

When Palmer addressed the council he said: ~~"I too like the ground where I was born. I left it because it was for my own good. I have come a long way."~~
 "We do not come to steal your land. We pay you more than it is worth. There is the Umatilla Valley that affords a little good land between two streams and all around it is a parched up plain. What is it worth to you, what is it worth to us? Not half what we have offered you for it. ~~"Why do we offer so much? Because our Great Father told us to take care of his red people."~~

Kip wrote that all but the Nez Perce were disinclined to the treaty and added: "It was melancholy to see their reluctance to abandon the old hunting grounds of their fathers and their impotent struggle against the overpowering influence of the whites."

Before the council closed that fateful day Stevens spoke again, asserting:

"...Kamiakin the great chief of the Yakimas has not spoken at all. ~~His~~ people have no voice here today. He is not ashamed to speak? He is not afraid to speak? Then speak out. Owhi is afraid to lest God be angry at his selling his land. ~~Owhi, my brother, I do not think God will be angry with you if you do your best for yourself and your children. Ask yourself this question, will not God be angry with me if I neglect this opportunity to do them good? But Owhi says his people are not here. "Why then did he tell us to come hear our talk?" I do not want to be ashamed of him. Owhi has the~~

~~at of his people. We expect him to speak out. We expect to hear from~~
~~Hiakin and from Skloom.~~ The treaty will have to be drawn up tonight. You
 can see it tomorrow. The Nez Perces must not be put off any longer. You can
 see it tomorrow. ~~The Nez Perces must not be put off any longer.~~ This business
 must be dispatched."

So the council adjourned to reconvene ~~Friday~~, June 8, when Stevens and Palmer
 talked again addressing the chiefs who refused to ~~agree to~~ ~~accept~~ the treaty.

About this Kip wrote: "He told them as they do not wish to go on the Nez
 Perces Reservation he would offer them another reservation which would ~~sub~~
 embrace part of the lands on which they were now living. After this offer had
 been clearly explained to them and considered, all acceded to it except
 one tribe, the Yakimas.

"It seemed as if we were getting on charmingly and the end of all
 difficulties ~~when~~ ~~were~~ ~~at~~ hand when suddenly a new explosive element
 dropped into this little political caldron. Just before the council
 adjourned a runner arrived with news that Looking Glass, the War chief
 of the Nez Perces was coming. Governor Stevens and General Palmer went
 out to meet them... Looking Glass without dismounting from his horse made
 a short and violent speech, which I afterwards learned was as I suspected,
 an expression of his indignation of their selling the country."

Kip's journal continues:

"Saturday, June 9th. This morning the old chief, Lawyer, came down and took breakfast with us. The Council did not meet till 3 o'clock and matters seemed to have reached a crisis. The treaty must either be soon accepted, or the tribes will separate in hopeless bad feeling. On the strength of the assent yesterday given by all the tribes, except the Yakimas, the papers were drawn up ~~at~~ and brought into the Council to be ^{signed} ~~presented~~ by the principal chiefs. Governor Stevens once ^{more} ~~more~~--for Looking Glass' benefit,--explained the principal points in the treaty, and among other things told them there would be three reservations--the Cayuses, the Walla Walla and the Umatillas, to be placed upon one, the Nez Perces on another--and the Yakimas on the third, and that they were not to be removed to these reservations for two or three years. Looking Glass refused to sign it, which had such an effect," Kip wrote, "that not only the Nez Perces but all other tribes then arose and made a strong speech against the treaty...and the Council was adjourned until Monday." In the meanwhile it is supposed the Commissioners will bring some cogent arguments to bear upon Looking Glass and induce him to accede.

"Sunday, June 10th. We understand there has been great excitement through the camps today. The Nez Perces have been all day long holding a council among themselves, and it is represented, the proposition has been made to

appoint Looking Glass head chief over Lawyer. Yesterday, while Looking Glass was speaking Lawyer left the Council which many of them are disposed to regard as the surrender of his place. ~~Should this proposition be carried into effect it would be given a quietus to the treaty.~~

"Monday, June 11th. Before breakfast we had a visit from Lawyer with some other Indians. At 10 o'clock the Council met, Governor Stevens opened it with a short speech, at the close of which he asked the chiefs to come forward and sign the papers. This they all did without the least opposition. What he had been doing with Looking Glass since last Saturday we cannot imagine, but we suppose the savage nature in the wilderness is the same as civilized nature was in England in Walpole's day and "every man has his price." ~~After this was over the presents which General Palmer had brought with him were distributed, and the Council like other legislative bodies adjourned.~~

Such was the journal of an Army officer who three years later participated in the campaign with Colonel George Wright ^{East of the Columbia} ~~in the Palouse~~ where the Battle of Four Lakes was fought, and then in the Battle of Spokane Plains, that terminated hostilities.

The voluminous "Official Proceedings at the Council ~~held at the Council Ground in the Walla Walla Valley with the Yakima Nation of Indians~~" gives a detailed account, ~~filling in many of the omissions of Kip's Journal.~~

Under entry of May 28 it is stated: "At 11 a. m. Kamiakun, Owhi and Skloom, Yakima chiefs came... ~~But few of their people accompanied them as it is the season for digging roots and catching salmon.~~ The Yakimas were also accompanied by delegates from the Pahwanwappam, Pisquouse, Wenatshapam and Palouse ~~Indians~~, all tribes or bands acknowledging Kamaikun as their head chief.

"~~Governor Stevens addressed them, welcoming them; offering them provisions as his friends and guests; and inviting them to meet tomorrow in Council at this place and hear what the Commissioners wished to say...~~

"The next day, the Yakima chiefs attended and listened to an explanation of the objects had in view by the government in proposing to treat with them. They continued to attend from day to day and Governor Stevens stated to them fully the terms of the Treaty.

"The Yakima chiefs made no reply...until the 8th day of June when upon

the request of Governor Stevens that he would speak his mind Kamaiakun spoke briefly saying, in effect, that many of his people had left their country, some had gone to the Calapooya *(in Oregon)* country, some to Nisqually and some to the Taih. He wished the Americans to settle in his country on the Waggon Road. He spoke for his people, not for himself alone. He wished no goods for himself. He was tired talking and waiting here and wished to get back to his garden.

"Skloom and Owhi spoke but only in a general manner, and the Council adjourned, it being understood that the Yakama chiefs had determined to return home the next day.

"In the evening Governor Stevens had a lengthy interview with Skloom which did not result in anything conclusive, but in the morning, June 9th, at an early morning hour, Kamaiakun visited Governor Stevens and announced his determination to return home that day; ~~Stevens~~ Stevens endeavored to convince him that it was better to reflect upon the course he, the head chief of his nation was about to pursue; whether it would result in good or evil to his people...

"Kamaiakun said he was tired of hearing so much talking; he himself did not wish to be head chief; but since they all said he must talk, must be the chief; well let it be so. He would now speak. He would make the

treaty proposed; he liked the reservation and wished to collect there his people; they were much scattered. ~~He then gave a statement of Indian tribes and bands who considered him their head chief, viz: The Yakimas proper, the Palouse, Pisquouse, Okinakanes and Methows and Pshwanwappam and all the bands on the Columbia below the Umatilla as far as the White Salmon River and these he would undertake to govern.~~ He was satisfied with the reservation in his country, but desired a small piece of land at the place called Wenatshapam where the Indians take many fish--for the Pisquouse & Metho^{WS}. He wished the papers written so that he might sign them today and go home...

"Kamaikun was present at the general council during the day but did not speak; and in the evening and immediately after the adjournment of the Council he called upon Governor Stevens for the Treaty and signed it; Owhi and Skloom did the same, as did also the Palouse chief, Kahlatoose, and all the chiefs present named by Kamaiakun as being under his jurisdiction. Several chiefs of the bands at Dalles and above, who were in attendance during the first days of the council, had returned home to catch their usual supply of salmon, these Kamaiakun said, as also all he had named, would sign the treaty whenever it was presented to them if Governor Stevens thought it necessary.

"The Treaty was then duly witnessed and the Council with the Yakimas

declared adjourned.

"On Monday the 11th, the goods, presents for the Yakamas were portioned ~~out and Kamaikun~~ ^{out and} although he would not take any goods for himself superintended the division among his people.

"Kamaikun said he had never taken goods from the whites as presents; he did not wish them now but when the Treaty was pronounced good by the President then he would live on the Yakima Reservation and accept ^{his} share of the annuities and other payments."

There were several significant statements made at the Council.

When he was invited to speak on June 4, Kamaikun said:

"I have something different to say than the others said. It is young men who have spoken; I have been afraid of the white men, their doings are different than ours. Your chiefs are good, perhaps you have spoken straight, that your children will do what is right, let them do as they have promised. This is all I have to say."

~~When he addressed the council June 5, Governor Stevens said, in the course of a long speech:~~

"You will be allowed to pasture your animals on land not claimed or occupied by settlers, white men. You will be allowed to go on the roads to take your things to market, your horses and cattle. You will be allowed to go to the usual fishing places and fish in common with the whites and to get roots and berries and to kill game ~~on the~~ on the land not

occupied by the whites; all this outside the reservation."

When he spoke, Owhi, ~~one~~ of the Yakima ~~chiefs~~, said:

"God gave us day and night, the night to rest in, and the day to see, and that as long as the earth shall last, he gave us the morning ~~with~~ our with our breath; and so he takes care ^{of us} on this earth; and here we have met under His care. Is the earth before the day or the day before the earth? God was before the earth, ~~the heavens were clear and good and all things in the heaven were good.~~ God looked one way then and the other and named our lands for us to take care of. ~~God made the other.~~ ^{We} did not make the other, ~~we did not make it,~~ ^{He} made it to last forever. It is the earth that is our parent or it is God is our elder brother. This leads the Indian to ask where does this talk come from that you have been giving us. ~~God made this earth and it listens to Him to know what He would decide. The Almighty made us and gave us breath; we are talking together and God hears all that we say today. God looks down upon his children today as if we were all in one body. He is going to make one body of us.~~ ~~we Indians present have listened to your talk as if it came from God.~~

"God named this land to us that is the reason I am afraid to say anything about this land. I am afraid of the laws of the Almighty, this is the reason I am afraid to speak of the land. I am afraid of the Almighty that that is the reason of my heart being sad, ~~this is the reason I cannot~~

~~give you an answer. I am afraid of the Almighty. Shall I steal this land and sell it? Or what shall I do? This is the reason my heart is sad.~~

"My friends, God made our bodies from the earth as if they were different from the whites. What shall I do. Shall I give the lands that are a part of my body and leave myself poor and destitute? ~~Shall I say I will give you my body and land? I cannot say. I am afraid of the Almighty.~~

"I love my life is the reason why I do not give my lands away. ~~I am afraid I would be sent to hell. I love my friends. This is the reason why I do not give away my lands. I have one more word to say.~~

"My people are far away, they do not know your words, this is the reason why I cannot ~~give~~ give you an answer now. I show you my heart, this is all I have to say."

When Skloom spoke, he ~~said~~ said:

"What I have to say is about this the earth; it is long since the earth was made and the trees were made to grow out, and there was one there a very small boy, I do not know what he knew but he took an axe and cut a tree and made it as if he had made a watch, he went to the tree and looked up and saw a star, he took a line and measured the land from that tree; all the land he measured he plowed; about halfway on the line he threw the tree across. For this country that he plowed up he got \$800 for each mile; that is the reason the Indians like the place where they have their gardens;

~~for the reason there was such a price paid for them; the land uncultivated~~
~~where there are no gardens is not worth so much; it might be sold for \$40~~
~~a mile.~~ "hy should I speak a great deal? We are not bargaining for lots, you
know your own country above, you select your piece of land and pay a price
for it. My friends, I have understood what you have said; when you give me
what is just for my land you shall have it."

Stevens left the ~~Walla Walla~~ Council grounds with his party of 22 and on the east bank of the Missoula River--seven and one-half miles northwest of present Missoula--met the Flathead, Upper Pend d'Oreille and Kutenai tribes, concluding a treaty with them July 16. This ceded 25,000 square miles of land.

On October 16 he met with three Blackfoot tribes and others near the mouth of Judith River where a treaty was signed the next day. Before he could return to treat with the Spokane, Colville and Coeur d'Alene a courier reached him bringing word of the outbreak of war.

Stevens never lived to write a history of the treaty, beset as he was by administrative duties, but his son Hazard Stevens wrote the two volume Life of General Isaac I. Stevens, in later years. General Stevens was killed at the Battle of Chantilly, Virginia in the Civil War, when he was 44 years old.

Doty, his secretary who made advance preparations for the Council of Walla Walla and met the chiefs in the Yakima country, killed himself at Olympia two years later, shooting himself through the head, an action that was not immediately explained.

Palmer returned to Dayton, Oregon and from there wrote that "an extensive country has been purchased and is now open to settlement, The very thing the treaty chiefs had feared was taking place. That was on July 6 before the outbreak of war.

Stevens, writing the same month to the superintendent of Indian affairs stated:

"By an express provision of the treaty the country embraced in the cession and included in the reservation is open to settlement. Citizens are requested to apply to sub-agent A.J. Bolon." A similar notice was published in the Umpqua, ^{Oregon,} Gazette.

~~He signed a voucher for publication of the treaty with the Yakima Indians. It was printed from July 19 to September 19 at a cost of \$66.07.~~

The treaty had been signed, but certainly not with the free will of the chiefs. And though signed the Yakima country, instead of being protected against incursions of settlers and gold hunters was overrun with those questing for bright metal or tall bunchgrass. Settlement was encouraged and of course the Yakima felt their homes were to be torn from them as ^{occurred} ~~had been~~ south of the Columbia.

The inevitable took place as ~~T. Ross~~ Browne wrote in his official report:

"A war took place--an expensive and disastrous war from the effects of which the territories will suffer for many years.

"...It was a war of destiny--bound to take place whenever the causes reached their culminating point..."

Before this, Kamiakin, ~~by the written record~~, was a staunch friend of the King George Men and the ^Boston Men--the English and the Americans. He was compelled to become a war chief ^{by circumstance}, and emerged a martyr ~~of his race, misunderstood~~ ~~by many but eternally revered by his people.~~

It is not logical that Kamiakin believed that the Yakima victory over two companies of Army regulars, in a battle that commenced October 3, 1855 on Toppenish Creek southeast of Fort Simcoe State Park, would be repeated in encounters that were sure to follow. Nor ~~is~~ is it logical to believe that he thought the ^{overwhelming} defeat of the blue coated troops at Steptoe Butte, May 16-17, 1858 (the battle of Tohotonimme) in which he stood with his warriors side by side with the Coeur d'Alenes, Spokanes and Palouse, would be a lasting victory.

Owhi's speech, showing how he felt about the ~~Earth~~ sacred Earth, may explain why Kamiakin pursued the course he did, knowing it could have but one ending. The faith of the Yakima leaders was in the Earth. ~~Then the inevitable confronted them they had no fear of dying and becoming, as they told Governor Stevens a part of the Earth.~~

^{at the Treaty Council}

Kamiakin spoke plainly, and everyone heard him. He spoke clearly and everyone understood him ^{when he} ~~at the treaty. He~~ told Stevens:

"Your chiefs are good, perhaps you have spoken straight, that your children will do right. Let them

There are many letters and documents concerning the causes of the Yakima War. They have been hidden by the years.

One was written by Father Jean Charles Pandosy O.M.I. at the Antanum Mission while Kamiakin stood by dictating a message to the soldiers, less than two months after the treaty.

"Write to the soldiers," Kamiakin spoke, and Father Pandosy wrote.

"Tell them we are quiet friend(s) of (the) American, that we are not thinking of war. The way the governor (Stevens) has talked to us and the Cayuse has irritated us.

"If the governor had told us, 'my children I am asking you (for a) piece of land (for) each tribe, but the land and your country is still yours, we would have given willingly , and we would have lived with the others as brothers.

"But he has taken us and thrown us out of our country in a strange land among a people who is our enemy, in a place where its people do not even ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ have enough to eat.

"Then we have said, now we know perfectly the heart of the Americans. They hanged us without knowing if we are right or wrong; but they have ~~xxxx~~ never killed or hanged one American, though there is no place where an American has not killed savages...

Publicized, ~~by historians~~ ^{by May}

And it is Regrettable they have not been publicized more extensively x

There are many letters and documents ~~that historians have omitted in~~
~~writings dealing with~~ concerning the Yakima War. ~~that should have been~~
One, ^{was} written by ^{Jean Charles OMI} Father Pandosy ^{dictating} while Kamiakin stood by, ~~is little~~
~~known, but full of import.~~ ^{has a message to the soldiers less than two months after}
~~the treaty x~~

"Write to the soldiers," Kamiakin spoke---and Father Pandosy wrote.

"Tell them ~~that~~ we ~~are~~ ^{(s) (the)} quiet, friend to ^{the} Americans, that we are not thinking of war ~~at all~~; ~~but~~ the way ~~in which~~ the governor (Stevens) has talked to us ~~at~~ and the Cayuse has irritated us. ~~and so on and so on~~

"If the governor had told us ~~ed~~ 'my children, I am asking you a ~~piece~~ ^(for a) piece of land ^{for} in each tribe for the Americans, but ^{land} the ~~and~~ and your country is still yours, we would have given willingly what he would have asked us and we would ^{be} have lived with the others as brothers.

"But he has taken us in number and thrown us out of our ~~native~~ country in a strange land among a people who is our enemy, in a place where its people do not even have enough to eat .

"Then we have said, now we know perfectly the heart of the Americans. They hanged us ~~without~~ without knowing if we are right or wrong; but they have never killed or hanged one American, though there is no place where an American has not killed savages...

"You want ~~therefore to make~~ us die of famine, little by little.

"It is better for us to die at once.

"It is you governor who ~~had~~ has wanted war...

"Then we took common cause with our enemy to defend ~~all together~~ our nationality and our country.

"However the war was not going to start so soon, but the Americans, who were going to the mines having shot some savages because they did not want to give ~~them~~ their wives, we have taken the care of defending

ourselves.

"Then came Mr. Bolon who ~~has strongly~~ insulted us, threatened us ^{of (with)} war and death...

"If the soldiers and the Americans will ~~consent to put down arms~~ ~~and~~ retire or treat friendly, we will consent to put down arms and grant them a piece of land, and that they do not force us to be exiled from our native country... If we lose, the men who keep the camp ~~will~~ in which are the wives and our children will kill them rather than see them fall into the hands of the Americans to make them their toys. For we have heart and respect ourselves..."

[The letter was written August 7, 1855, from the old mud and willow mission of the Ahtanum ^{by} ~~whether by~~ ~~intention~~ ^{deliberate intention or coincidence} Major Rains, commanding troops in the ~~field~~ ^{field,} wrote a reply on ~~Nov.~~ Nov. 13, 1855 from the headquarters of the Yakima expedition, the mission itself, November 13, 1855.

"... you say now, " if we will be quiet, and make friendship, you will not war with us but give a piece of land to all the tribes, " ' Rains wrote to Kamiakin.

"We will not be quiet, but will war forever until not a Yakima breaths in the land he calls his own. The river only we will let retain this name to show to all people that here the Yakimas once lived.

"...the treaty which you complain of, though signed by you, gave you too much for your lands, which are most of all worthless to the white man; but we are not sorry, for we are able to give, and it would have benefited you.

"... my kind advise to you, as you will see, is to scatter yourselves among the Indian tribes more peaceable, and there forget you ever were Yakimas, " G.J. Rains, Major, U.S.A., Brigadier-General W.T. Commanding troops in the field.

Recall what Owhi said:

"God looks down upon his children today as if we were all in one body.

He is going to make one body of us."

At the outset of the war Major Granville O. Haller~~m~~ marched confidentially out from The Dalles, with ~~his~~ ^{his troops} his troops, most of ~~these who~~ were mounted ^{on} ~~riding~~ mules. They ^{rode} ~~headed straight~~ north, 65 miles across the Simcoe Mountains, the old fisheries, root digging beds and hunting places of the Yakimas, and were confronted by Kamiakin's warriors on Top-nish Creek.

Haller ^{took} ~~hauled~~ along a mountain howitzer which he believed would strike fear and terror into Indian hearts. But their love for their homes ~~was~~ ^{was} stronger ² than the howitzer's booming voice. ~~They had no fear~~ and their victory was decisive. Haller was routed and with ~~considerable loss~~ so he retreated and left the howitzer behind with other equipage.

[The "lost howitzer" became a legend ~~among the Yakimas~~, in reality an unseen monument more enduring than any ^{SHAFT} ~~block~~ of granite, because of what it represents. The legend has persisted ~~even to modern days~~, even though Colonel Wright recovered it and took it back to The Dalles.

Haller's defeat of course spread hostilities north and south of the Columbia and into the Walla Walla ^Valley.

It brought concentrations of United States troops and Volunteers

who employing superior fire power ~~with more modern weapons~~ terminated hostilities with Colonel Wright's campaign, September 17, 1858, east of the Columbia.

But before this there was a campaign into the Yakima Valley, ~~an elusive~~ ^{and the} battle at Twin Buttes whose old name was Pah Hu Ta Quit (Where Mountains make a Gap), located just below present Union Gap.

It was during this period that Fort Simcoe was built ~~for the multipurpose~~ ^{to protect} ~~of protecting~~ the Indians from the overanxious settlers and as a military depot ~~to overawe the tribesmen.~~

Before the campaigns ended there were several letters written that reflect the feeling of the times.

R.R. Thompson, Indian agent writing from The Dalles to Superintendent Palmer on January 20, 1856, and referring to the situation in the Walla Walla Valley because of the presence of the Volunteers said:

"News from the Walla Walla gives an account of the most shameful treatment of the settlers and friendly Indians... if their lives were in danger when surrounded by hostile Indians, they are doubly so now."

The death of the Walla Walla chief, Peo Peo Mox Mox, head chief of the Walla Walla and a ~~co-signer~~ ^{co-signer} of the treaty with the Walla Walla, Cayuse and Umatilla at the time of the Yakima Treaty, came in for singular documentation.