guilt are equal. But he has shown there really is no guilt in either but the wrong consists in these converting the institution into a reproach.

He shows in very pretty language that in selling slaves as chattels and taking them from one state to another; that individual cases may be selected, in which hardship and misery may be shown, but in the history of the emigration of the whites, we find as many individual instances of misery and suffering, as many cases of separation between members of the same family, as we do amongst the slaves. He thinks the emigrants from the ~~Southern~~ Sutherland property, in Scotland, (Mr. Maccauly's own country) was as involuntary in ~~its~~ the movement and as sad in the consequences to those who make it as any slave case. In the crowded population of the Old World he believes we could find instances of emigration forced by circumstances which would harrow the heart fully as deeply as any slave story.

Emigration seems to be a necessity for improvement --every race that has ever made improvement in the history of man has had facilities and means for emigrating. The stronger races satisfy this necessity by armed emigration, the weaker are made to do it by forced emigration; and history shows that the African has performed his share of the process from an age beyond the date of the pyramids. He pursues now some of the very routes he then traveled as if traced out for him by some exorable law of nature.

When population begins to press on the means of subsistence the slave's removal from a place where his labor pays but little to one in which it pays more, not only to the master but himself although it seems hard he must emigrate at the will of another instead of his own, yet servitimize (?) closed the process and we find that the line of emigration he pursues accordingly to the laws of trade is precisely that line which he would take if he were to follow only his own interests. Emigration has mitigated the condition of the slave. The moment his labor becomes cheap in our region and he gets a smaller share of the profits of his labor, he is transferred to another where the profits are greater, any where of course he gets a larger share and where in the end he receives more consideration. Stop the trade tomorrow and it would inflict the greatest curse of the slave that could be inflicted. Pen him up in his state and

must ~~perish~~ either perish, when population ^{presses} ~~presses~~ too hard upon the means of subsistence, and his sufferings brings him into collision with the stronger White man, or else the whites leave the country in the negro's hands.

"Sir, in regard to Mass. she is not only glad to receive our assistance in the Revoln. when we both hold and sold slaves but she was willing to admit us into the same family with herself. The men of that day, the men of the ~~revolutionary~~ Revolutionary generation, who covered the name of Mass. with glory, the generation which produced the heroes of Concord and Lexington, and Bunker Hill, and gave birth to the sages that illustrated the revolutionary councils was not only willing but glad to receive Virg. into a family alliance. They were willing to enter into an association by which they bound themselves to put down insurrection in the States by which they bound themselves to give a certain representation for the slaves by which they would themselves to restore the fugitive slave. And here it is to be remembered that the covenants which they entered into the men of that day always kept under these circumstances after they invited us into the family alliance, I ask if it is fair, if it is rightfull, if it is honorable in their descendants to use the common hall provided for our common deliberations for the purpose of abusing and vituperating us on account of that very state of things of which they had knowledge and cognizance when they entered into the union with us. I ask if they are not estopped by their own deed.

"Now, Mr. President, we hear a new doctrine. We are told that the men of the present day are not to be held responsible for the men of that generation, which is branded by one of their descendants with turpitude. "It is the Senator from Mass who says "'Is the acknowledged turpitude of a departed generation to become an example of us?'" Thus they are not content with hurling accusations against us, but they brand with turpitude the memory of their ancestors who entered into those bonds by which they became

members of the great family of States, to which Virginia too belongs. Sir, if I am to choose between the generation which gave birth to the heroes and sages of whom I have spoken, and the men who now cast shame on their graves, I say, let me rather communion with the memories of ~~these~~ than walk in the living presence of these. If I am to choose between those heroes and sages as I said before who entered into a covenant to restore the fugitive slave, and who kept it and these latter day saints, who whilst they claim all the benefits of the bond for themselves, refuse to execute their part of the compact because they have discovered some higher law of obligation, which dispenses with the obligation of their oaths to support the Constitution and discharge its duties, I say let me associate with the ^{those} men who made that covenant and kept it, in preference to ~~those~~ who are breaking it. If I am to choose between the generation of men who under the guarantee of treaties under the sanction of laws, transferred the African from a worse to a better condition, and those who in violation of the law ~~next~~ and the Constitution, steal away the southern slave and transfer him from a better to a worse condition, let me live with the first rather than with the last. If we have enjoyed the respect and affection of that generation which covered the name of Mass. with glory, we may live under the taunts of those who strike at the very memory of their fathers because it is only through them that they may aim a blow at us.

... ..

But Mr. President, as I said before it is not my purpose to eulogize my native state. Neither the Senator from Massachusetts nor I by taking thought can diminish or increase by a single cubit the proportions of her stature. There she stands; and it is for history, not for me to speak of her..."

Tuesday, August 19th, 1856 Nothing of importance or worth nothing occurred today. The Indian came in tonight who saw Lt. Dearing's command at the Attanham Creek this noon.

Wednesday August 20th 56. Sergt. Compton and Sgt. Maler of Co, C, 9th Infy. came in last night from Ft. Dalles. The sergt. had gone with Capt. Patterson to look after the Compy. property for which Lt. Howard was going to receipt as the captain was leaving the country. The other joined from Ft. Dalles.

This evening it appeared that the two horses ridden out by Capt. Archer and Lt. Carr today were not in the corral. The captain ~~had~~ sent a message to Lt. Howard AAQM saying that he had not come in with the herd and he would be glad if he (the Lt) would send out a herder to drive them in. Lt. Howard seemed to have taken offence at the message or rather the imaginary idea of being considered the chief herder, and sent back a message that he was not their herder. Capt. Archer called and asked me to give an order for the herders to get in the missing animals, saying that he and Lt. Carr after riding had left the horses ~~xx~~ loose in sight of the herd and that he thought they of course would join it but they did not and now it was necessary to get them in and the herders only had their horses ready to do it, I gave the order by Lt. Allen adjt and soon after they were brought in. I also met Lt. Howard and gave an order about the herder ~~staying~~ staying with all day with the herd and not leave it for their dinner and other excuses.

This led to the matter of Capt. Archer and he went on to say that officers must do so and so; they shall receipt for their animals or they shall not touch them while he was responsible, using oaths and very emphatic language. I told him it was too late to begin such plans etc. that he could not have understood the message to him and that things would go on as they had, for if there was a change it would be to relieve him of the duty. He said he wished to be relieved that he would be no man's herder. I asked him then to drop the matter, for if he made the request in the morning

I would relieve him.

In the evening I told Lt. Carr & Allen to arrange it between them who would take the duty, for in the morning I would order the change, and I thought it one of the senior to offer him the position but he could decline it if he thought he would rather not discharge the duties of AAQM and AACS. (Thursday August 21 1856)

Lt. Howard asked to be relieved and I ordered Lt. Allen to relieve him in the duties as Lt. Carr declined the appointment.

Friday August 22d 1856. Today Lt. Howard paid me for the company fund \$3.90 for 6 1/2 pounds sperm candles. I had only 75 cents change of my own so borrowed of Sgt. McGarvey 35 cents to make the change on a \$5. gold piece.

Sergt. Fitzgerald of I Co. 9th Infy. and the packers returned today from Maj. Garnett's camp whether they were sent to get stores etc. belonging to this camp. I received a box containing 1 doz. oysters and a letter from Lt. Douglass 9th Infy. enclosing \$15.00 for 1 doz oysters taken out by Lt. Piper's mess and Lt. Wickliff's. His as usual was ~~xxxxx~~ a humorous letter.

Pvt. Berry ed having been very much troubled with toothache and having a swollen cheek I allowed him and Pvt. Donoghue 1st to go this morning to the Topinish, there to get his tooth extracted and then return to camp. I charged them to ride slowly and to take two days in going.

Saturday Augt. 23rd. I have spent most of the past week in reading the memoirs of Sergeant Smith Prentiss of Miss., 1st vol. by his brother and debate in Congress and Parliament etc. from the newspapers. I have so written very little.

This night an express came in from Fort. Simcoe bringing me an answer from Col. Wright to my last report, some blank post returns, a letter from Capt. Russell, a long letter from home and an order from Col. Morris to discharge Carter.